

Women's Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders

Edited by
Alexandra Heidle & Jan A.M. Snoek



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Women's Agency and Rituals
in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders

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PREFACE

Much has changed since in 1986 John Hamill¹ showed that the hitherto generally accepted theory about the origin and early history of Freemasonry, first formulated by such scholars as Gould in the 1880s, could not be maintained when the facts available were analysed anew from a modern scholarly perspective. Since then, scholars have rediscovered the archives and found many documents which had previously been overlooked, or the significance of which had not been understood. This has led to important new insights, often radically contradictory to those which had been previously assumed.² Generally, we now tend to assume that the so called speculative form of freemasonry—the ‘speculating’ (philosophising) about possible symbolical interpretations of the working tools of a freestone mason, of his ‘craft’ in general, of what he is working at, etc.—was part and parcel of the training of craftsmen, long before the so called ‘Premier Grand Lodge’ was formed in 1717, and even before the Schaw Statutes were written in 1598 and 1599. Thus, what changed in the early 18th century was not that ‘gentlemen masons’ introduced this aspect, but rather that fewer and fewer craftsmen were members of the lodges, so that the ‘operative’ aspect was gradually lost. Also, there never existed a fixed form of what ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ freemasonry once was. Rather, it constantly developed and develops, changing its form all the time, in different ways in different times and places, sometimes very radically. Finally, from a scholarly perspective, there never existed ‘bad’, ‘deviant’ forms of freemasonry (as in the past such systems as Cagliostro’s ‘Egyptian Rite’, Von Hund’s ‘Strict Observance’ and Weishaupt’s ‘Illuminati’ have been qualified), but just forms which were successful and those which were not (which is not necessarily a criterion of quality, measured according to ritual theories).

Also, the number of scholars—historians and sociologists, mainly—who are not freemasons but are nevertheless of the opinion that freemasonry had such an impact on the development of the West-

¹ Hamill 1986, chapter 1: “Theories of Origin”: “Whilst the approach of writers of the authentic school has the appearance of scientific research their methods were not what we would accept as scientific today.” (17); “Despite this lack of substantiation the authentic school ... constructed the operative-transitional-speculative theory of the origins of Freemasonry” (19).

² Just a few examples must suffice here: Bernheim 1998; Stevenson 2002; Noël 2002; Scanlan: 2004.

ern culture, that this development cannot be understood without paying due attention to the role of freemasonry, has increased significantly.³ As a result, the study of freemasonry has become part and parcel of the academic enterprise, even creating a few chairs and institutes dedicated to the subject.⁴ Today, scholars who are also freemasons, and those who are not, cooperate harmoniously and critically in mutually complementing ways. With the exception of France, this development has so far given rise to very few new books about freemasonry, written from the new perspective.⁵ This is the case for nearly all aspects of freemasonry which have been or should be investigated, including the relationship between women and freemasonry, which has been traditionally regarded as a purely male phenomenon. Significant research in this area has been done over the past two decades, again, especially in France.⁶ But very little of the new insights have been made available in English.⁷ This volume aims to be a first step in filling that gap.

Women have been structurally part of the masonic enterprise from at least the middle of the 18th century. Over time, widely different forms of their participation developed and spread world-wide. The number of Rites (i.e. ritual systems), adapted to, or even developed specifically for them, is large. Yet, little is known about the ways in which they themselves obtained and exercised power to influence the systems they were involved in, in order to adapt them to be more appropriate to their needs, let alone how and to what extent they used their membership as a means of influencing the larger social context they lived in. This development should not be viewed independently of the larger historical developments, including those concerning the place of women in their cultures. The subject, therefore, is vast; researching it has hardly started, and yet, even today there is already so much to say about it that no single volume could claim to cover it

³ Foremost among them Margaret C. Jacob (UCLA) and Monika Neugebauer-Wölk (University of Halle, Germany).

⁴ Such as the Centre for Research into Freemasonry at the University of Sheffield, UK, of which Andreas Önnarfors is currently the director, and the Chair for the study of Freemasonry at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands, which is currently held by Malcolm Davies.

⁵ Again only a few examples must suffice here: Combes 1998 & 1999; Mollier 2004; Jupeau-Réquillard 1998; Révauger 2003; Saunier 2003.

⁶ Such as: Hivert-Messeca 1997; Jupeau-Réquillard 2000; Beaunier 2001; Prat et al. 2003.

⁷ Exceptions being: Burke 1989; Gilbert 2003; Allen 2003.

completely. This volume intends to concentrate on two aspects: Women's agency (i.e. the power women gained and exercised in this context) and rituals (i.e. the role of women in changing and shaping the rituals they work with). These two aspects are closely related, since it requires some agency to realise changes in existing rituals.

That—not only masonic—rituals do change was well established in the Heidelberger Research Program on Ritual Dynamics, which was founded in 2002. This Research Program—in which the editors of this volume are working—including the symposium out of which this volume developed, as well as this volume itself, was made possible by the German Research Foundation (DFG), for which the editors would like to express their gratitude here. Among the objectives of this Research Program is the investigation of ritual changes which come about under circumstances of transfer of rituals.⁸ One border across which rituals can be transferred is that of gender. It is the changes in rituals related to this transfer which form the theme of this volume.

With the exception of the introduction, which aims at contextualizing the other chapters, and giving the reader a preliminary overview of the field, the contributions to this volume all present the results of careful study of primary documentary evidence, most of it newly discovered, or at least analysed here for the first time from the new perspective of masonic research. As such, they are ground-breaking. Most contributions in this volume are exceptional in one more respect: whereas in the past, research of freemasonry used to concentrate on the 18th, and structurally neglected the 19th century, most research presented here focuses on the era of the first feminist wave. They form, however, only the start of the work which remains extant. For example, the important question of what motivated individuals involved in these developments as yet remains unanswered: we have a few examples of diaries, speeches and other documents which seem to give us a glimpse of the feelings and emotions from those who wrote them, but, as far as I know, so far no systematic research has been done in this area at all. If this volume stimulated further research into such subjects, then the editors would be very content.

It is definitely true that a volume like this could never be realised without the help of many. The editors are grateful to all of them, but wish to express their special gratitude to Michael Taylor who not only translated the article by Bernard Dat, but also undertook the language

⁸ See Langer, Lüddeckens, Radde & Snoek 2006.

correction of the whole volume, and that under great time pressure. We also thank Klaus Bettag and Jonas Andersson for making the transcripts in Appendix-1 and 2 of the contribution by Andreas Önnersfors. We furthermore thank the following institutions for their permission to use copy-right material: Pierre Mollier (editor of *Renaissance Traditionnelle*) for the article by Bernard Dat, the *Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum 'Prins Frederik'* in The Hague for the images of the documents from the Archive of the '*Loge de Juste*', the *Musée de la Franc-maçonnerie* (Collection of the *Grand Orient de France*) for the picture of the bijou of the lodge '*Le Temple des Familles*' of L.P. Riche-Gardon, the *International Institute of Social History* in Amsterdam for the pictures of Clémence Royer and Isabelle Gatti de Gamond, the International Order of Mixed Freemasonry '*Le Droit Humain*' for the pictures of Maria Deraismes and Georges Martin, and the *Völkerkundemuseum* of the *Von Portheim-Stiftung* in Heidelberg for the picture of Annie Besant from the photo studio '*Wiele & Klein*' in Madras.

Jan A.M. Snoek
Heidelberg, 17 April, 2008

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASR	Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite
A.F.A.M.	The Order of Ancient Free and Accepted Masonry for Men and Women
AQC	<i>Ars Quatuor Coronatorum</i>
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
DDFO	Den Danske Frimurerordens Arkiv og Bibliotek (Library and Archive of the Freemasons Order of Denmark)
FGLD	Frauen Großloge von Deutschland
GAOTU	Great Architect of the Universe
GLF	Grande Loge de France
GLFF	Grande Loge Féminine de France
GLSE	Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise
GSLE II	Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise Mixte et Maintenu
GSPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
GOF	Grand Orient de France
GON	(Library of the) Grand East of the Netherlands (Grootoosten der Nederlanden), The Hague
HFAM	Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry
HGA	Municipal Archive of The Hague (Haags Gemeente-Archief)
IO LDH	International Order of Mixed Freemasonry 'Le Droit Humain'
LDH	'Le Droit Humain'
MW	<i>Maçonniek Weekblad</i>
RT	<i>Renaissance Traditionnelle</i>
SFMO	Svenska Frimurareordens Arkiv och Bibliotek (Archive and Library of the Freemasons Order of Sweden)
SO	Strikte Observanz (Strict Observance)
SRIA	Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia
TS	Theosophical Society
TSG	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv
UF	<i>L'Union Fraternelle</i>
UFBG	Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Gotha
UGLE	United Grand Lodge of England
VFT	Vita Feminea Textura
VvVvV	Vereniging van Vrouwen van Vrijmetselaren

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INTRODUCTION

JAN A.M. SNOEK

I will never think about [the lodge and its officers] without sensing a tenderness mixed with respect. [Like an artist faced with his masterpiece] at the height of an equally ardent ecstasy ... I [will write], I, too, am a mason.¹

One cannot say when Freemasonry began, because there is no question of an explicit foundation. Rather, it was a long process in which a large number of diverse currents within Western Culture merged, until, from a certain moment in time, it becomes recognisable for us as a precursor of what we now call Freemasonry. We find the term ‘ffremason’ from the 14th century onwards in England. It does not so much refer to workers in the building trade in general, as rather quite specifically to those sculptors who were sufficiently qualified to work the expensive material ‘freestone’, as well as to ‘Master Builders’, whom we would call architects today. It is only in 1598, however, that we first find a document which refers to people, calling themselves ‘masons’, coming together in a ‘lodge’, and knowing a system of degrees of which at least one is conferred by means of a ceremony, in which certain recognition signs and words are communicated. This document—the so called *Schaw statutes*—is Scottish, and the lodges named in it are situated in Scotland. At about the same time we find in England the first reference to the so called ‘acception’, a formation within the *Masons’ Company of London* in which only the most outstanding members of this Company, as well as some erudite outsiders, were ‘accepted’. Here too we are apparently dealing with a ritual form of incorporation, and it is this group which refers to itself as ‘Freemasons’.

¹ A female orator in Dijon [in the 1780s], “Loge de la maçonnerie de femmes; Loge d’adoption”, Juigné Collection, vol. V.8, 300-359, Archives municipales de Dijon, as quoted and translated in Burke & Jacob 1996 540. The original French text in Jugeau-Réquillard 2000 300.

In 1717, four of the then existing lodges in London united themselves and elected a Grand Master. Thus was formed what later would be referred to as the 'Premier Grand Lodge'. The *Constitutions*, which this Grand Lodge published in 1723, show that this organisation then worked with a system of two degrees. In 1725, the existing material of these two ceremonies was rearranged, resulting in the system of three degrees—Entered Apprentice, Fellow [of the] Craft, and Master Mason—which still forms the basic structure of Freemasonry today.²

Apart from a few exceptional references to female freestone masons in the Middle Ages, and an even smaller number of incidental initiations of women in the early 18th century,³ Freemasonry is so far an exclusively male phenomenon. This is not only the result of the character of the work involved. In Great Britain it is also socially acceptable. After all, this is the land of the 'gentleman's clubs', forming part of the reality in which both men and women grew up.⁴ This situation, however, changes as soon as Freemasonry starts to spread abroad. In 1720, a lodge is formed by English and Scottish merchants in Rotterdam. From 1726 onwards we find lodges in Paris, and other cities soon follow: Lisbon and (probably) Mannheim in 1727, Madrid in 1728, Florence in 1732, The Hague in 1734, Stockholm in 1735, Hamburg in 1737, Dresden in 1738, Berlin in 1740, etc. For the subject of this volume, however, France is of special interest.

In France at that time an English vogue prevails. It is thus not surprising that also Freemasonry, coming from 'England', soon becomes popular, especially among the nobility, the well-to-do citizens, and many clergymen. But it is particularly among the nobility that the position of women is distinctly different from that in England. The noble ladies are delighted when their husbands discover a new English game, ... as long as they are allowed to join in. It is thus not surprising that we find mention in France of initiations of women into masonic lodges as early as the 1740s.⁵ Only shortly before, a booklet

² On the earliest history and developments of Freemasonry see Snoek 2002.

³ Always mentioned in this context are Elizabeth Saint-Leger (ca. 1710/1713) in Ireland, Mrs. Beaton (no date known), and Mrs. Harvard (1710). (Hills 1920 66/67; Wright 1922 84, 87; Hivert-Messeca 1997 129/130).

⁴ Clark 2000.

⁵ "Br. Lée denounces to the lodge those Lodges of lady Freemasons, called Sisters of the Adoption, which are held in the city; The Lodge decides in its wisdom to warn the other Lodges in this Orient in order to inform them about the abuses which have

was published containing rituals for a male lodge, which show remarkable similarities to those which will soon after be used by the adoption lodges.⁶

Around the same time, a rather large number of mixed orders was created, which were not really masonic, but were nevertheless often to some extent inspired by the example of Freemasonry. Among the best known are the Order of the *Mopses* (mops = pug-dog, chosen to exemplify fidelity), which was already active in Vienna in 1738, and the several libertine *Ordres de la Félicité* (Orders of Felicity), found from 1743/45 in France.⁷ Such orders flourished in the early and middle 18th century not only in France, but also in Germany. Bärbel Raschke's contribution on "The Relationships of Androgynous Secret Orders with Freemasonry" mainly concentrates on the example of the "*Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur*" in Sachsen-Gotha (1739-1758), about which she discovered important documents, the most significant of which is included *in extenso* at the end of her article, together with a full list of all its members. This order was created at the court of Sachsen-Gotha by the Duchess Louise Dorothea von Sachsen-Gotha in the French philosophical-literary tradition of the *préciosité*, integrating both chivalric and masonic traditions, as well as the pastoral tradition initiated by Honoré d'Urfé's novel *L'Astrée*. Orders like these had both male and female, but always highly aristocratic, members, many of them being members of more than one such order at the same time. The men were often Freemasons as well. This resulted in transfer of ideas between the different orders involved. These mixed orders will have paved the way for the subsequent creation of adoption lodges from the middle of the 18th century onwards, which, however, never became as popular in Germany as they were in France, possibly precisely because of the availability of these other orders.

penetrated these meetings of the adoption." (Minutes of the lodge 'L'Anglaise' (Bordeaux), February 6th, 1746, in Léchelle 2002 181).

⁶ Le Parfait Maçon ou les véritables secrets des quatre Grades d'Apprentis, Compagnons, Maîtres ordinaires & Ecossois de la Franche-Maçonnerie, Paris 1744. For an English translation see Carr 1971 157-200.

⁷ See for such orders e.g. Le Forestier 1979 3-17; Ragon [1860] 106-147; Hivert-Messeca 1997 15-31.

The Century of the Adoption Lodges (ca. 1745 – ca. 1845)

A special position in this spectrum is taken, however, by the already mentioned adoption freemasonry, on the one hand because it existed longer than any of the other early mixed orders, and on the other because only this one maintained a formal relation with the official male Freemasonry. In 1774, the *Grand Orient de France* officially recognised the adoption lodges and gave them new regulations. It is in this form that they are best known: a regular male lodge had to ‘adopt’ such a lodge in which women were initiated. The men who were members of the associated male lodge had access to the adoption lodge, which made the latter automatically mixed, even though it initiated only women. It was prescribed that certain functions in an adoption lodge had to be executed by a Brother and others by a Sister, so that it could not work when only members of one sex were present. The adoption lodges worked in three degrees, in name corresponding to the first three degrees of male Freemasonry, and quite quickly moved towards working in a number of ‘higher’ degrees as well.

When precisely adoption freemasonry was formed is not known, but I estimate it (with Le Forestier⁸) at about 1745. After its first mention in February 1746 in the male lodge ‘L’Anglaise’ in Bordeaux (see above), we have documentary evidence of an adoption lodge in The Hague (The Netherlands) in 1751. Malcolm Davies writes about this one: the Grand Lodge of Adoption, ‘*La Loge de Juste*’. Davies for the first time gives a full description and analysis of the documents we still have of this lodge (the extremely significant text of the financial accounts being included *in extenso* at the end of his article), and contextualizes the occurrence of this lodge, which initiated both men and women with rituals which were different from those in use in the continental male masonic lodges for the first three degrees. From the documents available, it is clear that these rituals were basically the same already as those known from later adoption lodges. Its members belonged either to the high nobility, or they were actors and actresses of the *Comédie Française*. The lodge was created in January 1751 by seven men, among whom were William Mitchell and Louis Auguste de St. Etienne, the latter becoming its Master. It seems that it was also De St. Etienne who knew the system of adoption lodges from France and introduced it in The Netherlands. In the course of the next three

⁸ Le Forestier 1979 2. For more details see my *The Initiation of Women into Freemasonry*, forthcoming.

months, other members were initiated, now including women. After a few months, the lodge got into financial difficulties. These were resolved by the Grand Master of the Dutch masonic Grand Lodge, Juste Gérard, baron of Wassenaer, who seems to have paid its debts. He also gave the lodge his own name ('La loge de Juste'), and on May 1st raised its status to that of a Grand Lodge of Adoption, of which he himself also consented to become Grand Master. A combination of circumstances led to the discontinuation of the activities of the lodge, probably shortly after November 1751.

The archives of the 'Loge de Juste' contain also the oldest explicitly dated adoption lodge rituals we have, namely those for a 'higher degree', the 'Architecte de l'adoption', dated 26th November 1751, which De St. Etienne seems to have claimed to bring with him from a trip to England, and possibly France, from which he returned in November 1751. These, as all other early adoption lodge rituals, are available in manuscript form only. The first booklet with printed adoption rituals appeared only in 1772.⁹ This possibly triggered a project the following year, because Andreas Önnersfors has discovered, and describes here for the first time, the surprising plans which one of its members, Christian Ernst Friedrich von Vitzthum und Eckstädt, made in 1773 for a female branch of the most powerful and influential masonic order of the 18th century: the 'Strict Observance'. These plans include rituals (in German) for an order with five degrees, which, though obviously influenced by, does not correspond to any other (para)masonic order known so far. Önnersfors summarises the contents of these rituals. Also a Swedish version of the adoption lodge rituals from roughly the same period is described. According to these rituals, the male masons who were allowed to partake in them had to be at least Scots Masters, thus pointing to a relationship between masonic chivalric higher degrees and mixed and female masonic practices, a relationship of which he finds traces time and again. The texts analysed are also provided as appendices to this article.

As stated above, the *Grand Orient de France* recognised the adoption lodges in 1774 and gave it a new set of rules, making an adoption lodge effectively subordinate to a male lodge. Rituals (three degrees) and statutes were published several times from 1774 onwards.¹⁰ The whole system was once more intentionally and

⁹ Anon. 1772.

¹⁰ E.g. Anon. 1774 (containing rituals for three degrees); Anon. 1775 (containing the statutes and rituals for three degrees).

seriously revised by Louis Guillemain de Saint-Victor, who published his own version of it (containing rituals for four degrees) in 1779.¹¹ The next 30 years see the publication of probably more than 20 editions and prints of this booklet. Clearly, during this period, this was a *de facto* standard ritual book. Until the French Revolution, adoption freemasonry was strongly dominated by the court nobility. While Louis de Bourbon-Condé, duke of Clermont, was Grand Master of the French male freemasonry, Madame de Seignelay held the corresponding position over the adoption lodges,¹² but after Clermont had been succeeded in 1771 by Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans, duke of Chartres, his sister, 'Son Altesse Sérénissime, la Sœur Louise Marie Thérèse Mathilde d'Orléans, Duchesse de Bourbon-Condé, Princesse du Sang', was installed as such. She was at the same time 'Grande Maîtresse' of the adoption lodge 'La Candeur', which, in 1778, counted besides her one other princess, two duchesses, three countesses, two marquises, and three not noble (probably court) ladies.¹³ The Grand Mistress of a second adoption lodge in Paris, 'Le Contrat Social', was Marie-Thérèse de Savoie-Carignan, Princesse de Lamballe, she too of royal blood and one of the two best friends of queen Marie-Antoinette;¹⁴ the other friend being Gabrielle Yolande de Polastron, duchesse de Polignac, who was a member of the lodge 'La Candeur'.

After the French Revolution in 1789, masonic activity in France, including that of adoption lodges, came to a halt, to be resumed only in 1800. During the Napoleonic era, adoption freemasonry was very popular again. While in the pre-Revolutionary period it was ruled by noble ladies of the royal family, now it was the Empress Joséphine herself who consented to be its Grand Mistress. In 1805 she participated in a meeting of the lodge 'L'Impériale des Francs-Chevaliers', of which she then became the Grand Mistress. That same year she was present at the initiation of some of her court ladies.¹⁵ Despite this imperial patronage, adoption freemasonry in this period had necessarily a much more bourgeois character; after all, a large proportion of the French nobility had died under the guillotine, and

¹¹ [Louis Guillemain de Saint-Victor] 1779 (GON 209.A.59).

¹² "... madame de Seignelaij[.] grande maitresse de toutes les loges d'adopion ..." (BN FM⁴ 1253, ca. 1765, 12r).

¹³ [Tissot] 1778.

¹⁴ On this friendship Burke 1989.

¹⁵ Jupeau-Réquillard 2000 63 ff.

the revolution had strengthened the position of the middle-class civilian population. After Napoleon had been defeated, however, the form of adoption freemasonry practised so far, in lodges where only initiated men and women had access, slowly gave way to other forms. This early phase of adoption freemasonry has by some authors been described as anti-feminist,¹⁶ and indeed, the subordination of the adoption lodges to a male lodge, imposed by the *Grand Orient de France* in 1774, may well suggest this. However, Janet Burke and Margaret Jacob¹⁷ have demonstrated clearly that this interpretation is wrong, and that, on the contrary, the adoption lodges should be seen rather as a form of women's emancipation *avant la lettre*.

The feminist century (1840-1940)

Further developments in France would strengthen this development. James Smith Allen's paper "Freemason Feminists: Masonic Reform and the Women's Movement in France, 1840-1914" examines this remarkable 'coincidence' between masonic reform and the women's movement in France, the roots of which he traces as early as the 1840s.¹⁸ The struggle to initiate women into French masonic lodges at the end of the 19th century must be seen in the context of the struggle for women's political rights, if only because so many feminists were active in mixed Masonry around 1900. Central to this process, on the masonic side, was the relatively short-lived *Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise* (GLSE),¹⁹ which brought together the most progressive masons of its time. It was this Grand Lodge to which the lodge 'Les Libres Penseurs' belonged, which initiated the feminist leader Maria Deraismes in 1882, resulting in 1893 in the creation of what is now the mixed masonic order *Le Droit Humain*,²⁰ which adopted the rituals of the GLSE for the initiation of all its members, male and female. It was again this Grand Lodge, now called *Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise Mixte et Maintenu*, which, in 1901, gave its lodges the freedom to choose if they wanted to be male only, or also initiate women with the same ritual as men. And it was the mixed

¹⁶ E.g. Goodman 1994.

¹⁷ Burke & Jacob 1996.

¹⁸ See also Allen 2003.

¹⁹ Jupeau-Réquillard 1998.

²⁰ See www.droit-humain.org.

lodges of this Grand Lodge which, once their Grand Lodge approached the end of its existence, moved to the *Grande Loge de France* on condition that their female members were allowed to open adoption lodges, from which eventually developed the current *Grande Loge Féminine de France*, the largest female masonic order in the world. This rise of mixed Masonry in France, Allen writes, has in fact its origins in the remarkable synergy of men and women feminists, who worked together in the name of women's interests everywhere, not just in Freemasonry. Allen traces this historical development through thorough research of abundant primary materials held in the several French national archives and Grand Lodges.

But not only in France was the historical development of feminism reflected in that of Freemasonry. In other countries, the consequences of this development were at least discussed in the lodges. Anton van de Sande shows in his paper, that in The Netherlands, in the 18th century, adoption lodges were readily accepted, but that in 1813—at the end of the French occupation of The Netherlands—the board of Grand Officers interdicted this ‘French phenomenon’. This, however, did not stop the Brethren from discussing the issue. Van de Sande analyses more than 200 articles in two Dutch masonic periodicals from the period 1860 to 1900 concerning the relationship between women and Freemasonry. Here he finds a great diversity of attitudes, but also a clear development towards accepting the idea of opening the doors of the ‘regular’ *Grootoosten der Nederlanden*²¹ (*Grand East of The Netherlands*) for women, leading him to the conclusion that “at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was very close indeed—the Dutch male Order of Masons could have become the first of the ‘old’ masonic Grand Lodges in Europe to be a mixed one”. That this did not happen in the end, Van de Sande thinks, was due to the foundation in 1904 of the first lodge of *Le Droit Humain*, a lodge which was not only mixed, but which also combined Theosophy with Masonry. The opposition now became not that between male and mixed Masonry, but between straightforward male Masonry and mixed Theosophical Masonry. In that situation, the Dutch order had no difficulty in choosing the first option, though supporting efforts of women to organise themselves into non-masonic, though in various ways related, organisations.

²¹ See www.vrijmetselarij.nl.

In America, a form of adoption freemasonry was created in 1850 by the freemason Rob Morris under the name of the *Order of the Eastern Star*.²² The central emblem is a five pointed star, corresponding to four biblical women: Adah (Jephthah's daughter), Ruth, Esther, and Martha plus Electa, an early Christian martyr, each representing a particular virtue. Morris revised his system in 1855 and 1859. A final revision was executed by Robert Macoy in 1868. It is in this form that this order is still working today. It has about one million members world wide. In 1860, James B. Taylor created another adoptive system, the *Order of the Amaranth*²³ (not to be confused with the Swedish order of the same name, instituted by queen Christine of Sweden in 1653). Macoy, who was in control of the *Order of the Eastern Star* around 1870, formed in 1873 the *Rite of Adoption*, with the "Eastern Star" as the first, the "Queen of the South" as the second, and the "Amaranth" as the third degree. Thus, both Eastern Star 'Chapters' and Amaranth 'Courts' were merged into Macoy's *Rite of Adoption*. Since 1921, both orders are independent again. Under the jurisdiction of its Supreme Council, the *Order of the Amaranth* has forty-three Grand Courts (each is State-wide), located in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Scotland and the Philippines. There are also Subordinate Courts (local) in Hawaii, New Zealand and Ireland. Both orders admit only female relatives of freemasons. There are several other para-masonic organisations, admitting female relatives of freemasons, in America.²⁴ All have in common a primary focus on charity.

In England, the feminist developments in the 19th century seem not to have influenced mainstream 'regular' male freemasonry in any way; but, that does not mean that it had no influence at all. A number of mixed orders were founded at the end of the 19th century, which were in some form or another related to and/or copied from Freemasonry. Henrik Bogdan's contribution: "Women and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn: 19th Century Occultist Initiation from a Gender Perspective" investigates such an order, the 'Golden Dawn',²⁵ which did not refer to itself as masonic, but which was founded by three freemasons who clearly used the masonic orders

²² See www.easternstar.org.

²³ See www.amaranth.org.

²⁴ Such as the Daughters of the Nile (www.daughtersofthenile.com) with c. 48,000 members.

²⁵ See also chapter VI in Bogdan 2003, 167-200.

they were familiar with as their examples. It flourished in the last decade of the 19th century and was “the perhaps single most influential of all British 19th century occultist initiatory societies”. Bogdan describes and contextualizes the history of this order, which regarded masculinity and femininity as two poles of a basic unity. Based on this principle, women were not only initiated, but had a really equal position within this order. They could even rise to the highest positions and thus wield power over subordinated members, including men. Bogdan tells the story of three of them: Mina Mathers-Bergson, Florence Farr and Annie Horniman. The aim of the Golden Dawn was the personal transformation or enlightenment of its members through the rituals and teachings of the order, and through this also a transformation of society at large. By treating women on an equal basis with men, it reflected as well as contributed to the feminist developments of its time.

A slightly younger British mixed order, called the ‘Operatives’, is described by Bernard Dat.²⁶ This masonic order was created in 1909 by the active Mason Clement Edwin Stretton (1850-1915), with the help of John Yarker (expert on and member of many masonic and para-masonic orders). Stretton claimed that this system was the original ritual system of the stone masons of the Middle Ages. Even though this claim cannot be accepted, as Dat demonstrates, it remains a charming system which has much to offer to its members. From June 1910 onwards, Stretton opened his order for ‘Ladies’. In October, the three then initiated women even created a women’s lodge, but that seems to have had a short life: from then on the order was effectively mixed. One month later, Miss Aimée Bothwell Gosse, an active member of the British Federation of *Le Droit Humain* and editor of its periodical, *The Co-Mason*, was affiliated. As a result, Stretton got the opportunity to make that periodical the main platform for his articles on the Operatives. After the start of WW-I and the death of Stretton in 1915, the only two lodges in existence collapsed. All that survived was the ‘London Section’. From that the system developed further and even created a Grand Lodge in 1931. It is still in existence, but no longer seems to have female members.

However, the largest and most influential mixed order, which developed in France at the end of the 19th century and soon found its way to England, is no doubt *Le Droit Humain*—mentioned already

²⁶ Reprinted here—in translation—from Dat 1999, with kind permission from Pierre Mollier.

several times. After two women had been initiated in otherwise male lodges in Hungary (countess Helena Hadik-Harkozy in the lodge ‘Egyenlőség’ in 1876/77) and Spain (countess Julia Apraxin-Batthyany in the lodge ‘Fraternidad Iberica’, Madrid, in 1880), France was to follow. Here, the feminist speaker Maria Deraismes, refused by the *Grand Orient de France*, asked the lodge ‘Les Libres Penseurs’ to initiate her. In May 1881, ‘Les Libres Penseurs’, only founded on the 13th August 1880, decided that it wanted to initiate women. It asked permission from its Grand Lodge, the *Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise* (GLSE, see above), to do so. On 12th September 1881, that was refused. On the 28th September, ‘Les Libres Penseurs’ asked permission to withdraw from the GLSE, which was permitted on the 9th January 1882. On 25th November 1881, Maria Deraismes was proposed as a candidate by seven Master-Masons of ‘Les Libres Penseurs’, voted upon, and accepted. On 14th January 1882, ‘Les Libres Penseurs’ then initiated Maria Deraismes (only in the first degree), while being an unattached lodge (‘loge sauvage’). However, finding itself completely isolated, ‘Les Libres Penseurs’ decided to return to its original Grand Lodge: on 7th August of the same year, the lodge was re-integrated into the GLSE, without Maria Deraismes, and on promising not to initiate any further women. Thus, this experiment could have been branded a failure, had not a former Grand Master of the GLSE, Georges Martin, together with Maria Deraismes, in 1893—one year before her death—created the first mixed masonic order, working with the usual male rituals, *Le Droit Humain* (LDH). Although nothing proves that she ever received the 2nd and 3rd degree herself, Maria Deraismes conferred these degrees once LDH was founded.²⁷ In 1895, Georges Martin published the first book of Rituals for LDH;²⁸ it contained the rituals as they were used by the GLSE, only slightly adapted for their use in the new order. These rituals of the GLSE were again revised versions of those which were created in Paris when the *Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite* was introduced in France in 1804.²⁹

For the first few years of its existence, LDH remained a rather small order. After ten years it still had only a few hundred members,

²⁷ Rognon 1994 51; Benchetrit & Louart 1994 25–30; Hivert-Messaca 1997 221–253; Jupeau-Réquillard 2000 122–125; Prat et al. 2003 15–24.

²⁸ [Martin] 1895. In 1899 the same edition was issued with a slightly changed title page: [Martin] 1899.

²⁹ Noël 2002.

and only one lodge outside France, namely in Zurich (Switzerland). That changed dramatically, once Annie Besant (the head of the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society, who had published her book *Esoteric Christianity* in 1901, and would in 1907 become the president of the Theosophical Society) was initiated in 1902. That same year she founded the first lodge of LDH in England. Within a year, using her connections and influence in the Theosophical Society, there followed ten more lodges, including one in her home town Adyar in British India. Over the course of the next fifteen years, she founded more than 400 lodges in Great Britain, continental Europe, South Africa, South America, Canada, British India, Burma, Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand.³⁰ Since this initial expansion, LDH has remained a world wide order, organised in local federations.

The ritual for the lodges working in the English language was not created by translating the—atheistic—ritual of George Martin. Instead, probably the Theosophist Annie Besant herself, possibly with the help of some members of the lodge ‘Dharma’ in Adyar, adapted an—explicitly theistic—ritual from the Grand Lodge of Scotland for use by the mixed lodges of LDH. She probably assumed that this would increase the chance that LDH would be recognised (or at least be accepted and respected) in the future by the *United Grand Lodge of England*, something which never happened. It is significant, though, that she also adapted these rituals to her theosophical (mystical-spiritual) ideas. This resulted in the *Dharma Workings*, published in Amsterdam in 1904, and so called after the lodge in Adyar, where they were created. On October 3rd, 1904 Annie Besant announced in her lodge in London: “The movement is in future to be styled Co-masonry. In America this title has been adopted [and] the Council considers it advisable that all English speaking Lodges should work under the same name”.³¹ In 1915, Charles Webster Leadbeater—since 1896 the personal theoretician of Annie Besant in the Theosophical Society—was initiated into LDH. The next year Leadbeater and James Ingall Wedgwood—another member of LDH and the Theosophical Society—revised the rituals with which the English speaking part of LDH was working ‘according to the astral instructions of the count of Saint-Germain’. In 1925, these rituals were once more (slightly) revised by Annie Besant and Leadbeater (the ‘1916 Working revised’

³⁰ Anon. 1993.

³¹ Minutes of the Human Duty Lodge, book 1, in the archive of the British Federation of LDH.

or ‘Glasgow Rituals’). This version became the standard for all the English speaking lodges of LDH during the next 50 years.

Ann Pilcher Dayton’s contribution “Freemasonry and Suffrage: The manifestation of social conscience” opens with a description of “the fifth, the last and the biggest procession ever seen in the campaign for the vote” in Britain, taking place on June 17th, 1911. She analyses the developments leading towards this event, approaching them from three perspectives: Theosophy, Freemasonry and the feminist and suffrage movements, all of which had features in common, especially two principles: the process of spiritual self-improvement and that of equality. She describes how the memberships of the three groups, which included predominantly people from the upper and middle classes, overlapped significantly. Some were also attracted to such magical orders as the Stella Matutina, an offshoot of the Golden Dawn (discussed in the paper by Henrik Bogdan). The Theosophists were led by Annie Besant (as described in the paper by Andrew Prescott), who, at the same time, was also the leader of the British Federation of the mixed masonic order *Le Droit Humain*. But the off-shoot masonic order, the ‘Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry’, then still a mixed order (but later a women only order, in 1958 renamed into ‘Order of Women Freemasons’), was no less active in its support of the suffrage cause. Its first Grand Master, Rev. Dr. William Cobb, was especially most active in this respect. As a result, women were attracted to these mixed Theosophical and masonic orders, which fought for their cause, while the other way round, these feminist Theosophists and Masons stirred the interest of their fellow members for the suffrage movement. Thus it was that they all walked together on June 17th, 1911.

Andrew Prescott gives an overview of the masonic activities of the highly contradictory and enormously charismatic Annie Besant (1847-1933), contextualizing them not only in their historical setting generally, but also within the extremely active life of Besant herself, showing that her different careers (as a socialist movement and women’s rights activist, as president of the Theosophical Society (TS), as vice-president of the Supreme Council of Universal Co-Freemasonry *Le Droit Humain* and president of its British Federation, and as the first woman president of the Indian National Congress) form a coherent unity after all, at least one uniting theme being her struggle for a better life for women. After meeting the leading advocate of Freethought and Republicanism of his time, Charles

Bradlaugh, Besant joined him in fighting for social justice. Growing dissatisfied with materialism, however, she joined the TS in 1889. Only two years later, Blavatsky made her the leader of the Esoteric Section of the TS. Two years later again, she went to India where from then on she would spend much of her time, adopting Indian mourning dress to protest against the injustices Britain had wrought in India. In 1902 she was initiated in Paris into *Le Droit Humain* (LDH) and founded in the same year the first lodge in London (see above). It was the start of a ‘ceremonial revival’ in which theosophists played the leading part. Does Besant’s involvement with Co-Masonry help in interpreting and understanding her life and achievements, Prescott asks, and tries to answer this question in the second half of this contribution.

After WW-II

During the second World War, women in large parts of the world, including Europe and North-America, discovered that they could run their affairs quite well, even when their men were at the front. This caused a new wave of self-confidence among these women. It is against this background that we must see the emergence of women-only orders in a large number of West-European countries after 1945. The remarkable fact about this development is that it preceded, rather than mirrored, the second feminist wave of the 1960s. In 1908 some lodges split off from the British Federation of LDH and formed the mixed order, the *Honourable Fraternity of Ancient Masonry*, which somewhere in the 1920s passed a resolution that men should no longer be admitted as joining members or candidates. It took, however, still quite some time before the male members had all deceased. This was the case in or before 1953, but it was only in 1958 that this order changed its name into the current *Order of Women Freemasons*. Today it has more than 350 lodges and is thus by far the largest women-only masonic order in Britain.³²

In France, what remained in 1945 of the adoption lodges, which had been created as a consequence of the integration of mixed lodges from the GLSE into the *Grande Loge de France* at the beginning of the 20th century, became a nuisance for its Grand Lodge, which now

³² Pilcher-Dayton 2002; Buisine 1995a.

aspired to recognition by the *United Grand Lodge of England* (an aspiration which was not realised). As a consequence, these lodges were ‘offered their independence’ as a separate order, the *Union Maçonnique Féminine de France*, which held its first General Assembly on October 21st, 1945. In 1952 it changed its name into the current *Grande Loge Féminine de France* (GLFF) and in 1959 it changed its Rite, adopting the rituals of the *Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite*. A small number of Sisters, refusing to give up the adoption rituals, founded an independent lodge ‘Cosmos’, which in 1977 was reintegrated in the GLFF with the right to continue that Rite. Today it is the last lodge in the world working with the adoption rituals. Since 1973 the GLFF also has lodges working with the *Rite Français* or *Rite Moderne* (the Rite of the *Grand Orient de France* since 1786), and since 1974 lodges working with the *Rite Ecossais Rectifié* (*Rectified Scottish Rite*) of 1782. With ca. 400 lodges and 11,000 members, it is the largest women-only masonic order in the world. Also, daughter lodges have been founded in other countries in Europe (such as Luxembourg, Italy, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic), Africa (Benin, Cameroon, Congo, Ivory Cost, Gabon, Togo), and America (Canada, Venezuela). In some countries (Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey) even daughter Grand Lodges have been established.³³

In The Netherlands, the discussion concerning the admission of women into the regular Grand Lodge (the *Grootoosten der Nederlanden*) resulted in 1930 in the foundation of the *Association of Wives of Freemasons* (*Vereeniging van Vrouwen van Vrijmetselaren; VvVvV*). But since this does not use initiation rituals, it did not satisfy a number of women. As a response, the *Order of Demeter* was created in 1936. This order too had at that time no initiation rituals yet, but it aspired to have them in the future. This future, however, never came, since the second World War stopped all masonic and related activity in The Netherlands. But in 1947, six women founded the order *Vita Feminea Textura* (VFT), and with the help of a few members of the male masonic order created rituals for it. This work on the rituals took them three years; in 1950 the women were initiated—by these and some other male Freemasons—using these new rituals. The significant point about these rituals is that they do not use the symbolism of building, but that of spinning and weaving, assumed to be more

³³ On the GLFF see e.g. Buisine 1995b; Beaunier 2001. See also www.glff.org.

appropriate for women. Consequently, this order (sometimes referred to as the *Order of the Weavers*) does not claim to be masonic, although in all other respects it clearly is. The Netherlands being a small country, this order is relatively small as well: ca. 500 members working in 14 lodges. There is one daughter Grand Lodge in France, having one lodge in Paris.³⁴

Although most women-only orders were created between 1945 and 1960, and thus—as stated above—preceded, rather than mirrored, the second feminist wave in the 1960s, this new feminist activity is clearly reflected in the history of the development of some of them. A case in point is the *Women's Grand Lodge of Germany* (*Frauen Großloge von Deutschland*). In 1949, the Grand Masters of two (of the then ca. 12) Grand Lodges in Germany decided that it was time to open freemasonry to women. Therefore, they created a women's 'circle'. Two years later, initiation rituals had been created by the men, and the women were initiated. These rituals, though masonic in character, were intentionally distinctly different from any form of masonic rituals in use. The men were afraid that, should the rituals with which the women worked be made too similar to those used by them, they would lose their recognition as a regular Grand Lodge. However, the women turned out to develop a clear desire to work with the 'real' rituals. Thus, the women started making changes in that direction, which the men in turn tried to reverse as much as they could. The result was a very gradual development of the rituals in the direction of those used by the men. It took until 1975 before the women received permission to use a truly different ritual, this time an only slightly modified male one. As a consequence, the women were 'granted their freedom' in 1982 and forced to create their own Grand Lodge, which from then on developed into the current *Frauen Großloge von Deutschland*.³⁵ Today, the FGLD has friendly relations with a large number of mixed and female masonic orders, including the GLFF. It has about 300 members in 15 lodges.

The older mixed Orders had, of course, their own developments after 1945. As a consequence of a conflict within LDH in 2000 over the independence of the Federations to decide with which rituals they

³⁴ On VFT see Stegeman 1952; Van Elden-Mulder 1975; Fokker 1997; and my *The Initiation of Women into Freemasonry*, forthcoming. See also: www.ordevanweefsters.nl.

³⁵ For the FGLD see Heipcke 2004, and my *The Initiation of Women into Freemasonry*, forthcoming. See also www.freimaurerinnen.de.

wanted to work (a right obtained by Annie Besant from the central order in Paris in 1902), the British Federation³⁶ split in two, the break-away faction founding in 2001 the new *Grand Lodge of Freemasonry for Men and Women*.³⁷ This order now works with rituals, very close to those originally written by Annie Besant in 1904.³⁸ Together with former Federations of LDH in India, New Zealand, the USA, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Brazil, and Spain, they now form the *Eastern Order of International Co-Freemasonry*,³⁹ which is independent of the *International Order LDH*.

Anne van Marion-Weijer's contribution focuses on these recent developments within the Dutch Federation of LDH.⁴⁰ Here, as in many other masonic orders (such as the 'regular' orders in Belgium and France), not all lodges work with the same rituals. From the foundation of the first lodge of LDH in The Netherlands in 1904/5, Annie Besant's 'Dharma Rituals' were used. Later these were replaced by 'the 1916 Workings Revised', of 1925. In 1915, a different type of ritual was introduced, based on the theistic but non-theosophical rituals (in the tradition of the *Rite Français* or *Rite Moderne* of 1786/1801) used by the Dutch male order, the *Grand East of The Netherlands*. This resulted in a controversy between those members and lodges which preferred theosophical and those which preferred non-theosophical rituals. Since the end of WW-II, these two Rites are worked side by side, each lodge working in either one of them. A few years ago a third Rite was introduced, which is now practised in two lodges. It is close to the atheistic rituals which George Martin published in 1895 for the use of the French lodges of LDH. The author reviews these developments, with a special emphasis on those of the last few years, and the tensions which such situations create within a masonic order.

This introduction obviously makes no claim whatsoever to be complete in any respect. Many more mixed and women-only orders do exist in many more countries than have been mentioned here. However, completeness was not the aim. What was intended is an overview of certain developments which are characteristic of the ways in which women have come to participate in masonic orders, and how

³⁶ See www.droit-humain.org/uk/.

³⁷ See www.grandlodge.org.uk.

³⁸ Anon. 2001.

³⁹ See www.comasonic.net.

⁴⁰ See www.droit-humain.org/paysbas/.

they gained and exercised power over masonic rituals. The papers in this volume highlight examples of such developments. As such they give an insight into a most fascinating aspect of the overlapping history of both freemasonry and feminism.

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THE RELATIONSHIPS OF ANDROGYNOUS SECRET
ORDERS WITH FREEMASONRY.
DOCUMENTS ON THE
ORDRE DES HERMITES DE BONNE HUMEUR
IN SACHSEN-GOTHA (1739-1758)

BÄRBEL RASCHKE

*Antecedents and Theoretical Context of Mixed Orders
in the European Environment*

In order to examine the relationship between the exclusively male Freemasonry and androgynous secret orders at the beginning of the 18th century, from freemasons we shall begin by looking at two contemporary statements which will lead us to the heart of the problem.

Firstly a quotation taken from the *Constitutions*, published in 1723 by James Anderson: “The Persons admitted Members of a Lodge must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, *no Women*, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report”.¹

The second remark is to be found in the famous *Discours* (December 1736) by Andrew Michael Ramsay. A Scot by birth, from 1709 onwards, in both France—where he lived most of the time—and in England he moved in elite political and intellectual circles. The actual year and date of Ramsay’s initiation into Freemasonry are not certain but he exercised an important influence on the development of Freemasonry in France. In his *Discours* Ramsay, who, as a member of the famous salons, was well acquainted with mixed gender sociability, based the exclusion of women from Freemasonry on a polemic against pagan cult revelry:

The source of all those infamies was the admission of persons of both sexes into the nightly assemblies, contrary to the rules of the primitive Institution. It was to prevent similar abuses that women were banned from our Order. It is not that we are unjust enough to hold the fair sex

¹ From “Charge III. Of Lodges” in Anderson 1723 51 (my emphasis, B.R.).

incapable of keeping a secret, it is because their presence could alter the purity of our maxims and mores.²

From a gender perspective, both texts must be considered as an obvious defence against female aspirations to claim a place in the vigorous development of such Orders at that time. Such activities are especially noticeable in the social circles of the European high aristocracy, in particular in the philosophic-literary movement of the *préciosité* linked with this class. This salon-culture of the nobility developed in the 17th century to refine language, education and moral standards was to a decisive degree supported by women. The Hôtel de Rambouillet, together with the Salons of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, Madame de Sablé or Madame de Sully were at the same time breeding grounds for radical theories propounding the attainment of equality between the sexes.³ Influenced by Honoré d'Urfé's novel *L'Astrée*⁴ many women of these circles founded androgynous orders.⁵ As Philippe Ariès formulated it in his *Histoire de la vie privée* (*History of private life*), these noble women did not accept their exclusion from sociable life without opposition.⁶

Still at the beginning of the 18th century, these androgynous Orders, founded by ladies of the highest European echelons of nobility, were mentioned without the least deprecation by the famous French historian and authority on such organisations, Pierre Helyot, as a modern phenomenon to be classified as a kind of secular Chivalric Order.⁷ Helyot associates this new type of order exclusively with the mediae-

² "La source de toutes ces infamies fut l'admission des personnes de l'un & de l'autre sexe aux assemblées nocturnes contre la primitive institution. C'est pour prévenir de semblables abus que les femmes sont exclues de notre Ordre. Ce n'est pas que nous soyons assés injustes pour regarder le sexe comme incapable de secret, mais c'est parceque sa présence pourroit altérer insensiblement la pureté de nos maximes & de nos mœurs" (Ramsay 1738 59; translation taken from Lamoine 2001, 231).

³ Poullain de la Barre 1673.

⁴ Examine the role of Honoré d'Urfé and his novel in European cultural history, and his relationship with the western-esoteric scene: Yates 1975.

⁵ In France, Italy and Germany, besides male Orders, several androgenous ones were founded in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century in the context of the *préciosité*, for example in 1635 the *Ordre des Egyptiens* of Mille de Pré, in 1642 the *Ordre des Allumettes* of Mille d'Anelot, the *Ordre de l'Amarante* of Christine of Schweden (1651), the *Ordre de Sophipolis* of the Brandenburg electorat Princess Sophie Charlotte (1700), the *Ordre de la Mouche à Miel* of the Duchess de Bourbon (1703), the *Société des Chevaliers et Chevalières de la Bonne-Foi* of Mrs de Saliez (1704).

⁶ Ariès & Chartier (eds) 1986, 484-485.

⁷ Helyot 1719 427 ff., 506.

val Chivalric Orders and ignores the second important source, the precious Arcadian philosophy and its pastoral plays. Yet, a fusion of both organisation structures was very clear in the Amaranth Order founded in 1651 by Christine of Sweden, who called herself as such after the shepherdess Amaranthe from part 1 of the 10th book of d'Urfé's novel *L'Astrée*. A few years later, however, Ramsay in his *Discours* omits completely the brief period of existence of androgynous Orders in the development of European Orders in favour of a continuous line of male orders from chivalric to masonic ones.⁸

This deliberate manipulative act was executed in a context which was characterised by a renewed coexistence of exclusively male and androgynous Orders—this time the secret society of the Freemasons and various secret androgynous Orders. Towards the end of the thirties and the beginning of the forties of the 18th century, at a number of royal courts in the old *Reich*, partly in the context of the foundation of masonic lodges, the foundation of Orders initiated by the noble female gentry is to be observed. In Gotha, in 1739, Princess Louise Dorothea of Sachsen-Gotha founded the *Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur* (Order of the Happy Hermits). In 1745 at Schloß Nymphenburg the later Princess of the Electorate of Saxony, Maria Antonia of Bavaria, founded the *Compagnie des Incas ou L'Ordre de l'Amitié*. In Bayreuth there also existed, around 1750, an Order of Hermits, founded by Wilhelmine von Bayreuth.⁹

Masonic Context of the Order of Hermits in Gotha

Given the altogether very sparse amount of sources pertaining to these Orders, the comparatively comprehensive records in Gotha are of extreme interest. Furthermore, this secret Order existed for an unusually long time, from 1739 to 1758.¹⁰ For this reason it will be presented

⁸ Ramsay 1738 49/50, 65 ff.

⁹ Lippert (ed.) 1908, CXXII-CXXIII; Bracker 1940, 67, 68; Beyer 1954, 90-116. At this point neither the *Antimasonic Society* (1739 until about 1780) nor the *Order of the Mopses* (ca. 1740 until after 1780) will be discussed. A common characteristic of these secret societies, which were both founded by men, is their marked competitive and mordant bantering opposition towards the Freemasons. See Kretschmer 1931; Goldmann 1973.

¹⁰ The most recent document found, proving that the Hermit Order was still in existence, is a treasury receipt of August 3rd, 1758 which records the payment of 5 Reichs Taler for the tailoring of a Hermit's robe (Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Ge-

here as an example, and examined in its relations to *préciosité* and to Freemasonry.

Not only the carefully preserved documents of the Order (presented in Appendix-I), but also the paintings with themes related to the Order, at that time in the possession of Princess Louise Dorothea, such as the well-known *Graf Gotter en Eremit* [Count Gotter dressed as a hermit] by Jakob Samuel Beck, an anonymous one titled *Ein Prinzessin nebst dem jetzigen Erbprinzen en Eremite mit dem Mohr* [a princess besides the actual crown prince dressed as a hermit with the Moor], and one that shows Louise Dorothea in an anchoress robe, give evidence of the high status of the Order in the cultural life of the Royal court of Gotha.¹¹

To outline the interrelation and tension between the androgynous order of the Princess and the contemporary male masonic movement the following questions should be answered: What was the masonic development around the Gotha court? What influence did Freemasonry have on the structure, ritual and objectives of the anchorite order? Were there relations between the members of the respective orders?

The Princess was informed about the masonic development around the court at Gotha through inter-court communication as well as by publications concerning Freemasonry and the enrolment of its famous members. It may also be assumed that she was informed by the Gotha courtier Gustav Adolf Earl of Gotter about the masonic initiation, in 1738, of the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich whom she admired, and his admission to the *Loge premier* in 1739. As a member of the Berlin *Loge premier*, Gotter played an important role in Freemasonry in central-Germany as well as in the Order of the Happy Hermits. The developments of the Court of the Electorate of Saxony, where Friedrich August Earl of Rutowsky had founded a lodge in 1738, would have become known to Louise Dorothea through the many Saxon guests at the Court of Gotha.¹² And not least, in the early forties we find in the Duchy of Saxony-Gotha itself and in the neighbouring mini-States of

heimes Archiv E XIII a 42 f). Retained are the Matriculation Register and the Constitutions of the Order (Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, hereafter UFBG, Chart. B 1430), minutes of meetings and drafts of lectures, applications for admission, letters of invitation and lists with proposals for Order names – the so called Memoires (UFBG Chart. A 1164).

¹¹ Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv E XIII a 37; the last named painting is mentioned by Von der Osten 1893, 45 f.

¹² See the extracts from the forage books UFBG Chart. A 1812.

their relatives the foundation of lodges. The first masonic lodge in Saxony-Meiningen, *Aux trois boussoles*, was founded in September 1741 in Molsdorf near Gotha in the presence of the Earl of Gotter. In 1742 the first masonic lodge was founded in Altenburg, belonging to the principality of Gotha. Louise Dorothea's brother in law, Ludwig Ernst of Saxony-Gotha, who was at the same time a member of the anchorite Order, was initiated into this lodge. For the Gotha household itself the narrative relating the foundation of a masonic lodge there remains unproven, but first attempts in 1741/42 are assumed.

The activities of the Freemasons in the central-German area had begun to attract the attention of the Princess. Manteuffel alludes to this, when on 2 October 1746 he sent the book he had been asked for, *Les Franc-Maçons écrasés*:¹³ "As there are many of these gentlemen in your cantons, you may, after having read the book, try to satisfy your curiosity by questioning them concerning some of its particularities".¹⁴ This letter shows that the Duchess besides observing the actual development of Freemasonry, also took an interest in the newly emerging literature on this subject. Her private library, which belongs to the starting material of the important collection of masonic literature in Gotha, contained three significantly relevant titles: besides the already mentioned *Les francs-maçons écrasés. Suite du livre intitulé l'ordre des francs-maçons trahi* (Amsterdam 1747), the work *L'école des francs-maçons* (Jérusalem 1748)—containing, among other things, the report concerning the initiation of the Prince of Saxony-Gotha into the association—and a *Recueil des poësies maçonnnes* (Jérusalem 1748) can be verified.¹⁵

¹³ NB! According to the titlepage, only published in 1747.

¹⁴ "Comme il y a tant et plus de ces Messieurs en Vos cantons, Vous pourriez, après avoir lû tout le livre, tacher de contenter Vótre curiosité, en les questionnant sur quelques particularitéz [...]" (Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv E XIII a 22).

¹⁵ These two booklets are apparently not independent publications. They were not only published both in 1748 in "Jérusalem", and look as though they came from the same printing press, they are also often bound together as one volume. Also, the "Avertissement" in *L'école* announces "nombre de pièces de Poesies nouvelles" which are not to be found, however, in *L'école* itself, but in the *Recueil*. Such combined publications of "Statuts & Règlements" (*L'école* contains among others in the section "Statuts Generaux" the "Old Charges" from Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 in the French translation by De la Tierce, published in Frankfurt 1742) and song book are found more often. In this way one had everything one needed in the Lodge together in one volume. Furthermore, the inclusion of both De la Tierce's text, pub-

Not least through reading these publications, the Princess was well acquainted with the contemporary controversy regarding the exclusion of women from Freemasonry. The *école des francs-maçons* contains several contributions on the debate about the pros and cons of the exclusion, where a number of contemporaries saw this exclusion as an important change in the 18th century societal and sociable-culture and as a loss,¹⁶ others basing their argument on Ramsay's *Discours* emphasised that in mixed societies women exuded an erotic danger that would stand in contrast to the high aims and serious excursion into the sciences and the arts of Freemasonry.¹⁷

We may conclude from the above that, with the Order of the Happy Hermits, the Gotha Princess, knowing the developments and discussions taking place at the time, deliberately chose to oppose the masonic Order with an androgynous society. Previous research has placed her Order exclusively in the tradition of the aristocratic pastoral culture and typified it as playful frolicking.¹⁸ The pastoral garments as Robes of the Order, the names which the members of the Order received, which were derived in the precious style from salient traits of the character of the members, and their assembly at idyllic rural places seem to confirm this. That over and above this, deeper relations exist between the Order of the Happy Hermits and the precious order culture, which mix with influences of contemporary Freemasonry in a complicated and not always unequivocal way, shall now be demonstrated, based on the example of the structure and the ritual of the Gotha Order.¹⁹ The basis for the argumentation is the manuscript design for the Order (reproduced in Appendix-I) preserved in the so called *Memoires* of the Order of the Happy Hermits.

lished in Frankfurt, and the report of the "Reception du P[rince] de Saxe Gotha", suggests a German, rather than a French Publisher. (Personal communication Jan Snoek).

¹⁶ Anon. 1748b 154-155.

¹⁷ Anon. 1748a 132-134. Whether Louise Dorothea knew the original version of Ramsay's *Discours* of 1737, which was clandestinely distributed throughout Europe in a volume from 1738 with letters by Voltaire, is not sure. Remarkable in this connection appears to be, however, that a quotation of several pages in the first essay ("Discours Abregé sur l'Origine de la Maçonnerie", 6-12) from *L'école des francs-maçons* corresponds with a passage (pages 64-70) from that first edition of Ramsay's *Discours*. See about the publication history of the version of 1737: Feddersen 1994 31. A facsimilé-edition of the first edition of the version of 1737 is to be found in Van Veen 1977; an English translation of both the versions from 1736 and 1737 in Lamoine 2001.

¹⁸ Von der Osten 1893.

¹⁹ See for the current research discourse: Kervella & Lestienne 1997; Bernheim 1998.

Analysis of Statutes, Ritual and Discourses of the Order of Hermits

The structure of the *Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur* is *grosso modo* in accordance with an Order structure, as retrospectively defined at the beginning of the 18th century under the catchword “Order” in Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon*.²⁰ Thus the Order of the Happy Hermits too had two Superiors, the Prioress Louise Dorothea of Saxony-Gotha and the Prior, her husband Friedrich III. “Their Highnesses are the Superiors of the Order”.²¹ Offices within the Order were that of the Chancellor and Secretary, the latter being apparently appointed to that position by the Order’s Superiors by way of some kind of rotation principle. He kept the Order’s seal, and led the ritual sessions and the initiation rituals for new members.²² Furthermore, though not mentioned in Zedler’s description, there were in the Order of the Happy Hermits Serving Brothers and Serving Sisters, an office that also existed in freemasonry in the form of a Serving Brother. With regard to their sex they were selected by the Superiors of the Gotha Order based on a strong principle of parity and perhaps even a principle of rotation, and they were invested with clearly defined tasks to be performed during the sessions of the Order in the four reclusive huts.²³ All the other Order members were subjected to the principle of equality: “Concerning the members, they have no other status than being Sisters and Brothers of the Order, considering themselves with re-

²⁰ Anon. 1742.

²¹ “Leurs Altesses sont les chefs de l’ordre” (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 5 (Appendix-I)).

²² UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 42 (Appendix-I): “M^{me} la Supérieure ayant resolu que l’anniversaire de L’Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur fut celebré quelques jours après le jour de son nom Louise, à savoir le 14 de juillet, elle commanda à moi, Chancelier de l’Ordre, de faire selon la coutume un petit discours devant l’assemblée des sœurs et des frères”. Ibidem f. 27, Letter from Tilo von Frankenberg to Christoph Wilhelm von Cachedenier from 2 Juni 174[3]: “Vive la joie! J’ai l’honneur de vous dire, mon cher frère Discret, que vous vous deviez rendre ici jeudi prochain l’avant-midi pour exercer à ce jour la fonction de secretaire de notre venerable Ordre et pour recevoir les nouveaux membres. C’est avec l’attachement le plus parfait avec lequel je suis, cher Frère, votre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur Frbrg”. Ibidem, f. 70: “Le membre que Leurs Altesses avaient choisi pour être Secretaire de l’Ordre [...]”.

²³ UFBG Chart. A 1164, ff. 8-9 (Appendix-I).

gard to this institution as equals.”²⁴ The entire structure of the Order indicates a flat hierarchy which showed itself also in the seating plan of its sessions. Both Superiors sat at the top curve of a circle completed by the other members and solely the armchairs that were reserved for them emphasised their elevated positions in the Order. “In this hermitage [the hermitage where they held their circle meetings, B.R.], there are placed all around as many chairs as there are members in the Order plus two armchairs at the top end for the Prior and the Prioress”.²⁵ This structure was explicitly directed against the protocol at court and court hierarchical courtesy. “That We, for the good of the Order, will dispense of the court ceremonial, the days that the Order assembles”.²⁶

The equality within the Order was not to be achieved on a solely social basis but also among the sexes. Louise Dorothea took care to see that as far as possible an equal number of females and males became initiated members. The rules of the Order applied without exception to both sexes. The highest positions in the Order were equally occupied; the tasks of the servants were equally distributed. Symbolically the equality of the sexes was to be seen in the seating plan during work in the circle. The ladies sat with odd numbers on the right-hand half circle next to the Prioress, the men with even numbers sat along the Prior on the left. A similar structure of equality among the sexes was to be found a short time later in the anti-masonic Order of the Mopses.²⁷

²⁴ “Pour les membres, ils n’ont d’autre qualité que d’être sœurs et frères de l’Ordre, se regardant tous par rapport à cette institution comme égaux” (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 2-3 (Appendix-I)).

²⁵ “Dans cette hermitage, il y a tant de chaises mises tout au tour qu’il y a des membres de l’ordre et deux fauteuils au haut bout pour Mgr. le Prieur et M^{me} la Prieure” (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 5 (Appendix-I)).

²⁶ “Qu’Elles veulent pour le bien de l’ordre se dispenser du cérémonial de la cour aux jour que l’on tiendra assemblée de l’ordre” (UFBG Chart. A 1164, ff. 2-3 (Appendix-I)).

²⁷ A careful study of the *Memoires* still in existence shows very clearly, however, that the declared equality was manipulated. The seating order, which was supposed to be fixed by lottery-ticket, was in fact subjected to interventions by Louise Dorothea. UFBG Chart. A 1164, ff. 19f. shows for instance, that among the numerous possible seating arrangements one was selected where by the numbers for the *Cavaliers* after the lot number 2—which was for Duke Friedrich III—were by all means distributed observing their rank: “4 Mgr le Duc de Meiningen, 6 Mgr le Prince héréditaire, 8 Mgr le Prince Guillaume, 10 Mgr le Prince Louis Ernest”. Also the speeches, which were supposed to be presented frankly—of which we know only the male authors—were corrected and influenced by the Princess.

Also, the Order's rituals show a great similarity to those described by Zedler. There was a ritualised greeting with the motto of the Order: "By way of greeting the Sisters and Brothers of the Order, one will simply say Be happy, answered by another Be happy".²⁸ Also the initiation of new members was a pre-determined ritual with symbolical meaning and a Catechism. It expressed the tension between those who were members of the Order and those who were not, which tension was resolved by the initiation ritual, composed of investiture, isolation, accompaniment along the road into the community of the Order, and instruction in the Catechism.²⁹ In contrast to the kneeling candidate in Zedler's description, the candidate for the Order of the Happy Hermits stands upright before the Superiors.

Last but not least, a prescribed ritual of chores defined the meetings of the Order. They were performed at a separate place in four huts, each dedicated to one of the four of the work. Fully in the tradition of precious Orders an arcanum was created for the work of the Order. During the summer residence at Castle Friedrichswerth, the Order was to meet at least once per week. The circle work in the first hut was followed by a kind of table lodge in the huts for food and coffee. Finally, the members met in the hut dedicated to sociable games.

After a short session one would go for dinner into another of the four hermitages. One would place the members of the Order around the table, like in the circle according to the numbers drawn. One could distinguish the four hermitages according to the four principal divertissements of the Order as follows: one will nominate one hermitage to hold circle sessions, the other hermitage to eat, the third hermitage to take the coffee, and the last hermitage to play games. During the stay of the court at Fredericwert, one will have one circle or one meeting of the Order every week.³⁰

²⁸ "En voulant donner le bonjour ou le bonsoir aux sœurs et aux frères de l'ordre, il ne leur dira qu'un Vive la joie. On lui en repondra par un autre, Vive la joie [...]" (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 12 (Appendix-I)).

²⁹ UFBG Chart. A 1164, ff. 5-7 (Appendix-I).

³⁰ "Après une courte séance l'on ira diner dans une autre de quatre hermitages. L'on placera les membres de l'ordre à table comme au cercle selon les numéros tirés. L'on pourrait distinguer les quatre hermitages selon les quatre divertissements principaux de l'ordre; en sorte, que l'on nommera l'une hermitage à tenir cercle, l'autre hermitage à manger, la troisième hermitage à prendre du café, et la dernière hermitage à jouer. Pendant le séjour de la cour à Frédéricwert, on tiendra pour le moins un cercle ou une assemblée de l'ordre chaque semaine" (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 5, also ff. 8-9 (Appendix-I)).

There is, however, no evidence for this strict spatial separation of activities for Orders in the precious Tradition.

The impression that the Order did not strictly follow the definition of the *préciosité*, but was also influenced by freemasonry, is amplified when one considers the vocabulary the Order of the Happy Hermits used. Not mentioned anymore in the Order's documentation are the words *chevaliers* and *chevalières* which were used in the androgynous Orders of the *préciosité*, but instead one consequently speaks about *frères* and *sœurs* or of a *confrérie*.³¹ Here we should also especially mention the principles formulated in rules 12 and 13. A Hermit was explicitly sworn to secrecy regarding all that was spoken in the sessions of the Order, which was not usual in the other androgynous Orders. "One will not disclose to anybody what has been discussed during the meetings of the Order; one will keep the secret inviolable".³² Rule 13 implies a clear separation in the sequence of work sessions and collective eating and drinking, a possible allusion to the masonic custom of the work and table lodges. The table was drawn to a close with a round of singing, also a masonic custom. "When it would please their Highnesses one would sing at the table French songs after the desert has been served, as it is customary in France".³³

The intention of the Gotha Princess to create, in the context of contemporary male Orders, an equivalent androgynous society is most obvious in the objectives she formulated for the Order of the Happy Hermits. Here too the older traditions of the *préciosité* are mixed with ideas taken from Freemasonry. To be mentioned in the first place is the idea of friendship, which was the constituent basis of the Order project at Gotha. The Hermits' mutual relationship—with the exception of their relationship to the Superiors—should be carried through friendship. "A strong and perpetual friendship shall maintain a good understanding among the members of the Order. One therefore must live with them in perfect harmony."³⁴ With this Louise Dorothea op-

³¹ The last in UFBG Chart. B 1430.

³² "Il ne decouvrira à personne ce dont on a parlé dans les assemblées de l'Ordre; il en gardera inviolablement le secret" (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 11 (Appendix-I)).

³³ "Quand selon qu'il plaira à leurs Altesses, il chantera à table des chansons françaises, quand on a servi le dessert; comme cela est de coutume en France" (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 11 (Appendix-I)).

³⁴ "Une amitié ferme et perpétuelle entretiendra la bonne harmonie entre les membres de l'Ordre. Il doit donc vivre avec eux en parfaite liaison" (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 11 (Appendix-I)).

posed three prevailing opinions. She protested against friendship merely as a social function to now and then abolish ceremonial and status differences. Also, in contrast to the Freemasons, she took a firm position within the contemporary discussion against those who argued that women were incapable of friendships and regarded friendship between members of both sexes as impossible, such as Ramsay in his *Discours*.³⁵ In the opinion of Louise Dorothea, within the Arcanum of the Order both women and men should participate in sociable edification, which—as can be discerned from the discourses—should especially be concerned with the philosophy of the Enlightenment and be supported by rational thinking.

Here the Princess drew on the combination, reasoned by Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethic*, of common-sense and joy as the key to felicity. Aristotle states:

Now he who exercises his reason and cultivates it seems to be both in the best state of mind and most dear to the gods. For if the gods have any care for human affairs, as they are thought to have, it would be reasonable both that they should delight in that which was best and most akin to them (i.e. reason) and that they should reward those who love and honour this most, as caring for the things that are dear to them and acting both rightly and nobly. And that all these attributes belong most of all to the philosopher is manifest. He, therefore, is the dearest to the gods. And he who is that will presumably be also the happiest; so that in this way too the philosopher will more than any other be happy.³⁶

This Eudemean perspective, which she became acquainted with through her studies of Christian Wolff's neo-stoic Philosophy, was the core of the Gotha Princess' philosophic-ethical perceptions. Each member of the Order should remember that in this sense "the goal of the Order is to feel a 'joie de raison', always pure, always equal, which delights the soul without troubling it".³⁷ Thus her concept of the edification, the refinement, and the perfection of man through the work of the Order definitely resembled notions propagated in contemporary Freemasonry.

Important conclusions on the concerns Louise Dorothea pursued with her foundation of the Order can be drawn from the prosopog-

³⁵ Ramsay 1738 58-59.

³⁶ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book 10, Chapter 8.

³⁷ "[L]e but de l'Ordre est de sentir une joie de raison toujours pure, toujours égale et qui ravit l'âme sans la troubler" (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 11 (Appendix-I)).

raphically edited membership list of the Order of the Happy Hermits at the Gotha court (see Appendix-II). One of the aims was to reach as high a membership as possible. When it was founded, the Order had 27 members. Up to the time of its cessation in 1758 that number had risen to 73. Hence the Order of the Happy Hermits was at its foundation already bigger in numbers than the masonic lodge *Aux trois boussoles*, founded a short time later in Meiningen, and approached the same size as the masonic lodges founded or re-established in Meiningen, Gotha and Weimar in the seventies.³⁸

It can also be seen that, as already mentioned above, efforts were made to ensure an equal number of male and female members. Among the 27 founding members in the year 1739, 10 were women. Of a total of 73 members that the Order had over the years, 30 were female. Many of them were wives and daughters of male members, but also widows and unmarried ladies were enrolled. One peculiarity is the enrolment of the royal children, Friedrich, Ernst, and Friederike Louise, each when they had reached the age of 4.

Socially, the Order was limited exclusively to the highest echelons at court. Besides the princely family the members came from the court or were in civil or military service. There were no representatives of the lower ranks at court, no clergy and no commoners. The Hermits were mainly from important noble families in the service of several minor German courts, e.g. the families Von Bachoff, Von Beust, and Von Gersdorf. Some representatives of these families were members of various masonic lodges.³⁹ With these members from widely extended noble families, the Order of the Happy Hermits thus gained prestige beyond the local region and could become a subject of discussion

³⁸ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Freimaurerbestand 5.1.4. Nr. 6379 (first membership list 1774 for Meiningen) with 9 members; 5.2. G Nr. 22 (first membership list of the lodge "Cosmopolit" in Gotha 25 June – 23 September 1774) with 20 members; 5.2.6. Nr. 23 (register of members of the just and perfectly improved masonic Lodge, called "Zum Rautenkranz" in Gotha of 2 December 1776) with 43 plus 9 absent members; 5.2. W 10 Nr. 30 (register of members of the lodge "Amalia" from 1774 onwards) with 44 members.

³⁹ The name Von Beust appears three times in the membership list of the Castle lodge in Bayreuth (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Freimaurerbestand 5.1.1. Nr. 151); members of the families Von Bachoff and Von Gersdorff are represented in the Berlin Lodge "Aux trois Globes" (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Freimaurerbestand 5.1.4. Nr. 1500); the name of a certain Von Moltk is found on the list of rectified members of the Lodge in Weimar "Anna Amalia" (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Freimaurerbestand 5.2. W 10 Nr. 30, f. 2).

within their own courts. This also explains why guests at the Gotha court were enrolled, a procedure that was practised in masonic Orders at that time as well.⁴⁰ In this way, connections were made between the courts at Saxony-Meiningen, Schwarzenburg-Sondershausen, the Electorate Saxony, Prussia and Württemberg.

As tolerance of other Orders belonged to the declared principles of the Order of the Happy Hermits, belonging to this Order did not prohibit membership in other secret Orders, thus enabling a higher membership rate. Rules 8 and 9 state this precisely. However, at the sessions of the Order of the Happy Hermits insignia of another Order were not allowed to be worn and *vice versa*. A Hermit “will never carry during the meetings of the Order the insignias of another Order, whatsoever. Concerning that of the Hermits, it may only be carried during the meetings of the Order”.⁴¹ These regulations were in accordance with reality, because during the existence of the Order of the Happy Hermits, Supreme Governess Franziska von Buchwald was at the same time a member of the Order of the Mopses,⁴² and at least four Hermits (Von Benckendorff, Ludwig Ernst of Saxony-Gotha, Carl Friedrich of Meiningen, and Von Gotter) were members of masonic lodges. It can be deduced from such tolerated double memberships that the Princess intended to position her androgynous Order within the ranks of Orders of the day, self-confident and sovereign, but not as a rival in opposition to the others.

Finally, some considerations may be put forward as to why such Orders as that of Louise Dorothea and other princesses in the old *Reich* were successfully founded but relatively short-lived, with no new leaders emerging to take the place of the founding princesses. Apart from the fact that the seven years war from 1756 to 1763 retarded not only the Gotha Order of the Happy Hermits but the whole scene of societies in the smaller states of Germany, reference should be made foremost to the position of the noble female founders in the

⁴⁰ Evidence are the names of guests which appear in the fourir books, see UFBG Chart. A 1812.

⁴¹ “Il ne portera point aux jours de l’Ordre la marque d’un autre Ordre, quel que ce soit. Mais pour la marque de l’Ordre des Hermites, elle ne sera jamais portée qu’aux jours de l’Ordre”. (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 11 (Appendix-I)).

⁴² Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv E XIII a 25, f. 203 (Ulrich von Thun to Luise Dorothea on 30 August 1746). Note also the expression *grande maîtresse des cœurs* for Von Buchwald by Voltaire in reference to the *cœurs semés* in the tracing board of the lodge of the Mopses (see the letters concerned to Luise Dorothea von Sachsen-Gotha in: Besterman (ed.) 1973).

social and cultural structures of the court and the restrictions this implied. Of course, they had within the cultural life of court a certain amount of leeway to act, but this was restricted to the public aspect within the court. An approach to the middle class, the integration of the common public sphere, as was possible for the Freemasons, was as little permitted by their class and gender as was acting with social aims for the general public. Also the creation of a supra regional network was hardly possible since the possibilities for women of any class to travel were severely limited. Even a personal successor in a once well organised Order in the form of a daughter was impossible because her marriage implied moving to another court. Last but not least the commitment to Freemasonry of the male members of androgynous Orders, combined with the solid exclusion policy of Freemasonry, mentioned above, contributed to the fact that androgynous Orders could only remain an ephemeral phenomenon.

Archives

UFBG (Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Gotha):

- Chart. A 1164: The so called Memoires.
- Chart. A 1812: Extracts out of the Fourir books 1694-1800.
- Chart. B 1430: Minutes of meetings and drafts of lectures, applications of membership, lists of proposed Order names.

TSG (Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv):

- E XIII a 22: Letters from Christoph von Manteuffel to Luise Dorothea 1745-1746.
- E XIII a 25, 203: Ulrich von Thun to Luise Dorothea 30 August 1746.
- E XIII a 37: Inventory of the Estate of Luise Dorothea.

GSPK (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Freimaurerbestand):

- 5.1.1. Nr. 151 A: Basic book of the members of the Castle Lodge in Bayreuth (1741-1753) according to Ludwig Keil.
- 5.1.4. Nr. 1500: Register of the lodge Aux trois Globes from 9 February 1741 to 3 November 1743.
- 5.1.4. Nr. 6379: First membership list of 1774 for Meiningen.
- 5.2. G Nr. 22: First membership list of the St. Johns Lodge "Cosmopolit" in Gotha 25 June 1774 - 23 September 1774.
- 5.2.6. Nr. 23: Register of the members of the Just and perfectly improved masonic Lodge called "zum Rautenkrantz" in Gotha, 2nd December 1776.
- 5.2. W 10 Nr. 30: Membership list of the lodge "Amalia" from the year 1774 onwards.

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APPENDIX-I
PROJET POUR L'INSTITUTION DE
L'ORDRE DES HERMITES DE BONNE HUMEUR⁴³

[2] Leurs Altesses Sérenissimes, ayant considérées que la joie est ce qui contribue le plus à la santé, ont voulu établir un Ordre, où l'on ne respire que la joie. Cet Ordre est nommé l'Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur.

L'habillement des membres de l'Ordre est le taffetas de couleur olivâtre tant pour les dames que pour les cavaliers. La façon en est d'un goût nouveau. Ils portent des chapeaux de paille, garnis de rubans couleur de rose. Leur ceinture en est de même. Les cannes qu'ils portent sont en forme d'houlettes.

La marque de l'Ordre est un ovale d'un email vert, porté à un ruban blanc à bord vert [...] ⁴⁴, sur laquelle on voit écrit en lettres vertes le mot ou la devise de l'Ordre *Vive la joie*. Au revers de l'ovale est marqué le numéro et le nom de l'Ordre de celui qui porte la marque.

Leurs Altesses sont les chefs de l'Ordre. Elles déterminent le nombre des membres de l'Ordre. Elles règlent le jour quand l'Ordre se doit assembler. Il dépend de leur volonté, si un nouveau membre y doit entrer après le premier établissement. C'est pourquoi que leurs Altesses agréent d'être nommées Mgr. le Prieur et M^{me} la Prieure. Qu'Elles veulent pour le bien de l'Ordre se dispenser du cérémonial de la cour aux jour que l'on tiendra assemblée de l'Ordre.

Pour les membres, ils n'ont d'autre [3] qualité que d'être sœurs et frères de l'Ordre, se regardant tous par rapport à cette institution comme égaux. L'égalité étant ennemie de la confusion, il faut que pour le discernement chaque sœur et chaque frère portent un certain nom et gardent le rang que le sort assignera à chacun entre eux.

Leurs Altesses ayant pris les premières idées de l'institution de cet Ordre quelques jours avant qu'on célèbre le jour du nom de S.A.S. M^{me} la Duchesse, il convient que l'anniversaire de l'Ordre soit régulièrement célébré le lendemain du jour de nom de Son Altesse; quoi-

⁴³ UFBG Chart. A 1164, ff. 2-12. The syntax of the French text was not altered, the orthography and punctuation was modernised. The original paging appears in brackets. I thank Said Elouiqary (University Mohamad V, Rabat) for his help with the revision.

⁴⁴ The brackets mark the position of corrections in the manuscript, which were either written between the lines or placed in the margins. These insertions were left out for readability as they often did not harmonize with the grammatical structure of the basic sentence.

qu'il ait fallu par quelques raisons différer la première solennité de l'institution jusqu'au lendemain du jour de la naissance de S.A. M^{me} la Duchesse.

Les cérémonies de l'établissement de l'Ordre sont celles-ci:

Tous ceux que leurs Altesses ont nommé pour entrer dans l'Ordre s'assemblent le matin du jour de la cérémonie au château de Frédéricwert. Ils y prennent pour la première fois l'habit de l'Ordre. Étant habillés, ils accompagnent leurs Altesses jusqu'à une des quatre hermitages, où Elles entrent tout seules. Dans cette hermitage, il y a tant de chaises mises tout au tour qu'il y a des membres de l'Ordre et deux fauteuils au haut bout pour Mgr. Le Prieur et M^{me} la Prieure. Dans un coin de l'hermitage, on a ménagé une petite table, sur laquelle sont les gobelets, où il y a les billets du sort, un écritoire et du papier.

Les membres nommés, étant allés à [4] une autre hermitage, ils y attendent jusqu'à ce qu'il plaît à leurs Altesses de les faire tous appeler pour entendre la lecture des règles de l'Ordre et pour en recevoir la marque.

Les membres étant entrés dans l'hermitage où leurs Altesses sont, le secrétaire de l'Ordre s'avance pour recevoir de la main de S.A. Mgr. Le Prieur les sceaux de l'Ordre, leur fait une petite harangue sur le but et l'esprit de l'Ordre qu'il finit par la lecture des règles de l'Ordre. Tous les membres de l'Ordre ayant entendu ces règles, ils s'obligent par une profonde révérence de s'y soumettre et de les observer inviolablement.

Celà fait, on va tirer au sort selon le rang que chaque membre tient à la cour. C'est le sort qui donne à chacun le nom qui doit porter, et c'est le même sort qui décide quel rang chacun doit avoir dans l'Ordre des Hermites. Les billets qu'on tire sont marqués par de numéro et de devises, en commençant par le nombre trois. De ces billets on fait de petits rouleaux, et l'on les met dans un gobelet. [...] Le tirage fini, chaque membre se va présenter à leurs Altesses pour être honoré de la marque de l'Ordre. Elles la donneront à chacun selon le numéro qu'il a tiré, en sorte que les dames la recevront de la main de M^{me} la Prieure et les cavaliers de la main de Mgr. Le Prieur.

L'ayant tous reçu ils vont s'asseoir, chacun selon le numéro [5] dont le sort l'a favorisé. Ce sera le premier cercle que l'Ordre tiendra. Ayant été assis quelques moments, le secrétaire de l'Ordre se doit lever, et se mettre vis à vis de leurs Altesses pour leur faire un petit compliment de remerciement au nom de toute la société. Les autres se leveront aussi de leurs places, et resteront debout jusqu'à ce que le

compliment est fini. [...] Après une courte séance, l'on ira dîner dans une autre de quatre hermitages. L'on placera les membres de l'Ordre à table comme au cercle selon les numéros tirés.

L'on pourrait distinguer les quatre hermitages selon les quatre divertissements principaux de l'Ordre; en sorte que l'on nommera l'une hermitage à tenir cercle, l'autre hermitage à manger, le troisième hermitage à prendre du café, et la dernière hermitage à jouer.

Pendant le séjour de la cour à Frédéricwert, on tiendra pour le moins un cercle ou une assemblée de l'Ordre chaque semaine. Le fourier de la cour ira par Ordres de leurs Altesses annoncer à tous les membres de comparaître au château en habit de l'Ordre.

Quand leurs Altesses agréent de donner l'Ordre à un nouveau membre, l'on observera la cérémonie qui suit: Le recipiendaire va prendre l'habit de l'Ordre dans une chambre du château. Il va avec les anciens membres accompagner M^{me} et Mgr. jusqu'à l'hermitage [6] à tenir cercle; mais il n'y entre point avec les autres, et se retire dans l'hermitage à côté pour y attendre les ordres de leurs Altesses. Le cercle étant formé, elles font proposer à la société que leur volonté est d'accorder l'Ordre à un tel ou à une telle. Chaque membre en dira son avis pour marque d'approbation. Si le sujet qui doit entrer dans l'Ordre est une dame, c'est Madame la Prieure qui commande à deux sœurs d'aller l'amener au cercle, et si le sujet est un cavalier, c'est à Mgr. le Prieur d'ordonner la même chose à deux frères. Y ayant été amené, les deux sœurs ou les deux frères qui l'accompagnent le quittent au milieu du cercle, et vont reprendre leurs places. Il y reste là debout vis à vis de leurs Altesses qui le font demander à haute voix **Que souhaitez-Vous?** Le recipiendaire répond: [...] **Je me présente ici pour demander à leurs Altesses Sérénissimes de m'accorder la grâce d'entrer dans l'illustre Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur.** On lui répond: **Leurs Altesses Vous accordent cette grâce. Ecoutez avec attention les règles de l'Ordre.** Après la lecture des règles faite, le candidat s'oblige par une révérence de les observer. L'on poursuit en lui donnant le numéro et la devise: **Tachez donc de Vous rendre mon cher frère N. ou ma chère sœur N. [7] digne de porter la marque de l'Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur.** [...] **Venez la recevoir de la main de M^{me} la Prieure ou de Mgr. le Prieur.** Alors le Candidat s'avance vers les fauteuils de leurs Altesses qui elles mêmes lui donnent l'Ordre. Après les avoir remercié de leurs bontés, les deux membres anciens qui l'ont amené dans le cercle, le

conduisent à la place qu'il doit occuper, et l'ayant fait, ils se remettent à leurs places.

Pendant que Mgr. ou M^{me} donne la marque de l'Ordre au candidat, tout les anciens membres se tiennent debout. Quand la cérémonie est finie, ils vont tous faire au nouveau membre des compliments/félicitations sur sa réception. S'il y a à la fois deux ou plusieurs candidats, chacun d'eux sera amené au cercle par deux frères ou deux sœurs selon la manière ci-dessus marquée. Ils tireront au sort le numéro et la devise; mais s'il n'y a qu'un seul candidat, il recevra le numéro et la devise qui suit le dernier de la première installation, sans aller tirer au sort. (seitlich: Je viens par l'ordre de leurs Altesses vous demander qu'est-ce que Vous souhaitez?)

[8] Si un membre vient à manquer tout à fait, celui qui le suit en numéro occupera la place vacante. Les autres qui le suivent s'avanceront en même temps. Bien entendu, que ce remplacement se fasse, après en avoir demandé la permission à leurs Altesses et avec leur consentement. En ce cas, les noms que chacun porte ne seront point changés; il n'y aura du changement que dans les numéros.

L'on donnera un petit livret à chaque membre. Il y sera écrit l'institut et la liste des membres de la société marqués par leur nom et numéro de l'Ordre.

Leurs Altesses érigeront en commanderies de grâce les quatre hermitages. M^{me} la Prieure donnera en commanderie l'hermitage à prendre du café et celle à jouer à deux sœurs qu'Elle en choisira. De même Mgr. le Prieur va conférer en commanderie l'hermitage à tenir cercle et celle à manger à deux frères qu'il en trouve digne. La collation de ces commanderies se fera, en donnant la clef de l'hermitage à celui ou à celle qui l'aura en commanderie. Ayant reçu la clef de la main de leurs Altesses, on doit l'attacher et la porter à la ceinture.

Le frère qui tient en commanderie l'hermitage à tenir cercle, la doit bien entretenir et avoir soin que les chaises y soient [9] bien rangées, quand on y vient pour tenir cercle. Celui à qui l'hermitage à manger est donné en commanderie, la doit avoir en garde, prendre soin que les plats soient bien apprêtés et que les bouteilles soient bien rangées. La sœur qui a été honoré de la commanderie de l'hermitage à prendre du café doit se donner soin que le café ou les autres rafraîchissements que leurs Altesses demandent soient bien faits et servis avec propreté. Elle en présentera les tasses à leurs Altesses. Celle à qui est confiée la commanderie de l'hermitage à jouer, aura soin que les tables à jeu de leurs Altesses soient bien placées. Elle appellera les sœurs ou les frères

qui doivent faire la partie de quadrille⁴⁵ avec leurs Altesses, selon les ordres qu'Elles lui en donnent.

Pour les armes de l'Ordre, il porte de sinople à une corne d'abondance d'or, remplie de toutes sortes de fruits avec la devise *Vive la joie*.⁴⁶

L'écusson est entouré de nœuds d'amitié.⁴⁷ En voici le sens: Le sinople est le symbole de la charité et de l'honneur; deux vertus essentielles à nous faire sentir une joie de raison.

La corne d'abondance est l'hiéroglyphe de la joie qui est un plaisir que l'âme ressent, lorsqu'elle considère la possession d'un bien présent ou futur comme assurée. [10] Les membres de l'Ordre possèdent le plus grand bien, étant assurés d'être dans les bonnes grâces de leurs Altesses. C'est ce qu'il les ravit de joie, selon la maxime du Sage Prov. C. XVI: S.16⁴⁸. Ils font des vœux continuels que le ciel veuille combler leurs Altesses de toutes sortes de prospérités. Ils croient fermement d'en être exaucés. Autre sujet de joie. Ils sont tous ensemble réunis par les sentiments communs d'un respectueux, et s'il est permis de parler ainsi, d'un tendre attachement pour leurs Altesses. C'est ce qu'il est marqué par les nœuds d'amitié qui vont autour de l'écusson.

Les règles de l'Ordre sont les suivantes:

1. Chacun qui entre dans l'Ordre des Hermites de bonne humeur, doit marquer son attachement et son zèle pour leurs Altesses, en contribuant à tout ce qu'il leurs peut faire plaisir ou les réjouir.
2. Il tâchera de faire tout ce qu'il pourra convenir au bien de l'Ordre.
3. Il bannira de son âme le chagrin et la mauvaise humeur qui empoisonnent toutes les joies du monde.
4. Jouissant d'une honnête liberté, il doit avoir en vue que le but de l'Ordre est de sentir une joie de raison toujours pure, toujours égale et qui ravit l'âme sans la troubler. [11]

⁴⁵ Variation of the card games Patience for four players.

⁴⁶ The horn of plenty was in the Greek and Roman mythology attributed to female blessing giving beings, in the first place the nymphe Amalthea, who nurtured the child Zeus with the milk of a goat, then especially the goddesses Tyche and Fortuna respectively.

⁴⁷ The knot of friendship was widespread in androgenous Orders (see the scetch of a symbol for an androgenous lodge of Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, BPH Rep. 46 W 26, f. 128) and was found also in Freemasonry, to a certain extent in the altered form of the lemniscate. See Béresniak & Hamani 1998; Binder 1995; Sandmann 1990; Carr (ed.) 1971 320/321.

⁴⁸ Probably meant is here the biblical book "Proverbs [of Salomon]" 16:15: „In the light of the king's countenance is life; and his favour is as a cloud of the latter rain”.

5. Une amitié ferme et perpétuelle entretiendra la bonne harmonie entre les membres de l'Ordre. Il doit donc vivre avec eux en parfaite liaison.
6. Il doit régulièrement se trouver aux assemblées de la société et n'y manquer jamais, sans en être empêché d'un empêchement légitime.
7. S'il peut alléguer des raisons valables de son absence, il les fait savoir à la société par une lettre badine qui sera lue dans l'assemblée.
8. Il n'osera comparaître devant l'assemblée qu'étant vêtu de l'habit de l'Ordre et en portant la marque et les autres ornements.
9. Il ne portera point aux jours de l'Ordre la marque d'un autre Ordre, quel que ce soit. Mais pour la marque de l'Ordre des Hermites, elle ne sera jamais portée qu'aux jours de l'Ordre.
10. Il ne doit pas oublier d'avoir sur soi le livret où les règles et la liste des membres de l'Ordre sont inscrites.
11. Il donnera avec une liberté modeste et sans entêtement son avis, sur tout ce dont il sera demandé dans les assemblées de l'Ordre.
12. Il ne découvrira à personne ce dont on a parlé dans les assemblées de l'Ordre; il en gardera inviolablement le secret.
13. Quand selon qu'il plaira à leurs Altesses, [12] il chantera à table des chansons françaises, quand on a servi le dessert; comme cela est de coutume en France.
14. En voulant donner le *bonjour* ou le *bonsoir* aux sœurs et aux frères de l'Ordre, il ne leur dira qu'un *Vive la joie*. On lui en répondra par un autre *Vive la joie*, afin de se faire souvenir mutuellement que les ris, les jeux et les plaisirs innocents règneront absolument dans cette société.

APPENDIX-II
PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE
*ORDRE DES HERMITES DE BONNE HUMEUR*⁴⁹

The basis for this membership list is a manuscript booklet (Membership list and Statutes of the Order, see Appendix-I rule 10) with the members of the Order, supplemented by further sources.⁵⁰ The booklet shows the membership in the years listed below, but does not indicate the year of initiation. Thus it remains open whether enrollment took place regular or, as can be proven in some cases, in batches.⁵¹ The members are named in the booklet in the sequence of the drawn numbers. Also, only the surname—often in unreliable orthography—and Order name are given. After the death of a member (Nr. 24, 25, 35) his or her Order name could be reallocated (45, 58, 54). The prosopography, presented here for the first time, sorts the members per year alphabetically. The lines with the data about the members of the princely family have been indented. The list was supplemented, as far as possible, with the Christian names (otherwise the civil rank in society), dates of birth and death, title or occupation at the time of matriculation into the Order, as well as occasionally previous stations in life and membership of other secret societies.

⁴⁹ I thank Friedemann Pestel (Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena) for his correcting research.

⁵⁰ UFBG Chart. B 1430; supplementary sources were among others UFBG Chart. A 1164 as well as the “Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv” E XIII a 19-24 and E XIII a 28.

⁵¹ This is the case in 1746 (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 43-44) and, except for the members 37, 39 and 40, in 1743 (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 27-28): “*Les sœurs et les frères doivent être reçues le 5 septembre. 1743: Mademoiselle Ditfort, Madame Schwarzenfels, le Comte de Gotter, Monsieur de Keller, Monsieur de Schwarzenfels, peut-être le Comte de Manteuffel et le Général von Rautenkrantz, Monsieur d’Oppel [...]. Le Comte de Nostitz sera aussi des nôtres*”. (“The [following] Sisters and Brothers have to be initiated on the fifth of September, 1743: Miss Ditfort, Mrs. Schwarzenfels, the Count the Gotter, Mr. de Keller, Mr. de Schwarzenfels, perhaps the Count de Manteuffel, and General Von Rautenkrantz, Mr. d’Oppel [...]. The Count de Nostitz will be as well among us”).

Members in the year of foundation 1739

1. ALTENSTEIN, Gottlob Freiherr von Stein zum; Legationsrat; *Joyeux* [the happy one].
2. BENCKENDORFF, Johann August von (1715-?); Freemason in the lodge in Altenburg since 24. September 1763; *Gaillard* [the strapping fellow].
3. BEUST, Hans Gottfried von (?-?); *Chantant* [the singing one].
4. BUCHWALD, Juliane Franziska von (1707-1789); Supreme Governess; wife of 5, sister of 16; Member of the Order of the Mop-ses; *Brillante* [the radiant one].
5. BUCHWALD, Schack Hermann von (1698-1761); husband of 4; Supreme Governess; *Amusant* [the entertaining one].
6. BURGSDORF, Gottlob von (?-?); probably husband of 7 and father of 8; Landjägermeister [National Master of the Hunt]; *Dispos* [the energetic one].
7. BURGSDORF, Mrs. von (?-?); probably wife of 6 and mother of 8; *Sincère* [the sincere one].
8. BURGSDORF, Miss von (?-?); probably daughter of 6 and 8; *Egale* [the even tempered one].
9. CACHEDENIER, Christoph Wilhelm von; Hof- und Justizrat; *Discret* [the discrete one].
10. ERFA, Dorothea Elisabetha von (?-?); maid of honour; *Modeste* [the modest one].
11. FRANKENBERG, Tilo von (?-?); from 1742 husband of 15; Reismarschall [Officer of State in charge of Travels]; *Eveill  * [the alert one].
12. HARDENBERG, Herr von (?-?); marshal at the court of Rudolstadt; *D  sirant* [the desiring one].
13. JACQUIN, Anne Catharine de (?-?); maid of honour at the court of the crown prince Friedrich; *Fid  le* [the faithful one].
14. JAHNUS, Johann Ludewig von; gentleman in waiting (?-?); *Plaisant* [the pleasant one].
15. KAMECKE, Clara Sophia von; maid of honour (?-?); from 1742 wife of 11; *Esp  rante* [the hopeful one].
16. NEUENSTEIN, Eberhardina Wilhelmina von (?-?); maid of honour; sister of 4; *Florissante* [the blooming one].
17. NITZSCHWITZ, Gottfried Heinrich von (1701-1753); probably husband of 18; Geheimer Rat and chancellor descendant of the electorat of Saxony ; previously in the service of Nassau-Using; *Complaisant* [the obliging one].

18. Nitzschwitz, Mrs. von; maid of honour (?-?); probably wife of 17; *Tranquille* [the tranquil one].

SACHSEN-GOTHA

19. Friedrich III. (1699-1772); reigning Duke since 1732; *Monsignore Le Prieur. Supérieur*.
20. Friedrich (1735-1756); crown prince; brother of 57 and 70; *Vaillant* [the brave one].
21. Ludwig Ernst (1707-1763); brother of 19, 23 and 32; Generalleutnant [Lieutenant General] of the Electorate of Saxony, Generalleutnant [Lieutenant General] in the service of Munster, Freemason in the lodge in Altenburg since 3 April 1742; *Diligent* [the diligent one].
22. Luise Dorothea (1710-1767); reigning Duchesse since 1732; *Madame la Prieure. Supérieure*.
23. Wilhelm (1701-1771); brother of 19, 21 and 32, living in Tonna; husband of 51; Reichsgeneralfeldzeugmeister [Imperial Master of Army Equipment]; *Divertissant* [the amusing one].

SACHSEN-MEININGEN

24. Carl Friedrich (1712-1743); uncle of 22; reigning Duke in 1729 and from 1733 to 1743; Freemason; *Content* [the content one].
25. STEIN, Luise Eleonore von (?-1741); governess of the crown prince; *Constante* [the constant one].
26. STUDNITZ, Hans Adam von (?-1788); Geheimer Rat; *Badin* [the jocular one].
27. UFFEL, Christian von (1687-1748); family relation to 63 unclear; Geheimer Rat, president of the chamber of Gotha and leader of the supreme committee of taxes in Gotha and Altenburg; *Gentil* [the kind one].

New initiations until 1740

28. BACHOFF VON ECHT, Johann August Freiherr von (1717-1794); gentleman in waiting, Geheimer Rat of Danish origin and Ambassador from Gotha at the Reichstag; founded with his brother Ludwig Heinrich the lodge of Altenburg on 31 January 1742; probably husband of 29, family relation to 37 unclear; *Ingénu* [the naive one].
29. BACHOFF, Mrs. von (?-?); probably wife of 28, family relation to 37 unclear; *Agréable* [the pleasant one].

30. BECHTOLSHEIM, Friedrich Ludewig von Mangenheim (?-?); probably husband of 31 and father of 66; *Eloquent* [the eloquent one].
31. BECHTOLSHEIM, Franziska Christiana von (?-?); probably wife of 30 and mother of 66; maid of honour; *Jolie* [the pretty one].

SACHSEN-GOTHA

32. Johann August (1704-1773); brother of 19, 21 and 23, living in Roda; *Heureux* [the happy one].
33. SEEBACH, Johann Wilhelm von (?-?); commanding officer of castle Friedensstein; *Reconnaissant* [the grateful one].
34. STANGEN, Friedrich Wilhelm von (?-1742); husband of 35; Master of Ceremonies; *Véritable* [the authentic one].
35. STANGEN, Frau von (?-?); wife of 34; *Affable* [the affable one].
36. ÜCHTERITZ, Carl Emilius; Geheimer Rat or Ferdinand von (?-?); Obrist [lieutenant colonel]; probably husband of 58; *Vigilant* [the vigilant one].

New initiations until 1743

37. BACHOFF, Frau von (?-?); family relation to 28 and 29 unclear; *Papillon* [butterfly].
38. DITFORT, Christiane Charlotte Eberhardine von (?-?); maid of honour; ?⁵²
39. GERSDORFF, Herr von (the Elder) (?-?); probably brother of 40, family relation to 50 unclear; *Diablotin* [the imp].
40. GERSDORFF, Herr von (the Younger) (?-?); probably brother of 39, family relation to 50 unclear; *Volage* [the ever changing one].
41. GOTTER, Gustav Adolf Graf von (1692-1762); uncle of 59; Prussian diplomat and state minister; Freemason since 1740; *Tourbillon* [whirlwind].
42. KELLER, Christoph Dietrich von (1699-1766); until 1751 in the service of Württemberg; then Geheimer Rat in Gotha; owner of a knightly estate near Erfurt; *Renardin* [the foxy one].
43. MANTEUFFEL, Christoph Graf von (1676-1749); Ambassador of the electorat Saxony in Berlin; *Manfred*.⁵³

⁵² This name appears only in UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 27 as a candidate (see footnote 51); an Order name is no where recorded.

⁵³ Von Manteuffel is not included in the booklet. His initiation is, however, announced in a letter of invitation by Frankenberg of 2 June 1743 (see footnotes 22 and 50). His Order name, Manfred, alludes to the humble servant of the Stauffer Emperor Friedrich II and thereby Manteuffel's relationship to Friedrich II of Preußen.

44. NOSTITZ, Anton Wilhelm Graf von (?-?); princely master of ceremonies of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen; *Babillard* [the chattering one].
45. OPPEL, Siegmund Ehrenfried von (1687-1757); probably father of 67; member of the Secret Council; Chancellor in Gotha and Altenburg; *Content* [the content one].
46. RAUTENKRANTZ, Carl Siegmund von (?-?); City Commander of Altenburg; *Triomphant* [the triumphant one].
47. SCHWARZENFELS, Friedrich von (1710-1775); husband of 48; Reisestallmeister [Master of the Horses]; *Flandrin* [the one from Flanders].
48. SCHWARZENFELS, Mrs. von (?-?); wife of 47; *Boniface* [the one who is fair of face].

New initiations until 1745

49. BÜNAU, Heinrich Graf von (1697-1762); first in the service of the electorate of Saxony, from 1741 onwards Reichshofrat in Vienna, from 1745 onwards scientific research at Nöthnitz estate near Dresden; *Sociable* [the sociable one].
50. GERSDORFF, Herr von (?-?); family relation to 39 and 40 unclear; Geheimer Rat in Dresden; *Goguenard* [the mocking one].

HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP

51. Anna (1709-1758); wife of 23; *Généreuse* [the generous one].
52. LILIENCRON, Miss von (?-?); guest at castle Friedensstein; *Aimable* [the kind one].
53. MOLTK, Joachim Christoph von (1699-1781), husband of 54; Master of Ceremonies; *Actif* [the active one].
54. MOLTK, Mrs. von (?-?); wife of 53; *Affable* [the affable one].
55. OLDERSHAUSEN, Mr. von (?-?); husband of 56; guest at castle Friedensstein; *Impatient* [the impatient one].
56. OLDERSHAUSEN, Mrs. von (?-?); wife of 55; guest at castle Friedensstein; *Friponne* [the mischievous one].

SACHSEN-GOTHA

57. Friederike Luise (1741-1776); daughter of 19 and 22, sister of 19 and 71; *Innocente* [the innocent one].

58. ÜCHTERITZ, Mrs. von (?-?);⁵⁴ probably wife of 36; *Constante* [the constant one].
59. WANGENHEIM, Friedericke von (?-1752); niece of 41, family relation to 64 unclear; 1750 wife of the ambassador of Gotha to the Reichstag and Freemason Friedrich Samuel von Monmartin (1712-1778); *Singulière* [the remarkable one].

New initiations until 1746

60. HERTZBERG, Mrs. von (?-?); probably wife of the Geheime Kammerrat of Ludewig Reinhardt Baron von Hertzberg; *Clot-ho*⁵⁵.
61. JANUS, Mrs. von (?-?); maid of honour; *Atropos*.
62. PFLUGK, Mrs. von (?-?); probably wife of the Master of the Horses von Pflugk (?-1757); *Lachesis*.
63. UFFEL, Mr. von (?-?); family relation to 27 unclear; *Rhadamante*.
64. WANGENHEIM, ? von, Master of Großheringen (?-?); family relation to 59 unclear; *Minos*.
65. WECHMAR, Friedrich Heinrich von; Ambassador of the court of Meiningen; *Eaque*.

New initiations until 1749

66. BECHTOLSHEIM, Miss von (?-?); probably daughter of 30 und 31; *Appétissante* [the delectable one].
67. OPPEL, Miss von (?-?); probably daughter of 45; *Adroite* [the skilful one].
68. RÖDER, Mr. von (?-?); husband of 69; *Bienfaisant* [the giving one].
69. RÖDER, Mrs. von (?-?); wife of 68; *Prévenante* [the considerate one].

⁵⁴ The name appears again in 1749 (N^o. 73) but it is not clear whether it concerns a different person.

⁵⁵ Source and symbolism of the names for the members 60 to 65, the three Fates and the judge of the underworld in Greek mythology, are mentioned in a lecture (UFBG Chart. A 1164, f. 43 and 44). The literature of Luise Dorothea mentioned there is probably the work by Abbé DeClaustre *Dictionnaire de mythologie pour l'intelligence des poètes; de l'histoire fabuleuse, des monumens historiques, des bas-reliefs, des tableaux, etc.* (3 vols) Paris 1745, especially the entries *parques* and *juges des enfer*.

70. ROTBERG, Wilhelm von (1718-1795); Master of Ceremonies of the Prince Ernst Ludwig; *Prudent* [the prudent one].

SACHSEN-GOTHA

71. Ernst Ludwig (1745-1804); Brother of 20 and 57; crown prince ab 1756; *Espiègle* [the mischievous one].
72. SASTRO, Mr. von (?-?); *Intrépide* [the intrepid one].
73. ÜCHTERITZ, Mrs. von (?-?); *Cordiale* [the cordial one].

**THE GRAND LODGE OF ADOPTION,
LA LOGE DE JUSTE, THE HAGUE, 1751:
A SHORT-LIVED EXPERIMENT IN MIXED FREEMASONRY
OR A VICTIM OF ELEGANT EXPLOITATION?**

MALCOLM DAVIES

Setting the stage

La Loge de Juste is the earliest mixed masonic lodge—i.e. a lodge for men and women—for which any clear records exist. Though even with this lodge there is less material than we would like. There is a manuscript set of accounts kept by the founding members. There is an impressive ‘constitution book’ with some signatures and at least as many names written but not signed. As evidence of future intentions there is a copy (or draft) of a warrant (i.e. a kind of certificate) and some manuscript rituals for a mixed Scottish lodge. Finally, to give the lodge immediate substance a book of songs (with all the words either freshly written or adapted from existing songs by two actors from the *Comédie Française*) was compiled, printed and sold. The records cover activities during a period of approximately six months in 1751. For two of those months *La Loge de Juste* could justly claim to be a ‘Grand Lodge of Adoption’ sharing the same Grand Master as the rest of Dutch freemasonry. Documents indicate that it was intending to use this position to establish lodges in other countries. From the records it is immediately apparent that the lodge consisted mainly of army officers of the highest ranks, aristocrats, actors and actresses. In a sense it was a lodge of Mars and Venus. So, many questions arise. How could such a lodge come into existence? Why was it created? Who created it? How long did it last? How did the dream end?

The Political Situation

Let us set the scene. It is impossible to turn the pages of a book concerning the history of The Netherlands at this period without seeing the name of at least one member of *La Loge de Juste*. The name William Bentinck will be on almost every page. Count Bentinck (1704–1774) was an Anglo-Dutch nobleman with a very clear agenda: The Dutch prince Willem IV of Orange and his English wife, Anne of Hannover (the eldest daughter of George II of England) would be-

come a second 'William and Mary'. Only instead of a Dutch king in England, the couple would rule The Netherlands. They would rule democratically, with a cabinet. At this time the Netherlands was a republic made up of largely independent provinces and Willem IV was the stadtholder of several but not all of these. This was not a time of peace and in 1747 the French invaded the province of Zeeland. It was assumed by many that in a short time the rest of the Southern provinces would fall into French hands. However, in town after town and province after province Willem was declared to be the stadtholder until a relatively peaceful revolution had taken place. The republicans were defeated and The United Provinces had a single ruler, a hereditary stadtholder. Now William Bentinck could attempt to put his plans for an enlightened, democratic monarchy into action. He negotiated with England, spent some months negotiating in Vienna and brought in hired troops to defend the Netherlands from Saxony, Nassau, Switzerland and Scotland. On paper, at least, this army included a Russian force of 30,000 troops. But this did not begin a period of peace. Regrettably, Willem IV, in his late thirties, seemed as surprised as anyone at his sudden promotion and was unable to adapt to his new position. There were riots in many of the major cities and even his initial supporters were deeply unhappy. With widespread poverty, industry was in decline and old oligarchies still ruled the major cities. Bentinck, who considered himself to be one of the prince's strongest supporters, wrote:

The foundation of all government is the trust reposed by the people in their governors. At present [1749] that confidence is entirely extinguished. Complaints are universal and all the complaints fall on the Prince ... The nation sees that the Prince did not make use of the power given to him. Those persons who almost brought down the state are still in office; they and their allies are well received by the Prince, some continue in the same improper manner as in the days of the earlier anarchy.¹

In March of 1751 (at the same time, incidentally, that he was about to join *La Loge de Juste*) Bentinck tried to create a cabinet. He called the advisory committee, which had no formal or official status, a 'Conférence'. It met every Monday and Friday and discussed foreign and

¹ Quoted in Schama 1992 54-55.

home affairs and passed on its advice to the Prince. It seems to have had little or no effect on Willem's indecisiveness.²

Freemasonry

The First Dutch Grand Master, Radermacher, died on 12 April 1748.³ He had been *Premier Grand Maître de l'Illustre Ordre dans les Provinces Unies et du Ressort de la Généralité* from June, 1735. On 24 June 1749, Joost Gerrit, (Juste Gerard) baron van Wassenauer (1716! 1753) was installed as the new Grand Master.⁴ This had every appearance of being a time full of promise; the beginning of a period of great potential. Just as the English Grand Master was usually a nobleman, so Dutch freemasonry now had a baron at its head. Joost was young for such a high position: only 33 years old. He was a friend of William Bentinck, and apparently became Grand Master only after asking the permission of Willem IV (who was very likely a freemason himself).⁵ Van Wassenauer's father had enjoyed a brilliant army career. He was one of the company that had served Willem III in England and had fought in France. Joost followed in his father's footsteps; he had also served in England and had been a lieutenant colonel for eight years by the time he became Grand Master. He received requests for new warrants from lodges at home and abroad. This should have been a new beginning for Dutch freemasonry. Instead, mismanagement and scandal caused Grand-Lodge freemasonry to fall into disrepute so much so that when a new Grand Lodge was formed in 1756, four years after Van Wassenauer's resignation in 1752, the slate was wiped clean. The new Grand Lodge resolved that the official starting date for Dutch Grand-Lodge freemasonry was to be 26 December 1756 and that all that had passed before would be seen as null and void. We do not have any details about the reasons for this drastic step, but one contributing factor might have been the recognition by Van Wassenauer of the mixed lodge that bore his name, *La Loge de Juste*. The fortifications expert, artist and engraver P.A. de St. Hilaire, who was

² Gabriëls 1990, 185-186. Bentinck wrote in May 1751 "[I a] continué à faire les affaires tellement quellement par pièces et par morceau, sans suite ni plan fixe, suivant tantôt les impressions de l'un, tantôt celles de l'autre, contradictoires entre elles" (quoted in Gabriëls 1990 99-100).

³ Johan Cornelis Radermacher (land agent to both stadtholder-king Willem III and stadtholder Willem IV).

⁴ He was a soldier who never married. He was not of the same branch as Unico Wilhelm van Wassenauer Obdam Twickel.

⁵ Davidson 1995 265-267.

Grand Secretary,⁶ gives as the reason a financial debacle within Van Wassenae's lodge. Joost van Wassenae died the following year.

The *Comédie Française*

The Hague was an island of peace in a troubled country. It was the place where the stadtholder had his official residence, though since his quarters were not yet sufficiently renovated he was living in William Bentinck's palatial house on the Lange Voorhout. Bentinck was living in his stately home, the Catshuis, on his country estate of Zorgvliet.⁷ The Hague was where the extensive diplomatic corps lived. From 1736, after stiff competition from a rival company and after a year during which all theatre performances had been banned, a French troupe found a home at the theatre in the Casuariestraat.⁸ After 1740, the freemason Huybert Huyberts (a master tailor) became manager with full rights of exploiting the facilities. Records are very scarce but we do know that in 1751, the year that *La Loge de Juste* was active, the French company he had hired played *Les Noces de Venus ou Les filets de Vulcain* (The Wedding of Venus or the Threads of Vulcan) by Farin de Hautemer. Mr de Hautemer played Apollo and Mr Terodac was Vulcain.⁹ The other actors were all members of the *Loge de Juste*:

⁶ Kat 1974 40-42: De St. Hilaire as Grand Secretary. De Haas 2002 86: De St. Hilaire as proof-reader for J.C.F. von Hatzfeld.

⁷ Zorgvliet is now an elegant built up area of The Hague. The Catshuis has been the official residence of the Dutch Prime Minister since 1963.

⁸ Originally a beautifully converted ball court (the Prins Kaatsbaan with meeting rooms and catering. Between 1730 and his death in 1754 the owner of the property was Thesingh. After that it became the property of his heirs. In 1767 a share was sold to the coffee-house owner Johan Thomas Storm. In 1779 he gained a larger share. After his death in 1788 his share was bought by Johan Philip Meissner. It ceased to be used by the *Comédie Française* in 1804, when the present Koninklijke Schouwburg on the Korte Voorhout, a former palace of Nassau-Weilburg, was converted into a theatre. See Liefvering 1999 49-55.

⁹ Venus was the goddess of love and beauty. With her exquisite features and pleasant smile she attracted many suitors, gods and mortals alike. She was married to the graceless and lame Vulcan, the god of fire. Her true love was Mars, the god of war. Their child was the beautiful goddess Harmonia. One day while Venus and Mars lay together they were caught in an invisible but strong net forged by Vulcan, who cried out when the lovers had been ensnared: 'Jupiter and all you immortals! Come quickly and see this intolerable thing, worthy of your laughter. Because I am lame Venus despises me. She loves the cruel Mars because he is agile and handsome. See them both bound together in their adultery, for these cords will keep them so bound until Jupiter returns the gifts I made him in order to obtain this impudent wench who cannot restrain her lust!' The gods laughed uncontrollably.

Mr Cressant (Mars), Mlle Fauche (Venus), Mr Julien (Bacchus), Mr Corbin (Jupiter), and Mlle Baptiste (L'Amour). That was probably not the only play that year, and we can see from the Lodge records that more actors than these were active in The Hague. Huyberts' company was in financial difficulties by late 1751 and he could not pay his creditors. It was no help to him that theatres were closed for a while after the death of Willem IV on 22 October that year. However, almost immediately a new company was set up on 4 November 1751, under the protection of the court of Anne of Hannover who became the princess regent. The overall executive control was now in the hands of (the freemason) Major General De Bigot, chamberlain to Anne of Hannover. The signatories and names on the contracts for engaging the actors and hiring the theatre included more members of *La Loge de Juste*: Nicolas Ribou, Marianne Durand and her husband Charles Fligny, Jean-Baptiste Anselme and his wife Françoise Anselme-Gravillon, Marie Armand Vertueil, Louis Firman Cressant and Noël Antoine de Vos.¹⁰ Jean-Baptiste Anselme was the director of the orchestra; his wife was a singer, who also sometimes played the parts of mother or queen. Antoine de Vos was the dancing master. Madame Vertueil was the principle actress, who (with the approval of General De Bigot) played queens and lovers etc. De Bigot reserved one day each month to go through the books and without his fiat no financial decisions could be made. The new troupe was not able to begin performing in The Hague straight away. Dutch theatres were closed for a period of mourning for Willem IV. So as soon as the engagement contract had been signed, the troupe left The Hague and gave performances at the Saint-Sebastien theatre in Brussels. They returned to The Hague by the beginning of May 1752.

La Loge de Juste

Actresses and Gentlemen

La Loge de Juste was an 'adoption lodge', a term meaning that it was a lodge for both men and women. It was created in January 1751 and was officially recognised by the Grand Master of the Dutch Grand Lodge on 1 May the same year. A new two-grade 'Scottish' lodge of adoption was proposed in November 1751. In a time when liberty,

¹⁰ HGA: Notaries G. Trouille, 2746 4-6 November 1751 and S. Favon, 2914, 2 May 1752. For accounts of these and more contracts see Fransen 1952 303 ff.

equality and brotherhood were being pursued, it might be seen as a logical extension of this philosophy to have a lodge where both men and women are free and equal brothers and sisters. Nonetheless a mixed lodge—in this particular case consisting of a prince, dukes, barons and young army officers on one hand, and some actors and actresses on the other—is not going to be above the suspicion of at the very least creating the possibility for secret liaisons. Actresses, specially, had a doubtful reputation at this period. When he was still young, in 1723, Willem Bentinck felt it necessary to defend his visits to the theatre in a letter to his English mother. He wrote:

as far as the opera singers are concerned which have been here, I have no connection with or knowledge of them. If I go to the opera (which seldom happens), I never go behind the stage, but always remain in my place, so that I can have no connection with any one of them. And honestly, since I always go chaperoned by Carrier, and with others like Mr Twickel [i.e. Count Wassenaer], Mr Haren [Onno Zwier van Haren], Mrs de Reck, Mrs Auban, Miss Duivenvoorde, Mr Gosslinga etc. I believe that even you can have no objections.¹¹

Even more frankly, in 1750 the year before he joined *La Loge de Juste*, Pierre de la Sarraz wrote to his friend Cornelis Calkoen about a visit from an Italian Opera company in The Hague:

Nous avons eu icy un Opéra Italien qui m'a fort amusé, les femmes chantoient bien et f..... de même. Ou etiés vous mon cher ami? L'Orazio estoit ravissants et vous qui aimés les Italiennes, vous auriez eu double plaisir[:] celui de coucher avec elles et celui de voir de votre vivant L'Apothéose de votre car l'une d'elle dans les transports de son Vertigot amoureux crioit toujours O Divino, Divinissimo C.....¹²

Also according to La Sarraz in 1750 the young count Wassenaer Obdam (of *La Juste*) was chasing the actress Emilie, whose name is also

¹¹ “Wat de operazangers betreft, die hier zijn geweest, ik heb volstrekt geen omgang of kennis met hen, en als ik naar de opera ga (wat zelden voorkomt), ga ik nooit achter het toneel, maar blijf altijd zitten op mijn plaats, zodat ik nooit iets met een van deze mensen te maken heb. En waarlijk, gezien dat ik naar de opera ga onder geleide van Carrier en in zulk gezelschap als mijnheer Twickel, mijnheer Haren, mevrouw de Reck, mevrouw St. Auban, Mlle Duivenvoorde, mijnheer Gosslinga enz., geloof ik, dat gijzelf geen bezwaar in kunt zien” (Willem Bentinck to his mother, 15/2/1723, quoted in Wijzenbeek 1999 117).

¹² Quoted in Liefvering 1999 199.

on the *La Juste* membership list.¹³ The well documented relationship about ten years later between Jacob Jan van Wassenaer Obdam (the same or a brother) and the actress Rosette Baptiste Anselme (the daughter and sister of members of *La Juste* but who herself was only eleven in 1751) only serves to underline the libertine role actresses were rightly or wrongly assumed to play in this period.¹⁴

Adoptive Freemasonry

The creation of this lodge does not constitute the earliest mention of mixed lodges. The second half of *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi et les secrets des Mopses révélé* claiming to be by Abbé G. Perau (1745) discusses a mixed 'order'. The account, according to Perau, is based on a lodge of Mopses that he had visited in Frankfurt. The 'Mops' is a pug-dog, and part of the ritual consists of kissing this animal. There were many other non-masonic mixed 'orders'. Another kind of mixed order is revealed in a later source, *L'Adoption ou la Maçonnerie des Femmes en trois Grades* (The Hague, 1775). This was to all intents and purposes an innocent and virtuous mixed freemasonry of the kind that was recognised by the French Grand Orient in 1774.¹⁵ The images and allegories used in the rituals described are taken from the Old Testament, e.g. Adam and Eve, Noah's Ark, The Tower of Babel and Jacob's Ladder. The songs which follow the rituals are light, joyful and innocent. Even so, in a separate room before her initiation, the candidate *Franche-Maçonne* is required to replace her normal garter with a blue ribbon, and to remove her right sleeve fastening and glove. She is then blindfolded. Then, during her promise she is asked to repeat the following words (the dots are in the original): "*Je promets de plus & m'engage de coucher cette nuit avec (Ici le Vénérable s'arrête un instant) la jarretière de l'Ordre*". [Moreover, I promise and undertake to sleep tonight with... (Here the Worshipful Master pauses for a moment) the garter of the Order]. On this garter of white kid are written the words 'Virtue and Silence'.

¹³ Lieffering 1999 202.

¹⁴ See *Amusemens* 1756, vol. 2, 121-136. This begins with a defence. There is apparently at least one public place in The Hague from which actors and actresses are excluded because of their alleged immorality "and not by any order of the magistrate. Yet is he any less than a mason or a baker? Anyone can have titles and riches – but heaven bestows talent – and gifts from heaven are always to be respected".

¹⁵ For more about Women's Freemasonry see Burke 2000 255.

There is substantial evidence that this was the kind of mixed order practised in The Hague (together with additional ‘Scottish’ degrees). The songbook, for instance, has an almost identical title: *Chansons de l’Ordre de l’Adoption ou de la Maçonnerie des Femmes*. Other similarities (the garter, the rainbow, etc.) become apparent when the documents of *La Juste* are studied. The extant sources consist of four manuscript documents and the printed song collection, which includes the music of the tunes. These documents provide information which, backed up by other archives, form an interesting picture of this lodge.¹⁶

The Documentary Sources

The oldest document is the accounts ledger¹⁷ dating back to January 1751, when seven ‘brothers’ none of whom were Dutch and at least four of whom were actors—Rosimond, Corbin, Forest, Mitchell, Julien, Sykes and Louis Auguste de St. Etienne—each pay the amount of one guilder as an initial investment. (Appendix-I. The accounts of *La Loge de Juste* before official recognition.) Compared with the contributions that later initiates would be paying, this is purely a nominal amount. This might already make us question the motives of those involved in setting up this lodge. It was De St. Etienne, we later learn, who brought this kind of Freemasonry to The Hague. The next payments were by Lieutenant Van den Bergh of the Dutch Guards and Mr Shouster, both of 21 guilders. This was spent on gentlemen’s and ladies’ gloves for each candidate and a trowel¹⁸ for Shouster, in total

¹⁶ The picture of this lodge painted by Margaret Jacob in her chapter devoted to this lodge in *Living the Enlightenment, Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Jacob 1991) is inaccurate in several respects as well as overestimating both the historical and philosophical significance of this short-lived experiment. For example, p. 130: Marianne D’Honstein died in 1773, not 1762. P. 131: ‘Mlle Anselme did not inhibit her fellow actors’. If this refers to Rosette, she was only 11 years old in 1751. P. 132: The assumed connection between Coyer’s *La Découverte de l’isle frivole* and the lodge ‘de Juste’ is not based on any evidence. Indeed closer examination of Coyer’s work makes it seem highly unlikely (see below). P. 137: With simply the surname ‘Van Belle’ it is impossible to determine that they were ‘prominent and respected Protestants’. There were several families ‘Van Belle’ living in The Hague at this time.

¹⁷ *Mémoire Général de la Recette et de la Dépense des finances de la loge d’adoption depuis l’origine de la loge, jusque, et compris l’assemblée du onze d’avril: auquel jour a finy les assemblées de la Société sans reconnaissance de Supérieur.*

¹⁸ The symbolism of the trowel is from building and is commonly explained as ‘spreading the cement of brotherly love’. See, e.g., Smith 1998 294. However, the

f 3.8. The landlord Bellicour was paid f48.10 on the same day of the reception, 5 February, for the supper. The servants were paid f3.0. There must have been additional expenses for necessary lodge attributes, and we can see that the lodge is already in debt. The next entry is quite strange. The lodge met again on 25 February for the reception of Mr Rosenboom. Shouster is fined f21.0. The reason is not clear. Perhaps he had claimed to be a regular master mason but was not. A note at the foot of the page, written some time after the event, makes things only more obscure. It states that Shouster paid a third f21.0 for being made a Master Mason. Some of this money was paid on unspecified 'necessary expenses'. Also it was not possible for Louis de St. Etienne, who is obviously already Master of the Lodge, to arrange this special men's lodge. So instead he, together with his friends, the actors Rosimont, Corbin, Parmentier, Captain Mauricius, and others spent the rest on a 'private meal, or men's lodge'. This was to be considered as having used the money for its intended purpose and as far as the accounts were concerned it would be considered as 'never having been received'. Anyway we look at it, Mr Shouster has paid the considerable sum of f63 in the space of three weeks and has got very little in return. Shouster's name makes no further appearance in the lodge records. However, as this was probably the military engineer, lieutenant colonel Johan Frederik Shouster (1721–1801),¹⁹ it is possible he was simply posted elsewhere at short notice. Lieutenant van den Bergh is most likely Eduard van den Bergh (1729–1763) who later became a 'Cannon of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Utrecht'.²⁰ In another place in the lodge records Rosenboom's place of residence is given as The Hague and Texel. This makes it most likely that he is Frederik Rosenboom, born 1710, who had a nominal position as a Commissioner for the Mustering Station on the island of Texel just off the coast close to Den Helder.²¹

There are three more receptions, on 17 and 31 March and on 11 April (there was also a lodge with a meal but no reception of a new candidate on 4 April. This might have been an Easter celebration. The

trowel played a much more important role in the rituals of the adoption lodges. It was used to apply the Seal of Silence to the lips of the newly initiated, and held a place there, as prominent as square and compasses in the male lodges.

¹⁹ Molhuysen & Blok (eds) 1911 II 1297.

²⁰ Eduard Christiaan van den Bergh, b. Nijmegen 22 May 1729, d. Utrecht 11 June 1763, kanunnik van het kapittel van den Dom te Utrecht. Molhuysen & Blok (eds) 1911 III 94.

²¹ HGA: Commisaris extraordinair van de Monstering op Texel wonende te 's-Hage.

accounts show that the chef was paid extra for his Pascal lamb). In this period the following candidates are Count Golowkin, Mr and Mrs van Belle, Mr Roupels, Mr and Mrs Bertrand, Mr Mauricius (who has already enjoyed some of Mr Shouster's generosity, perhaps receiving a higher degree), Mr Lunet and finally Count Bentinck. The last two were received on the same evening and the meal cost £59.4; the aprons, trowels, garters, gloves and contributions to these two gentlemen's servants came to £22. The relatively large amounts paid by the last two candidates probably shows a desperate attempt to pay some of the debts, which by this time had risen to £152.17 and which De St. Etienne had paid from his own purse (though on at least two occasions, the Brothers had been asked to pay an extra contribution). This did not show the full extent of the debts, since the painter was still owed £54.10 and Mr. Bertrand £18 for an invoice he had handed in. Also De St. Etienne had ordered 18 jewels (medallions), which the jeweller had begun work on, but for which he was, perhaps not without reason, demanding payment prior to completing the work. At this point the lodge has some 18 members, the 2 ladies were wives.

Was it apparent to others that De St. Etienne's extravagant lodge was in serious financial trouble? Willem Bentinck, Joost van Wassenauer and another lodge member J.A. Gallas were all Captains with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Dutch Guards (in which Van den Bergh was a lieutenant) so there were several army connections. Most likely there were social connections and other masonic connections as well. For whatever reason, Van Wassenauer was persuaded to recognise this Lodge of Adoption on 1 May 1751. He not only recognised it, but even turned it into a Grand Lodge of Adoption, becoming its Grand Master himself. The accounts of the newly adopted lodge show a loss. It is clear that they were presented *after* Wassenauer's recognition of the lodge as the final entry—showing a debt of £208.4—is dated 16 May. To all appearances the records were made specially to be presented to Juste Gerard, who in all probability paid the debts of the newly recognised lodge. De St. Etienne would have been reimbursed at least £169.20. Also, since the lodge's brand new songbook, with De St. Etienne's *Discours*, was published at this time, the Grand Lodge of the United Provinces or, more likely, Van Wassenauer himself would almost certainly have financed this as well. From the Constitution Book it is clear that a month after presenting the accounts to van Wassenauer, around 16 June, De St. Etienne left The Hague, for 'personal business reasons'.

The *Le Livre de constitutions*²² or Constitution Book of the newly created *Grand Loge d'Adoption* has 48 folios (the first and last formally signed as such on 1 May 1751 by Wilfelsphem de Parmentier, and countersigned by De Saint Estienne (*sic*), Deputy Master.²³ Only 11 folios are actually used. It is apparent that all the folios have been written by De St. Etienne at the same time possibly as a 'fair copy' and were signed at a single meeting. This might have been at the founding lodge of 1 May, or as minutes, for presentation at the following meeting. This is much more likely, since there are many names added to the lists of members that have no matching signature. They were obviously the names of people who were not present to sign in person (Appendix-II). This could logically represent those who were at the meeting founding the Grand Lodge of Adoption, but not at the subsequent meeting on the first Wednesday in June. This would also explain why the last entry in the book has a later date, but was signed on the same occasion. This final entry gave De St. Etienne a certain official status, which he apparently needed before his imminent departure. If there were to be a meeting in July, he could not have attended. In actual fact it would have been normal for the lodge to have had a summer break from July until August or September.

The first two pages announce the nomination and recognition of Grand Master Van Wassenauer as protector. The Grand Mistress (rather obviously required to be 'a person of the opposite sex') has not yet been nominated, but must be a legitimate and recognised member of the order. This is signed by a number of 'brothers' and 'sisters'. Some of the names are new and some names from the original lodge in the ledger have disappeared. Some names are signed and others are added in the scribe's handwriting. The signatures and the added but not signed names are consistent throughout the book. The first 'sister' to sign is Marian(n)e, baroness d' Honstein, who became the Grand Mistress.

The Grand Master and Grand Mistress and then the other lodge members sign the next page. The intentions of the lodge are stated.

²² Grand Lodge, The Hague (GON): 563-2: 1751 MS 1: a manuscript bound in fine red leather and with a gold embossed design, of which only the first quarter has been used.

²³ 'Etienne' and 'Estienne' are used indiscriminately throughout all manuscripts, even where the name is signed! The name 'Elisabeth De St. Etienne', which is never signed, but only written in the scribe's hand, always uses this version. The scribe is to all appearances De St. Etienne himself.

These members of the lodge will find the lodge to be a 'safe port' against vices. They will practice and recognise virtues. De St. Etienne will be Deputy Master. The next folio is signed only by Van Wassenaer and nominates Marianne d'Honstein as Grand Mistress followed by signatures and names of the other members who second and unanimously accept the nomination of d'Honstein as Grand Mistress. Her own acceptance of the position follows on the next page. Then eight pages contain the '*Lettre d'Etablissement*' of the Grand Lodge of adoption. Two pages are filled with the names and place of residence of the 'brothers' and 'sisters' (Appendix-III).

Seven of the thirty-four men and eight of the eighteen women were from Paris, though it is debatable how accurate this list is. Two ladies were from Nantes, another from London. There is at least one Englishman and there are nobles who have estates in various locations. There are four barons, including Bentinck and Wassenaer, two counts, Wassenaer d'Obdam (most likely Jacob Jan) and Ivan, comte de Golovkin, and one prince, De Baden et Dourlach.

Many of the members were from the *Comédie Française*. The definitely identifiable male *comédiens* (musicians, actors, musician-actors) are²⁴ Jean-Baptiste Anselme père, Baptiste Anselme fils, Marcel Corbin²⁵, Louis Firmin Cressant, Noël Antoine de Vos, Forest, Charles Fligny, Julien, A. Wilfelsphem Parmentier and Pelletier. The identifiable female *comédiennes* were: Emilie Verneuil de Fourcade²⁶ and her daughter, Le Blanc, Prevost mère, Prevost fille, Françoise Anselme-Gravillon, Julien, Forest, Rosa Frasè (Frazy), Marianne Armand de Verteuil (Deverteuil), Fauche²⁷ and Restier de Vos. Other names might also represent the names of performers, but as yet there is not enough evidence to identify them. Gautier could be Nicolas Gautier, the dance master. W. Mitchell is probably Captain William Mitchell (1724–1792), an English masonic reformer, excise officer and English teacher, resident in The Hague.²⁸ The history of freema-

²⁴ All these names, unless otherwise indicated, may be found in Fransen 1925 (De Vos is missed in the index, but is mentioned on p. 304) and in De Smet 1973 8, 69, 153.

²⁵ First name in HGA Notarieel Archief 3130 403.

²⁶ Jacob 1991 gives just 'Emilie', but there is a ditto mark in the MS. The entry directly above Emilie is 'verneuil de fourcade mère'. Smet 1973 gives Verneuil as the name of an actor on page 69.

²⁷ Lieffering 1999 333.

²⁸ Margaret Jacob makes the point that Mr. l'abbé Coyer wrote an attacking tract called *Découverte de l'isle frivole* (The Hague, 1751 and 1752), which does not men-

sonry which begins each edition of the 19th-century *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren* states that William Mitchell and Jonas Kluck, both residents of The Hague, were given a charter to establish a Chapter of The Royal Order of Scotland within the town in 5750 (1750). This was in June. Copies of the documents are still extant in Edinburgh and in September 1753 when he visited the Lodge Canon-gate Kilwinning from Leith he was described as 'Grand Master of the Seven United Provinces and provincial Grand Master from London Kilwinning over all Europe, Britain excepted'. Mitchell later moved to Edinburgh and became an important figure in The Royal Order there.²⁹

We can also say more about the identity of some of the other members. Pierre de la Sarraz was the commander of a special force, the *Cent Suisses*. Baron Pouilly was a member of the same regiment, one of honorary 'pensioned' officers that made up half of the *Cent Suisses*. Prince Wilhelm Ludwig of Baden-Durlach had been put in charge of his own 'Regiment Baden Durlach' in 1747.³⁰ Axel Christopher Baron von Schild held the rank of lieutenant colonel, and the title of chamberlain to Grand Duke Peter of Russia. From 1747 to 1752 he was the representative in The Hague of the Dukedom of Holstein-Gottorp. Ivan Golovkin was the son of the Russian ambassador.³¹ Cap-

tion the lodge or freemasonry by name, but describes those who, in their temple, worship the sun and the moon (which were portrayed on jewels worn by the Grand Master and Grand Mistress of the lodge). He refers to Captain Mitchell 'et ses frères'. He criticises those who try to imitate aristocrats and have prohibited polygamy, but in fact practice it (Jacob 1991 127, 131). However, in *Découverte de l'isle frivole* Mitchell is one of the 'European' sailors and the antithesis of the Frivolians. The Frivolians are to be admired. They amuse themselves with the arts and are not worried about sciences or money. They are egalitarian and noble. The sailors are mostly rough types, practical and (apart from the Chaplain, who plays the flute) not artistic. I do not see this essay as being in any way connected with or a criticism of *La Loge de Juste*! It seems more to be a discussion and comparison of the qualities of French Art and English Empiricism. The conclusion is that the two countries should have commerce and work together! It is possible that the English *A Discovery of the Island Frivola*, London 1750 (cf. Jacob 1991 262 note 54) was the original and that this was a French language republication in The Hague. The story is London-based with English names (captain Saunders, colonel Cracherode, and the aptly named valet/barbers 'Jack (Jaques) Quick, Thomas Ball, & George(s) Shaver').

²⁹ Bernheim 2001 93-130.

³⁰ Ringoir 1981, Regiment Nationaal nr. 13. A post he held until 1772. He died in 1788.

³¹ Schutte 1983. The diplomat Alexander Gavrilovich, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Count Golovkin of Russia, from 1731 to 1760. Ivan married the daughter of an army officer, Cornelia van Strijen in 1759 and lived in The Hague until his death in 1791.

tain Mauricius was a member of an important family with lands in Purmerend. Altogether these were some of the highest-ranking officers in the United Provinces. Like the Bentincks, the Van Wassenaer family was one of the leading Dutch noble families. *La Loge de Juste* boasted two barons and one count Van Wassenaer. And many of the actors and actresses were internationally acclaimed. The great majority of the lodge members were only temporarily residing in The Hague. It must have seemed logical that the lodge ideals could be quickly spread over the surface of the earth.

The Constitution Book continues by proposing that lodges would be established throughout the world. The 1st of May would be celebrated for always as the anniversary of the beginning. Lodges would meet on the first Wednesday of the month (this is less often than before the lodge was recognised). The functions of the officers are defined. For every male function there is a female equivalent. There were, for example, both a male and a female treasurer. It was determined that there should be five lodge books: i) the constitutions, ii) the rules, iii) nominations and officers, iv) the treasurer's ledger, and v) a book of minutes. The emblem of the lodge would be the Ermine, an animal that expresses loyalty and a determination to keep its coat clean and pure. The motto would be: '*J'aime mieux mourir que de me souiller*'. The emblem and motto would be present in the lodge and on medals. The ermine, often portrayed sitting on a grassy mound surrounded by wet and muddy ground, would rather die than become soiled. This was an allegory for rectitude in life in general. We are the ermine; the mud is lawlessness and corruption. We should prefer to die than to become corrupt.³² The members would wear a white kid apron, lined with white taffeta and garnished with white ribbon. White is the colour of adoption. The five jewels portraying tools of masonry would be made in silver and suspended from white ribbons. White garters would be worn bearing the words '*Vertu et Silence*'. The Grand Mistress would wear a brilliant star, containing the sun, the deputy the sun on its own, other officers, half suns.

The last written pages appear very much as if they were also written in advance and signed on the same day as the others. The signa-

³² Henkel & Schöne (eds) 1967, Column 465. Here the Latin is given, together with a verse of explanation: *Malo mori quam foedari. Omnibus antistat recti mens conscia rebus; Hoc bene emi vita tu quoque crede decus.* (I would rather die than be disgraced (made foul, polluted). Being aware of what is right excels all things. This honour is not bought too cheaply with life [itself], you should also believe this).

tures match the other documents. Strangely the date is different. This time it is dated 16 June 1751. It is a document giving De St. Etienne, with a view to his forthcoming voyage for personal business reasons, the right to establish adoption lodges in other places and countries 'just as he has transmitted it to us'. He is given the status of a Provincial Deputy Grand Master, with papers to prove it. The pages after this are blank.

It is important to try and identify this De St. Etienne, who established a lodge in January for a guilder and was Provincial Deputy Grand Master by June.³³ Documents in The Hague municipal archives show that he was married to the daughter of Daniel Friard, who was one of the original members both of the London French Union Lodge and the first lodge in The Hague. Daniel Friard was still an active freemason at this time.³⁴ De St. Etienne married Elizabeth Friard in October 1750, but the marriage was not to be a long one. Elizabeth died only seven months later, at the end of May 1751, and this, given De St. Etienne's leading role, could have had some effect on the functioning of the lodge.³⁵

³³ On the documents listing theatre personnel in the period from 1749 to 1793 'St. Etienne' as the name of a singer (2nd Basse-taille) is mentioned once only, in 1780 (Lieferring 1999 331). Could this be the same?

³⁴ He was still signing documents for the Grand Lodge in 1756, see e.g., Kat 1974 129.

³⁵ HGA: Notarieel Archief 3130, page 399: Will of Louis Auguste de St. Estienne married to Elisabeth Friard, 25 May 1751. Both resident in The Hague. Witnessed by A. Parmentier and Marcel Corbin. Elisabeth and Louis were married 6/10/1750. At the time of making this will, Elisabeth was ill in bed. She died on 28 May 1751 and her body was taken to Rijswijk. They had no children.

I cannot omit to mention another context in which the name 'De St. Etienne' occurs in connection with a certain Louis-Mathieu Bertin (1707-1779). Bertin was apparently an adventurer and confidence trickster. He was a son of a 'conseiller au parlement de Bordeaux', who called himself the 'Marquis de Fratreaux' from 1741. (Is it at all significant that many councillors of the Bordeaux parliament were freemasons, members of a 'Scottish lodge' and of an adoption lodge associated with it? See Chevallier 1974 203.) He was disowned by his father and after a period in a monastery he fled to Spain and then, in 1750, after considering (and perhaps visiting) Holland, he went to England. He lived there under the name 'monsieur de Saint Etienne'. Knowing no English, he settled in a French quarter. In London he had as secretary and assistant Hautville, a lawyer from the Parisian parliament who also had to flee to England. (This is probably the same 'Pierre Tancred comte de Hautville' who later (1762) founded the Utrecht lodge 'L'Astrée' – see Hanou 1997 97 and 114-116.) There is a photocopy of the *Histoire de Mr Bertin, marquis de Fratreaux* 1753 at the Grand Lodge, The Hague. Officially published in Paris, it significantly appeals to and is dedicated to the wife of Willem IV, 'Son Altesse Royale, Madame Anne

A third document dated 24 November 1751 is a copy or draft of a certificate that declares the legitimacy of new Scottish Degrees under the protection of Van Wassenauer and d'Honstein. It is only signed in the middle by De Saint Etienne and marked *accepté* at either side. Of course, it could be a copy of a lost original. The last document, the manuscript *Maçonnerie d'adoption Ecossoise en deux grades sous les noms d'architectes et grands architectes* (The Hague, 26 November 1751) is presented as a new form of adoption freemasonry with additional grades, like those proliferating in male freemasonry. Five months after launching the Grand Lodge of Adoption, De St. Etienne is back in The Hague trying to add grades, and therefore income and status to the system of adoption lodges he introduced into The Netherlands in the first place. The manuscript is dedicated to Van Wassenauer and d'Honstein, which would seem to indicate that the adoption lodge *could* still be meeting on the first Wednesday of each month (starting again after a summer break in either September or October). But The Hague must have seemed a rather different place. The Stadtholder was dead and the theatre was closed. It was not only closed because of the death of the stadtholder. Financially this had been a bad year for the theatre. Even with hiring out the theatre for balls and so on Huyberts had become insolvent. However, agreement was soon reached for it to

d'Angleterre'. According to this account De St. Etienne was in London writing letters and meeting with his lawyer at the time of the establishment of *La Loge de Juste*. In 1751 he was sought in connection with the non-payment of debts, but he was not to be found. Could he have been in Holland? He was arrested in London on 17 June 1751 (just after the De St. Etienne of the *Loge de Juste* left with the loge's blessing, on business – and to found lodges in other places). However, he had enough money to pay his bills and be released almost immediately. Could he also have been involved in setting up the *Loge de Juste*? He would have needed to have returned to The Hague in November 1751 to try to establish a new *Maçonnerie d'Adoption Ecossoise*. The *Loge de Juste* apparently ceased to exist soon afterwards and Van Wassenauer resigned due to a (financial) debacle. Did De St. Etienne abscond with some money? The 'London' De St. Etienne was kidnapped by French agents in London in April 1752 and was soon afterwards imprisoned in the Bastille, where he stayed until his death in 1779. Relying only on d'Hautville's account it would be difficult to prove this to be the same Louis De St. Etienne who set up *La Loge de Juste*; however, the coincidence of name (they were apparently both Louis De St. Etienne) and the timing make it necessary to mention the possibility in passing until we can identify with certainty the De St. Etienne of *La Loge de Juste*. It is also interesting that some of the documents for *La Loge de Juste* are on paper with an English watermark (though paper like this was made in Holland for export to England).

restart in November under the patronage of Anne of Hannover. When the lodge ceased to meet, is not known.³⁶

A newly discovered manuscript by De St. Etienne

In the library of the Scottish Grand Lodge, there is another manuscript (F. 656) written by De St. Etienne. It is written in a red leather bound book with gold ornamentation which is very similar in style to *Le Livre de constitutions* of *La Loge de Juste*. This time more of the book has been used, some 58 consecutive pages. In addition there is a four page appendix and a note inserted at the back on different paper. The watermark shows the armorials of Amsterdam with supporting lions. It has the same ready-ruled red margin and the same brown ink is used by the scribe as in the *Le Livre de constitutions*. The handwriting is identical.

The title of the manuscript is *Le Parfait Maçon, mis en ordre, ou methode de Reception, pour servir de guide aux officiers des Loges, dans la Reception de chaque grade. Par Le V: frere de S^t. Etienne. Dedié au Respectable frere Comte Ivan de Golowkin. Livre second*. As we have seen when discussing the membership of *La Loge de Juste* Ivan de Golowkin was the son of the Russian Ambassador to The Hague. One page further there is a subtitle: *Maçonnerie vulgairement appelée / Ecossoise / par les anglois heredom: / Grades. / Architecte du Temple / Grand maitre des architectes autrement dit / maitre Ecossois*. And, apparently in another hand using black rather than brown ink, *Chevalier de l'Epée – de l'Orient / Chevalier de l'Aigle / Chevalier du Soleil – Sublime philosophe*. Further research will be needed to assess the full significance of this new find. However, it is apparent

³⁶ The box containing the archive of the *Loge de Juste* also contains two manuscript rituals for the 1st and 3rd adoption lodge degrees respectively. There is nothing about them which proves whether or not they once belonged to the *Loge de Juste* as Margaret Jacob assumes (Jacob 1991 127). Each ritual is contained in a little exercise book. The paper and covers are very different from anything else associated with the lodge. The hand writing and colour of ink is also different. These manuscripts are almost verbatim transcriptions of the first adoption lodge rituals to be published: *Les quatre grades complets de l'Ordre de l'Adoption, ou la Maçonnerie des Dames. Avec les Plans justes des Loges, les Catéchismes, et l'ordre de la Table; enrichis d'une Figure en taille-douce analogue à la Maçonnerie; Jérusalem [= Paris?] 1772* (Library of The Grand Lodge of Scotland, Morison 243. I am indebted to Jan Snoek for this comparison).

from the list of previous owners that the manuscript has most likely been in Scotland since shortly after it was compiled. We know that William Mitchell moved to Edinburgh so it is possible that he took it there. It is obvious from the discovery of this manuscript that De St. Etienne was a very serious freemason. The title calls this a second volume. The first volume could have discussed the first three degrees of freemasonry or other higher degrees. Unfortunately there is no date given by the manuscript's author so we cannot see if it is a later or earlier work than the manuscripts of *La Loge de Juste*.

Chansons de l'Ordre de l'Adoption ou la Maçonnerie des Femmes, 1751

The lodge had a songbook, *Chansons de l'Ordre de l'Adoption ou la Maçonnerie des Femmes*.³⁷ The words, mostly adaptations of existing masonic songs, are by the actors Corbin and Parmentier. The book opens with a five-page '*Discours Fait par le Venerable Frere DE SAINT ETIENNE Deputé Maitre de la Loge D'ADOPTION. Le 1^e de May 1751. Jour de l'Etablissement de la dite Societé*' (see Appendix-IV. Title page of the songbook for the 'adoption' lodge). De St. Etienne outlines diverse passions, like vanity, overriding ambition and selfishness, which grow in men's hearts—passions that in various nations have produced darkness and blindness. For many centuries, without knowing the reason why, masons have been excluded from admitting their wives into the lodge. This is surely simply due to the ignorance of the epoch. It has been reserved for our happy and enlightened days to see the possibility of uniting the two sexes in our lodges. Light has been introduced into the spaces that darkness has occupied. Our profound studies of freemasonry have helped us to find the true method of perfecting our edifices, that is, with the help of our sisters who bring a heart with them! This reinforces the five columns of our order: Virtue, Silence, Charity, Faithfulness and Temperance. These are the foundations of the Temple we build; a school of Morals, a temple of Virtues. This is the essence of the discourse. De St. Etienne was clearly an orator of some power. One can imagine being carried away with the words which, like those of a clever politician,

³⁷ ... Dediées aux Soeurs de la fraternité Répandües sur la surface de la Terre: par les Freres *****. Avec un Discours préliminaire sur l'Etablissement de l'ordre, prononcé le jour de l'ouverture, & de la constitution de la grande Loge à la Haye. Le prix un Florin. Au temple de l'Union, Le premier May 1751, à la Haye. GON: 6.B.7.

are subtle enough to allow each individual to put his own gloss on the meaning and to judge how seriously the words are meant.

The collection, which has the music for each song, opens with Naudot's first march, with added words in honour of Van Wassenæer written by two actors from the theatre. The first verse is by Corbin and could hardly be more flattering. The chorus reads:

W..... permets qu'un frere en chanson
 puisse exalter ton grand nom
 & Célèbre en bon maçon
 tes vertus que l'on révere,
 guidé par ta lumière,
 en ces lieux où l'on est toujours joyeux,
 oui c'est pour toi seul qu'aux dieux j'offre tous mes vœux.

(Wassenæer, permit a Brother to exalt your great name in song, and to celebrate in a good masonic manner your revered virtues. Yes, it is only for you that I offer my prayers to the gods, guided by your light in this place where one is always joyful.)

The verse continues in a similar vein. Then follow another chorus and two verses by Parmentier. His chorus praises Van Wassenæer as the benefactor:

Chantons tous, soeurs & freres, Célébrons
 La douceur que nous goutons;
 L'astre des Parfaits maçons
 Vient protéger nos mystères.
 Homage a Ses lumières,
 La faveur
 Que nous fait ce bienfaiteur,
 Fait l'Eloge de son coeur,
 Et notre bonheur.

(Brothers and Sisters, let us all sing. Let us celebrate the sweetness which we taste. The star of perfect masons comes to protect our mysteries. Homage to his luminaries, the boon which this benefactor gives to us is the praise of his heart and our happiness.)

Parmentier's first verse mentions Noah's Ark, which was an attribute of the adoption lodge: 'Sous ses Loix, sous sa Protection, Mettons L'ARCHE de l'adoption.'

After this, as we might expect, there is a song by Corbin dedicated to De St. Etienne. Corbin and the other author-arranger of the songs in

this collection Parmentier were close friends of De St. Etienne and his wife, Elizabeth. The actors A. Parmentier and Marcel Corbin witnessed the last will and testament, which was drawn up on 25 May 1751 just before Elisabeth died.³⁸ The tune is similar to one in Naudot 1737 on p. 53, but it is written at a different pitch and with a different rhythm. There is nothing particularly interesting in the text. De St. Etienne is the Master of Adoption, 'one should count oneself fortunate to be acquainted with him'. We might expect a song dedicated to the Grand Mistress at some point, but we would be disappointed.

The next song, by Parmentier, does not give the name of the timbre, but the music can be identified as *Les Bourgeois de Chartres*. This is more in the tradition of Anderson:

Adam le premier homme
Fut le premier maçon,
Eve en mordant la pomme,
Créa l'adoption
De leur tendre union
Une branche chérie
Peupla par, ci, par là, la, la,
De petits rejettons don, don,
Notre Maçonnerie.

(Adam, the first man was the first mason. Eve, in biting the apple, created adoption. From their tender union a cherished branch populated here and there, and there, and there, little shoots of our masonry.)

Adam; the first man, the first mason. This is a common image, but now, with adoption in mind, Eve, on biting into the apple, created 'adoption'. The next verses describe the fall of Solomon's temple and the masons' work in rebuilding it. To the usual images it adds (verse 4):

Prenons donc nos truelles.
Et construisons mes soeurs;
En mémoire des belles,
Un temple dans nos coeurs;
C'est a vos yeux vainqueurs,
Qu'on peut sans flatterie;
Rendre cet honneur, la, la, la;

³⁸ HGA: Notarieel Archief 3130 399, see above, note 35.

Ce sont les vrais patrons, don, don;
De la maçonnerie.

(Let us therefore take our trowels so that we may build, my sisters, a temple to the memory of the beautiful in our hearts. It is to your vanquishing eyes that we can render this honour without flattery, la, la, la. These are the real benefactors of freemasonry.)

Here we have already stumbled on what could become a problem for an organisation that was dedicated to virtue and the improvement of morals, but at the same time was all too aware of feminine beauty and the ‘vanquishing eyes’ of the fair sex. However, the author also seems to be aware of the potential for a problem and seeks to disarm any impure thoughts immediately in the following, and final, verse by asserting quite unequivocally that it would be a great folly to be side-tracked by depending on any amorous insobriety for amusement that might damage the wisdom of adoption. Even so, the clarity of this thought is somewhat clouded by the last three lines of the stanza:

Il faut par ci par la, la, la,
Egayer l’union, don, don,
De la maçonnerie.

(One must here and there, there, there make the union of freemasonry gay.)

Of course he is only trying to find a rhyme and appropriate words to fit the verse form and to conclude the song, but hither and thither making the union of [adoptive] masonry more amusing could be interpreted in many different ways. And just two songs later (see Appendix-V) this is emphasised when the same author writes rather in contradiction to his earlier moralistic sentiments:

Buvons, aimons, sans cesse,	
Usons bien des instans;	
Dans cette double Yvresse,	
Tout âge est un Printemps;	
(refrain)	Dans le sein des Mistères
	Caressé du Zéphir pour jouir
	Passons freres du desir au plesir.

(We drink, we love without ceasing, let us use the moments well; in this double intoxication, every age is springtime; in the bosom of the

mysteries caressed by the Zephir for enjoyment let us pass on, Brothers, from desire to pleasure.)

The Brothers will pass from desire to pleasure; the Sisters are not mentioned at this point. This struggle between warm sensuality and good morals is repeated as a Leitmotiv throughout the entire collection of seventeen songs. This is, of course, hardly surprising since the same two authors are responsible for all the texts, whether in praise of the Grand Master or Worshipful Master, or addressed by the Sisters to the Brothers, or vice versa. A few songs later Parmentier is once again stating that to merit the presence of the Sisters the men must limit their indiscreet desires. In doing so, in the bosom of Decency, one will taste true pleasures. Venus, more often under the name *Cythere* (Cyther), features largely in these songs. Mars also makes an occasional appearance (Appendix-VI). The last two songs in the book use all three words: “La Reine de Cythere et L’illustre Dieu Mars” (p. 54) and “Venus par de nouveaux charmes / Brille toûjours à nos yeux; / Le Dieu Mars lui rend les armes, / & l’accompagne en ces lieux”. These are common images. But there is also a resonance with the play being staged at the time: *Les Noces de Venus ou Les filets de Vulcain*.

References to adoption in the Almanach des Francs-Maçons pour l’Année 1751

It is important to remember that an Almanach containing a list of important dates and events is usually prepared and published before the year begins. This means that the *Almanach* for 1751 most likely predates the existence of *La Loge de Juste*. Cyther has an important part to play in the songs referring to adoptive freemasonry in the Almanac for 1751. The poems and songs are openly presented in the Almanac of the Fraternity. However, they refer not to an adoptive lodge in The Hague, but to an adoptive lodge at Montpellier. Perhaps the publishers were hoping that they would simply open up the minds of masons in The Netherlands, to make them receptive for a new kind of masonry. In fact the publication of such ‘heretical’ ideas, together with the recognition later in the year of *La Loge de Juste* might instead have contributed to the swift demise of adoptive freemasonry, and possibly have contributed to the equally sudden departure of the Grand Master Juste Gerard van Wassenauer from the scene.

The first poem about adoptive freemasonry in the Almanac is entitled: *L’Etablissement de la parfaite union à Montpellier*. This in itself is interesting. It is suggesting for the first time that there was a prece-

dence at Montpellier, where freemasonry took root in about 1742.³⁹ If De St. Etienne brought mixed freemasonry to The Hague, could this perhaps be where he first encountered it himself?

This is followed by a short ritual '*Fete de Table pour l'ordre de l'union*'. A Brother proposes a toast to the health of the sisters. A sister returns the complement. An exchange of solos and choruses follows.

A third poem, *Envoy A Mlle. de Brouquère Ire. Grande maitresse* refers to a *Grande Maitresse*, presumably at Montpellier.

Aimable & jeune de Brouquère,
Toi que la Reine de Cithere
Fait sa lieutenante en ces lieux,
Vois mes desirs ambitieux,
Je voudrois pour prix de ma rime
De l'ordre mériter l'estime;
Et qu'au lieu de remerciement
Dans l'illustre établissement
On m'accorda ... mais je m'égare,
Le coup d'oeil seroit trop bisare
De voir un rimeur a coté
De Quelqu'illustre déité.

(Amiable and young De Brouquère, you who the queen of Cytherea has chosen to be her lieutenant in this place, see my ambitious desires. I would like to deserve acclaim from the Order as the prize for my rhyme. And that, in place of thanks, in this illustrious institution one would consent to me ... but I am straying. It would be a strange sight to see a mediocre poet at the side of such an illustrious deity.)

Conclusion

It seems probable that *La Loge de Juste* had a very short life, measured in months rather than years. The 'Scottish' degrees of Architect and Grand Architect proposed by De St. Etienne were probably never introduced. Interestingly one degree had as a secret password, 'Nejus-rimatea', which is an anagram of Juste and Marian(n)e!

³⁹ The first lodge there was 'Saint-Jean Ancienne'. A member of the second, 'La Triple Alliance' (1746), obtained 'des constitutions écossaises' in Paris in 1749. Chevallier 1974, 140.

A new special (regular) lodge for performing artists, *L'Egalité des Frères*, was formed in 1762. It was described in the Masonic Almanac of 1793 as having been made up of 'la Troupe Comédiens François' and this is borne out by the membership lists though J. Baptiste Anselme was apparently the only member of *La Loge de Juste* to also be a member of this new performers' lodge. It was instituted by the Grand Master himself. This was to be considered a great honour, and, significantly, an act of reconciliation. It seems as if the reputation of *La Loge de Juste* was not entirely pure as this lodge was to be 'a temple of Virtue on the ruins of passions'. The speech which the Deputy Grand Master made on the occasion of the founding of the lodge was later printed in the Almanac with the title: *Discours du noble et très respectable Député Grand Maître des Provinces-Unies à l'occasion de l'installation de la Loge sous le nom de L'Egalité des Frères Composée de la Troupe Comédiens François à la Haye*.

The speech is directly concerned with the actors and musicians and gives an interesting insight into applied masonic thought. It may be paraphrased as follows: 'Your Brothers know your good qualities. Be good masters of this Lodge—you might find that more difficult than you think. Punish rarely, use the trowel to smooth over differences. Be strict when, through obstinacy, you need to punish someone. The Master's authority is sacred in the Lodge. Do not permit indecency, poking fun, or quarrelling. Eradicate them. Make sure your members know what the goals of our masonry are: explain the allegorical meaning of our ceremonies often.'

The lodge members are specially congratulated for being constituted by the Grand Master himself, an honour which is without precedent! In doing this, the Head of the Order has attempted to show how prejudices can be dissipated with softness. He wants to show that only vice can degrade the sweet name of freemason. Recognise this and live as free masons, be more circumspect.

The Deputy Grand Master continues: 'Distinguish yourselves with wisdom and humility, be free without being licentious, virtuous without being austere. Do not let the equality which we enjoy during our assemblies banish the respect that we owe to those around us, due to their birth or dignity. You must remember, you know, how much people are preoccupied against those in your profession, especially in this country. Show moderation and wisdom, prudence and morals in your behaviour, so that virtuous hearts can be found in all walks of life. Do your utmost to merit the esteem of your fellow Brothers. Raise tem-

ples to Virtue on the ruins of passions.' This suggests that there was a problem of credibility or image to be overcome, perhaps as a result of inappropriate behaviour at the earlier adoption lodge.

He concludes: 'You will taste pure pleasures if you are subordinate to the rules of honour and reason. Innocent and unbeknown to those outside the Order [*profanes*], you will taste the sweetness of friendship and the tranquillity of soul which makes us rise above all events. Exercise fraternal charity, use the trowel often, and may peace and sweet harmony be fixed in your lodge, so that division and discord will never alter your pleasure. Be wise, moderate, humble and discreet, fulfil your duties religiously and be a perfect model for the Brotherhood.'

It is impossible to say whether the play of Mars and Venus that the actors had been performing in 1751 had been acted out in the lives of the members of *La Juste*. With the number of married couples and the idealistic wording of the documents it seems that it would have been only as a side effect, not an intention. Nor is it possible to say if the shadowy figure De St Etienne used the idea of mixed freemasonry to line his own pocket, perhaps even causing the financial debacle bringing down the Grand Lodge.

After this, in 1761, Parmentier, Corbin and Rosimond became directors of their own troupe in Lyon.⁴⁰ From 1756 to 1767 Jean-Baptiste Anselme, followed by his wife and daughter, directed the *Comédie* in The Hague. Joost van Wassenauer died. And the Grand Mistress, Marianne Baroness d'Honstein married Nicholas Guebel in the Portuguese Chapel on 2 June 1762. Within two years they separated, Nicholas leaving unpaid bills in Rotterdam for a bailiff to collect from her. She hired a house on the south side of the Binnenhof for f600 per annum and died, from pleurisy aged 65 at the beginning of December 1773.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Fuchs 1944: see lexicon entries according to name.

⁴¹ HGA, Marriage and Death registers. Legal archives 4255 345 (25 May 1765), 4221 65 (20 Jan. 1773) and 4504 180 (21 Aug. 1772).

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APPENDIX-I
LA LOGE DE JUSTE: FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS BEFORE
 THE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION IN 1751

Memoire General de la Recette et de la Depense des finances de la Loge D'adoption depuis L'origine de La Loge, Jusques, Et compris / L'assemblée du onze d'avril : auquel Jour a finy, Les Assemblées de La Societé sans reconnoissance de Superieur

[1 gauche]

		Recette	
Reçu			
Janv ^r 1751	De Sept freres qui ont donné princips a la loge chacun un florin Rosimond, corbain, forest, mitchel, Julien, Sykes, Et de S ^t . Etienne	fl.	7.
		Receptions	
fev. ^r	{ de m ^r . van den Bergh quatre Ducats	21.	
	de Shouster quatre Ducats	21.	
dud ^o ...	{ dud ^o : pour Puntion Imposée quatre Ducats *	21.	
	de M ^r . de Rosenbow quatre Ducats	21.	
17. mars	{ de M ^r . Le Comte de Golowkin cinq Ducats	26.	5.
	de M ^r . et de Mad. ^e van Belle quinze Ducats	78.	15
	de M ^r . Roupets trente florins	30.	
31. dud ^o .	{ de M ^r . Et madame Bertrand Sept Ducats	36.	15
	de M ^r .. Mauricius Deux Ducats	10.	10
11. avril	{ de M ^r . Lunet Douze Ducats	63.	
	de M ^r . Le Comte de Benthing Dix Ducats	52.	10
Produit des Receptions		fl	388. 15
Recette des coste parts des freres : dans les Jours qu'ils ont Eté Taxés			
Loge du 31. mars		24.	10
Loge du 4. avril		26 :	} 50 10
Total de la Recette		fl	439. 5

* nota le dit Shouster donna une troisieme fois quatre Ducats pour Sa reception de maitre macon / qui se fit le jour mesme d'une loge d'adoption : mais de S^t. Etienne n'a pu ordonner qu'ils fussent passer. / En Compte de Recette de ce memoire : par ce quil les apliqua partie a payer la depense de quelques faux frais quil / avoit faits pour les loges de maçons et qui ne pouvoient luy estre remboursés que par une finance qui ne / pouvoit provenir que par un tel moyen ; cest a dire d'une Reception d'homme : et le Reste des quatre Ducats fut / Employé a payer un petit Repas particulier de maconnerie d'hommes avec Rosimont, Corbain parmentier / mauricius et quelqu'autres qui fut occasionné pour divers arangemens de la mesme maconnerie : ainsy les dits / quatre Ducats ayant été depensés conformement a son objet ils sont regardés comme non Reques.

[1 droite]

Depense.			
Deboursé pour Le necessaire de La			
Reception de chaque Recipiendaire			
Sur les quatre Ducats de la Reception de M ^r . van den Bergh	fl		
gands d'hommes et de femmes	1.	4.	
Sur Les quatre Ducats de la Reception de M ^r . Shouster			
gands d'hommes de femme Et truelle	2.	4.	
Sur Les quatre Ducats de M. RosenBow.			
gands d'hommes et de femme	1. 4		
un tablier	5 5		
une Truelle	1.		
une Jarretiere	1 15 }	9-	4
Sur les cinq Ducats de M ^r . de Golowkin			
gands d'homme et de femme	1.	4	
Sur les quinze Ducats de M ^r . et mad. ^e Van Belle			
Le Tablier de madame	5 5		
Le Tablier de Monsieur	3.		
Les 2. Jarretieres	3. 10		
Les 2 Truelles	2.		
Les 4. paires de gans	2 8 }	16.	3
Sur Les trente florins de M. Rouppels			
1 Jarretiere	1 15		
1. Truelle	1		
Deux paires de gans	1 4 }	3.	19
Sur Les Deux Ducats de m ^r . mauricius			
2 paires de gans	1 4		
1 Truelle	1		
1 Jarretiere	1 15		
1 Tablier	5 5 }	9-	4
Sur les Dix Ducats de Monsieur de Benthing			
un tablier	5 5		
Truelle Jarretiere et gans	3. 19		
aux garcons Servans	1. 16 }	11.	
	fl	54.	2.

[2 gauche]

Montant de la Recette d'autre part

fl. 439 5

[2 droite]

Montant de la Depense d'autre part

fl.

54. 2

Sur les Douze Ducats de M. Lunet

Un tableau	5. 5
Une Jarretiere	1. 15
Une Truelle	1
Deux paires de gans	1. 4
Aux Garcons Servans	1. 16 } 11 –

Depense Payée a Bellicour pour le Soupé
des Loges :

Le 5 fevrier	Un Repas Selon le compte du Jour qui fut payé sur l'instant	48 10
Le 25 ditto	Un Repas Selon le memoire ditto	44 2
Le 17 mars	Un Repas Selon le memoire Et Recu	79. 18
Le 21 ditto	Un Repas Selon le memoire Et Recu	14 1
Le 31 ditto	Un Repas Selon le memoire Et Recu	54. 10
Le 4 avril	Un Repas Selon le memoire Et Recu	53. 7
Le 11 avril	Un Repas Selon le memoire Et Recu	59. 4 } 352 : 12

Depense payée aux trois garcons servans de la loge
St Louis, Le Cuisinnier, et le garçon de table de bellicour
un florin chacun par loge.

Loge	du 5 fevrier :	3 garcons servans a un florin	3
	du 25 ditto	ditto	3
	du 17 mars	ditto	3
	du 21 ditto	ditto	3
	du 31 ditto	ditto	3
	du 4 [avril]	ditto	3
	du 11 ditto	ditto Deux Servans	2
		au Cuisinier pour son agneau pascal	3 } 23

5 fevrier

Pour l[']Esprit de Vin de Loge du

{ 21 mars } a 14 ^s parfois - 2. 2
4 avril

payé pour huit paires de gands dhommes et defemmes quon a donnér aux
Sœurs Recues Sans payement a 15 ^s Lapaire 16 paires...

12

 454. 16

[3 gauche]

Montant de la Recette d'autre part	fl	439. 5
------------------------------------	----	--------

[3 droite]

Montant de La Depense D'autre part	454'	16
Depenses en meubles pour La Loge que Jay payés en avance		

Blanchissage des Rubans		12
Six petits pots de Terre pour l'Esprit de vin	1.	
Deux Rechaux de cuivre	5.	
Deux coupes d'Etain pour l'Esprit de vin qui ont fondu	2.	4
Deux coupes de cuivre pour Idem qui les Remplace[nt]	2.	8.
Le plat D Etain pour les Pommes	3.	
un Compas et une Equerre de Cuivre	1.	
Deux mains de gros papier et une de fin pour les Billets d'avertissem	1.	4
une Boette de fer Blanc fait faire par le machiniste qui ne peut plus servir	6.	
Le Coussinet de satin Blanc doublure et Ruban frisé	4.	
Les Deux Bources a Satin doublure Ruban, et cordon	3.	
L'arbre et gazon	3	
L'auge d'yvoire	3	
Les cinq maillets	12=	10
Les figures sous l'arbre	3.	
Deux Livres couverts de veau	6	
papier pour la loge	1.	
cordonnet [= cordones ?] pour les truelles	1-	10
Le panier pour fermer les meubles	„	10
Les Catenats de la grande Boette et du panier	1.	
Un grand Ruban Rouge ponceau pour servir de Jarretiere aux Recipiendaires	2	8.
Le Cizeau d'argent pour Les maitresses	1-	10
La Truelle pour l'auge	1	10
Le Coeur de l'arche pour les maitresses	1-	10
Perte sur le change des ducats de m ^r Lunet	2	8.
Le Soleil trois Ducats	15	15
Le charpentier pour la caisse des Toilles	5.	
au marchand de peaux : 6 peaux qui ont été donnés dans les commencem. ^s pour le service de La loge	3.	12

fl ---	549. 7.
--------	---------

[4 gauche]

	fl
Montant de la Recette d'autre part	439. 5

[4 droite]

Montant de la Depense d'autre part	549. 7
Pour L'arche des maitresses et sa ferrure trois Ducats	15. 15.
Pour Le Globe de L'Etoile	3.
pour Les nuages Les plaques de fer Blanc et toute La	
Dependances de L'Etoile	12.
au peintre a Compte de Les toilles	12.
Total des Depenses payés	fl. 592. 2.

Recapitulation

	fl
Le Total des Depenses payes monte a	592. 2.
Le Total de la Recette monts a	439. 5
Partant La Loge doit d'avances payés fl	152. 17

Dettes de La Loge

a De S. ^t Estienne et a Rosimont pour avances quils ont faittes	fl
conformement au Compte cy dessus	152. 17
au peintre sur ses Toilles Luy Reste Deub.	54. 10.
anv : Bertrand pour son memoire	18.
	225. 7.

Dans le nouveau Compte de la loge du 16. may. Il revient de Bon en Caisse de la Recette de la finance, dudit Jour Dix sept florins et trois sols que de S.^t Estienne a apliqués En aquit par acompte sur le present Reliquat ex 17. 3.

Reste Deub	fl	208. 4. ^s
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N^a Il a Eté Commandé par de St Etienne au Compte de la loge 18 Bijoux et une Equerre d'argent au nommé Nicolé Bijoutier qui Exige le payement l'ouvrage non finy : article qui Reste En souffrance jusqu'a decision

APPENDIX-III
MEMBERS OF *LA LOGE DE JUSTE* ACCORDING TO
LE LIVRE DE CONSTITUTIONS

Frères:

Juste Gerard Baron de Wassenauer		faisant sa residence a la haye
De Saint Estienne		idem
François Rosimont	de present a la haye	faisant sa residence a Paris
Corbin	de present a la haye	faisant sa residence a paris
Wilfelsphem de Parmentier	idem	idem
Forest	idem	idem
Mitchel		faisant sa residence a la haye
Julien	idem	faisant sa residence a paris
Baptiste Anselme, père		faisant sa residence a la haye
Pelletier	de present a la haye	faisant sa residence a paris
Gautier		faisant sa residence a la haye
van den Bergh (Lieut aux gardes hol)		idem
Rosenboom		idem et au Texel
Baptist Anselme, fils		faisant sa residence a la haye
Ivan, Comte de Golowkin		idem
Van Belle		idem
Bertrand		idem
[J.B.] Nunez		idem
Le Baron de Bentinck (Cap et Col aux gardes hol)		idem
Roupelis		faisant sa residence a la haye
Mauricius Cap ^e reformé a la pension de leiw [= 'law' or 'leeuw'?] h.S		chez son frère a Purmerend en nord holland
Crescent	de present a la haye	faisant sa residence a paris
Fligny	idem	idem
comte de Wassenauer d'Obdam		faisant sa residence a la haye
Gallas, Capt aux gardes hol et lieut. Col.		idem
Le B. de Pouilly major pensionné au Serv. Des Suis.		idem
D'arnaud		idem
Abraham Baron de Suasso		idem
Devos		faisant sa residence a paris
Dela Sarra Capt. des cent suisses du prince d'orange		faisant sa residence a la haye
A. Van Der Kaa		idem
Prince de Bade et Dourlach		faisant sa residence dans ses Estats et a la haye
Baron de Schilld	resid. du Duc d'Holstein	idem
Baron de Wassenauer	capt dragons	idem, et a Leyde

Les Soeurs:

Mariane Barone d'Honstein		faisant sa residence a la haye
De Rosimont	de present a la haye	faisant sa residence a paris
Elisabeth de St. Estienne	idem	faisant sa residence a la haye
Verneuil de Fourcade mère	idem	faisant sa residence a nantes
Emilie ' [sic]	idem	faisant sa residence a paris
Gratien	idem	idem
Le Blanc	idem	idem
Prevost mère	idem	idem
Prevost fille	idem	idem
Gravilliers Baptiste Anselme	idem	faisant sa residence a la haye
Bertrand	idem	faisant sa residence a la haye
Julien	idem	faisant sa residence a paris
Fourcade fille	idem	faisant sa residence a nantes
Forest	idem	faisant sa residence a paris
Armand de Verteuil	idem	faisant sa residence a la haye
Fauche	idem	faisant sa residence a la haye
Restieu Devos [elsewhere : de vos femme [sic]]	idem	faisant sa residence a la haye
Rozafrazy [signs Rosa frasè]	idem	faisant sa residence a londres

APPENDIX-IV
TITLE PAGE OF THE SONGBOOK
FOR THE 'ADOPTION' LODGE

CHANSONS
DE L'ORDRE DE
L'ADOPTION
O U L A
MAÇONNERIE DES FEMMES



Dédiées aux Sœurs de la fraternité Répan-
dûes sur la surface de la Terre: par les
Freres * * * * *



*Avec un Discours préliminaire sur l'Etablis-
sement de l'ordre, prononcé le jour de l'ou-
verture, & de la constitution de la
grande Loge à la Haye.*



Le prix un Florin

Au temple de l'Union.

Le premier May 1751

A L A H A Y E.

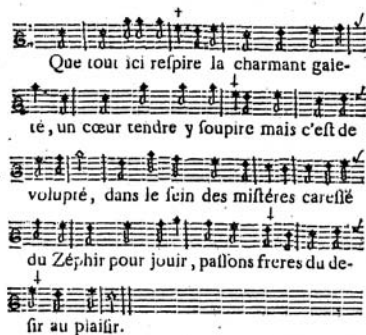
APPENDIX-V
QUE TOUT ICI RESPIRE LA CHARMANT GAIETE
 PAGES 22/23 OF THE SONG BOOK

(22)



A U T R E

Par Frere PARMENTIER.



Que l'Enfant de Cithere
 Pour charmer nos loisirs;
 Par le plus Doux salaire,
 Paye tous nos soupirs;

Dans

(23)

Dans le sein des mistères,
 Caressé du Zéphir,
 Pour jour,
 Passons freres,
 Du desir au plaisir.



Que chacun plein de Zele
 Et d'Emulation;
 Soit cité pour modele,
 Dans notre ADOPTION;
 Dans le sein des Mistères, &c.



Buvons, aimons, sans cesse,
 Usons bien des instans;
 Dans cette double Yvresse,
 Tout âge est un Printemps;
 Dans le sein des Mistères, &c.



Le Paradis terrestre
 Que l'on croyoit perdu;
 Etoit mis en séquestre,
 Pour nous être rendu:
 L'ADOPTION mes freres,
 Est ce lieu de douceur,
 S'y hâteur;
 Nos Mistères,
 Font du cœur, le bonheur.
 B 4

A U.

APPENDIX-VI
REFERENCES TO CYTHERE, VENUS AND MARS
ON PAGES 54/55 OF THE SONG BOOK

(54)

Il s'offre à nos regards
Dans ce lieu solitaire.
LA REINE DE CYTHERE
ET L'ILLUSTRE DIEU MARS;
Adressez leurs vœux
Notre encens, notre hommage,
Que nos cœurs soient le gage,
De notre Amour pour eux.



A U T R E

par le Frere CORDIN.

De ce glorieux empire fêtons par tout le re-
nom; chantons les plaisirs qu'inspire notre
auguste adoption ici tout comme a cythé-
re l'amour remplit nos souhaits, & l'on
n'y

(55)

n'y fait point mystère, d'être blessé de ses
traits.



Nous seuls goûtons de la vie,
Les charmes, & les douceurs;
La discorde n'y l'envie,
Ne peuvent rien sur nos cœurs;
Ici tout comme à Cythère
L'amour remplit nos souhaits,
Et l'on n'y fait point mystère,
D'être blessé de ses traits.



Envain le peuple murmure,
Contre nos amusemens;
Nous rions de sa Censure,
Elle fait nos passe-tems:
Ici tout, etc.



VENUS par de nouveaux charmes
Brille toujours à nos yeux;
Le DIEU MARS lui rend les armes,

Et

**MAÇONNERIE DES DAMES
THE PLANS OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE TO
ESTABLISH A FEMALE BRANCH**

ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS

“Frimureriets hemlighet
Bör en Problem för werlden blifva
Den ingen rätt upplösa vet
Som Murarinna ej fått blifva”
(Swedish manuscript, around 1770)

“The secret of Freemasonry
should remain a problem to the world
that no one is able to solve
who has not been made a woman Mason”

Participation in the Secret Space of Enlightenment

Since the revealing book *L'Ordre des Franc-Maçons trahi et les secrets des Mopses revelé* was spread throughout Europe in the 1740's, women of the educated elite of Enlightenment could claim participation in the secret space that men had created in initiatory societies.¹ It was just a matter of time until the discourse of Enlightenment would include women into the construction of the “realm of happiness and felicity”, a key concept of the 18th century. Literary and Scientific Academies made the acceptance of female members an issue of honour that proved their truly enlightened nature. In the context of this development it was inevitable that, eventually, women broke into the symbolic world of freemasons, with its allusions to chivalric ideals.

We can interpret, for example, the order of the Mopses, founded around 1740, as a ritual and social play, arranged by Masons as a travesty of true Freemasonry, and adapted to what was supposed to attract women by using the pug dog as a symbol of fidelity. Yet, the Mopses had a system of initiation rituals, the message of which is close to that of Freemasonry. The step from Freemasonry for men to that for women was not a big one. From the perspective of women, it must have been attractive to belong to a society which was known for its values and age, a society surrounded by rumours. Freemasonry was discussed in educated newspapers and journals. It generated a considerable amount of printed pages throughout the 18th century.

¹ Önnersfors forthcoming.

There may be several reasons for the establishment of mixed forms of Freemasonry. Women who were married or related to Freemasons lived in close contact with persons involved in the brotherhood and thus might have got a good impression of this cultural phenomenon of the time. This may have created a desire to take part in masonic rituals. The attractiveness of an order like the Mopses was too low, the moral message too underdeveloped to catch the attention of the educated elite in the long run. Therefore a shift took place from a basically social order to an order with a strongly developed moral message and a stronger ritual play. Men were often instrumental in the creation of mixed masonic lodges and orders. To let women take part in masonic rituals may therefore be interpreted as a sign of early developed ideas on gender equality, but also as an indication of a strong belief in the ideational potential of Freemasonry. To establish mixed lodges was a means of spreading masonic ideology, which was believed to play a key role in the ennoblement and enlightenment of mankind. There might also have existed internal reasons within male Freemasonry for the establishment and acceptance of mixed lodges and orders. From this perspective it is striking that the creation of higher degrees with chivalric rituals—which from a gender perspective may be interpreted as the construction of a truly and consistently male sphere—runs parallel with the establishment of mixed lodges. Even more striking is that the same people seem to have been involved in the creation of both these very male and female spaces. There is an important interplay between the development of organisation, ritual motives and symbols. Research into Freemasonry has hitherto largely ignored these connections. The chivalric, templar and very influential masonic order of the Strict Observance (in the following abbreviated as SO) has been subject to substantial research. But it has up to now been ignored completely that there existed plans to establish a female branch of it.²

Are There Lady Knights?

Before we examine the plans of the SO closer, it may be interesting to mention a couple of recent findings in masonic archives. A masonic “Loge de Dames” was founded in Copenhagen quite early. The first

² Or was it a try to re-establish a female branch of the mediaeval knightly orders?

protocol dates from the 3rd of October 1748, when Anna Marie Rosal and Regine Eleonore Paulssen were received. At the same occasion, her stepdaughter Martha Dorothea Paulssen was appointed “Inspection” (Warden), a terminology borrowed from mediaeval ecclesiastic orders. The brother of Martha Dorothea, Johan Jakob Heinrich served as the other Warden of the lodge. The lodge received women as members of the order of Freemasons for several years. Grand Master of the lodge was Wilhelm Matthias Neergaard.³ Neergaard is of special interest as his name appears on the list of members of the Scottish Master lodge ‘*L’Union*’, which was founded in Berlin in 1742 and is one of the earliest (mother) lodges of higher degrees within the old German Empire.⁴ Neergaard received a constitution to establish a Scottish Masters lodge in Copenhagen. It seems that he did not see a conflict between the establishment of a lodge of higher degrees and the creation of a ‘*Loge de Dames*’. Are there other connections between Scottish Masters and mixed masonry? In the earliest manuscripts of higher degrees, which were brought to Sweden by Fredrik Horn in the 1740’s, we can read: “My brother, you know the meaning of the women’s gloves which are given to us in the lodge. Your *lady knight* [my italics] will look upon us with esteem if you make use of these gloves [...]” This is a quote from the ritual of the degree “Chosen Master and Scot”.⁵ In the Swedish manuscript “*Loix et Statuts de la Maçonnerie des Dames*” (after 1760), from which I quoted the initial motto, the relationship between Scottish Masters and female masons becomes perfectly clear. Already in the first paragraph it is stated that “the sisters form the Order under the direction of a Scottish Master”, which in the Swedish system at that time was the fifth degree.⁶ It is stated later on that only Scottish masters are allowed to visit the mixed lodge. I will come back to some parts of this interesting manuscript.

³ Bugge 1910 340-343 and DDFO F XXIII Adoptionsmureri 1 vol. Dameloge 934 a:2.

⁴ Mollier 2002 217ff. GODF Cote AR/Fonds H pièce 3.

⁵ SFMO, “Maitre Élu et Écossais”.

⁶ Although the title is in French, the rest of the manuscript is in Swedish. This may indicate that the source is a French original. However, French was widely spoken in the Swedish elites of Enlightenment and Swedes carried on conversations and corresponded in French with each other. SFMO Osorterade manuskriptsamlingen.

Was there a Female Branch of the Strict Observance?

The rise and fall of the knightly masonic system of the SO between 1750 and 1785 is one of the most interesting historical examples of the establishment of an all-European masonic organisation with a common ideology. Historical research into the SO is far from being complete. For a long time the works of Le Forestier have dominated the rather negative interpretation of the SO. But already Ferdinand Runkel in his monumental *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland* of 1932, launched a defence of the spiritual motives of its founder, Baron von Hund, against a historical tradition of scepticism.⁷ In the 1740's, so Von Hund claimed, secret leaders of the order of Knights Templar in Paris had demanded from him to re-establish the order in Germany. Von Hund devoted his life and capital to realise this dream. According to Runkel, he was a serious seeker, not a betrayer. Von Hund's system managed to fascinate thousands of educated and enlightened Europeans and motivated them to enter an order with a strong templar legend and elements of alchemy, cabala and esoteric Christianity. The SO was always in search of money to realise such utopian plans as a large-scale pension system or even an autonomous territory. It was essential to recruit new members but also to attract them with thrilling rituals. Up to a certain point in time, the SO expanded both in terms of lodges and members. The inner circle of the SO counted no less than twelve hundred 'knights' from many European countries.⁸ After the system of the SO had been given up at the convent at Wilhelmsbad in 1782, masonry with knight-templar motives in a consistent system only remained within the chapter degrees of the Swedish Rite, while a knight templar degree also developed in some Rites in the UK and the USA.

Recent studies, carried out by such scholars as Alain Bernheim, have shown convincingly that there is much more work to be done before we will have a complete picture of the complex organisation and ideology of the SO.⁹ However, so far no one has mentioned anything about its plans to establish a female branch. There exists no complete inventory of the remaining archive material concerning the SO, and it is only by coincidence that the author found the 'Constitu-

⁷ Le Forestier 1987, part I-II; Runkel 1932, part I.

⁸ According to a printed list from 1846 in DDFO F XXVI Vol 100b "Der innere Orden der Strikten Observanz".

⁹ See freemasons-freemasonry.com/bernheimfr.html.

tion før en Dame-loge' ('constitution of a ladies lodge') in one of the largest collections of SO documents, the Archive of the Danish order of Freemasons. The manuscript contains a project for the establishment of a 'Maçonnerie des Dames'.¹⁰ On 57 folio sheets it describes rules and regulations, as well as initiation rituals for a five-degree system for women. The project was offered to the head of the VIIth Province of the order, *Carolus ab Ense*, Baron von Hund himself and is dated according to the rules of the SO the 20th of September of the year 473/459, which means 1773.¹¹ According to the manuscript, the person who handed in the project was the 'Praefectus capituli' *Eques a Sphaera*. A membership list printed in 1846, shows that *Eques a Sphaera* was knight no. 1084, Christian Ernst Friederich von Vitzthum und Eckstädt (born 1725), a prominent member of the Saxon nobility and head of the noble families of the small duchy of Sorau in Silesia. He entered the SO in 1756. In 1764 he was for the first time appointed Master of a lodge, and by 1773 again, this time in Glogau in the same county. He also was supreme master of the Scottish degrees. At the convent in Kohlo in 1772 *Eques a Sphaera* was appointed head of the chapter of Silesia ('Nistitz' in the terminology of the SO).¹² His brother (?), Friedrich Anton (born 1724) was also a member of the SO under the name of *Eques ab Aquila nigra*, had a close relationship to Von Hund, and was from the beginning involved in SO matters.¹³ Most interesting in this context is that the name 'Vitzthumb de Eckstedt' also appears on the membership list of the Scottish Master lodge 'l'Union' in Berlin.¹⁴ The family Vitzthum von Eckstädt belonged to the top-ranking higher nobility of Germany. Many of its members held public positions and carried out diplomatic missions. During the 17th century, one of their ancestors was in Swedish service

¹⁰ DDFO F XXVI vol 31 a3 "Dameloge".

¹¹ Note that this is only one year before the year (1774) in which the *Grand Orient de France* recognized the adoption lodges! Apparently the time was ripe for it.

¹² DDFO F XXVI vol 100b and Schletter/Zille 1867, part 3(3) 439. Le Forestier 1987 part III: 43 mentions *Eques a sphaera*'s membership in the order of Gold- and Rosenkreuzer.

¹³ Runkel 1932, part I: 188 and 190; Le Forestier 1987 part I: 192.

¹⁴ GOF, Cote AR/Fonds H pièce 3, p. 18. See also Bugge 1910 84 and 210. Johan August Vitzthum von Eckstädt—a third member of this apparently very masonic family, captain in a Danish regiment, is listed as an affiliated member of the lodge S^t Martin in Copenhagen. There may exist a connection between him and Neergaard through their membership in the Scottish Masters lodge 'l'Union' in Berlin, although we don't know for sure which Vitzthum von Eckstädt exactly visited the Berlin-lodge.

and the family is counted among the so-called ‘un-introduced’ Swedish nobility: families that were given nobility, but that for some reason were not introduced into the official Swedish Noblesse. At the time when the project for a female form of freemasonry was handed in, the *Eques a Sphaera* had a high position within the SO.

The Chapters and Purposes of L’Ordre de la Maçonnerie de Dames

The manuscript ‘Maçonnerie des Dames; I^{ter} Theil’ consists of sixteen chapters (subdivided into between four and eleven sections) that differ profoundly in volume and content and that touch everything from the proper dress of a female Freemason to the ideology of the Order. The general impression one gets from the document is that Vitzthum von Eckstädt had a perfect knowledge of the organisation of masonic lodges and of the performance of rituals. The table of contents provides a good overview over of the general outline of the manuscript.¹⁵

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Pages</i>
I	On the purpose of the establishment of the order and its objective in general	7 §§	1-4
II	On the order itself, its name and internal constitution	8 §§	5-8
III	On the different degrees or steps and on the honorary offices in the order	9 §§	8-11
IV	On the decorations of the order, its badges and jewels	9 §§	12-14
V	On the furniture and equipment required in a lodge	4 §§	14-24
VI	On the dress and clothes of the female Freemasons in the lodge	5 §§	24-26
VII	On the interior design of a lodge	7 §§	26-27
VIII	On opening and closing the lodge	11 §§	28-31
IX	On the reception in the first degree	11 §§	31-41
X	On the reception in the second degree	6 §§	41-44

¹⁵ As a transcription of the original German manuscript is presented in the first appendix to this article, I will subsequently only present English translations of quotations from it.

XI	On the reception in the third degree	5 §§	45-47
XII	On the reception in the fourth degree	5 §§	47-48
XIII	On the reception in the fifth degree	6 §§	48-51
XIV	On the voting rules	5 §§	51-52
XV	On the table-lodge	8 §§	52-55
XVI	On the reception fees and other fees belonging to the Finances of the order	5 §§	55-57

On page 57 it is noted that this is part I of the document, but we are missing subsequent parts such as clear documents on the spoken texts of the rituals, precise sketches of the tracing boards or a catechism. Nevertheless, the text describes elements of an impressive ritual play that are part of this five degree system. The opening paragraphs on the purpose of the order provide us with a significant impression of the ideational framework and key motives for the creation of the order.

§1

As it is according to the qualities of each righteous Man and Philanthropist willingly to share his felicity with others and to direct as many advantages as possible towards his neighbour as he himself owns; as highly important does the highly adorable Order of Freemasons regard to establish an Order for the beautiful sex by which it – through own endeavour and through enduring attempts will be empowered to reach the same felicity and the same advantages as each real Mason, when he acts properly according to his duties.

In the very first paragraph it is stated that, “it is a quality of each righteous man and friend of humanity to share felicity with others and to direct his benefits towards them”. This philanthropic statement perfectly fits in the overarching ideological frame of the Enlightenment, the creation of the realm of felicity, or ‘pursuit of happiness’ as it was put in the American Declaration of Independence. As a consequence, the manuscript goes on, “the order of Freemasons decided to establish an order for the beautiful sex”. In this way, women “will be enabled to reach the same felicity”. They will “gain the same advantages as a freemason when he performs his duties properly”. In other words, it is possible for women to reach moral equality with men. If they enter an organisation that works for the ennoblement of human virtues, they will achieve the same moral level as men. The second paragraph reformulates this ambition in a very clear way:

§2

Our goal with the establishment of this Order is mainly to [provide] the beautiful sex an opportunity to the before mentioned, to work in companionship with us on the construction of human felicity and [through this work] in a certain way be united with us.

The main purpose of establishing a masonic order for women is to “work united with us [the Freemasons] on the construction of human felicity”. This co-operation unites men and women, which can be interpreted as true equality being established. The third paragraph defines human and true felicity by two key elements: maintenance of a pure conscience, and performance of real virtue. Each woman who enters the order must make these two ingredients a life-long duty and value them more than life itself:

§3

As it is beyond doubt that human and true felicity cannot be reached and promoted by anything else than through the preservation of a pure consciousness and the clear practice of true virtues; as much it is considered that each Women who decides to become a member of this Order also must make the decision to make these two parts a life-long duty and to estimate them higher than life itself.

A woman who enters the order will not only learn to make herself happy, but also to teach others to obtain the same felicity. On the ‘path of virtue’ she will lead them to the ‘temple of felicity’—two standard motives of enlightened prose and poetry.

The general ideology of the remaining paragraphs goes into the same direction: a female mason must work on the purification of her conscience, the construction of the temple of virtue and the elimination of hatred and other vices. She must fulfil her duties with magnanimous altruism. The second chapter of the paragraphs explains the name and the general organisation of *L’Ordre de la Maçonnerie de Dames*. Each lodge is constituted of at least 5 members besides the deputy master, who is always a male Freemason. His duties are only to assist the ‘Maîtresse en chaire’ and to control the regulations and order of the lodge. No other male member is allowed to enter the order. The female master of the lodge as well as the female Grand Master of the order are obliged to correspond with the male masonic system of the territory to which they belong in masonic terms, the so

called ‘Sprenge’.¹⁶ The use of this terminology is a clear reference to the usages of the mediaeval knightly orders, adopted by the SO, which used it to define internal borders between ‘provinces’ of the order.

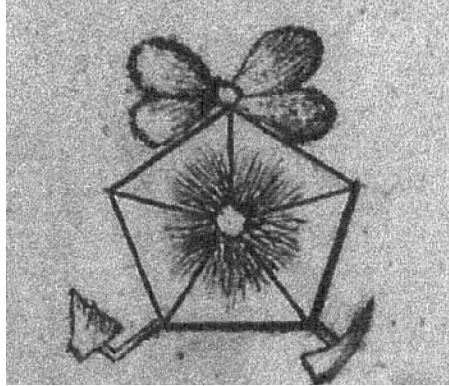
Degrees, Offices and Symbols of **L’Ordre de la Maçonnerie de Dames**

The third chapter illustrates the five degrees of the order as well as the offices in the lodge. The first three degrees correspond to those in the usual male version of Freemasonry. The fourth degree was given to the wardens and the fifth degree to the *Maîtresse en chaire*. The time spent in the three first degrees served to investigate the character of the woman concerned. The master of the lodge and the wardens were elected among those who had reached the 4th and 5th degrees. Besides master, 1st and 2nd warden there were three further special offices in the lodge: secretary, treasurer and orator. Serving sisters assisted with ceremonies in the lodge as well as at the festive board. As mentioned before, the deputy master was always a male mason. Especially interesting is the function of the secretary who also was chosen among those who carried the highest degree. She must not only ‘love order’ and keep minute books, but also ‘have a good hand-writing’ and speak both French and German. The description of this office proves that the secretaries of 18th century societies played an important role in communication and networking. Remarkable are the duties of the orator—she had to deliver speeches on various subjects to the lodge. These speeches had to be “of a moral nature” and they should be about Freemasonry. They should stimulate the sisters to act in accordance with the virtue discussed. The speeches had to be censored by the master or deputy master of the lodge.

In the following chapter the jewel and bijoux of the order are described. The jewel of the order is a regular pentagon with a bright shining sun in its centre. The sun is interpreted as an allegory of the lodge as well as of the purity of moral and brightness of virtue. At the bottom of the jewel we find a hammer and a trowel, which reminds the sisters to be prepared to build the temple of felicity. The jewel is

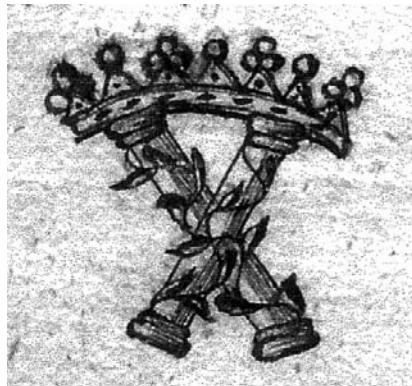
¹⁶ ‘Sprenge’ is an old German mediaeval term that means ‘limits of a local deanery or a judicial circuit’. In the imagination of the Strict Observance, space was subdivided into different ‘Sprenge’ under the control of single lodges and provincial chapters.

worn on a blue ribbon on the right breast. The jewel of office is worn on a blue collar.

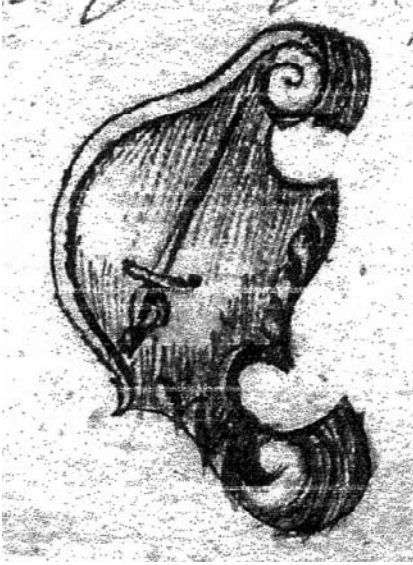


The jewel of
L'Ordre de la Maçonnerie de Dames

The *Grande Maîtresse* of the order wears a jewel made of brilliants and depicting a sun and a crown as a symbol of power and sovereign rule. The bijou of the *Maîtresse en chaire* shows two tendrils entwined and crossed pillars in the form of a S^t Andrews cross united by a crown. The pillars symbolise fortitude and love and the green tendrils unity and devotion towards the order. The bijou of the 1st warden is a shield with a sword symbolising the execution of the master's will as well as security and order within the lodge. An anchor with a turtle symbolising honour is the bijou of the 2nd warden. The bijoux of secretary, treasurer and orator are rather predictable and correspond to those in use within Freemasonry: crossed pens, keys and a script-roll.



Bijou of the
Grande Maîtresse of the Order



Bijou of the
Maîtresse en Chair



Bijou of the 1st Warden

Bijou of the 2nd Warden

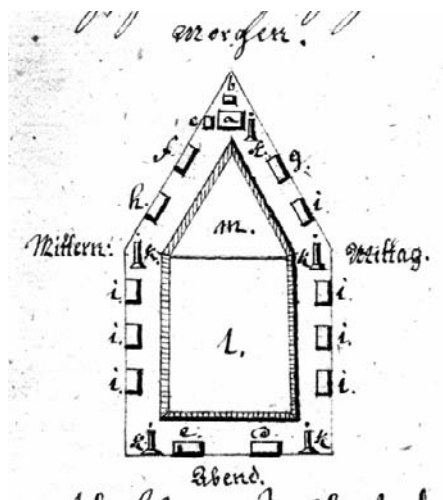
The Shape, Furniture and Equipment of the Lodge

In the fifth chapter, furniture and equipment of the lodge are described. Especially interesting is the design of the tracing board for the first two degrees in the shape of a pentagon. On its western side we find a lamb and a dove, on the southern side a dog and in the north two hands. At the eastern and most important side, we find a snake that bites itself in its tail. In the middle of the tracing board an eye in a cloud is depicted, surrounded by a circle of stars with a bird that covers it with her wings. This tracing board is explained in a different way, depending on the degree worked. The tracing-board for the third and fourth degree is of the same shape, but contains different symbols, viz. the temple of felicity and its four pillars. Also the fifth degree has its own tracing board: the temple of felicity is now built upon five pillars. Unfortunately, the author of the manuscript did not provide sketches or illustrations of the different tracing boards or their symbols. In the seventh chapter, however, we get an impression of how

the lodge room itself should look like. If taken literally, this would have required actually building a room with a very special design.

Opening and closing of the lodge

Chapter eight contains the catechetical dialogue between the master and the wardens for the opening and closing of the lodge. Depending upon the degree in which the lodge is opened, the name of the 1st warden (and also of the holders of the degree itself) changes, from 1st *Calliope* (the muse of epic poetry, holding a writing tablet in her hand and wearing a golden crown), 2nd *Clio* (the muse of history and historiography, often sitting with a scroll in her hand besides a book chest), 3rd *Themis* (the goddess of justice, blind-folded and holding a pair of scales), 4th *Urania* (the 'heavenly', the muse of astronomy, holding a staff pointed at a celestial globe) to 5th *Vesta* (the goddess of the hearth, who possesses the conventional powers of the Olympian gods including superhuman strength).



Sketch of the lodge room. Explanation of the letters: a = table of the *Maître en chair*; b = her chair; c = deputy master; d = first warden; e = second warden; f = secretary; g = treasurer; h = orator; i = places of other sisters; k = lamps with 'spiritus vini' (called 'guéridons'); l = tracing board; m = a part of the inner temple that is veiled by a curtain.

The names and their symbolic use and representation suggest that the order wanted to establish values, perceived as typically feminine according to the antique literary and religious tradition: poetry, history, justice in the first three degrees, lifting up to heaven in the fourth, and ending with ruling the hearth = house = lodge in the fifth degree. There might also be a deeper and more esoteric explanation to the five names. The nine spheres of the universe in the Ptolemaic system were in Neo-Pythagorean thought assigned to the nine muses, stressing the divine harmony of the cosmos. Following this assignation, Clio represented the (first) lunar sphere, Calliope the (second) sphere of Mercury and Urania the (ninth) sphere of stars (see picture 1).¹⁷

After the ritual check whether the doors are closed and secure, the master asks if the first warden is a female freemason. Of course she answers affirmative. The next question is whom she owes it and the warden delivers the answer: "To the noble order of Freemasons". The second warden is asked what she has learned and replies "To practice friendship, to wander the path of virtue and to make myself and others happy".

<i>Maîtresse en chaire</i>	<i>Wardens reply</i>
To the order, my Sisters!	
Sister Junior Warden, what is your duty during the opening of the lodge?	To see if the door is locked and everything is in proper order.
Perform your duty!	The doors are closed, and everything is secure.
Sister Second Warden, are you a woman free mason?	Yes, I am
To whom do you owe this?	The noble Order of Masons
Sister Second Warden, where have you been received?	In a just lodge

¹⁷ Roob 2005 24.

What did you learn there?	To practice friendship, to wander virtuously and to make myself and others happy
Sister First Warden, what is your name?	[1 st degree:] Calliope [2 nd degree:] Clio [3 rd degree:] Themis [4 th degree:] Uranie [5 th degree:] Vesta
Do you think it is time to open the lodge?	Yes, I think so.

With her hammer, the *Maîtresse en chaire* gives the following knocks: – • • – – which are answered by both wardens. Now, the lodge is declared opened and the signs of the degree are given. The closing of the lodge follows more or less the same procedure. The reception rituals of the different degrees are described in detail in the following chapters.

The Ritual of Initiation in the Different Degrees – A Brief Outline

As indicated by the number of pages devoted to each degree (presented in the table above), the initiation rituals vary from a rather complex one for the first to a mere instruction for the higher degrees. In the first degree, the candidate is examined thoroughly before the initiation begins. All gold, jewels and metals are taken from her and she is blindfolded. A sister, without masonic regalia, approaches the candidate with serious questions. Subsequently, a sister dressed in full masonic regalia takes the candidate to the entrance of the lodge. The door is opened and the *Maîtresse en chair* asks via the second warden: “Who is there” and gets the answer: “Worshipful master, it is a woman, or a lady who desires to be received into the order of female masons”. Further examination of the initiate’s names, origin and religion takes place. The wardens make two ‘journeys’ around the lodge with the candidate. She is then placed on the first step of the ladder on the tracing board.¹⁸ Here, the *Maîtresse en chair* holds a long instruc-

¹⁸ Climbing a ‘Jacob’s ladder’ of five rungs placed on the tracing board is a theme, clearly borrowed from the adoption rituals which for this reason must have been known by Von Vitzthumb.

tion on the virtues of Freemasonry and examines the candidate. The wardens bring the candidate—still blindfolded—before the altar where she takes her oath according to the ‘Gelobungs-Formular’, the ‘oath-form’, apparently a document that was always read in this context.

In the first section the candidate promises solemnly not to reveal the secrets that are communicated to her, to anybody who she does not recognise as a true member of the order:

I, NN, swear and promise most solemnly hereby and take as an oath, that I never in any way will reveal, disclose or expose to any human being what I now and in the future will get knowledge about, see and hear in the Order of Maçonnerie des Dames, but that I instead will keep the secrets that are shared with me, as a sanctuary under the seal of the most profound taciturnity in my heart and never will talk about that with anybody than those I have examined and recognised thoroughly as a righteous and honour-loving sister of our Order.

She also promises to obey the rulers of the order and to practice true friendship towards her sisters. In a third section, she is obliged to pay her reception fees properly and not to claim them back: “I will never ever and under no evasions claim back anything of that what I have given to the Order and what I have paid and will pay for my initiations”.

It is also a part of the oath to pay honour to the order of male Freemasonry, to support its lodges and to protect it against accusations from outside:

And no less, I will pay the most perfect adoration towards the honourable Order of our brethren, the Freemasons and their members, as inaugurators and protectors of our Order, [I will] promote the best of their lodges, defend their just cause against anybody, and as much as I can divert all hatred, envy and defame from them.

The candidate also swears that she will undergo any punishment that is imposed on her voluntarily and without any criticism. Finally, she promises solemnly to fulfil the oath with the help of the Great Architect of the Universe.

Subsequently, the candidate is placed between the two wardens where her blindfold is released—she is allowed to see the light. In an instruction, the initiation ritual and its symbolic dimensions are explained. The candidate is dressed with a white apron and receives a

trowel and the jewel of the order. She receives also two pairs of gloves, the first to work with and the second to give to the man whom she esteems most. The password of the degree is 'Obedience'. The tracing board and signs of the degree are explained and the lodge is closed.

Initiation into the second degree is far simpler. The candidate is asked if she wants to continue on her masonic path. She knocks herself at the door of the lodge and answers to the question "Who is there?" put by the Master of the lodge and forwarded through the second Warden: "A sister who asks obediently to be received into the second degree of Masonry". The candidate is asked by the Master "What is your name?" and she answers: 'Calliope'. She is then placed on the second step of the ladder to the temple of virtue depicted on the tracing board. Here, a catechetical examination takes place. Subsequently, she confirms the oath taken in the first degree, the tracing board is explained and she receives the password—'Silence'—of this degree.

Initiation into the third degree is equally simple. The candidate is named 'Clio', her symbolic name of the second degree. She is placed on the third step of the ladder on the tracing board. Now a very long examination and instruction by the master of the lodge takes place. The oath is simply a repetition of that of the second degree. '*Fermeté*' (steadfastness) is the new password. In the fourth degree, the candidate's name is 'Themis'. Similar to the other degrees, she climbs now the fourth step of the ladder. Again, the master of the lodge speaks to the candidate. The password of the degree is 'Vigilance'. Even the ritual of the final fifth degree follows the pattern described. The name of the candidate is 'Urania'. At the entrance of the lodge she is asked: [Q] "From where are you?" [A] "From the west." (literary: from the evening) [Q] "Where are you going?" [A] "Towards sunrise." [Q] "Where have you worked?" [A] "On the temple of felicity." [Q] "What do you desire?" [A] "To contribute to the fulfilment of this edifice". The ladder is now climbed in a particular way and a long instruction takes place. The oath of the previous degrees is confirmed and the candidate receives an apron in the colour of sunrise that is explained in a rather interesting way: "The colour symbolises that the order should try to reach the same lustre ['Glantzé'] it had when it rose". Even more interesting is that the candidate receives a *hat* with the following motivation: the hat reminds the—female—Mason that she is obliged "to defend 'like a man' the privileges of our order in

times of trouble". The time of the 'rise of the order' is probably not only an Arcadian motive, but also a reference to the knight-templar motive of the SO and its efforts to re-establish its lost splendour and power. Also the instruction given to the candidate to 'defend the privileges of the order in times of trouble' can be seen as part of the chivalric virtues which were stressed in such masonic systems as the SO.

That, then, gives us the basic outline of the initiation rituals of *L'Ordre de la Maçonnerie de Dames*. The remaining regulations concern voting procedures ('balloting') and the festive board. No less than eleven toasts were proposed in the ritual. They are interesting because they mention "the high leaders of the [male] order of Freemasons" and imply that there could be 'visiting sisters'. The last two toasts were directed towards all Freemasons around the world, both female and male. The manuscript ends with paragraphs on reception fees and financial matters of the order. Besides the mentioned fees, on the day of Margaret (most likely referring to the day of the patroness of Scotland, Saint Margaret of Scotland, the 16th of November) each sister had to pay a certain amount of money to the male branch of the order, "as a sacrifice" and "a sign of their true connection with them".¹⁹ The money collected, together with a list of all female masons, had to be sent to the Provincial Master of the male lodges in the same county (most likely only those belonging to the same obedience, the Strict Observance).

Was the plan for a female branch of the order simply a try to raise more money for the purposes of the SO, or was it a serious attempt to give women the possibility of moral ennoblement, so admired by the Enlightenment? There is no doubt that the organisation, ideology and rituals of *L'Ordre de la Maçonnerie de Dames* were a well-developed project. It could have been put into practice immediately. But the further treatment of the project proposed by the *Eques a Sphaera* seems to indicate that this never happened. A letter sent to the directory of the SO (following the manuscript in the archive) shows that Von Hund did not embrace the idea with enthusiasm. Von Hund writes

in my opinion, this idea may be realised by way of exception in those countries [Silesia], however generally it would not be so appropriate and in many parts it requires a more careful development and an other

¹⁹ The day is close to St. Andrews day (patron of Scotland), the 30th of November on which one of the earliest Scottish lodges, *L'Union* in Berlin, was founded in 1742. In the Swedish rite, the Scottish degrees from IV-VI are called St. Andrews-degrees.

direction, furthermore right now it is not the time to realise such plans which require much effort and involve serious difficulties [...]²⁰

Two years later, in 1775, the document was laid *ad acta*. So far I found no evidence whether the *Eques a Sphaera* founded a female masonic lodge in Silesia. But this does not mean that female Freemasonry in the circles around chivalric masonic orders never was established.

Female Freemasons – A Swedish Example

In Stockholm a lodge of adoption with the name ‘La Véritable et Constante Amitié’ was founded in 1776. The constitution was issued by the Grand master of all French lodges, Louis Philippe Joseph d’Orléans, duc de Chartres, and signed by his sister, Louise Marie Thérèse Mathilde d’Orléans, duchesse de Bourbon-Condé in her position as *Très Sérénissime Grande Maîtresse* of the adoption lodges of that kingdom. The document was issued ‘at the Garden of Eden’ on the 8th of May 1776 and confirmed with a seal that contains three coats of arms, those of the Grand Master, the *Grande Maîtresse*, and the lodge ‘St. Antoine’ in Paris. This seems to have been one of the first duties of the French *Grande Maîtresse* and one of the first daughter lodges established outside France. It also seems to prove that the lodge St. Antoine already was involved in the establishment of adoption masonry.²¹ In his fundamental work on the history of Swedish Freemasonry, Thulstrup writes: “No information on the activities of

²⁰ „Meiner Meinung nach kann diese Idee vielleicht in dortigen Landen particulariter ausgeführet werden, sie dürffte aber auffs ganze nicht so passend seyn, und alsdann auch in vielen Stellen einer fleißigeren Ausarbeitung und anderer Wendung nöthig haben, und über dem ist es wohl itzt nicht de tempore dergl. Plans die einer vielen Mühe erfordern, und mit großen Beschwerrlichkeiten [...] sich vorzunehmen“.

²¹ Jan Snoek has pointed out to me the following facts. In 1775, the lodge *St. Antoine* is said to have founded an adoption lodge under the princess of Bourbon. However, *St. Antoine* at the same time apparently was declared dormant. On the other hand, the master of the lodge *La Candeur* (created in April 1775) seems to have installed the princess of Bourbon as the *Grande Maîtresse* of all adoption lodges. *La Candeur* later on acted as a mother lodge, creating daughter adoption lodges around the world. The occurrence of the coat of arms of the lodge *St. Antoine* on the Swedish document suggests, however, that there was already a lodge of adoption attached to that lodge previous to the creation of *La Candeur* and that the princess of Bourbon already held office at that time.

the lodge and the names of the members is to be found in the archives of the Swedish Grand lodge".²² However, some source material has remained in a private Swedish collection. According to a preserved minute book and membership records, the wife of Duke Charles, the later king Charles XIII, Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta, became the Swedish *Grande Maîtresse* of the adoption lodges.²³ It is sometimes claimed that she was even initiated in the strictly male Swedish order of Freemasons, but as long as no clear evidence is found on this issue, this suggestion must be regarded as mere speculation.²⁴ Also, Thulstrup seems not to have been aware of the existence of a manuscript in the Swedish language that was recently rediscovered in the archives of the Swedish order of Freemasons, dating from around the same time as the project of the SO. The reason for dating the document from that time is that the author of the manuscript mentions 'Scottish masters', which was then the fifth degree of the Swedish Rite. This degree was established around 1760 in Sweden and several Scottish lodges in the Swedish realm had subsequently promoted masons to that degree. By the time of the foundation of the adoption lodge, this degree was fully developed.

In the Swedish manuscript named "Loix et Statuts de la Maçonnerie des Dames", a male mason is Master of the female lodge.²⁵ He must carry the Scottish Masters degree. Scottish Masters were allowed to visit the women's lodge, which indicates that there must have been a sufficient number of them to make such a rule realistic. However, the manuscript—on thirty folio sheets—describes a far more developed and dramatic ritual and organisation than the project within the SO. Besides the male and female master, there are several other offices in the lodge: a Warden, a sister of introduction, a brother whose

²² Thulstrup 1898 8.

²³ In the collections of Roger de Robelin, Stockholm. Robelin published a few lines on this lodge of adoption in his contribution to an exhibition catalogue on the relationship between France and Sweden: "Tre kronor-Tre liljor: svensk-franska frimurare-kontakter" in *Solen och nordstjärnan: Frankrike och Sverige på 1700-talet*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1/10/1993-9/1/1994, Grand Palais, Paris, 15/3-13/6/1994, Stockholm 1993 205f.

²⁴ Roger de Robelin suggested that Hedvig Elisabet Charlotta was initiated in the male order. During the ongoing work on the Swedish Grand Record which covers around 4300 members of the Swedish order of Freemasons one absolutely anonymous member (No. 2016) was detected, which remains a puzzle to solve.

²⁵ The French title of the manuscript can be explained because the source of it is most likely of French origin and French was widely spoken and used in written correspondence among the Swedish Enlightened elite.

role it is to play the ‘angel of the paradise’ [‘Ängelen i Paradiset’] (i.e. the angel of perdition) and is called Frère Terrible. Three degrees are given: apprentice, fellow and master. In the following, I want to give a short impression of how the ritual was performed.

The tracing board of the 1st degree displays Noah’s Ark, the Tower of Babel and—similar to the tracing board of the SO—a ladder with five steps. The sisters are sitting on both sides of the lodge and the visiting brethren among them, “crossing the points of their swords against each other”. The lodge is opened with some questions and answers from a catechism. The reception in the first degree is carried out as follows. There is a chamber of reflection with a Bible and a candle. The sister of introduction examines the candidate and takes some parts of the clothes and one earring from her. She explains also why. The candidate is blindfolded. She gets a trowel in her hand. The sister of introduction takes the candidate to the door of the lodge and gives a sign with five distinct knocks, different from the SO: . . . — — . The Warden answers upon these knocks, opens the door and asks “Who is there?”. The sister of introduction answers “A friend with a noble heart who desires to enter our perfect society as a female Freemason”. She leads the candidate into the lodge. The sisters and brothers are shaking their aprons. The candidate is put in front of the tracing board. The female Master of the lodge speaks to her. After this, the blindfold is released, the candidate walks under an arch of crossed swords towards the altar. Behind the altar stand the Master of the lodge and the *Frère Terrible* with a flaming sword, which he holds over the candidate’s head [”blir förd til Altaret, hwaräst står utmed Stor M: frere terrible med et flammigt Swärd, som hållas öfwer Antagandes hufwud”]. Kneeling down, she takes her oath, which in comparison with the oath of the SO is much more symbolic:

With the knowledge I have about the great Sun of the whole Edifice of the World, which from a mixed clod has brought forth the four elements and out of this has created the very highest art of construction, I declare to hold, keep and hide all secrets of Freemasonry [...] So help me the fire of the supreme heaven and lead me on the paths that are worthy for this advanced society.²⁶

²⁶ “Wid den Kännedom jag hafwer om hela den Stora Wärlds Byggandens Sol, hwilcken utaf en sammanblandad Klump frambragdt de 4 Elementerna, och därutur framskaffadt den allrastörfta Byggningskonsten, utfäster jag mig at hålla, bewara och gömma alla Frimureriets Hemligheter [...] Den Öfwersta Himmels Eld ware mig härtill ok lede mig på de vägar som äro detta upphögda Sällskapet wärdige” (SFMO

This oath has interesting references to esoteric and even cabalistic motives that were popular in Swedish masonic circles, especially around duke Charles, later king Charles XIII. However, the formula of the oath apparently belongs to a certain group of French adoption rituals of early origin.²⁷ The sisters and brethren clap their hands five times in the following way • • – – – and the female Master of the lodge hands over the apron to the candidate. It is white and has white edges. The candidate also receives a white ribbon with a trowel of silver and a white garter with a rose. The dress of the candidate must in this degree be white, double white earrings (“dubbla hwita örhängen”, perhaps two intertwined rings suggesting a chain) and gloves have to be worn. The word of the degree is FLIX FLOX that is supposed to mean ‘school of virtue’. In some lodges the word is ‘EVA’, as the manuscript tells, ‘the origin of all life’. By five claps in their hands (in the same manner as above) the Master and Mistress of the lodge welcome the new member of the order. After the reception, the regulations and rules are read. It follows the catechism, which also contains an explanation of the tracing board. The catechism has many similarities to the French adoption rituals which, for instance, becomes clear in the following exchange of words: Mistress [M]: “Are you apprentice my sister?” Candidate [C]: “I think so.” [M]: “Why do you say that you believe it, but are not sure of it?” [C]: “Because an apprentice is not sure of anything”.²⁸ Finally, the lodge is closed with the same text with which it was opened.

In the second degree, an eight-pointed star shines over the altar. At the table of the warden, an illuminated picture displays the garden of Eden, Adam and Eve are standing in front of the tree of knowledge and are eating of the fruit. The snake is wound around the tree. Below, a skull with two crossed bones is displayed. “On a small table stands a tree with hanging fruits, carried out so naturally that they look like the real apples that also are attached thereupon”. The tracing board shows a garden with the tree of knowledge. Under the tree lies Neptune, car-

Okatalogiserade manuskript-samlingen “Loix et Statuts de la Maçonnerie des Dames”).

²⁷ Jan Snoek drew my attention to this, and provided me with some of those rituals for comparison, for which I owe him my thanks.

²⁸ Again I thank Jan Snoek for drawing my attention to a printed adoption ritual from 1775, issued in The Hague and where this passage is identical to the Swedish manuscript.

rying a bowl out of which a river flows through the garden. But the tracing board shows also how Adam and Eve are expelled from Paradise. A sister holds a chain made of white tin, "long enough to go round the neck and both hands".²⁹ The Frère Terrible carries an olive branch. The sister of introduction and a brother specially appointed for the occasion examine the candidate in the chamber of reflection. She is then led blindfolded to the door of the lodge and after five knocks she enters the lodge. Frightened, brethren and sisters cry "Eve! Eve!". The Master of the lodge—having calmed the others down—now questions the candidate and a brother carries out the 'fire-ordeal': the sister with the chain makes a terrible noise while the assistant brother leads the candidate to a flame over which he holds her hand. The second ordeal leads the candidate to an illuminated picture. There the blindfold is released and the picture, depicting the Garden of Eden, is explained with the words: "Freemasonry is a way to diminish the punishment imposed upon humanity after tasting the apple from the tree of knowledge". The Master of the lodge continues: "Let her walk from death to life and show her the light, the guide of Freemasonry, the Eastern Star". The candidate is lead in front of the altar where she can see the eight-pointed star. Subsequently, the chain is laid crosswise over the arms and neck of the candidate. The Frère Terrible holds the olive branch over her head and the candidate takes a new oath. Next, the Master of the lodge makes the candidate eat from an apple. With a trowel, the Mistress of the lodge then ritually seals the mouth of the candidate with almond paste. The apron of the degree is white with a blue edge and five blue roses, the candidate also receives a trowel hanging from a blue ribbon, and a blue garter. The password of the degree is 'Belba' which is explained as 'concord'. The catechism of the second degree contains twenty-five questions.

The tracing board of the third degree displays many symbols, each of them placed in a circle: a rainbow, the sacrifices of Noah and Abraham, the Ark of Noah on Mount Ararat, the Tower of Babel, the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, the transformation of Lot's wife into a salt pillar, the dream of Joseph: sun, moon and the eleven stars, Joseph in the well. The four parts of the world are expressed through symbols at the edge of the tracing board. In front of the tracing board lie a ladder and a mechanical chest. A chisel, a hammer and a club are placed

²⁹ 'hwitt bleck', 'white tin' might be a mistranslation of 'fer blanc', plain, uncoated iron.

on the lid of the chest. The initiation is similar to the other degrees, the candidate entering the lodge blindfolded.

The Master of the lodge gives a brother the command “Let her ascend the mystical ladder”. Without shoes, the candidate now climbs the five steps of the ladder with the help of a brother and a sister in a special way. The Mistress of the lodge asks: “Has the sister now reached the highest step of felicity?” and the subsequent answer is of course affirmative. The candidate is now led to the altar and the Frère Terrible holds a sword on her neck, while she is taking the oath. After the oath, the candidate is lead to the chest and has to knock five times with the chisel, the club and the hammer. The mechanism of the chest works so that with the last of the fifteen knocks a heart pops up through a small opening in the lid.

The manuscript mentions different practical solutions in use in different lodges. Some used a spring that lifted up the heart when the hammer hit a certain spot of the chest-lid (the sister was instructed where to hit), some used a hidden stick at the side of the chest, operated by a brother. Some lodges, the manuscript claims, even used an illuminated, burning heart. When the heart has popped up from the chest, the Master of the lodge asks what the candidate has produced and gets the answer from the brother “there has been made a heart out of it” a phrase that is further explained immediately by the Master of the lodge: “As you see, my sister, masonry is [about] working for the heart. It gives us dominion over the heart. We know how to make – out of the hardest and most pitiless – the most compassionate and tender”. The apron of the third degree has five double roses, the dress of the master’s lodge is black and the password of the degree is ‘O Volzaire’, which is explained with meaning “the bright shining light”. The new master is placed in the chain of brethren and sisters that is now formed. The catechism of the third degree consists of more than thirty questions. The manuscript of *La Maçonnerie des Dames* ends with the ceremony for the festive board, and rules and regulations.

Mixed and Female Freemasonry: Enlightened Equality?

The Swedish ritual presented belongs to the Adoption Masonry that at that time spread throughout Europe. In the Copenhagen archive we find several manuscripts “Die Freÿmaurerrey der Frauenzimmer” (“Freemasonry of Women”), apparently translated from the French *La*

maçonnerie des femmes, printed in 1774. They indicate that Adoption Masonry most likely was known in a Scandinavian German-speaking milieu.³⁰ One of these manuscripts, dating from 1774, is largely identical with the Swedish manuscript, but is not as developed. There are no references to Scottish Masters or to deeper esoteric conceptions as they are expressed in the oath. In its Swedish version, the French original apparently was reinterpreted and developed further. Unfortunately, we do not know whether this ritual of adoption freemasonry was ever practised in Sweden. The way in which the manuscript is written, however, suggests that this was the case. Two versions of the word of the first degree are mentioned, as well as different solutions of the mechanical chest used in the third degree. If the manuscript were not rooted in actual practice, these variations would be rather hard to explain. The apparent existence of Scottish Masters assumes that in the country where the ritual was practised, a well-developed masonic system for male Freemasons existed. This can be interpreted as an indication that the ritual was practised in a Swedish lodge of adoption, most likely *La Véritable et Constante Amitié*, founded in 1776. There is a remarkable coincidence in time: during the 1770s, the project of a female branch was handed in to the SO, a German translation of a French ritual for adoption masonry was made, a lodge of adoption was founded in Stockholm and a more elaborate version of the ritual was edited in Sweden. From the same period, 1769, there exists clear evidence of masonic-like activities for women under the auspices of the SO. In archive material found in Berlin regarding lodges in Stralsund, which at that time belonged to Sweden, in a box named 'Stricte Observanz', I found two manuscripts in Swedish with initiation rituals carried out by a female Master of a lodge. Some parts of the rituals of this so-called 'Order of the Red Ribbon' will hopefully be published soon.³¹ Taking this evidence together it is no exaggeration to state that the history of Freemasonry has to be rewritten from a new perspective. It has at least to be amended with an important component: the development of exclusively female or mixed

³⁰ This may well apply for the Danish realm where the influence of German language and culture was substantial during the 18th century. Large groups of the inhabitants of Copenhagen were of German origin and parts of the realm belonged to the German-Roman Empire. The same can be said about Sweden, where there even existed a German-speaking (male) lodge in Stockholm between 1761 and 1788.

³¹ Önnerrfors forthcoming.

lodges that follow the same ritual dynamics and ideational patterns as male freemasonry.

The documents quoted have in common that they describe women as actors in mixed orders. Women are taking part in the secret space that was dominated by men for a long time. There is no doubt that the creation of mixed lodges is an undercurrent to the establishment of male Freemasonry throughout Europe. Interesting links to the creation of higher degrees have to be investigated further. According to Koselleck, Enlightenment and secret privacy shared an equal role in the formation of the European bourgeoisie during the 18th century.³² Freemasonry—including its chivalric branches—did not take place and was not fixed within an exclusively male space; it was opened up to female participation. Regardless what gender the members of a lodge belonged to, the utopian and ideational potential of secret orders was seen as a way to ennoble mankind as a whole. Through a shared ideology and a shared experience of initiation with a strong moral message, equality was built-up: men and women united in their common work on the construction of the ‘temple of virtue’ and strove united for the realisation of the ‘kingdom of felicity’.

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³² Koselleck 1959.

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APPENDIX-I
MAÇONNERIE DES DAMES, 1^{STER} THEIL

TRANSCRIPT BY KLAUS BETTAG

[Deckblatt:]

F XXVI 31 a 3



Maçonnerie des Dames

1^{ster} Theil.

Von dem Herrn Praefecto a Spaera eingereicht
ad Speciale dⁿⁱ Provincialis d.d 20. Jun. 473 [= 1773]
9 459 [Anno Ordinis]
in vol. 11. directorii. **No: 1.**

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Cap. I.

Von der Absicht der Stiftung und dem Ent-
zweck
deß Ordens überhaupt.

§. 1.

So wie es der Eigenschaft eines jeden rechtschaffenen / Mannes und Menschenfreundes gemäß ist, sein / Glück gerne mit andern zu theilen, und seinen / Neben Menschen, wann es möglich ist, eben so viele / Vortheile zuzuwenden als er selber besitzt. / So höchst angelegen hat es auch der höchst zu ver- / ehrende Orden der Frey Maurer sich

seyn / laßen, einen Orden auch vor das schöne Ge- / schlecht zu stif-
ten, durch welchen daßelbe in / Stand gesetzet werde, vermöge eige-
ner Be- / mühung und anzuwendendem Fleiße, sich eben / so glück-
lich zu machen und dieselben Vorthelle / zu erreichen, die ein jeder
ächter Maurer / genießet, wann er seinen Pflichten gehörig / nachko-
mt.

§. 2.

Unsere Absicht bey Errichtung dieses Ordens, / gehet also hauptsäch-
lich dahin: Dem schönen / Geschlechte Gelegenheit zu verschaffen,
gemein- / schaftlich mit Uns an dem Bau der mensch- / lichen Glück-
seeligkeit zu arbeiten, und dadurch / mit Uns gleichsam vereinigt zu
werden.

§. 3.

Gleich wie es aber eine ausgemachte Sache ist, daß / die menschliche
und wahre Glückseeligkeit durch / nichts anders erlangt und befördert
werden / kan, als durch Bewahrung eines unbefleckten / Gewißens
und willige Ausübung ächter / Tugenden; So wird auch hier vorausge-
setzet, / daß jedes Frauenzimmer so sich entschließet, / ein Mitglied
dieses Ordens zu werden, auch / den Entschluß faßen muß, beyde
Stücke

2

so lange sie lebt, sich zur Pflicht zu machen, / und solche höher zu
schätzen als das Leben / selbst. Die Einrichtung dieses Ordens, und /
die Anleitung die Ihnen in solchem hierzu / gegeben werden soll, wird
Ihnen diese Be- / mühung ungemein erleichtern. Sie werden / lernen
nicht nur sich selbst glücklich zu ma- / chen, sondern sie werden auch
Mittel und / Wege finden, andere mehr, denen sie wohl / wollen, und
die ihre Freunde sind, zu gleicher / Glückseeligkeit zu führen. Wenn
sie nach / getroffener vernünftiger Wahl ihre Lehrlinge / gehörig un-
terrachten, und mit Aufmercksam- / keit, gleichsam als an der Hand
gängelnd, / auf dem Wege der Tugend bis zum Tempel / der Glück-
seeligkeit leiten.

§. 4.

Die Zufriedenheit die einem tugendsamen Her- / tzen durch eine so
lobenswürdige Bemühung / zuwächst, und die angenehme Überzeu-

gung / zu dem Bau der menschlichen Glückseeligkeit / das seinige auch beygetragen zu haben, wird / Ihnen eine solche Beruhigung verschaffen, / die sie nach einem nur einmahl empfundenen / Gefühl derselben, um alle Güter der Welt / nicht vertauschen, sondern vielmehr als die / reitzenste Belohnung betrachten werden.

§. 5.

Wir wollen aber nicht daß sie dieser wegen allen / Ergötzungen und Annehmlichkeiten diesen Le- / bens entsagen sollen. Weit entfernt von alle / dem was man eine mürrische Tugend, eine / übertriebene Strenge, gezwungene Sitten, ver- / stellte Zurückhaltung und Scheinheiligkeit / nennet; Entfernt von alle dem verlangen / wir vielmehr daß sie ihre Handlungen bey

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allen Gelegenheiten nach den Gesetzen eines leb- / haften, muntern und aufgeweckten Geistes, / in ungezwungener und anständiger Sittsam- / keit, mit einer edlen Freymüthigkeit einrichten / und ausüben möchten. Hierdurch werden sie / der Welt zu erkennen geben, wie die Tugend / nichts weniger als schwer [sic!] sey, und daß man / auch die strengste Art derselben mit einem / fröhlichen und aufgeräumten Herten aus- / üben könne.

§. 6.

Dieses wird alsdann die Profanen aufmerksam / machen. Sie werden das muntere Bezeugen, / den freundschaftlich und vertrauten Umgang un- / serer Schwestern, und das anständige und gefäl- / lige Verhalten derselben mit einer solchen Be- / wunderung ansehen, daß endlich der Wunsch in / ihnen entsteht, mit dieser Gesellschaft verei- / niget zu seyn, und sich auch so glücklich zu / wissen als sie sind. Dann wird es ihnen auch / nicht schwer [sic!] fallen, die Anzahl ihrer Mitglieder / zu vermehren, und da und dort Logen zu / errichten, durch welche der Orden selbst in kur- / tzer Zeit eben so zahlreich werden kann, als bereits / schon der Unbrige ist.

§. 7.

Jedoch ist dieses der Entzweck noch nicht allein war- / um dieser Orden gestiftet wird. Es ist bekant / daß der Orden der Fr. M. seinen ursprünglichen / Statuten zu folge nicht vermögend ist, Frauen / zim-

mer unter seine Mitglieder aufzunehmen. / Dieses erweckt bey dem schönen Geschlecht einen / Argwohn gegen uns als schätzten wir Sie in / unsere Zahl aufzunehmen für zu geringe, / und bewog manches Frauenzimmer von der edlen / Maurerey sehr übel zu urtheilen und zu sprechen. / Die Errichtung dieses Ordens wird diesem Übel / abhelfen, wenn wir solchen so viel als möglich

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dem Unßrigen gleichförmig machen; Sie als un- / sere Schwestern, und mit uns als Kinder einer / Kette betrachten, mit Ihnen gleiche Arbeit / verrichten, Ihren Orden so wie den Unßrigen / bey allen Vorfällen mit gleichem Eyfer verthei- / digen und alles beytragen helfen, was ihren / Ruhm und ihre Zufriedenheit befördern kann. / Wenn wir hierdurch vor aller Welt bezeigen, / daß wir ihnen eben die Fähigkeiten zutrauen, / die wir von unseren Brüdern fordern, und Sie / also wirklich und in der That verehren und hoch- / schätzen. Durch diese Begegnung werden Sie / alsdan bewogen werden, ihren Irrthum einzu- / sehen, und künftighin sich als Freundinnen / und Vertheidigerinnen unseres Ordens zu be- / zeigen. Sie werden sich bestreben, die Arbeiten / unserer Mitglieder, die doch gewiß zum allge- / meinen Besten abzielen, zu unterstützen, und / die Materialien zu unserm Großen Bau, als / wahre Mitarbeiterinnen deßelben, herbey zu- / schaffen. Sie werden sich bemühen Andern die / Schönheit der Tugend in ihrem vollen Glantze / zu zeigen, und sie dazu anzureitzen, wenn / Sie das Vorzügliche der Freundschaft und eine / tugendhafte Zeitlichkeit an den Tag legen, und / in den Augen aller Menschen sich beliebt und / verehrungswürdig machen. Und endlich werden / sie sich beeifern die Zahl der Verächter unßers / Lichts geringer, die Zahl der Verehrer deßelben / aber desto zahlreicher zu machen, und überhaupt / als ächte Mauerinnen den Schmuck der edlen / Mauerey zu erhöhen. Dieses ist ihren sonst von / Natur empfindsamen und erkenntlichen Hertzen / alles zuzutrauen, und wir erwarten es von / ihnen mit einer Art von Gewißheit, die Ihnen / solches zur Pflicht macht, der sie sich nicht ent- / ziehen können.

Cap. II.

Von dem Orden selbst, deßen Nahmen und innern Beschaffenheit.

§. 1.

Der Orden selbst bekommt den Nahmen des Ordens der / Frey Maue-
rinnen, oder auf französisch L'Ordre / de la Maçonnerie des Da-
mes. Die Eintheilung / deßelben geschieht nach Art der Fr.-Mr: in beson- / dere Logen deren Anzahl nicht eigentlich bestimmet / werden kann.

§. 2.

Jede Loge muß wenigstens aus 5 Persohnen oder / Mitgliedern beste-
hen, ohne den Deputirten den / die Fr.: Mr: jedesmahl, so oft als Lo-
ge gehalten / wird, und den sie aus ihren Mittgliedern nehmen, / dahin
absenden. So lange nicht 5 Mauerinnen / versamlet werden können, so
lange kann auch / keine Loge eröffnet oder gehalten werden.

§. 3.

Der Deputirte der Fr.: Mr: hat bey der Sache selbst / nichts weiter zu
thun, als der Maitresse en chaire, / oder Meisterin vom Stuhle zu
assistiren und / darauf zu sehen, daß es in der Loge ordentlich / zu-
gehe, und alles denen Statuten gemäß be- / handelt werde. Diese
Einrichtung werden die / Dames sich wohl gefallen laßen, wenn sie
in / Erwägung ziehen, wie dieser Orden durch den / Orden der Fr.: Mr:
eigentlich gestiftet auch dem- / selben so viel als möglich ähnlich ge-
bildet wor- / den, und überhaupt auch unumgänglich nöthig / ist, daß
jemand dem die Sache bekant ist, vor- / züglich bey der ersten Ein-
richtung, dabey sey, / der darauf Acht habe daß die Logen gleich- /
förmig und allenthalben übereinstimmend / arbeiten.

§. 4.

Sonst aber ist dieser Orden nur gantz allein den / Dames gewidmet, und nicht erlaubt irgend / ein Mansbild, es sey auch wer es wolle, in ihre

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Versamlungen komen zu laßen, oder gar als / ein Mitglied aufzunehmen. Man wird / einsehen, daß die Klugheit diese Vorsicht erfordert, um aller daraus zu entstehenden Medi- / sance dadurch vorzubeugen.

§. 5.

Die Meisterin vom Stuhl, sowohl als die Groß- / Meisterin des Ordens selbst sind verbunden, / mit denen Logen der Fr.: Mr.: in deren Sprengel / sie sich befinden, eine genaue Correspondence / zu unterhalten, und in Ordens Sachen ohne / deren Vorbewust und Einwilligung nichts / abzuändern.

§. 6.

Sollte der Orden mit der Zeit sich extendiren und / die Glieder deßelben so anwachsen daß sie nicht / füglich mehr in eine Loge zu bringen wären; / So werden nach und nach deren Logen mehr / errichtet, und über eine jede auch eine besondere / Meisterin vom Stuhl mit ihren Vorsteherinnen / gesetzt, von deren Direction die Mitglieder / der Loge abhängen.

§. 7.

Sämtliche Logen aber so viel auch deren sind, / oder werden möchten, durch die gantze Welt, / stehen schlechterdings unter den Befehlen der / Groß Meisterin des Ordens. Die hinwiederum / nichts verfügen, abändern und unternehmen / kann, als nach geschehener Verabredung mit / dem Groß Meister derer Fr.: Mr.: und nach / erhaltener Einwilligung und Approbation / deßelben.

§. 8.

Hieraus ist zu erkennen, wen dieser Vorschrift / genau nachgelebet wird, wie fest nicht nur / der Grund dieses Ordens gelegeet, wen wir /

also gemeinschaftlich ohne Zwietracht, und / ununterbrochen mit einander arbeiten, son- / dern auch wie nothwendig es sey, daß man

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jedem Mitgliede dieses Ordens, so wie es auch bey / den Unßrigen geschieht, gleich bey der ersten / Aufnahme deßelben, so scharf als möglich / den Gehorsam gegen seine Obern einschärfe. / Diesen letztern allein komt es zu zu prüfen / und zu entscheiden wo es nöthig sey, Verord- / nungen ergehen zu laßen, Abänderungen / zu treffen, Verdienste zu belohnen, und / Ungehorsam zu bestrafen; Erstern aber, / nehmlich denen Mitgliedern des Ordens nur / zu gehorsamen, und zu befolgen was Ihnen / zum Besten des Gantzen anbefohlen und auf- / getragen wird. Jedoch verstehet sich dieses nur / in Ordens Sachen. Den außerdem sind sie / einander gleich und hat keine das Recht vor / der andern sich eines Vorzugs anzumaßen. / Sie werden vielmehr zu gleicher Liebe, zu / gleichem Vertrauen und zu gleicher Freund- / schaft durch das Band des Ordens gegen / einander aufgefordert, und die Einigkeit / muß als eines der stärksten Verwahrungs Mit- / tel ihrer zeitlichen Glückseeligkeit gegen alle / Wiedrige Anfälle auf das genaueste beo- / bachtet werden. Daß man aber in Ordens / Angelegenheiten auf eine Art von Unter- / würfigkeit und auf einen so großen Gehor- / sam dringet, geschieht lediglich um der / Ordnung willen. Jedes vernünftiges / Frauenzimmer wird einsehen, wie es den auch / die Erfahrung lehret, daß kein Ding in der / Welt, es sey auch so klüglich als es nur imer / ward ausgedacht, ohne Ordnung bestehen kan. / Was für eine Verwirrung würde entstehen, / wen eine jede befahlen, oder thun und laßen / könnte was sie wolle? Wie lange würde / der Bau dieses Ordens bestehen? und wie ge- / schwinde würden wir ihn nicht wieder in sein

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voriges Nichts zurückfallen sehen? Ist also / Einer oder der Andern daran gelegen in einen / Orden zu treten der mehr als ein bloß freund- / schaftliches Verbündniß heißet, und der wahre / und gegründete Vortheile mit sich führet; / So muß sie sich entschließen denen Regeln / und Vorschriften dieses Ordens sich zu unter- / werfen; seiner einmahl festgesetzten Ordnung zu / folgen, und also auch den Gehorsam anzuge- / loben, der als eine der vornehmsten Pflichten / dieses Ordens von ihr gefordert wird.

§. 9.

Übrigens wird der Orden in gewisse **Gradus** / oder Stufen eingetheilet, zu welchen jede / Mauerin, bey einem lobens würdigen Ver- / halten, nach und nach zu gelangen die Hoff- / nung hat, und solches zwar nach ihrer / **Anciennität** im Orden. Ferner werden / Ihnen **Kleinodien**, **Ordens Zeichen**, und / **Kleidungs Stücke** ertheilet deren sie sich zu / bedienen haben so oft sie in einer **Loge** / zusamen komen. Von jedem dieser Stücke, / sowohl als auch von der Einrichtung der / **Logen**, von denen **Receptionen**, Verbindlich- / keiten **Pflichten** und **Statuten** derer Mau- / erinnen, von ihrem **Finanz Wesen**, von der / **Berechnung** eingegangener **Gelder**, und so / weiter sollt in der Folge gantz besonders / gehandelt werden.

Cap: III.

Von den verschiedenen **Gradus** oder **Stufen**, und von den **Ehren Aemtern** im Orden.

§. 1.

In dem Orden der **Maçonnerie des Dames**, / werden 5 **Gradus** oder **Stufen** angenommen. / Die im ersten **Grade** werden **Lehrlinge**; die im / 2ⁿ **Grade** **Gesellinnen**, die im 3ⁿ **Grade** **Meisterinnen**,

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die im 4ⁿ **Grade** **Vorsteherinnen**, und die im 5ⁿ / **Grade** **Ober Meiste-
rinnen** genennet. Von den- / jenigen die den 4 und 5ⁿ / **Grad** erreicht haben, / hängt eigentlich die **Direction** der **Loge** ab. / Die Jahre, in welchen die **Schwester** bey den er- / sten 3 **Graden** stehen bleiben, sind eigentlich die / **Prüfungs Jahre**, während welcher Zeit man ihre / **Conduite** so wohl an ihrem **Eifer** und **Befließen-** / heit dem Orden nützlich zu seyn sehr genau be- / obachten wird, um dadurch zu erfah-
ren ob / sie würdig seyn möchten weiter gebracht zu wer- / den, und ob man Ihnen ohne Gefahr die **Geheim-** / niße des Ordens entdecken könne. Aus denen / aber die bereits die 2 letzten **Grade** erreicht haben / werden die **Vorsteherinnen** und **Meisterinnen** / vom **Stuhle** erwählet.

§. 2.

Außer diesen 5 Graden aber werden noch in jeder / Loge gewiße, Ehren Aemter ausgetheilet und / mit welchen zugleich gewiße Functiones ver- / knüpft, und dieses sind nachfolgende.

1. Die Secretairin
2. Die Tresoriere oder Schatzmeisterin
3. Die Rednerin

§. 3.

Die Secretairin ist diejenige die alle Vorkomende / Correspondence besorget. Die das Journal sichert; / das Logen-Buch in gehöriger Ordnung erhält, / und die Listen und Rapports verfertiget. / Es ist deshalb leicht zu erachten daß zu diesem / Amte eine Persohn gewählt werden müße, die / nicht nur eine gute leserliche Hand schreibt, sondern / die auch im Stande ist, sowohl im französischen / als deutschen einen geschickten Brief zu machen, / und die überhaupt die Ordnung liebt. Eine / solche muß schlechterdings durch alle 5 Grade / schon passirt seyn.

§. 4.

Die Tresoriere oder Schatzmeisterin führet eine / accurate und gehörige Berechnung über alle

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Eingegangene und ausgezahlte Gelder, vor deren / Richtigkeit mit ihrem eigenen Vermögen zu / haften sie schuldig ist. Zugleichen liegt ihr / ob alle auswärts stehende Gelder einzu- / cassiren und nach Veranlaßung der Meister- / in vom Stuhle vor deren anderweitiges Unterbringen Sorge zu tragen. Eine solche / muß wenigstens die ersten 4 Grade erreicht / haben und eine Persohn seyn die hauptsächlich / in der Rechenkunst wohl unterrichtet und / erfahren ist.

§. 5.

Der Tresor, sowie alle zu einer Loge erforder- / lichen Stücke bleiben für beständig an dem / Orte der Loge in genauer Verwahrung, und / wofür der procurator Domus oder derjenige / in deßen Hauße das Logen Zimmer befindlich ist, / stehen muß. Zu dem Kasten aber in welchem / das Geld eingelegt wird werden 3 besondere / Schlößer mit

verschiedenen Schlüsseln ange- / schafft, zu denen die Meisterin vom Stuhl den / Einen, die erste Vorsteherin den andern, und / die Schatzmeisterin den dritten Schlüssel in / Verwahrung haben, dergestalt daß keine von / diesen ohne Beyseyn der beyden andern den / Kasten eröffnen kann.

§. 6.

Die Rednerin ist diejenige die so oft es die / Meisterin vom Stuhl begehrt, in versaml^{er}ter / Loge eine öffentliche Rede hält, deren Sujet / willkührlich [*sic!*] von ihrer Wahl abhänget, jedoch / so viel als möglich moralisch und auf die / Maurerey gehend ist. Niemahlen soll/ eine solche Rede öffentlich gehalten werden, ehe / und bevor sie nicht der Meisterin vom Stuhl, / oder dem Deputirten derer Frey Mr: zur Censur / vorgewiesen worden ist. Hierzu kann eine / Schwester gewählt werden der man schon den / Dritten Grad ertheilet hat, jedoch muß es eine / solche Persohn seyn die munter und lebhaft

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in ihrem Vortrage ist, deren Verstand durch gute / Erziehung und fleißige Lecture gewählter / Bücher aufgekläret worden, und also auch Fähig- / keit besitzt ihre Reden dergestalt einzurichten / daß die Gesellschaft gerühret und zu Ausübung / ächter Tugenden je mehr und mehr aufgemun- / tert werde. Doch kann ihr hierbey vergönnet / werden, wenn sie die Rede nicht auswendig her- / sagen will, sie der Gesellschaft vorzulesen.

§. 7.

Sollte es aber geschehen, wie den^u solches bey der ersten / Einrichtung gar leicht möglich ist, daß man nicht / gleich Persohnen finden könne die zu Ver- / waltung dieser Aemter zu employren wären; / So soll der von denen Fr:-Mr: ernannte De- / putirte verbunden seyn, einer oder der andern / Schwester hierinnen an die Hand zu gehen, oder / ermangelnden Falles selbst die Verwaltung / dieser Aemter über sich zu nehmen. Biß sie / dahin gebracht worden solche selbst durch ihre / eigene Mitglieder bestreiten zu können.

§. 8.

Endlich ist auch nicht das Amt der dienenden / Schwestern zu vergeßen. Deren Verrichtungen / darinnen bestehen: daß sie die Mauerinnen

/ bey dem An- und Aus-Kleiden bedienen; bey der / Tisch Loge die Tafel serviren, und überhaupt / alle erforderliche Bedienungen verrichten. / Eine solche Persohn muß aber schlechterdings im / Orden recipirt seyn ob es gleich nicht darauf / ankomt ob man ihr einen oder mehrere Grade / ertheilen will, und kan gar füglich aus dem / Geschlechte der Kamerjungfern oder Kamer- / Frauen genommen werden.

§. 9.

Über alle diese Aemter ist stricte zu halten, / wen man haben will, daß eine Loge in ihrer / Ordnung bestehen solle.

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Cap: IV.

Von den Ordens-Zeichen, und von denen Bijoux und Kleinodien dieses Ordens.

§. 1.

Das Ordens Zeichen so jede Mauerin befugt ist zu / tragen, und welches einer jeden schon bey ihrer / ersten Reception durch die Meisterrin vom Stuhl / mitgetheilt wird, bestehet in einem regulairen / Fünfeck in deßen Mitte eine hellstrahlende / Sonne befindlich ist, zu deren Mittelpunkte / die Radii dieser Figur zusammen lauffen, um / damit anzudeuten daß in diesem Orden alles / zu einem gemeinschaftlichen Wohl abzwecke; Und / so wie das 5 Eck den Grundriß des hyeroglyphischen Tempels, an welchem die Mauerinnen / ihre Arbeit zu verrichten haben, anzeigt, so / deutet auch die Sonne auf die Reinlichkeit der / Sitten, und auf den Glantz der Tugend und / liebenswürdiger Eigenschaften, mit welchen die / Mauerinnen vor den Augen der Welt leuchten / sollen. Die unten auf beyden Seiten hervor- / ragende Hammer und Kelle aber zeigt an wie / die Mauerinnen zu allen Zeiten bereit seyn sollen, / zu Erbauung des Tempels der Glückseeligkeit / nach allen Kräften das Ihrige beyzutragen und / weder Arbeit noch Mühe zu scheuen. Dieses / Ordens Zeichen wird an einer Schleife von lichte / blauen Mehr [?] Bande an der rechten Brust ge- / tragen. Die

Groß Meisterin aber trägt solches / an eben dergleichen jedoch breiten Bande über die / linke Schulter gegen die rechte Seite herabhängend.

[Bild des Zeichens]

§. 2.

Der Bijou der Groß Meisterin ist eine gelbstrahlen- / de Sonne in deren Mittelpunkt ein Brillant

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ruhet und über welcher eine königliche Krone / schwebet. Die Sonne ist das Sinnbild der allge- / meinen Direction des Ordens die ihr von selbigen / anvertrauet worden ist; So wie der Brillant / das Glänzende, und die Krone die Hoheit ihrer / Würde bezeigt.

[Bild des Bijou]

§. 3.

Der Bijou der Meisterin vom Stuhle sind / 2 schräge übers Kreutz gelegte Säulen mit / Laubwerck umwunden deren oberer Theil durch / eine Krone die solche bedeckt zusammen befesti- / get und vereinigt sind. Die Säulen sind das / Sinnbild der Stärke und Liebe mit welcher die / Meisterin vom Stuhle die Loge dirigirt; das Laub- / werk deutet die Eintracht und Zuneigung gegen / den Orden an, zu welchem sie verbunden ist, die / Gemüther der Ordens Glieder zu leiten und zu / führen, und die Krone bezeigt wie sie ihre Würde / von höherer Hand empfangen, und unter dem / Schutze derselben ihre Arbeit verrichtet.

[Bild des Bijou]

§. 4.

Der Bijou der ersten Vorsteherin ist ein Schild / auf welchem qweer über ein bloßer Degen liegt, / zum Kennzeichen daß sie jederzeit bereit sey die / Befehle ihrer Obern zu executiren, die Sicherheit / der Loge zu vertheidigen und bey allen Vorfällen / klüglich und vorsichtig zu handeln.

[Bild des Bijou]

§. 5.

Der Bijou der 2ⁿ Vorsteherin ist ein Anker / auf welchem eine Schildkröte ruhet; Letzteres / ist das Zeichen der Zucht und Ehrbarkeit, über / welche sie zu wachen hat, und ersteres zeigt / die Standhaftigkeit und Beruhigung an zu / welcher man endlich durch Beobachtung seiner / Pflichten gelanget.

[Bild des Bijou]

§. 6.

Der Bijou der Secretairin, sind 2 kreutz- / weiß über einander gelegte Schreib-Federn.

§. 7.

Der Bijou der Schatzmeisterin aber sind / 2 kreutzweiß über einander gelegte Schlüssel, / und

§. 8.

Der Bijou der Rednerin 2 kreutzweiß über / einander gelegte Rollen Papier.

§. 9.

Alle diese Stücke werden aus feinen Tomback, / oder, wen man will, auch von Sielber sauber / gefertigt, und stark im Feuer vergoldet, / und allein in der Loge an einem licht-blauen / Mehr Bande um den Halß hängend getragen.

Cap: V.

Von denen in einer Loge erforderlichen Moeubles und Haußgeräthe.

§. 1.

Die in ein [*sic!*] Loge erforderlichen Moeubles sind / folgende:

1. Drey verschiedene Tapis.
2. Ein Tisch der mit einem weichen Stück behan- / gen, und welches mit blauen Bande besetzt / ist.
3. Ein zierlich gemachter Lehnstuhl vor die

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Meisterin vom Stuhle.

4. Eine Bibel, ein Zirkel, eine Klingel, ein Schreib- / zeug nebst einigen Bogen Pappier, und das / **Logen** Buch so auf dem Tisch vor der / Meisterin vom Stuhle liegen.
5. 5 Stück **Geridons** so weiß und blau ange- / strichen sind, nebst denen daran befind- / lichen Leuchtern und Lichten.
6. 3 Stück weiß und blau angestrichene Ham- / mer vor die Meisterin vom Stuhl und vor / die beyden Versteherinnen; und endlich
7. Die vor die arbeitenden Schwestern erforderlichen / Stühle.
Doch bleibet ihnen unverwehret, wenn sie Gefallen / daran tragen das **Logen Zimer** auch noch mit / andern **Moeubles** und so schön als Sie selber / wollen auszuzieren.

§. 2.

Beschreibung des 1ⁿ Tapis, für die 2 Ersten Grade.

Dieses wird folgendermaßen gezeichnet. Man / nimt eine schwartze Wachs Leinwand, 3 Ellen / lang und $\frac{6}{4}$ breit. Der Rand derselben wird / rings herum mit einer Einfassung bezeichnet, die ein weißes, **Staqueten** Geländer vorstellt. / Das Tapis überhaupt aber muß 5 eckigt und / oben spitzig zugeschnitten werden. Wie gegen / wärtige Figur zeigt:

[Bild: wie eine Hausfront, mit 5 Fenstern]

In dieses Geländer gehen 5 Thore ein; Eines gegen / Morgen; 2 gegen Abend, eines gegen Mittag, und / eines gegen Mitternacht. Gegen Abend nach den / beyden untersten Thoren zu befindet sich ein Lam, / und eine Taube; Ersteres ist das Sinnbild [d]er Un- / schuld, und letzteres der Verträglichkeit. Bey denen / Thoren gegen Mittag und Mitternacht zeigt sich / bey ersterem: Ein Hund als Zeichen der Treue; / und bey dem andern zwey in einander geschlossene

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Hände als das Bild der Freundschaft; und endlich / bey dem Thor gegen Morgen erblickt man eine in / Form eines Zirckels zusamgekrümte Schlange / die theils die Klugheit und die Kraft des Nachden- / kens theils auch weil man in einem Zirkel weder / Anfang noch Ende findet, die ewige Dauer dieses / Bandmaßes andeutet. In der Mitte dieses Ta- / pis aber befindet sich die Vorsicht, so durch ein / in lichter Wolken schwebendes Auge vorgestellt / wird, an welchem ein Kreiß von Sternen gehet, / in dessen Mittelpunkte eine Henne sitzt, die / ihre Jungen unter ihre Fittige samlet. / Hierdurch soll man eine Gelegenheit ahnen, / denen Recipientinnen die nöthigsten Eigen- / schaften die von ihnen gefordert werden nach / und nach bey zu bringen und sie zu einer willigen / Ausübung aller moralischen Tugenden an- / feyern, wenn man ihnen dieses Tapis folgen- / dermaßen erklärt.

1. Bey der Reception im ersten Grade sagt man / ihnen wie der verehrungswürdige Orden der / Fr. Mr. bemühet gewesen sey unter dem / Beystande der allsehenden Vorsicht Gottes, ge- / genwärtigen Orden auch vor ihr Geschlecht / zu stiften, Ihre Mittglieder zu samlen, / und sie gleich wie die Henne ihre Jungen, auch / unter den Schirm seiner Fittige zu nehmen, / vor ihre Wohlfarth [*sic!*] zu sorgen, ihrem Wachs- / thum im Guten zu befördern, und sie endlich / dahin zu bringen daß sie, wie die Henne die / sie hier sehen, und durch welche ihre Brüder / und Schwestern angedeutet werden, im / Glantze ächter Tugenden vor der Welt leuch- / ten und unter allen Menschen sich distin- / guiren sollen. Ferner erklärt man ihnen / wie die Einfassung dieses Tapis und die auf / solchem gezeichneten Thore die Sicherheit und / Befestigung derer Logen anzeige. Daß Nie- / mand in solche eindringen könne, oder zuge-

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laßen werde, als nur allein diejenigen die sich der / Loge mit einer wahren Hochachtung näherten, / und die Bereitwilligkeit besäßen, derselben zu / gehorchen und alle die Pflichten auf sich zu nehmen, / und auch zu üben die man von ihnen fordern werde, / und von denen schon einige durch Bilder hier ange- / deutet wären, die ihnen eben erst mit der Zeit er- / klärt werden sollten.

2. Bey der Reception im 2^m Grade aber gehet / man weiter, und erklärt ihnen die auf diesem / Tapis durch die Sinnbilder angedeute-

ten 5 Haupt- / Eigenschaften die man von ihnen fordert, wen / sie ächte und würdige Mauerinnen seyn wollen. / Nehmlich: 1) die Beobachtung eines reinen Hertzens, / und unbefleckten Lebens Wandel; 2) Eine dauer- / hafte Neigung und Bestrebung zur Verträglich- / keit; 3) eine unverbrüchliche Treue gegen den / Orden und deßen Mitglie- dern; 4) eine genaue / Beobachtung aller Freundschafts Pflichten; / und endlich 5) eine klügliche Vorsichtigkeit in / allen seinen Handlungen.

Dieses ist meines Erachtens Stoff genug vor die- / jenige die dieses Tapis zu erklären hat, um / der Recipientin viele und schöne Sachen darü- / ber zu sagen.

§. 3.

Beschreibung des 2ⁿ Tapis, für den 3ⁿ und 4ⁿ Grad. / Dieses Tapis wird von gleicher Materie und nach / nehmlicher Form auch mit gleicher Einfassung ver- / fertigt, wie das Erste;

O auf diesem Tapis zeigt sich der Vorhof und nur / ein geringer Theil des inneren Tempels der Glück- / seeligkeit mit seinen 4 Grundpfeilern, den der / 5¹ gegen Morgen bleibt noch verborgen. In dem / Vorhof unten gegen Abend führen 3 Stufen, / die man diejenige die den 3ⁿ Grad erreichen soll, / hinauf steigen läßet. Der Vorhof über diesen / 3 Stufen ist mit blau und weißem Marmor / Platten ausgepflastert. Ein Stück über dem / Vorhofe befindet sich zwischen den 2 mittelsten

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Pfeilern die Vierte Stufe die man diejenige so / den den 4ⁿ Grad erlangen soll, / betreten läßet. / Unter derselben aber stehet in einer kleinen / Entfernung das Bild der Verschwiegenheit, / welches eine Statue ist die den Finger der linken / Hand auf den Mund legt, in der rechten aber ein / bloßes Schwerdt hält, gleichsam als ob sie damit / drohen wollte Niemanden in das Innerste des / Tempels zu laßen, der nicht zuvor ein ewiges / und unverbrüchliches Bündniß mit ihr eingegangen wäre, die Geheimniße des Ordens / zeit seines Lebens unter dem Siegel der streng- / sten Verschwiegenheit in seinem Hertzen zu / bewahren. Übrigens ist sie als ein Frauenzimmer in einem grün und weißen Gewande, / mit einem Schleyer auf dem Haupte und halb / gestieftel angekleidet. Hinter dieser Figur / zeigte sich das aller Innerste des Tempels, welches aber mit einem Aurora farbener Vorhänge / bedeckt ist, und welches auf der einen Seite / durch den Cer-

barus oder dreyköpfigten Hunde [?] / und auf der andern Seite dieses eine Hydra; / oder siebenköpfigten Schlange, die vor dem / Vorhange liegen, bewacht wird. Zum Zeichen / daß diejenigen so wiederrechtlich in das Heilig- / thum eindringen, oder solches gar entheiligen / wollen, von aller Arten des Unglücks ver- / folget und von der menschlichen Gesellschaft / ausgerottet werden sollen. Der erste Pfeiler / gegen Abend zur Rechten heißt Religion; der / zweite, Tugend; der dritte zur Rechten in der / Mitten, Klugheit, und der Vierte zur linken, / Standhaftigkeit.

Die Erklärung dieses Tapis ergibt sich von / selbst; und kann ungefähr folgendergestalt / gemacht werden:

- 1.) Vor die Recipientinnen im 3^l Grade: / Hier sehet ihr nun einen Theil des Tempels zu / deßen glücklicher Vollendung einstens gemein-

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schaftliche Arbeit abzwecket. Der Pfeiler zur / Rechten heißt: Religion. Dieses soll Euch belohnen, / wie wir durchaus verlangen, daß solche in dem / Herten einer jeden Schwester herrsche, und den ersten / Platz darinnen behaupte. Daß kein Mensch fähig / sey ohne Religion zu einer wahren Glückseeligkeit / zu gelangen, ja daß ohne solche gar keine Glück- / seeligkeit existire, und daß wir dem Urheber / unseres Daseyns allein zu danken haben, wen / es uns wohl gehet. Der aber auch zu fürchten ist, / wen wir ihn beleidigen, unser Gewißen verletzen, / und wieder seine Gebote handeln. Unter seiner / Aufsicht, und unter seinem Schutze arbeiten wir / hier in unsern Logen. Er siehet und lieset alles / in unserm Herten wie wir es meinen. Er weiß / daß unsere Absichten from und redlich sind; Er / wird uns seegen. Wehe aber denen die den Schalk / im Busen führen und uns zu hintergehen trachten. / u.s.w.

Der 2^l Pfeiler heißt Tugend. Ohne Tugend ist es / unmöglich weder Gott noch Menschen zu gefal- / len. Erreichen wir aber dieses nicht; so sind / wir die unglückseeligsten Geschöpfe die der Erd- / boden trägt. Bemühet Euch, meine Schwester, / die Tugend recht kennen zu lernen; so werdet / ihr sie auch lieben und gerne ausüben. Sie ist / reizend und angenehm. Der Lohn den sie ihren / Lieblingen ertheilt ist unschätzbar. Sie schenkt / Ihnen Zufriedenheit, Trost, Rath, Freude, Sicher- / heit, und Ruhe den Seelen. u.s.w.

Die Marmornen Platten aber womit dieser Tempel / ausgepflastert ist, dienen ihm zur Zierde und Schönheit; / Ihr sehet wie fest sie aneinander gefügt sind, wie / standhaft eine die andere in ihrer Lage hält, so daß / es Euch große Mühe kosten würde, nur eine einzige / von den übrigen loß zu reißen. Laßt Euch die- / ses zum Beispiele der Eintracht gegen Euere Brü- / der und Schwestern dienen. Wißet daß die Eintracht / auch die kleinste Gesellschaft unüberwindlich machen / kann, dahingegen die Zwietracht schon gantze Reiche

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zu Grunde gestürzt hat. Beegnet euern Mittglie- / dern jederzeit mit Gelaßenheit, Gütigkeit, Sanft- / muth und Liebe. Ertraget und verzeihet ihre / Fehler mit Nachsicht, und weiset diejenigen die / da fehlen mit Geduld zu recht. So werden sie / solches an Euch erwiedern, und ihr werdet gewahr / werden wie sehr ein solches Beyspiel verbeßert, / und wie werth Euch jeder man schätzen wird. u.s.w.

2^{te} Vor die Recipientinnen im 4^{ten} Grade. / Religion und Tugend haben Euch bisher begleitet; / Durch ihren Beystand genießet ihr heute den / Vorzug diese 4^{ten} Stufe zu betreten. Glückliche / Schwester! Wie wohl geschieht eurem Herten indem / es sich selber bewußt ist, seine Pflichten erfüllet zu / haben. Allein sehet Euch nur um; vor Euch und / auf beyden Seiten werdet ihr Dinge erblicken die / von Euch noch mehr fordern. Es ist nicht genug / Verbindlichkeiten auf sich zu nehmen, über solche / zu wachen, und sie zu lieben; Es wird auch erfordert, / solche klüglich und standhaft in Ausübung zu bringen. / Die beyden Pfeiler die ihr hier sehet, sollen Euch sol- / ches belehren. Dieser zu eurer Rechten heißt Klugheit, / und dieser zu eurer Linken Standhaftigkeit. / Bekennt selbst daß die besten Handlungen miß- / rathen, und die löblichsten Absichten vereitelt werden / können, wenn sie nicht mit Behutsamkeit, Vorsichtig, / und mit Klugheit eingerichtet, und die Hinderniße / die sich ihnen in Weg [*sic!*] legen, mit Muth und Standhaf- / tigkeit auf die Seite geschafft werden. Beyde Eigen- / schaften sind einer ächten Mauerin unumgänglich / nöthig. Unser gantzes Wesen würde für solche der / Welt zu einem Gelächter werden. Laßet Euch / keine Schwierigkeit hindern das angefangene Werk / auszuführen, und auf dem Wege den ihr betreten / habt, fortzuschreiten. Es führet Euch zur Glück- / seligkeit; Euer Hertz erlanget Ruhe, und am Ende / deßelben gelanget ihr zum Genuß der süßesten und / reinsten Ergötzlichkeiten. Überzeugt von dieser / Warheit [*sic!*]; So

ist es schon hinlänglich genug Euren / Muth zu stärken, und solchen gegen alle Anfälle

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der Wiederwärtigkeiten mit Standhaftigkeit ausrüsten. / Ihr nähert Euch nun dem Innersten dieses Tempels / mit starken Schritten. Noch ist daßelbe vor euren / Augen verhüllet. Bald aber werdet ihr die Glücksee- / ligkeit in ihrer schönsten Gestalt erblicken. Allein / wer wachet hier vor dieser Thüre? Es ist die Ver- / schwiegenheit. Sie fordert Euch auf ein Bündniß / mit ihr zu schließen und drohet Euch zu vernichten, / wen ihr solches verletzt. Auf! daß doch dieses Bild / Euren Seelen recht tief eingeprägt werde, damit / es sich Euren Augen unaufhörlich darstelle, und / Euch immerfort des Versprechens erinnere, so ihr / mir von Anfang an gethan habt: Von alle dem / was ihr in unserm Orden sehen und erfahren wer- / det, ein ewiges und unverbrüchliches Stillschweigen / zu beobachten. Den ohne solches ist es unmöglich / die Glückseligkeit zu erblicken. Brecht ihr dieses / Versprechen; habt ihr vielleicht unreine Absichten. / Wollt ihr uns hintergehen und also an unserer Glück- / seligkeit zur Verrätherin werden. So sehet hier die / beyden Monstra, die alle Arten von Unglück an- / deuten welches Euch verfolgen wird, bis ihr von / der Welt ausgetilget seyd, und welche ihre Rachen / schon aufsperrn, um die erschrecklichste Strafe / an Euch auszuüben. u.s.w.

§. 4.

Beschreibung des 3^{ten} und letzten Tapis, für den 5^{ten} Grad. / Auf diesem denen vorigen ähnlich verfertigten Tapis / zeigt sich die völlige Abbildung des Tempels der / Glückseligkeit.

Der Tempel selbst stellet sich dar als ein länglicher / und gegen Morgen zu spitzig zulaufendes 5 Eck. / deßen Gebäude auf 5 Pfeilern steht, davon der / erste zur rechten gegen Abend die Religion, der 2^{te} / zur linken Tugend; der 3^{te} in der Mitte gegen / Mittag Klugheit, der 4^{te} in der Mitte gegen Mitternacht Standhaftigkeit und die 5^{te} gegen Morgen / Zufriedenheit heißet. Der Tempel ist durchgehend / mit blau und weißen Marmornen Quader Steinen / gepflastert. Gegen Abend befinden sich 3 erhabene / Stufen, die in den Vorhof des Tempels führen. / und in der Mitten zwischen den 2 Pfeilern / siehet man wieder 2 dergleichen Stufen durch / die man in das Innerste des Tempels eingetretet. / Über der 5^{ten} Stufe in einer kleinen Entfernung / befindet sich die pag: 18 beschriebene Figur der / Verschwiegenheit, und auf beyden

Seiten erblicket / man die auch daselbst erwähnten beyden **Monstra**. / Endlich aber hinter diesen, und in dem Innersten / des Tempels zeigt sich die Glückseeligkeit in ihrer / schönsten Gestalt, auf einem erhabenen Throne / sitzend, mit einem glänzenden muntern und heiteren Angesichte, in einem lichten Gewande von / **Aurora** Farbe mit weißen Bandschleifen geziert; / Auf dem Kopfe einen Krantz von Blumen und / über dem selben einen glänzenden Stern habend; / an den Füßen halb gestieft und in der linken / Hand ein Füllhorn in der rechten aber einen / Herolds Stab haltend. Vor ihr stehet ein mit / **Girlanden** von Blumen behangener Altar auf / welchem die **Gratien** mit brennenden Fackeln / tanzend ein Opfer anzünden. Der Tempel ist / durchaus gewölbet und das Geländer deßelben / von grünem Jaspis. Bey Erklärung dieses Tapis, nach dem die **Recipien** bey der **Reception** biß auf die 5^{te} Stufe / gebracht worden ist, nimt man Gelegenheit ihr zu / sagen, daß die 5^{te} Säule Zufriedenheit heiße, / und dadurch angedeutet werde, wie die Beobachtung / dererjenigen Pflichten die uns im Orden vorgeschrieben werden, nun das einzige Mittel sey, durch welches wir zu einer wahren Zufriedenheit gelangen können. Man giebt ihr zu überlegen ob wohl in / der Welt etwas gefunden werden möchte, das uns / mehr beruhigen und vergnügen könne als ein / gutes Gewißen; eine Anzahl sicherer und theilnehmender Freunde und Freundinnen; Ein angenehmer und lehrreicher Umgang mit solchen, durch / welchen man Gelegenheit findet sich und andere

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immer vollkommener zu machen. Wie sehr diejenigen / irreten die ihre Zufriedenheit und Glückseeligkeit / durch Sättigung ihrer Begierden und allerley Ausschweifungen zu erlangen glaubten; und was / das endlich für eine süße Belohnung für ihr eigenes / Hertze seyn müße, wenn Sie sehen würde, daß gleich / wie hier der Glückseeligkeit durch die **Gratien** geopfert würde, noch sie ein Opfer der Hochachtung / Liebe und Ehrfurcht vor allen vernünftigen und / tugendhaften Menschen erfülle. Man versichert Sie / hierbey aufs neue der Treu [?] und des Beystandes aller / ihrer Brüder und Schwestern. Man muntert Sie / auf sich ihrer Tugend zu freuen; Allen Kummer / den sie haben kann in den Schoß ihrer Freunde und / Freundinnen auszuschütten, ihre Seele aufzuführen, / und sich hier glücklich zu schätzen. In ihren Bemühungen nach größerer Vollkommenheit nicht nachzulaßen; / und sich end-

lich zu überzeugen daß auch die kleinste / Tugend nicht unbelohnt bleiben würde, u.s.w.

Außer diesem kann man ihr noch die Ankleidung der / Glückseeligkeit, den Krantz und den Stern den sie / auf dem Kopfe hat, wie auch das Füllhorn und / den Herolds Stab so sie in Händen führet, erklären, / und hierüber noch vieles sagen so Eindruck machet. / Zum Tempel: der Herolds Stab bezeigt wie keine / gute Handlung verborgen bleibe, sondern, es sey / über kurtz oder lang endlich doch offenbar und / belohnet werde; wie die Tugend zu allen Zeiten den / Sieg über das Laster davon trage, und über jedes / Hertze, wen es auch schon wieder seinen Willen wäre, / dennoch die Herrschaft gewinnet. Das Füllhorn / aber deutet an, wie die Vorsicht reich genug sey / die Fromen und Tugendhaften mit mancherley / Gaben zu belohnen, und daß sie auch bereit sey, / ihren Verheißungen gemäß solches zu thun. / Der Stern über dem Haupte bezeigt daß nichts / so sehr in die Augen leuchte als ein Gott und Men- / schen wohlgefälliger Wandel; und der Blumen / Krantz lehret uns, daß diejenigen so der Ordnung / gemäß leben, einen imer währenden Frühling

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Genießen; daß obgleich ihre Tage dahin fliehen ihre / Kräfte doch nicht veralten, und daß ihre Hertzen / imerfort eine reine und jugendliche Freude ge- / nießen u.s.w.

Alles dieses muß eine geschickte Rednerin wissen / sich zu Nutze zu machen, um denen Recipien- / tinnen eine Ueberzeugung beyzubringen daß sie / in unserem Orden würcklich glücklich sind. Es / ist daher nicht die Folge daß sie just bey diesen / Worten stehen bleiben sollen. Man überläßet / solches der Einsicht einer jeden es zu verbessern so / gut sie kan; und gegenwärtige Erklärungen / derer Tapis sollen nur statt einer kleinen / Anweisung hierzu dienen.

Cap: VI.

Von den Anzüge, und Kleidungs Stücken derer Maurerinnen in der Loge.

§. 1.

Im 1ⁿ Grade tragen solche eine gantz weiße seide- / ne oder Nesseltuchene Roberonde, nebst derglei- / chen Schuhe und Coëffure. Das Gesicht behängen / sie mit einer weiß seidenen Flor Kappe. Der / Hals ist bedeckt, und man siehet weder Schmuck / noch Juwelen noch den geringsten Zierrath an / Ihnen. Um den Leib haben sie ein Schurtzfell / durch ein blau seiden Band gebunden, welches einem / gewöhnlichen Frauenzimmer Schurtz eher ähnlich / siehet, und von gantz weichen Ziegen Felle gemacht / ist. An der linken Seite deßelben hängt eine / von Meßing sauber verfertigte Kelle die nicht / allzu groß ist, und an der rechten Brust hängt / das oben pag: 12 beschriebene Orden Zeichen an / einer lichte blauen Mehrband Schleife. Die Arbeit verrichten sie in weiß glacierten Handschuhen / und die Kappen werden eher nicht zurückgeschlagen, / als biß die Reception vorbey ist.

§. 2.

Im 2ⁿ Grade, behalten sie den nehmlichen Anzug bey, / nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß sie lichte blaue Arm-

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und Brust Schleifen anstecken; und daß das Tablier / oder Schurtz Fell ebenfalls mit licht blau seidenem Band / eingefäbset seyn muß. Die Receptiones aber / geschehen in diesem Grade noch immer mit herabgelassenen Kappen, zum Kenzeichen daß man in den / zwey ersten Graden noch nichts mit klaren Augen / erblicke, sondern sich nur allein an Sinnbildern / begnügen lassen müsse.

§. 3.

Im 3ⁿ Grade bleibt es wieder bey nehmlichem Anzuge. / Doch aber ist erlaubt Schmuck, Arm- und Halßband / zu tragen; Auch ist das Tablier mit licht blauem / Taffet gefüttert, deßen Ende linker Hand

nach / der rechten Seite zu aufgeschlagen und in den Gurt / gesteckt wird. Wie denn auch die Kappen halb zu- / rückgeschlagen werden, um dadurch anzuzeigen / wie man nunmehr anfangs deutlicher zu sehen.

§. 4.

Im 4ⁿ Grade bleibt der Anzug wieder weiß, und / daß statt der blauen Bandschleifen graue / genomen werden. Das Tablier wird gleichfalls / mit grauem Taffet gefüttert, und mit dergleichen / Bande gebunden, auch eben so wie im dritten / Grade von der linken Seite gegen die Rechte halb / aufgeschlagen. Die Kappen werden gänzlich zu- / rückgeschlagen; Andreaszeichen und Bijoux aber / bleiben immer an einerley Bande. Endlich

§. 5.

Im 5ⁿ Grade sollten eigentlich die Kleider von Au- / rora Farben seyn und mit weißen Bandschleifen / auf Arm und Haupt; Da aber dieses eine oder die / andere geniren möchte, wen sie sich just ein solches / Kleid machen lassen sollte; so wird ihnen nachge- / geben nach eigenem Gefallen sich zu kleiden und / sich zu putzen so schön als man nur kan. Jedoch / ist vorzüglich darauf zu sehen daß die Kleidung / so viel als möglich Einfarbig sey, und daß zu an- / dern Kleidern wenigstens Aurora farbene Arm / und Brust Schleifen genomen werden. Die Tabli- / ers aber müssen schlechterdings mit Aurora farbenem

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Taffet gefüttert und mit demgleichen Bande ge- / bunden seyn. Die Kappen fallen gänzlich / weg; Hingegen wird dafür ein schwarz sam te- / nes Mans Hütgen aufgesetzt so mit einer / Aurora farbener Co- carde gezieret wird. / Zum Zeichen, daß sie Standhaftigkeit und Ent- / schlossenheit genug besitzen, die gerechte Sache / ihres Ordens erforderlichenfalles auch männ- / lich zu vertheidigen. Ordenszeichen und Bijoux / aber bleiben an einerley Bande durch alle Grade / hindurch.

Cap: VII.

Von der Innern Einrichtung einer Loge.

§. 1.

Die Loge stellet, wie oben schon gesagt worden ist, / ein gegen Morgen spitzig zulaufendes 5 Eck / vor, wie beystehende Figur zeigt:

Morgen.

Mittern: *[Bild]* Mittag.

Abend.

[Die Details des Bildes sind mit Buchstaben a bis n bezeichnet]

Litt: a) ist der behangene Tisch der vor der Meisterin / vom Stuhl stehet; b) ist der Stuhl der Meisterin; / c) ist der Platz des Deputirten aus dem Orden / der Frey Maurer; d) der Platz der ersten / Vorsteherin; e) der zweyten Vorsteherin; / f) ist der Platz der Secretairin; g) der Schatz- / meisterin; h) der Rednerin; und i) i) i) i) i) / i) i) sind die Plätze der übrigen Schwestern. / k) k) k) k) sind die Oerter wo die Geridons / mit den Lichtern stehen; l) ist das Tapis, / und m[)] zeigt das Innere des Tempels an, / so mit einem Vorhange bedeckt ist.

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§. 2.

Dieses muß sich jede Mauerin sehr wohl bekannt / machen, damit, wenn die Loge eröffnet werden / soll, nicht erst ein Hin- und herlaufen und lang- / wieriges Suchen der ihnen zukomenden Plätze / entstehet.

§. 3.

Die **Loge** wird sitzend gehalten. Sobald die / Meisterin vom Stuhl sagt: In Ordnung meine / Schwestern; so bald tritt eine jede mit zu- / rückgeschlagener Kappe an ihren Platz hinter / ihren Stuhl, setzt sich aber nicht eher als bis / die **Loge** geöffnet ist.

§. 4.

In der **Loge** selbst muß es ganz stille zugehen. / Nicht geredet oder geplaudert noch weniger / gelacht werden, sondern jede ist schuldig auf / alles was vorgehet die größte Aufmerksam- / keit zu verwenden.

§. 5.

Gehet die eine oder die andere Vorsteherin ab, so muß / deren Stelle so gleich durch die nächstfolgende / Schwester besetzt werden; den es ist nicht erlaubt, / daß in einer **Loge** eine Vorsteherin nur einen / Augenblick mangle; auf gleiche Weise muß / auch die **Chaire**, wo die Meisterin vom Stuhl / genöthiget seyn sollte solche zu verlassen, durch / eine andere in Besitz genomen, oder die **Loge** / so lange suspendirt werden.

§. 6.

So wie die Meisterin vom Stuhle das Zeichen macht, / so machen es alle übrigen Schwestern zugleich mit. / Dafür ist höchst nöthig, daß jede ihre Augen auf / die Meisterin vom Stuhle unverwandt gerichtet / halte.

§. 7.

Die dienende Schwester wird indessen solange die / **Loge** dauert, heraus vor die Thüre des **Logen** / Hauses als Schildwacht gestellt, und darf nicht / eher herein komen als biß sie die Meisterin vom / Stuhl durch die Klingel ruft.

Cap: VIII.

Von Oefnung und Schließung der Loge.

§. 1.

So bald die Ordens Glieder, so zur Loge beruffen, / versamlet und in dem Logen Zimmer beysamen / sind; schließet die dienende Schwester die Thüren / deßelben zu, und bleibt vor selbiger biß auf / weitere Ordre sitzen oder stehen. Unterdeßen / legen die Dames den Schmuck der Mauerey an; / begeben sich eine jede an ihren Platz hinter ihren / Stuhl, und erwarten stehend die fernern Ver- / ordnungen der Meisterin vom Stuhle.

§. 2.

Siehet nun die Meisterin vom Stuhle daß auf sol- / che Art alles in Bereitschaft ist; So tritt sie hin- / ter ihren Tisch und spricht: In Ordnung meine / Schwestern. Von nun an darf kein Wort mehr / geredet, sondern die größte Aufmerksamkeit / beobachtet werden.

§. 3.

Hierauf spricht ferner die Meisterin vom Stuhle: / Schwester zweyte Vorsteherin, was ist Euere Pflicht / bey Eröffnung der Loge ? Sie antwortet: zu / sehen ob die Thüren verschlossen, und ob alles in / Ordnung sey. Die Meisterin sagt hierauf: / Verrichtet Euer Amt.

§. 4.

Diesem zufolge gehet die zweyte Vorsteherin an jede / Thüre des Logen Zimers, und siehet zu ob solche / auch verschlossen sey, oder schließet sie wiedrigen- / falls selbst zu. Tritt wieder zurück auf ihren / Platz und spricht: Die Thüren sind verschlossen, / und es ist alles sicher.

§. 5.

Die Meisterin fragt ferner: Schwester erste / Vorsteherin, seyd ihr eine Frey Mauerin ? Sie / antwortet: Ja ich bin es. Wem habt ihr solches /

zu danken ? Antw: dem edlen Orden der Maurer. / Sie fragt noch weiter: Schwester zweyte Vorsteherin, / wo seydt ihr aufgenommen worden? Antwort:

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In einer gerechten Loge. Was habt ihr da gelernet? / Freundschaft üben, Tugendhaft wandeln, und / sich und andere glücklich zu machen. Endlich fragt / sie noch: Schwester erste Vorsteherin, wie heißt ihr? / Ist es in einer Lehrlings Loge, so ist die Antwort: / Calliope; in einer Gesellen Loge: Clio; in einer / Meister Loge: Themis; im 4^t Grade Uranie, und / im 5^t Grade Vesta. Glaubt ihr daß die Zeit sey / die Loge zu eröffnen? Antw: Ja ich glaube es.

§. 6.

Hierauf wird die Loge eröffnet wenn die Meisterin / vom Stuhle spricht: So eröffne ich denn die Loge / im Nahmen unserer Obern und aller ächter / Maurer und Mauerinnen; durch die uns ertheilte / Zahl von fünffen; und schlägt mit dem Hamer folgende 5 Schläge auf den Tisch: – • • – –. / Welches erstlich durch die erste Vorsteherin und dan / auch durch die zweyte Vorsteherin beantwortet / wird; wen sie ihren Hamer gleichermaßen / auf die neben ihnen stehenden Geridons schlagen.

§. 7.

Gleich nach geschehenen Schlägen spricht die Me- / sterin vom Stuhl: Meine Schwestern, die Loge / ist geöffnet. Schlägt ihre Kappe herunter, setzt / sich nieder und macht das dem Grade, in welchem / man arbeitet, zukomende Zeichen, welches zu- / gleicher Zeit auch von sämtlichen Schwestern ge- / schiehet.

NB: Die Kappen werden in den 2 ersten Graden / völlig, im 3^t Grade aber nur halb herunter / geschlagen.

§. 8.

Die Zeichen durch welche die Mauerinnen sich gegen / einander zu erkennen geben können sind folgen- / de.

I: Im ersten Grade wird mit der rechten Hand / etwas stark in die linke geschlagen, so, daß es / einen Schall von sich giebt. Zum Zeichen der Aufmunterung. /

[2:] Im zweyten Grade legt man den Zeigefinger / der rechten Hand auf den Mund, zum Zeichen / daß man die Verschwiegenheit angelobet habe; /

[3:] Im dritten Grade legt man solchen auf die linke / Brust, mit aufrecht stehendem Daumen;

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Zum Zeichen daß die vorgeschriebenen Pflichten / in solcher tief eingegraben bleiben.

4. Im 4^t Grade werden die 2 ersten Finger der / rechten Hand an die Stirne gelegt. Zum Zeichen / daß man die beyden Haupt Kräfte der Seelen, / Verstand und Willen zum Besten des Ordens / anwenden wolle. Und endlich
5. Im 5^t Grade hält man beyde Hände flach et- / was vorwärts in die Höhe, als ein Zeichen der / Bewunderung und der Freude.

§. 9.

Ist nun auf solche Art die **Loge** eröffnet, so folgen / natürlicherweiß die Arbeiten selbst, und es / geschehen **Receptiones**, Berathschlagungen, Abnah- / me der Ehrungen, und was dergleichen mehr ist. / Sind solche vollendet, so gelanget man wieder / zur Schließung der **Loge**, die folgendergestalt geschieht:

§. 10.

Die Meisterin vom Stuhle fragt: Schwester erste Vor- / steherin, ist die Arbeit vollbracht? Antw: Ja, vor / diesesmahl; ferner, Schwester zweyte Vorsteherin, / Wo komt ihr her? Antw: Vom Niedergang der / Sonne. Und wo gehet ihr hin? Antw: Gegen / Aufgang derselben. Noch weiter; Schwester erste / Vorsteherin, fragt nach, ob eine oder die andere / noch etwas zu erinnern habe. Hat nun eine oder / die andere etwas vorzutragen, so sagt sie solches / der ersten Vorsteherin, und diese berichtet es wieder / an die Meisterin vom Stuhle; oder sie bittet durch / solche um die Erlaubniß zu reden. Fällt aber nichts zu erinnern vor; so wird auf eine kurtze / Zeit ein tiefes Stillschweigen beobachtet, nach welchem / endlich die Meisterin vom Stuhle spricht: Schwester / erste Vorsteherin, Ist es Zeit die **Loge** zu schließen,? / Antw: Ja ich halte es dafür. Worauf den die / **Loge** folgendermaßen geschlossen wird:

§. 11.

Die Meisterin vom Stuhle spricht: So schließe ich den / die Loge im Nahmen unserer Obern und allen / ächten Maurern und Mauerinnen; durch die uns / ertheilte Zahl von fünfen, schlägt mit dem Hamer / abermahls 5 mahl auf den Tisch, und spricht; wen

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solches durch die beyden Vorsteherinnen gehörig beantwortet worden ist,; Meine Schwestern die Loge ist geschlossen. Worauf sie den ihre Klappen wieder / zurück schlagen, von ihren Stühlen aufstehen, / Ihren Maurer Schmuck ablegen, und sich freundlich mit einander unterhalten. Die dienende / Schwester aber wird herein gerufen um das Tapis wieder aufzuheben; und die übrigen zu einer Loge / erforderlichen Stücke auf die Seite zu schaffen. / Auf solche Weise bleiben die Schwestern noch bey- / samen biß die Tisch Loge angehet, oder bis sie / von selbst wieder auseinander gehen wollen.

Cap: IX.

Von der Reception oder Aufnahme im ersten Grade.

§. 1.

Trägt eine Dame Verlangen in den Orden aufgenommen zu werden; So hat sie solches einer derer Mitglieder deßelben, gegen welche sie das meiste Zutrauen / hat, zu entdecken. Dieser hingegen liegt ob, wohl / zu untersuchen, ob sie auch, so wie es die Statuten / erfordern, eine receptions fähige Persohn sey. / Sie muß ihre Denkungs Art prüfen; den Ent- / zweck erforschen warum sie in den Orden treten / will; ihr Hertz untersuchen ob solches einer / reellen Freundschaft fähig und ob sie auch im / Stande sey die receptions Kosten zu entrichten, / wobey ihr nichts zu verheelen, sondern freymüthig / zu offenbaren ist, wie sie sich bey dem Eintritt / in den Orden nicht nur vielen Pflichten unter- / ziehen müsse, sondern wie viel ihr auch die / Maçonnerie durch alle Grade hindurch kosten / werde, von welchen Depense sie auf keine / Weise dispensirt werden könne; und überhaupt / ist es rathsamer einer jeden Persohn die Aufnahme / in den

Orden nicht allzu leichte vorzustellen. / Bleibt sie , nachdem ihr alles dieses vorgehalten / worden ist, demohngeachtet bey dem Entschluße,

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eine Mauerin zu werden; so wird solches ge- / hörigermaßen an die Meisterin vom Stuhle / gemeldet. Diese trägt es bey der ersten Zu- / samenkunft der Versamlung vor; läst über / ihre Aufnahme ordnungsmäßig lösen; welches / weiter unten beschrieben werden soll, und setzt / Diem receptionis, oder den Tag an, in welchem / diese Dame aufgenomen werden soll.

§. 2.

Ist nun der Tag der Reception herbey komen; / so wird die Loge gehörig eröffnet: Nachdem / vorher diejenige Mauerin, an welche die Reci- / pientin zuerst addressirt , und durch welche / sie in Vorschlag gekomen ist, dieselbe ins praе- / parations Zimmer gebracht, und daselbst gantz / allein ihren eigenen Betrachtungen überlaßen / hat. N.[B.]: Ein solches Zimmer muß nichts we- / niger als schön ausgezieret, sondern gantz fin- / ster und höchstens nur durch ein einziges schwa- / ches Licht erleuchtet seyn. Seine Lage aber / muß dergestalt beschaffen seyn, daß man aus / solchem die Recipientin ohne von jemandem / bemerkt zu werden grade ins Logen Zimer / einführen kann.

§. 3.

Indeßen da man die Recipientin solchergestalt / ihren eigenen Vorstellungen überläst, trägt die / Meisterin vom Stuhle den gegenwärtigen Ordens- / Gliedern die Sache nochmahls für, und nachdem / sie siehet daß Niemand darwieder etwas einwendet, / Spricht sie zu einer der anwesenden Mauerinnen: / Schwester N.N. leget euren Mauer Schmuck ab; / gehet hinaus zu der neuaufzunehmenden, und / befragt sie nochmahls über nachfolgende puncte:

1. Aus was für Bewegungs Gründen sie sich ent- / schloßen habe eine Mauerin zu werden?
2. Ob sie sich wohl geprüft hätte und ein Hertz be- / säße so einer reellen Freundschaft fähig / wäre?
3. Gebt ihr zu bedenken daß sie sich durch den Eintritt

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in Unsern Orden mancherley Pflichten unterwer- / fen müße, unter welchen ein strenger Gehorsam / gegen ihre Obern, ein genaues Stillschweigen von / alle dem was sie im Orden sehen und erfahren / würde, und endlich eine untadelhafte Aufführung / die Vornehmsten wären.

4. Macht ihr bekant daß die Stiftung unsers Ordens / nur allein von dem ehrwürdigen Orden der / Maurer abstame; und daß wir also auch von / ihr begehren würden, eine unverbrüchliche Hoch- / achtung und Ehrfurcht gegen denselben zu hegen.
5. Verheelet ihr nicht wie hoch sich die Kosten in der / Maçonnerie durch alle Grade hindurch belaufen / und befragt sie ob sie vermögend und willens sey sol- / che darauf zu verwenden. Endlich
6. Ermahnet sie, sich alles dieses wohl zu überlegen, / und vor alle Übereilung zu hüten, damit ihr / der Schritt den sie jetzo wage nicht gereuen möge.

Indeßen eben da diese Mauerin bey der Recipientin / ist, wird von der Meisterin vom Stuhle cathegisiert.

§. 4.

Kommt nun die abgeschickte Mauerin von der Reci- / pientin zurück; So legt sie zuförderst den abge- / legten Maurer Schmuck wieder an, und stattet / alsdan ihren Bericht an die Meisterin vom Stuhle / geziemend ab. Lautet solcher, daß die Recipientin / bey dem Verlangen aufgenommen zu werden beharre; / so schickt die Meisterin vom Stuhle eine andere Schwe- / ster wiederum ihr ab, jedoch in ihrem völligen Maurer / Schmucke, mit dem Befehl: Schwester N.N. be- / gebet Euch hinaus zu der Neuaufzunehmenden; / versichert sie unsers geneigten Willens, und daß wir / uns über ihre ertheilte Antworten freuen; fordert ihr alles Geld, Schmuck und Metall ab, zum / Beweiß daß sie sich dem Orden mit einem völligen / Zutrauen gänzlich überlaße; Laßt ihr die Schuhe / übertreten, die Schnallen heraus machen, und verbindet ihr die Augen, welches die erste Probe ihres / Gehorsams gegen den Orden seyn soll; Bringet

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Sie alsdan vor die Thüren der Loge und klopft nach / Art der Mauerinnen an.

NB: die der Recipientin abgenomene Sachen wer- / den zugleich mitgebracht und auf die Chaire ge- / leget. Unterdeßen aber wird wieder Cathegisirt.

§. 5.

Sobald die abgeschickte Mauerin anklopft, spricht / die Meisterin vom Stuhl: Schwester zweyte Vor- / steherin, Sehet zu wer da ist. Diese geht an die / Thüre öffnet solche und nach dem sie gefragt hat / wer da sey, antwortet sie: Würdige Meisterin / vom Stuhl, Es ist ein Frauenzimmer, oder eine Dame, / die da wünschet in dem Orden der Mauerinnen / aufgenommen zu werden. Die Meisterin fragt weiter: / Wie heißt Sie? Antw: N.N. Hier wird ihr ordent- / licher Tauf und Zu Nahme gesagt. Die Meisterin: / Wie alt ist Sie? Antw: so und so alt. Die Meisterin, / Von was für Religion ? Antw: die und die. Die / Meisterin, Wo ist Sie her? Antw: da und da her.

NB: Diese Fragen thut die Vorsteherin erst alle un- / mittelbar an die Recipientin und raportirt alsdan / deren Antworten wieder an die Meisterin vom Stuhle. / Der Deputirte aus dem Orden der Maurer aber schreibt solche zu gleicher Zeit auf.

§. 6.

Wenn dieses geschehen, befiehlt die Meisterin weiter: / So laßet sie denn herein treten; führet sie 2 mahl / herum, und stellt sie alsdan zwischen die Vorsteherinen. / Im währenden Herumführen wird, so oft sie an / eines von denen auf dem Tapis befindlichen Thore / gelanget, das Lehrlings Zeichen gemacht. Wobey aber / sehr genau Acht auf die Meisterin vom Stuhl gegeben / werden muß, damit der Schlag in die Hände fein / gleiche gerathe.

Nachdem die zweyte Vorsteherin die Recipientin / also zweymahl herumgeführt, stellet sie solche / zwischen sich und die erste Vorsteherin. Worauf / in der gantzen Loge ein kurtzes Stillschweigen / erfolgt.

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§. 7.

Endlich bricht solches die Meisterin vom Stuhl, wen sie / die Recipientin folgendermaßen anredet: / Meine Freundin, obgleich der Entschluß den Sie gefaßt / haben eine Mauerin zu werden, nicht zu tadeln ist; / So erfordert doch unsere Pflicht Sie zu warnen daß / Sie

sich nicht übereifre. Überlegen Sie wohl was sie thun, / bißher sind sie vollkomen frey gewesen; Nichts hat / Sie gebunden. Jetzt aber stehen sie im Begriff sich / einer Gesellschaft einzuverleiben, die Ihnen man- / cherley Pflichten auferlegen, und die die Ausübung / derselben nach aller Strenge von ihnen fordern wird. / Diese Pflichten werden Ihnen bewust seyn; Sie sind / Ihnen gesagt worden ehe sie diese Stelle betra- ten. / Gehen sie also nochmahls recht ernsthaft mit sich / selbst zu rathe; Haben Sie das Hertz dieselben / auf sich zu nehmen? und was hat sie bewogen in / unsern Orden zu treten? Glauben Sie große Ge- / heimniße zu entdecken um sie wieder verrathen zu / können; so betrü- gen Sie sich selbst; und sollten sie / finden daß ihr Hertze noch zu schwach sey die Pflichten / der Freundschaft und der Verschwiegen- heit zu lieben / und auszuüben; so bleiben Sie lieber davon. Sie / sind von Natur frey gebohren, und es ist unsere Sache / nicht jemanden zu etwas zu zwingen. Die Verbind- / lichkeiten die sie in unsrem Orden auf sich nehmen / werden, sind also freywillig, und die Kosten die / es Ihnen verursacht, und die Sie hernach zu keiner / Zeit und unter kei- nerley Vorwande wiederfordern / können, dringet ihnen Niemand ab. Noch ist es / Zeit umzukehren, wenn es Ihnen gereuen sollte. / Noch haben sie wenig gehört, und nichts gesehen; / und noch sind wir er- böthig, wen Sie wollen, Sie / wieder an den Ort zurück zu bringen, woher sie / gekommen sind, und versprechen von allem was / mit Ihnen vorgegangen ist das genaueste Stillschweigen / zu beobachten, wel- ches Sie auch thun werden. Ich / muß ihnen aber noch sagen daß sie hier in eine Ge- / sellschaft treten, die durch eine gegründete Men- schen

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Liebe angetrieben, den Entzweck hat, und also / ihre gantze Bemü- hung dafür richtet, Sie und / alle ihre Mitglieder moralischer Weise glücklich / zu machen. Sie finden in solcher Freunde und / Freundin- nen bey denen auch kein Gedanken / der Falschheit, des Eigennutzes oder Betrugs statt / findet. Die alles was Ihnen begegnen kan, / auf- richtig mit Ihnen theilen, denen Sie ohne / Bedenken ihr Anliegen entdecken, und von denen / Sie wieder Hülfe, Kraft und Rath in allen Wie- / derwärtigkeiten zuversichtlich erwarten könen. / Nur allein dieses wäre schon hinlänglich Ehr- / furcht, Liebe und Zutrauen gegen unsern / Orden einzuschliesen; Allein wir hoffen mit der / Zeit und unter dem Beystande des Höchsten auch / noch andere Vortheile durch ihn zu erreichen. Von / denen ich aber jetzo noch nichts erwäh-

nen darf. / Halten Sie nun alles dieses gegeneinander, und / erwägen Sie solches noch eine kurtze Zeit bey sich / selbst ohne Vorurtheil. Dann werde ich Sie noch / einmahl fragen; und dann soll ihre Antwort / entscheiden ob sie eine Mauerin werden sollen oder nicht.

Hierauf wird eine gute zeitlang gantz stille / geschwiegen. Bis endlich die Meisterin vom Stuhle / mit einem etwas starken Thone fragt: Wollen / Sie eine Mauerin werden oder nicht? Beantwortet / sie solches mit Nein; So wird sie stillschweigend / wieder zurück geführt wo sie hergekommen ist, und / ihre Sachen werden ihr auch wieder zugestellt. / Spricht sie aber ja; So erwiedert die Meisterin / vom Stuhle: Schwestern Vorsteherinnen so laßt / sie sich denn dem Stuhle der Meisterin nähern.

§. 8.

Auf diesen Befehl wird Sie biß vor den Tisch der / Meisterin durch die beyden Vorsteherinnen geführt. / Die auch neben ihr zur Seite stehen bleiben. / Die Meisterin fragt sie alsdan: Erkennen Sie / sich vor eine freye Persohn? Antw: Ja. Die

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die [*sic!*] Meisterin: Also werden Sie auch glauben daß / das Bündniß so Sie jetzo mit uns eingehen, und das / Versprechen welches sie uns leisten, gantz frey und / ungezwungen von Ihnen geschehe? Antw: Ja. / Die Meisterin: Wohlan so legen Sie denn ihre rechte / Hand hier auf dieses Buch, welches die heilige Schrift / ist und sagen Sie mir folgendermaßen nach:

§. 9.

Gelobungs Formular einer Recipientin.

Ich N.N. gelobe und verspreche hierdurch auf das / feyerlichste und an Eides statt, daß ich von alle dem / was ich in und Orden der Maçonnerie de [*sic!*] Dames / jetzt und in Zukunft erfahren, sehen und hören werde, / keinem Menschen, und auf keinerley Weise etwas ent- / decken, offenbahnen oder verrathen, sondern die mir / anvertrauten Geheimniße vielmehr als ein / Heiligthum unter dem Siegel der tiefsten Ver- / schwiegenheit in meinem Hertzen bewahren und / gegen Niemanden davon reden will, als nur allein / gegen diejenigen die ich als rechtschaffene und ehrliche / bende Schwestern unsers Ordens hinlänglich ge- / prüfet und erkant habe. Zugleichen verpflichte / ich

mich hierdurch auf eben so verbindliche Art, mei- / nen Obern und Vorgesetzten in Ordens Sachen einen / strengen und unverweigerlichen Gehorsam zu leisten, / und solche zu verehren; Treue und aufrichtige / Freundschaft gegen meine Mitglieder auszuüben; / Durch eine anständige und untadelhafte Aufführung / dem Orden Ehre zu machen, und von alle dem was / ich dem Orden verehret und vor meine Receptiones / in solchem gezahlt habe, oder noch verehren und zahlen / werde, unter keinerley Vorwand jemahlen etwas / zurück zu fordern. Wie nicht weniger gegen den / ehrwürdigen Orden unserer Brüder, der Frey Maurer / und deßen Gliedern , als Stifter und Beschützer un- / seres Ordens die vollkommenste Hochachtung zu hegen, / das Beste ihrer Logen zu befördern, ihre gerechte / Sache gegen jedermann zu vertheidigen, alle Ver-

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leumdungen, Haß und Mißgunst, so viel an mir / ist, von ihnen abzuwenden, und nach allen Kräfften / mich zu bestreben, jede r Pflicht unseres Ordens / der ich mich freywillig unterwürfe, eine voll- / kommene Genüge zu leisten. Wiedrigenfalls, / und wenn ich dawieder handeln sollte, unter- / werfe ich mich eben so freywillig aller in denen / Constitutionen darauf gesetzten Strafe, und / jedem Straf Urtheile daß meines üblen Ver- / haltens wegen über mich gefällt werden möchte, / es bestehe solches worinnen es wolle, ohne Widerspruch / und Murren. Alles dieses gelobe und verspreche / ich durch einen feyerlichen Handschlag den ich / jetzt vor den Augen einer so edlen und verehr- / ungswürdigen Versamlung von mir gebe, / und zu deßen treuen Erfüllung und Beobach- / tung der höchste Baumeister aller Welten mir / seinen Beystand verleyhen wolle.

§. 10.

Ist solches geschehen, so befiehlt die Meisterin vom / Stuhle: Schwestern Vorsteherinnen; führet sie / wieder zurück. Worauf sie denn wieder zwi- / schen die Vorsteherinnen gestellet wird. Hierauf / spricht die Meisterin: Man gebe ihr das Licht. / Da ihr die Vorsteherinnen das Tuch mit wel- / chem ihr die Augen verbunden sind, auflösen / und abnehmen. Die Meisterin aber erkläret die Ursachen / alles desjenigen was bisher mit ihr vorgenommen / worden ist ungefähr folgendermaßen: Meine liebe Ordens Schwester; unser bisheriges / Verfahren gegen Ihnen, kann Sie vielleicht in ei- / nige Verwunderung setzen. Ich finde also vor / nöthig eins und das andere noch zu erklären. / Das vielmah-

lige Befragen, ob Sie eine Mauerin / werden wollen, geschah bloß darum weil man / Ihnen Zeit laßen wollte, ihr Unternehmen reif- / lich zu überlegen. Sie sollten sich nicht übereilen, / sondern erkennen lernen, wie wir nicht begehren / Einander hierzu zu überreden, sondern daß wir / vielmehr wünschen daß solches gantz freywillig

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geschehen möchte. Hierdurch decken wir uns gegen / alle Vorwürfe die uns gemacht werden könnten, / als hätten wir im Gebrauch die Leute zu über- / reden oder in unsern Orden zu zwingen. Sie wissen / also selbst daß es nur allein von ihrem freyen / Willen abgehangen hat, und sollte es Ihnen, wie- / der Vermuthen je einmahl gereuen, so haben Sie / es niemandem als sich selbst zuzuschreiben.

Die Abnahme alles Goldes und Metalles aber geschahe / darum, um ihnen zu zeigen wie wir nicht begeh- / ren daß jemand in unsere Logen etwas bringen / möchte so unserm Eigennutz schmeicheln könne. / Wir haben nur allein auf ihre Persohn gesehen, / und jedes recht-schaffene Frauenzimmer ist uns / schätzbar es sey reich oder arm. Es sind nur ihre / guten Eigenschaften die wir an Ihnen verehren, / nicht aber der äußerliche Glantz. Jene bleiben / verehrungswürdig, wen wir sie schon lange als / todt beweint werden haben, dieses aber ~~sind~~ ist / vergänglich und von keinem dauerhaften Werthe; / und eben darum soll Ihnen auch alles was wir / Ihnen abgenomen haben, alßbald wieder zuge- / stellet werden.

Inzwischen haben wir dieses so wohl als die Verbin- / dung der Augen und Übertretung der Schuhe, / als einen Beweiß ihres Zutrauens und willigen / Gehorsams gegen unß von ihnen gefordert. Es / war also gleichsam die erste Probe davon, die Sie ge- / gen uns abzulegen hatten, und Sie werden mit / der Zeit selbst einsehen lernen, wie nothwendig es / sey, daß wir von unsern Mittgliedern Zutrauen / und Gehorsam begehren.

Eben so, wie Sie aus dem zweymaligen Herumführen / bey verbundenen Augen erkennen sollen, was / lange, und gleichsam als mit verblendeten Augen man / auf der Welt herum irre ehe man so glücklich ist, / daß die Augen des Verstandes geöffnet werden, um / denWeg zu wissen nach welchem man endlich zu

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einer wahren Beruhigung und stillen Zufriedenheit / gelanget. Menschliche Triebe und Leidenschaften / blenden uns immer die Au-

gen und laßen niemahls / zu daß wir den rechten Weg betreten. Sind wir / aber so glücklich an rechtschaffenen und tugendhaften / Freundinnen getreue Wegweiserinnen zu erhalten, / die uns die Leiden-schaften beherrschen lehren, so fällt / die Decke nach und nach von unsern Augen ab, und / wir sehen alsdan die Sachen viel deutlicher, ja, wir / treffen auch die Straße die uns zur Glückseeligkeit / führt durch ihren Beystand mit ungleich weniger / Gefahr und Mühe.

Sehen Sie, geliebte Ordens Schwester, dies alles sage und / überlasse ich ihrem weitem Nachdenken. Wohl Ihnen / wen sie sich solches gehörig zu Nutze machen. Jetzt / aber treten Sie her an meine rechte Seite damit ich / Ihnen den Schmuck der Mauerinnen mittheile und / das was noch übrig ist vollends belehre.

§. 11.

Hierauf bindet ihr die Meisterin vom Stuhle das / Tablier um, mit den Worten: Das ist die Kleidung / einer ächten Mauerin; es hat die Farbe der Un- / schuld, Ihnen zur Erinnerung daß solche eine / der schönsten Zierden unserer Gesellschaft ist. Tra- / gen sie solches zeitlebens mit Anstand und Würde / dem Orden zu Ehren.

Sie giebt ihr ferner die Kelle, und sagt, indem / sie ihr solche an die Seite hängen: Dies Handwerck- / zeug muntere Sie auf weder Fleiß noch Mühe / zu spahren ihre Arbeit am Tempel der Glücksee- / ligkeit muthig fortzusetzen.

Alsdann steckt sie ihr das Ordens Zeichen an, und / spricht: Dieses Zeichen bringe Ihnen Ehre und An- / sehen unter ihren Schwestern und Brüdern; Es / laße Sie immerfort mit Danckbarkeit erkennen / daß Sie den Vorzug genießen eine ächte Mauerin / zu seyn, und treibe sie an nach aller Möglichkeit / dem Orden Nutzen und Vorthail zu verschaffen.

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Sodan giebt sie ihr ein paar weiß glacierte Handschuh, / und ein paar dergleichen Mannes Handschuh. Bey den / erstern spricht sie: In diesen Handschuhen verrichten / Sie künftig ihre Arbeiten, und so rein als diese sind, / so rein müssen auch unsere Sitten seyn. Bey / den zweyten aber sagt sie: So wie der ehrwürdige / Orden unserer Brüder die Gewohnheit hat, jedem / Neu Aufgenommenen ein paar Frauenzimmer Hand- / schuh zu verehren; auf gleiche Weise gebe ich Ihnen /

hier ein paar Mans Handschuh. Schenken Sie solche / demjenigen den Sie ihrer Achtung und Freundschaft / am würdigsten finden.

Endlich lehret sie ihr das Zeichen machen, welches oben / pag.29, §.8 beschrieben ist. Ingleichen giebt sie / Ihr das Lösungs Wort, welches Obedience oder / Gehorsam heißt; lernet Sie auch mauermäßig / klopfen, küsst sie auf Mund und Stirne, und / wünschet ihr Glück. Welches sie denn mit den / beyden Vorsteherinnen und den zwey ältesten / Schwestern in der Loge wiederholet.

Worauf ihr die Meisterin vom Stuhle entweder / selbst oder durch eine Schwester das oben pag:16 / hub No: 1. angeführte Tapis erklären läßt, / und wen solches geschehen ihr einen Platz in der Reyhe / der übrigen Schwestern anweist.

Wenn denn nun weiter zu bearbeiten nichts vor- / handen ist; So wird die Loge gehörig wieder ge- / schloßen.

Cap: X.

Von der Reception im zweyten Grade.

§. 1.

Wenn die Loge gehörig eröffnet ist; Trägt die Meisterin / vom Stuhle der Versamlung vor, daß die Schwester / N.N. um die Ehre ihr den zweyten Grad zu ertheilen / geziemend angesuchet habe. Siehet die Meisterin, / daß aus der Versamlung Niemand etwas dar- / wieder einwendet; So schickt sie eine derer Schwe- / stern an die Aufzunehmende, die indeßen da die / Loge geöffnet worden ist, sich in das praeparations

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Zimmer begeben hat, und in ihrem Mauer [*sic!*] Schmucke / die weitem Verfügungen der Loge daselbst ab- / wartet, mit dem Befehle ab: Schwester N.N. / begeben sie sich hinaus zu der Schwester N.N. / und vermelden sie ihr daß die Loge beschloßen / habe ihrem Verlangen zu widerfahren. Man / werde ihr den zweyten Grad ertheilen, aber auch / mit solchem mehrere Verbindlichkeiten aufe[r]- / legen, denen sie sich unterwerfen müße. / Sagen sie ihr zugleich wie viel sie vor diese Aufnahme / zu erlegen habe, und befragen sie ob sie be- / reit sey daßelbe zu entrichten und den neuen / Verbindlichkeiten sich zu unterwer-

fen. Bleibt / sie bey dem Verlangen, [*das Komma ist wohl fehl am Platze*] stehen weiter gebracht / zu werden; So sagen sie ihr daß sie in einer / kurtzen Zeit nach ihrer Zurückkehr in die Loge / sich an der Thür derselben als eine Mauerin durch / das gewöhnliche Klopfen mauermäßig melde, / und mit Gehorsam annehme was die Loge weiter / verfügen werde.

§. 2.

Klopft nun die Recipientin besagtermasen an; So / spricht die Meisterin: Schwester zweite Vorsteherin; / Sehen sie zu wer sich an den Thüren der Loge befindet. / Diese öffnet alsdan die Thüre und fragt die Recipi- / entin wer da sey? die Recipientin antwortet: / Eine Schwester die gehorsamst bittet in den zweiten / Grad der Maurerey angenumen zu werden. Die / Vorsteherin berichtet diese Antwort wieder an die / Meisterin. Die Meisterin fragt weiter: Wie heist / Sie? Antwort: Calliope. Hierauf spricht die / Meisterin: So laßet sie den herein treten und stellt / sie auf die zweite Stufe des Tempels. Wend diesem / zufolge die Recipientin die auf dem Tapis ge- / zeichnete zweite Stufe des Tempels bestiegen hat, / Redet [*sic!*] die Meisterin sie folgendermasen an.

§. 3.

Seyn Sie eine Mauerin? Antw: die Loge und meine / Schwestern erkennen mich dafür. Wo seyn sie aufge-

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nomen worden? Antw: in einer gerechten Loge. / Wie heißen Sie? Antw: Calliope. Seyn Sie entschloßen / dem Orden sich noch ferner zu widmen? Antw: Ja. / und deßen Verfügungen fernerhin sich freiwillig / zu unterwerfen? Antw: Ja. Sie tragen also Ver- / langen, in demselben weiter befördert zu werden? / Antw: Ich bitte darum. Seyn Sie auch bereit die / dafür zu entrichtenden Gebühren zu erlegen? Antw: / Sehr gerne. Wohlan geliebte Schwester, so bin ich auch / bereit Ihnen den zweiten Grad unseres edlen Or- / dens zu ertheilen. Nähern sie sich derowegen dem / Stuhle der Meisterin. Hierauf gehet die Recipi- / entin mit anständigen Schritten bis vor den Tisch / der Meisterin, und bleibt vor selbigem mit Ehr- / erbietung stehen.

NB: So bald die Recipientin das Zimer der Loge / betritt, wird von sämtlichen Mittgliedern der- / selben so wohl als von der Recipientin selbst / das Lehrlings Zeichen gemacht.

§. 4.

Hierauf redet sie die Meisterin vom Stuhle folgen- / dermasen an: Ich kan Ihnen nicht verheelen daß / mit jedem Grade den wir unsern Mitgliedern er- / theilen, sich auch die Pflichten vermehren die der Orden / von ihnen fordert. Dort aber sind es Gott und Men- / schen wohlgefällige Pflichten, und solche die weder / einer gegründeten Religion, noch einer gesunden / Vernunft und geistlichen Sittenlehre widersprechen, / sondern vielmehr jedem von Natur guten und / gesitteten Hertzen anständig, und also leicht in Aus- / übung zu bringen sind. Da wir nun das Zutrauen / zu Ihnen haben daß Sie kein Bedenken tragen werden, / so schönen Pflichten sich zu unterwerfen; So werden / sie sich auch nicht weigern, auf nachfolgende Art, und / durch einen neuen Handschlag selbst zu bestätigen, / Sagen Sie mir also nach:

§. 5.

Gelobungs Formular vor den 2^{ten} Grad.

Ich N.N. Gelobe und verspreche hierdurch auf das / heiligste, von alle dem / was ich in diesem Grade sehen,

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hören und erfahren werde, keinem Menschen, und / durch keinerley Weise etwas zu entdecken und / zu offenbahnen; Es seye denn gegen eine Schwester / die ich nach genauer Prüfung als eine wahre und / ächte Mauerin, und der eben dieser Grad schon / ertheilet ist, erkannt habe. Ferner verpflichte ich / mich die in diesem Grade mir zukommenden / Pflichten, so wohl als alle dem wozu ich mich bey / meiner ersten Aufnahme verbindlich gemacht habe, / getreulich und unverbrüchlich nachzukommen. / Meine Vorgesetzten im Orden zu verehren und / Ihnen zu gehorsamen; Die Geheimniße des Ordens / in meinem Hertzen wohl zu verwahren, und das / Beste des Ordens unserer würdigen Brüder der / Frey Maurer nach allen Kräften befördern zu / helfen. Alles dieses mit freywilliger Unterwer- / fung aller darauf gesetzten Strafen und Züchti- / gungen. Welches ich denn jetzo durch einen feyer- / lichen Handschlag in öffentlicher Versamlung / hiermit bestätige.

§. 6.

Alsdann läßt sie die Meisterin sich zu ihrer Rechten / stellen. Bindet ihr das **Tablier** ab und reichet ihr / dasjenige so dem zweiten Grad gebühret, indem / sie sagt: Empfangen Sie hier das **Tablier** des / zweiten Grades, und vergeßen Sie nie ihre Arbeit / mit eben der Treu und dem Eifer in solchem zu / verrichten, mit welchem sie dem Orden sich bisher / gefällig gemacht.

Ferner lehret sie ihr das oben pag:29. §.8, be- / schriebene Zeichen der Gesellinnen; Theilet ihr / das Losungs Wort mit, welches **Silence** heist; / küßt sie auf Mund und Stirne und wünscht / ihr Glück.

Wen sie nun dieses mit den beyden Vorsteherinnen / und den zwey ältesten Schwestern in der **Loge** / wiederholt hat; So wird ihr das pag:17 hub / No: 2 beschriebene **Tapis** erklärt, und endlich / der ihr zukomende Platz in der **Loge** angewiesen. / Ist nichts mehr zu bearbeiten übrig; So wird die / **Loge** gehörig wieder geschlossen.

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Cap: XI.

Von der Reception im dritten Grade.

§. 1.

Zu Anfang dieser Reception verfährt man wie / bey der zweiten. Nur mit dem Unterschied: daß / auf die Frage wie die Recipientin heiße, geant- / wortet wird: **Clio**. Imgleichen daß, sobald die / Recipientin das **Logen** Zimmer betritt auch das / Gesellin Zeichen gemacht, und die Recipientin auf / die auf dem **Tapis** gezeichnete dritte Stufe gestellt wird. Dann wird sie von der Meisterin / vom Stuhle folgendermaßen angeredet:

§. 2.

Geliebte Ordens Schwester; Sie sind im Begriff / den dritten Grad unsers edlen Ordens zu erhalten. / Sie werden bey dem zweiten Grade deßelben schon / bemerkt haben, wie sich die Pflichten bey jedem / Schritte vermehren, und hier geschieht ein gleiches. / Haben Sie sich auch wohl geprüft und untersucht, / ob ihnen mehrere Pflichten nicht

zu schwehr [*sic!*] werden? / Man ist bishero sehr aufmercksam darauf
 gewe- / sen, in wie ferne sie den Pflichten des zweiten Gra- / des
 nachgekomen sind; Man hat in der Stille / ihr gantzes Verhalten gegen
 den Orden sehr genau / beobachtet. Dieses läßt uns hoffen, Sie wer-
 den / auch in Zukunft nicht ermüden, und wir haben / Ursach unsere
 Zufriedenheit hierüber zu bezeugen, / die Sie aus der Bereitwilligkeit
 erkennen können, / mit welcher wir Ihnen anjetzo den dritten Grad /
 ertheilen. Wollten Sie doch auch so bereitwillig seyn / das Zutrauen
 welches der Orden gegen Ihnen hat, / mit Danckbarkeit zu erkennen,
 und die Ihnen oblie- / genden Pflichten fernerhin mit Eifer und Treue /
 zu beobachten. Ich versichere Ihnen daß der Orden / nicht unterlaßen
 wird seine Erkentlichkeit dafür / zu bezeugen, und alle Mittglieder
 deßelben werden / Sie nur um desto stärker lieben und verehren. /
 Dies allein sollte meines Erachtens hinlänglich gnug [*sic!*]

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seyn ein edel gesinntes Hertze aufzumuntern / und begierig zu machen
 auf dem Wege der Tugend / zu beharren und dadurch vor Gott und
 Menschen / einen wahren Ruhm zu erlangen.

Da wir aber gewohnt sind niemanden zu bereden, / oder zu zwingen,
 sondern einer jeden es ihrem / freyen Willen überlaßen; So frage ich
 Sie / nochmahls: ob Sie sich den Pflichten des dritten / Grades frey-
 willig unterwerfen und in densel- / ben treten wollen? Antw: Ja. So
 nähern / Sie sich denn dem Stuhle der Meisterin.

§. 3.

Hierauf geht die Recipientin bis vor den Tisch / der Meisterin spricht
 ihr das eben pag: 13.§.5 / befindliche Gelobungs Formular nach, und
 / bestätigt solches durch den gewöhnlichen Hand- / schlag.

§. 4.

Alsdann läßt die Meisterin vom Stuhle sie zu ihrer / Rechten treten;
 Schlägt ihr die herabgeschlagene / Kappe halb zurück mit den Worten:
 Dieses / Thue ich, und so sollen Sie diese Kappe künftighin / in dem
 dritten Grade tragen, zum Zeichen daß / wir nicht meinen im Dunkeln
 bleiben, sondern / nach und nach deutlicher sehen lernen.

NB: Sobald die Meisterin solches gethan hat, so / bald schlagen sämt-
 liche Mittglieder der Loge / ihre Kappen auch zurück und machen
 das Zeichen / des dritten Grades. Ehe die Meisterin aber der / Reci-

pientin die Kappe zurück schlägt, schlägt / sie sich selbige vorher selber zurück.

Ferner reicht sie ihr das diesem Grad zukomende / Tablier. Lehrt ihr das oben pag: 29 §.8 beschrie- / bene Zeichen; Theilt ihr das Lösungs Wort mit, / welches Fermeté heißet; Küßet sie auf Mund / und Stirne, und wünscht ihr Glück.

§. 5.

Wenn sie dieses mit denen Vorsteherinnen und / 2 ältesten Schwestern in der Loge wiederholt hat, / wird ihr endlich das pag:18, hub No:1, beschriebene

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Tapis erkläret, und ein Platz in der Loge ange- / wiesen. Endlich aber wird die Loge gehörig wieder / geschlossen.

Cap: XII.

Von der Reception im vierten Grade.

§. 1.

Bey Eröffnung der Loge wird alles das observiret, / wie bey den Vorhergehenden. Jedoch mit dem Unter- / schiede daß auf die Frage: Wie heist Ihr? Themis / geantwortet wird. Die Mittglieder der Loge machen, / so bald die Recipientin hereintritt, das Zeichen / des dritten Grades, und die Recipientin selbst / wird auf die auf dem Tapis gezeichnete vierte / Stufe geführt. Hierauf redet die Meisterin die / Recipientin folgendermaßen an:

§. 2.

Geliebte Ordens Schwester; Ihr rühmliches Verhalten / welches man bisher unvermerkt beobachtet hat, leitet / Sie gegenwärtig auf die vierte Stufe unsers edlen / Ordens. Erkennen Sie hieraus die Güte und Gerechtig- / keit deßelben, indem er Sorge trägt das gute Ver- / halten seiner Mittglieder eben so eifrig zu belohnen, / als die Verbrechen nachdrücklich zu bestrafen. Laßen / Sie sich dieses zur Aufmunterung dienen, dem / Orden fernerhin sich mit Eifer und Treue zu wiedmen

[sic!]. / Ermüden Sie nicht alle ihre Kräfte dahin anzu- / wenden, seinem ...brüchlichen Entzweck gemäß / an der Vollendung des Tempels der Glückseeligkeit mit / Nutzen zu arbeiten. Jetzt werden sie schon empfinden / wie leicht und angenehm unsere Pflichten sind, und / was für reizende Belohnung dieselben mit sich führe[n]. / Wen die Beobachtung derselben das Gewißen von / allen Vorwürfen befreyet, und das Hertze ruhig / machet. Um das Wollen zweifeln wir auch nicht daß / Sie bereit seyn werden die noch übrigen Pflichten / auf sich zu nehmen die wir mit Recht von denenje- / nigen fordern die bis zum Tempel der Glückseelig- / keit durchdringen wollen, und die Sie bey Erklär- / ung des Tapis vernehmen werden. Sagen Sie also, / freymüthig ob Sie entschloßen sind dieses zu thun,

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und dem Orden sich ferner noch zu wiedmen [sic!] ?

§. 3.

Wenn nun die Recipientin solches mit ja be- / antwortet; So heist sie die Meisterin vom Stuhle / sich dem Tische der Meisterin nähern; allwo Sie das / pag: 43, §.5. befindliche Gelobungs Formular / nachspricht und den erforderlichen Handschlag von / sich giebt.

§. 4.

Ist solches geschehen so läßt die Meisterin sie zu ihrer / Rechten treten; reicht ihr das diesem Grad zukom- / mende Tablier, mit dem Worten: dieses Tablier / hat die Farbe der Hoffnung zur Erinnerung deßen / daß die Hoffnung die wir uns machen nicht ungegrün- / det sey. Verrichten Sie in solchem ihre Arbeit jederzeit / mit Muth und Standhaftigkeit.

Alsdan lehrt sie ihr das oben pag:30, §.8 beschriebene / Zeichen, giebt ihr das Losungs Wort, welches Vigilence / heist, und spricht dabey: Dieses Wort lehre Sie über die / Beobachtung unserer Gesetze, über die Aufrechthaltung unsrer Gebräuche, und über die Gerechtsame des / Ordens zu wachen. Endlich küßt sie dieselbe auf / Mund und Stirne, und wünscht ihr Glück.

§. 5.

Dieses wiederholt alsdan die Recipientin mit denen / Vorsteherinnen und 2 ältesten Schwestern, und wenn / solches geschehen wird ihr

endlich das pag:20. hub No:2, / beschriebene Tapis erklärt, und ein Platz in der / Loge angewiesen. Worauf auch von sämtlichen / Mittgliedern derselben, das diesem Grade zukomen- / de Zeichen gemacht wird. Die Loge aber wird als- / dan wie gebräuchlich wieder geschlossen.

Cap: XIII.

Von der Reception im fünfften Grade.

§. 1.

Wenn die Recipientin, nachdem sie gehörig prae- / parirt worden ist, / sich an der Thüre der Loge mauer- / mäßig meldet; Spricht die Meisterin vom Stuhle: / Schwester 2^t Vorsteherin; Sehet zu wer da ist. Die / Vorstherin gehet an die Thüre, öffnet solche und fragt

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die Recipientin, wer da sey. Antw: Eine Schwester / die da wünschet in dem 5^t Grad aufgenomen zu / werden. Die Meisterin fragt ferner: Wie heist sie? / Antw: Uranie. Wo komt sie her? Antw: Von / Abend. Wo geht sie hin? Antw:Gegen Aufgang der / Sonnen. Wo hat sie gearbeitet? Antw: Am Tempel / der Glückseeligkeit. Was ist ihrBegehren? Antw: / Diesen Bau vollenden zu helfen. Ist sie auch eine / ächte Mauerin? Antw: Sie will es beweisen. Hierauf / fertiget die Meisterin eine derer Schwestern aus der / Loge an sie ab, mit dem Befehl, die Recipientin, außen / vor der Thüre durch alle Grade der Mauerey zu exa- / miniren.

§. 2.

Hat diejenige die sie examinirt hat ihren Bericht abge- / stattet daß sie durch alle Grade der Mauerey richtig / befunden sey; So befiehlt die Meisterin vom Stuhle: / daß man sie herein treten laße. In diesem Augenblick / macht die gantze Versamlung das Zeichen des 5^t / Grades, stellt sich aber auch also bald wieder in / das Zeichen des 4^t Grades. Die Meisterin aber be- / fiehlt weiter: Schwester 2^t Vorsteherin, laßet sie / die 5 Stufen des Tempels nach Art der Mauerinnen / heran steigen. Dieses geschieht folgendermaßen: / Sie setzt den rechten Fuß auf die erste Stufe, / und zieht den linken Fuß neben solchen nach; und

so macht sie es dergestalt fort, biß sie mit beyden / Füßen auf die 5^t Stufe zu stehen komt, auf / welcher sie unter dem Zeichen des 4^t Grades stehen / bleibet. NB: die Vorsteherin muß ihr solches vorher / vormachen. Hierauf redet die Meisterin vom Stuhle / sie folgendermaßen an:

§. 3.

Geliebte Ordens Schwester, da Sie durch alle Grade / hindurch als eine wahre und ächte Mauerin befunden / worden sind, auch ein sehnliches Verlangen tragen, / an dem Bau des Tempels der Glückseeligkeit zu / deßen Vollendung weiter zu arbeiten; So erfor- / dert meine Pflicht diesen edlen Trieb in Ihnen zu / stärken, und zur Ausführung ihres guten Vor- / satzes behilflich zu seyn. Diesem zu folge ermahne / ich sie nochmahls, alles was Ihnen hierinnen hinderlich

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seyn kan aus dem Wege zu räumen; Alle Vor- / urtheile zu verkennen, und sich hingegen immer / mehr zu überzeugen daß die Beobachtung unserer / Pflichten uns allein das Mittel sey zu einer wahren / Glückseeligkeit zu gelangen. Sie haben sich durch / Verschwiegenheit und Gehorsam in einer regelmäßigen / Aufführung den Weg bis hieher gebahnet; Nun / komt es darauf an daß sie auf solchem standhaft / beharren, und jede Handlung die sie dem Orden zum / Besten vornehmen werden mit Vorsichtigkeit und / Klugheit begleiten. Jetzt erblicken Sie den Tempel / der Glückseeligkeit in seiner völligen Gestalt, und / o! was für Vergnügen werde ich genießen, wenn ich / Sie einst dahin führen werde, wo alle Bilder auf- / hören, und wo Sie das Wißentliche unsers erhabenen / Ordens und den wahren Entzweck deßelben mit auf- / geklärtem / Auge sehen werden. Hierzu aber wird / noch Gedult erfordert, und ehe solches geschiehet wird / man noch manche Probe von Ihnen fordern. Es ist / also eine Zeit der Prüfung die Sie noch zu überstehen / haben. Lassen Sie sich aber dieses nicht verdrießen, / sondern machen Sie hieraus vielmehr den Schluß / wie ungemein vorsichtig und behutsam in Entdeck- / ung seiner Geheimnisse der Orden handle, und / daß dieses einen jeden allerdings anreizen müße, / seine Ehrfurcht und Hochachtung gegen denselben zu / vermehren, wenn er gewahr wird daß hier nichts / auf ein Gerathewohl sondern alles mit möglichster / Klugheit behandelt wird.

Seyn Sie demnach entschlossen diese Probe-Zeit auf sich / zu nehmen und in solcher mit Gedult und Gelassen- / heit zu beharren; So erklären sie sich hierüber.

§. 4.

Hat nun die Recipientin hierauf mit Ja geant- / wortet; So heist sie die Meisterin sich dem Stuhle / derselben zu nähern und läßt sie das pag: 43, / §.5 befindliche Gelobungs Formular nebst dem / Handschlag ablegen.

§. 5.

Wen solches geschehen; Tritt sie der Meisterin wieder / zur Rechten, die ihr alsdan das diesem Grad zukomen- / de Tablier mit den Worten umbindet:

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Dieses Tablier führt die Farbe der Morgenröthe zum / Zeichen daß der Orden sich seinem Glantze, den er in / seinem Aufgange hatte, nähere; und so sollen Sie auch / durch anständige Sitten ihren Brüdern und Schwestern, / wie die aufgehende Sonne der Welt Vergnügen bringen. / Ingleichen reicht sie ihr den Huth indem sie sagt: / Dieses sey bey dieser Versammlung künftig die Zierde / ihres Hauptes, zur stäten [*sic!*] Erinnerung daß Sie so / wohl willig als verbunden sind, die Gerechtsame / unsers Ordens im Fall der Noth auch männlich zu / vertheidigen.

Sie lehret ihr ferner das oben pag:30, §.8 befindliche / Zeichen; Giebt ihr das Losungs Wort, welches / Prudence heist, mit dem Zusatz: Vergeßen Sie nie / alle ihre Handlungen nach den Regeln der Klugheit / abzumeßen; Küßet sie endlich auf Mund und / Stirne und wünscht ihr Glück.

§. 6.

Hat die Recipientin solches mit denen Vorsteherinnen / und beyden ältesten Schwestern wiederholet; So wird / ihr das pag: 21, §.4. beschriebene Tapis erklärt, / und ein Platz in der Loge angewiesen, in welcher / alsdan das dem 5^t Grad zukomende Zeichen gemacht / wird.

Cap: XIV.

Von dem durch Looß zu treffenden Votiren.

§. 1.

Man läßt eine gleiche Anzahl von ungefähr 50, / bis 60 Stück kleine Kügelchen verfertigen, von / denen der eine Theil Schwartz, und der andere Weiß / ist. Zu jeder Sorte wird ein besonderer Beutel / gemacht in welchem diese Kügelchen verwahrt werden.

§. 2.

Wen nun votirt werden soll nimt jede der anwesenden / Schwestern von jeder Sorte einige Stück zu sich, jedoch / so, daß keine andere weiß wie viel sie deren genommen / hat. Die schwartzen bedeuten die Verweigerung die / weisen [*sic!*] aber deuten die Einwilligung in die Recep- / tion an.

§. 3.

Alsdan gehet die 2^e Vorsteherin mit einem dritten Beutel

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herum, in welchen jede Schwester nach Belieben ein / weißes oder schwartzes Kügelchen einleget, ohne daß / es die andern gewahr werden was vor eines eingelegt / worden ist.

§. 4.

Hat nun die Vorsteherin die Kügelchen gesamlet, so / schüttet sie den Beutel auf den Tisch vor der Mei- / sterin vom Stuhle aus, da es sich den bald zeigen wird / ob die Reception genehmiget werde oder nicht. Den / wen der schwartzen Kügelchen mehr als der weisen / seyn, so ist auch die Reception verworfen ohne jedoch / daß jemand weiß durch wen aus der Gesellschaft / sie verworfen worden ist, und auf solche Art kan man / allen weitem Verdruß der daraus entstehen könnte, vermeiden.

§. 5.

Die übrigen Kügelchen aber die die Schwestern noch bey / sich haben, legen sie alsdan wieder unbemerk[t] ein / jedes in seinen gehörigen Beutel[.]

Cap: XV.

Von der Tisch=Loge.

§. 1.

Sobald die Tafel durch die dienenden Schwestern / servirt ist, treten säm^utl^{ic}he Mittglieder der Loge / in ihrem Mauer Schmucke, eine jede hinter ihren /Stuhl. Verrichten im Stillen ihr Tisch Gebeth, und / setzen sich alsdenn an der Tafel auf ihre Stühle.

§. 2.

Hierauf klopft die Meisterin vom Stuhle einmahl / mit ihrem Hamer, und wen die Vorsteherinnen / solches beantwortet haben, öffnet die Meisterin die / Loge folgendermaßen: Schwester erste Vorsteherin, / Seyd ihr eine Frey Mauerin? Antw: Ja, ich bin es. / Schwester 2^{te} Vorsteherin Wie heist ihr? Antw: Hier / wird derjenige Name gesagt der dem Grade in wel- / chem die Loge gehalten wird, zukom^{mt}. Schwester 1^{ste} / Vorsteherin; Glaubt ihr daß es Zeit sey die Loge zu / öffnen? Antw: Ja ich glaube es. So öffne ich den / die Loge im Nahmen unsrer Obern, und aller ächten / Maurern [*sic!*] und Mauerinnen, durch die uns zugetheil- / te Zahl von fünfen – • • – –, welches die Vorsteherinnen / beantworten, und worauf die Meisterin noch / spricht: Meine Schwestern, die Loge ist geöffnet.

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§. 3.

Von nun an darf kein lautes Wort mehr geredet [*sic!*] werden / alles muß still und sittsam zu gehen. Die Speisen wer- / den von denenjenigen vorgelegt so am nächsten an der / vorzulegenden Schüssel sitzen. Die Teller mit den / Speisen werden zuerst an die Meisterin vom Stuhl, / und dan an die übrigen nach ihrer Anciennitaet im Orden / gegeben, und hierbey alle Complimenti sorgfältig ver- / hütet. Die

Schwestern setzen sich auch nach ihrer Ancienni- / taet so wie sie in der Loge sitzen an die Tafel, und denen / dienenden Schwestern wird zur Seiten der Tafel auch / ein kleiner Tisch gedecket, an welchem sie zu gleicher Zeit / von den Schüßeln die vom großen Tische abgehoben werden / mit speisen.

§. 4.

So lange die Loge nicht suspendirt ist, läßt die Meisterin / vom Stuhle durch eine Schwester etwas vorlesen, oder es / werden allerley anständige Lieder gesungen, und Gesund- / heiten getrunken. Die Vornehmsten dieser Gesund- / heiten sind folgende:

1. Allen hohen Obern des Ordens der Freymaurer.
2. Denen Obern des Ordens der Freymaurerinnen.
3. Der Meisterin vom Stuhle dieser Loge. NB: Diese / Gesundheit trinken die Vorsteherinnen mit den / übrigen Schwestern, müssen sich aber die Erlaubniß / hierzu bey der Meisterin vom Stuhle erst ausbitten.
4. Bedanket sich dafür die Meisterin vom Stuhle und / trinkt die Gesundheit ihrer Ordens Schwestern.
5. Derer besuchenden Schwestern wen welche vorhanden / sind.
6. Des Deputierten aus dem Frey Mauer [*sic!*] Orden.
7. Bedankt sich solcher dafür.
8. Derer Vorsteherinnen.
9. Bedanken sich solche dafür.
10. Aller auf der Welt befindlichen Mauerer. [*sic!*]
11. Aller auf der Welt befindlichen Mauerinnen.

Bey allen diesen Gesundheitien müssen die dienenden / Schwestern auch jedes mahl mit trinken und die dabey / vorfallenden Gebräuche mitmachen.

§. 5.

1.) Wenn die Meisterin vom Tisch eine Gesundheit ausbringen / will, klopft sie einmahl mit dem Hamer auf den Tisch. Dieß wird von den Vorsteherinnen beantwortet.

Hierauf spricht sie, Meine Schwestern laßet uns auf / das Wohlergehen des und des trinken, und dies wollen / wir thun nach allen Regeln der Mauerey durch die uns / zugetheilte Zahl von fünfen. Schenkt ein

meine Schwe- / stern. Worauf sie sich den eine jede selbst einschenken / und dabey auf die Meisterin sehen damit sie fein zugleich / trinken. Wen sie getrunken haben setzen sie das Glaß / etwas stark und zugleich auf den Tisch, machen die / 5 gewöhnlichen Mauer Schläge – •• – – Wen sie mit / einer Hand in die andere schlagen und rufen das Vivat / dabey aus.

- 2.) Wen die Vorsteherinnen eine Gesundheit ausbringen, oder / sonst währender [*sic!*] Tafel etwas vorzutragen haben, / klopft die erste Vorsteherin auf gleiche Weise einmahl / auf den Tisch, und wen die Meisterin hierauf geantwortet, / spricht sie: Geehrteste Meisterin wir bitten um Erlaub- / niß eine Gesundheit zu trinken; Wen nun die Meisterin / antwortet: es ist erlaubt; So verfährt sie eben so wie / bereits schon gesagt ist.
- 3.) Wen eine oder die andere Schwester währender Tisch **Loge** / etwas anzubringen hat; so meldet sie sich dieserwegen / bey der ersten Vorsteherin, diese aber meldet es alsdan / auf vorbeschriebene Art erst weiter an die Meisterin / vom Stuhle.
- 4.) Dieses nehmliche muß auch von dem **Deputirten** / der Freymaurer, und von den besuchenden Schwestern / beobachtet werden, wen sie sich vor die ihnen erzeigte / Ehre, wen man ihre Gesundheit getrunken hat, be- / danken wollen.
- 5.) Dieses Bedanken, nachdem es Ihnen erlaubt worden ist, / geschieht folgendergestalt. Man stehet auf und spricht: / Geehrteste Meisterin, werthe Schwestern Vorsteherinnen, / und sämtliche geliebte Schwestern, Sie haben mir die Ehre / gezeigt und auf mein Wohlergehen getrunken, ich danke / Ihnen dafür und will solches thun nach allen Regeln der / Maurery durch die ertheilte Zahl von fünf. Schenkt / sich hierauf ein, u.s.w.

§. 6.

Will die Meisterin vom Stuhl daß die Schwestern weniger / **genirt** seyn möchten, und daß sie sich nach Willkühr / desto freyer unterhalten können; so kann Sie die **Loge** / nach Gutbefinden auch **suspendiren**. Dieses geschieht, / wenn sie mit dem **Hammer** einmahl auf den Tisch schlägt,

und nachdem die Vorsteherinnen, dieses auch gethan haben, / zur **Versammlung** spricht: Meine Schwestern die **Loge** ist / **suspendirt**. Hierauf kan eine jede reden und sprechen / was sie will; Die Unterhal-

tung wird lebhafter, und die Ge- / sellschaft kan sich mit mehrerer Freyheit vergnügen.

§. 7.

Kom̄t den endlich die Zeit heran daß man von der Tafel / aufstehen will, so schlägt die Meisterin eine Weile vor- / her abermahls einmahl auf den Tisch, welches die Vor- / steherinnen wieder beantworten, und spricht: Meine Schwe- / stern die Suspension ist aufgehoben. Worauf alles wie- / der stille seyn muß, biß die Meisterin nach einer Zeit lang, / abermahls auf den Tisch schlägt, und wen solches von den / Vorsteherinnen auch geschehen ist, die Loge folgendermaßen / schließet:

Schwester erste Vorsteherin, Seyd ihr eine Mauerin?

Antw: Ja ich bin es.

Schwester 2^t Vorsteherin, wie heißt ihr?

Antw: N.N.

Schwester 1^t Vorsteherin, Glaub̄t ihr daß es Zeit sey / die Loge zu schließen?

Antw: ja ich glaube es.

So schließ̄e ich den die Loge im Nahmen unserer Obern / und aller ächten Maurer und Mauerinnen, durch die / uns ertheilte Zahl von fünfen: – • • –. Welches die / Vorsteherinnen nachschlagen.

Meine Schwestern die Loge ist geschlossen.

§. 8.

Worauf sie den von ihren Stühlen aufstehen, das Gebet / verrichten, und ihren Mauer Schmuck ablegen. Endlich / aber aus einander gehen.

Cap: XVI.

Von den Receptions Gebühren, und andern zur Ordens Cassa gehörigen Abgaben.

§. 1.

Da nun aus allem Vorhergehenden erhellet, welcher ge- / stalt nicht nur die Einrichtung dieses Ordens selbst, / sondern auch bey deßen Wachsthum die Betreibung / und Aufrechthaltung des Gantzen, durch Leute so / zu diesem Ende ordentlich salarirt und unterhalten / werden müßen, dem Orden mancherley Depensen / verursachen werden, die vor der Hand noch unmöglich

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zu bestimmen sind, hierzu aber unumgänglich / ein Fonds erfordert wird, aus welchem, ohne / denen Mittgliedern überläßig zu werden, die / erforderlichen Kosten bestritten werden können; / So ist man dahin befließen gewesen, dem Orden, / um diesen Entzweck zu erreichen gewisse Revenues / ausfindig zu machen, und hat man vor gut / befunden, gleich denen Verehrungswürdigen Brüdern / der Frey Maurer auch gewisse Receptions Gelder / fest zu setzen, die eine jede so da verlanget im Orden / aufgenommen oder weiter gebracht zu werden zu / erlegen schuldig seyn soll, und von welcher Einrich- / tung keine Loge die Freyheit hat, unter welcher / ley pretext es auch imer seyn möge, ohne specielle / Erlaubniß höheren Ortes abzuweichen. Ja, man / kan noch die Hoffnung schöpfen daß die Revenues / durch oftmahlige Receptiones dergestalt anwachsen / können, daß endlich der Orden zu einem ansehn- / lichen Capitale gelanget, von deßen Zinsen er / mit der Zeit auch an seine Mittglieder eine gewisse / jährliche Revenue zurückzahlen zu laßen, ver- / mögend seyn kan.

§. 2.

Diesem nach möchten die Receptions Gebühren / folgendergestalt ausfallen:

Vor den 1 ^{te} Grad: Recept: Gebühren,	15 rh.	
Vor Kleidungs Stücke –	–	4 “ = 20 rh.
In die Armen Cassa –	–	1 “
II. Grad: Recept: Gebühr –	–	20 rh.
Vor Kleidungs Stücke –	–	4 “ = 25 rh.
In die Armen Cassa –	–	1 “
III. Grad: Recept: Gebühr -	–	25 rh.
Vor Kleidungs Stücke -	–	4 “ = 30 rh.
In die Armen Cassa –	–	1 “
IV. Grad: Recept: Gebühr –	–	30 rh.
Vor Kleidungs Stücke – –	–	4 “ = 35 rh.
In die Armen Cassa – –	–	1 “
V. Grad: Recept: Gebühr –	–	30 rh.
Vor Kleidungs Stücke – –	–	8 “ = 40 rh.
In die Armen Cassa –	–	2 “

Suma durch alle Grade, 150 rh.

Ohne das was jede Receptientin derjenigen dienenden / Schwester so ihr bey der Reception an die Hand geht, / freywillig schenken will.

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§. 3.

Außer diesen hat jede Schwester, so bald sie in diesen / Orden tritt sich verbindlich zu machen, jährlich am Tage / Margaritha einen species Ducaten an den Orden / der Brüder Frey Mauerer als ein Opfer der Erkennt- / lichkeit, und zum Zeichen der genauen Verbindung / mit ihnen abzuliefern; und solches zwar bey Ver- / meidung der größten Strafe.

§. 4.

Diese Ducaten werden von der Meisterin vom Stuhle / besagten Tages in einer hierzu ausdrücklich angestell- / ten Versammlung ein cassiret, und an denjenigen / Meister der Loge, in deßen Sprengel ihre Loge sich / befindet, nebst der Liste von allen Mauerinnen / eingeschicket. Der sie alsdan gehörigen Ortes weiter / einsendet. Sollten sich Schwestern befinden die be- / sagten Tages in die Loge zu kommen

verhindert wer- / den, oder gar abwesend seyn, so müßen sie diesen / Ducaten gleichwohl einsenden, und darinnen nicht / manquiren.

§. 5.

Wie es den weiter mit diesen eingehenden Receptions- / Geldern, worüber die Loge die freye Disposition be- / hält, gehalten, wie solche berechnet, und zu was sie / angewendet werden sollen, wird in dem nachfolgenden mit mehrern gesagt und erkläret werden.

Ende
Des Ersten Theils der
Maçonnerie de Dames.

— — — — —

[End of manuscript]

Comments to the transcription

The transcription literally represents the original manuscript. Line-breaks are indicated as 'space / space', page-breaks by a right adjusted page number. The manuscript is predominantly written in 'German' handwriting. Words in 'Latin' handwriting are transcribed in the font Arial. Overstrikes to double consonants have been indicated by understrikes.

APPENDIX-II
LOIX ET STATUTS DE LA MAÇONNERIE DES DAMES

TRANSCRIPT BY JONAS ANDERSSON

[Title page:]

81a

Loix et Statuts /
de la /
Maçonnerie des Dames /

Frimureriets hemlighet /
Bör en Probleme för werlden blifva /
Den ingen rätt upplösa vet /
Som Murarinna eij fått blifva /

1¹

Fruntimmers /
Fri-Murare-Orden. /

Om Ordens Inrättning /

Denna Orden tillåter at Personer af / Bägge Könen däruti antagas un-
/ der Namn af Bröder ock Systrar. /

Systrar formera Orden egentligen un- / der en Skottsk
Mästares Styrsel, såsom Stor- / Mästare, hwilken har et

¹ The manuscript has no page numbers. They have been added here for convenience.

Frunttimmer / med sig som Stormästarinna. Deßa / Bägge blifwa, igenom et fritt Wal / af Systrarna tilsatte.

Såsom Bröder hafwer allenast Skottske / Mästare frihet at Besöka Logerne: Och / måste de behörigen söka Inträde: Men / Sedan det winnes, aflägga förbindelse in för / Stor Mästaren ock Stormästarinnan: at wid / deras Frimurare – Ed, icke uptäcka den- / na Ordens författningar, eller de samma / til någon förråda. Ej utan wigtiga Or- / saker må någon Frimurare uti mindre / graderne, eller en profan winna Inträde, / innan den senare ansökt ock blifwit antagen / uti Frimurare Orden ock den förre hos Stor Mästarinnan at un- /

derkasta sig en formlig Reception med för- / bundna ögon. /

En Syster bekläder Förestånderskans / ställe, ock förer, lika med Stor Mästaren ock / Stormästarinnan, en liten Hammare. /

En murare Syster åtager sig såsom / Införrarinna, den främmande Sökandes prae- / paration ock införande. /

En Broder af ansenlig wäxt ock an- / seende föreställer Ängelen i Paradiset, ock / Kallas Frére terrible. /

Orden består utaf Trenne Grader: / Lärlingar, Compagnonnes, ock Mästarinnor, / hwilka grader måste winnas efter hand, igenom / ifwer ock arbetsamhet. /

2

Deßa ~~Fors~~ sammankomster kallas Loger. /

Första gradens – eller Lärlings Loge. /

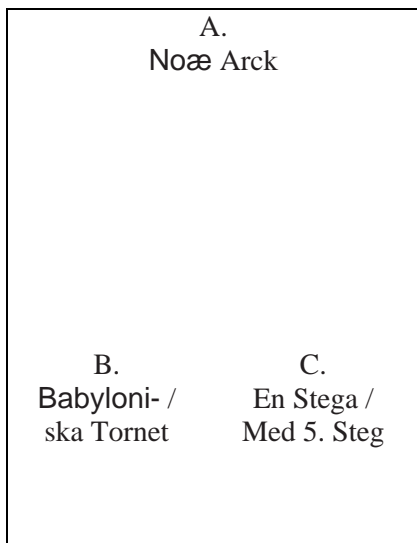
Logen hålles uti et Rum, som är wäl tilslutit / ock förwarat. /

Stormästaren med Stormästarinnan stå eller / sittja öfwerst i Logen, mitt emot Ingången, ock / hafwa ett Bord i forme af Altare för sig. /

Framför detta Altare ställes en Pall med / et hyende uppå, af sådan högd at man kan därpå / med beqwämlighet knäfalla. /

Mitt emot Altaret sitter Förestånderskan / Bakför et litet Bord, med blått Kläde öfwerdragit. /

På änden et stycke ifrån Altaret ligger et / hwitt Täck, på hwilket följande målningar stå / i denna ordning tecknade. /



Framför denna Tappet stå 2ne Gueridons uppå / hwilka bägge et Kärill med Spiritus Vini finnes / brinnande: Ock uppå annat sätt warder Logen / icke uplyst. /

Systrarna sittja på bägge sidor, ock Bröderna / emellan dem, som hålla Wärje-spetzarne i Kors / emot hwarandra. /
Bröderna wisa sig i deras Skottska Mästare- / drägt

3

drägt: Systrarna uti innehafwande grads Klä- / de-drägt, så som den samma här nedan- /
före beskrifwes. /

Logen öppnas med nedan stående Cathe- / ches, som af Stormästaren frågas, ock af / Förestånderskan beswaras. /

Reception /

Antaganden blifwer förut förd i / en Kammare, uti hwilken et ljus, tillika / med en upslagen Bibel finnas på Bordet, / hwaräst hon en god stund ~~lemnas~~ allena / till sina egna betracktelser öfwerlemnas. /

Sedan går Införarinnan in til henne, / frågandes uppå Ordens Samhälles wägnar: / Om hon med en rättskaffens Ifwer för Ordens /

afsigter, hwilka hon är i begrepp at lära, / ock med Ståndaktighet ock Tystlåthenhet är / beredd at inträda i Orden.

Jakar hon härtill: Så säger Införarinnan / till henne: Wälan min Fru/Fröken eller Mademoiselle / Så lærer I icke wägra Er, at aflägga wißa / delar af Er Klädebonad, hwilket Orden lærer / anse Såsom det första teckn af Er beredwillighet, at / wilja befrija Er ifrån den Största Menni- / skjo-hopens allmänt förutfattade menin- / gar. /

Då fordrar Införarinnan, at Antagan- / den lemnar ifrån sig et Örhänge, en man- / chett eller engageant, ock et af sina Strumpeband. /

Sedan tilltalas Antaganden således: det / lærer nu mera skrida därtill at I på / en liten stund låter förbinda Sina ögon, / på det at anrättade Ting ej må förorsaka / någon rädsla, ock at hon må först Kunna / göra sit frija förkarande [sic], för Systrarna / ock Bröderna, innan hon något ser. För öfwri- / git må hon wisa sig modig ock Ståndaktig. / När

4

När Ögonen äro således wäl förbundna / gifwes henne en Mur-Slef i handen, til tecken / däraf at hon icke wägrar sig at arbeta: då hon / föres till Samhällets dörr, ock där utaf / Införarinnan anmäles igenom femb / Slag uppå dörren: de bägge förste hastigt / uppå hwarandra och de 3 sednare lång- / samt. [. . .] /

Förestånderskan beswarar deße / Slagen innanföre med 5 Slag, ock öppnar / dörren med denna fråga: Hwem är där? / på hwilken Införarinnan swarar: En wän / af Ädelt hjerta, som önskar såsom Mura- / rinna at inträda uti Wårt förträffeliga Sällskap. /

Stormästaren låter säja: Om hon behö- / rigt är afklädd, ock Ögonen henne tilslutes; / Så skall ingången blifwa öpnad för henne. / Däruppå Inledes hon af Införarinnan / ock så snart hon i Rummet inkommer blåser / Bröderne och Systrarna uti Spiritu Vini, / ock ruska på deras Förkläden. Hon / föres imedlertid omkring Altaret / framför Tappeten, ock ställes emellan / gueridons hwaräst Spirit. Vini brinner. /

Då tilltalar Stormästarn henne således: / Emedan I ären igenom dygder beledsagad hit till / Wårt Samhälle: Så lærer ljust af våra / hemligheter icke blifwa Eder förtäckt. / Det äro allenast Rättskaffens Ädla Själar, / som härtill hinna, ock hwilka wi tillåta Rättighet af Wårt Systra- ock Brödraslag. / Wi tro ock wi önska, at finna sådant i / det hjertat, som I nu wiljen skänka Oß. / Och I

5

Ock I lären däremot icke härstädes träffa nå- / gon Broder ock Syster, som är Murare ock Mu- / rarinna, öfwer hwilka en Ädelmodig ock / öm Wänskap ej gifwer Eder en beständig / ock oföränderlig Rättighet. En hwar / lär upmuntra Eder til alt hwad I den / högste Wärldens Byggmästare, Konungen, / Nästan, ock Eder Sjelf äro skyldig. Dygden / är allena drif-fjädren till alla våra / Wärrck ock Arbeten, ock i sådan tilförsigt / kunnen i fritt ock utan betänkande / swara mig: Om I willja gifwa Wår / Orden den förbindelse, som Wåra Lagar erfordra. /

Om hon detta bejakar, så ~~skall~~ tilsäger Stor Mä- / staren ~~befalla~~ Införarinna at öppna / ~~Eder~~ henne Ögonen, då hon ser Bröderna ock Sy- / strarna i förrbeskrifna ställning, ock / under hwalfwet af de tillsamman hållna / wärjorna blir förd til Altaret, hwar- / äst står utmed Stor M: frere terrible med / et flammigt Swärd, som hålles öfwer / Antagandes hufwud då hon knäfaller / ock medan Stor M: förestafwar henne / följande förbindelse hwilken hon eftersäger. /

Förbindelse.

Wid den kännedom jag hafwer / om den Stora hela WärlsByggna- / dens Sol, hwilken utaf en sammanblan- / dad Klump frambragdt de 4 Elementerne, ock där- / utur framskapadt den allra största / Byggningskonsten, utfäster jag mig at / hålla, bevara ock göma alla Frimureriets hemligheter i en / ewig tystnad, samt at aldrig tala om / de samma, utan för en Syster eller Bro- / der, som jag efter noga utforskande fun - / nit

6

nit wara denna Ordens Rätta leda- / möter. Om jag däremot handlar så- / will jag härmedest förklara mig skyldig / till all skymf ock wanära för alla lef- / wande på Jorden. Jag utlofwar ock at / i Ordens sammankomsterna: Höra: wara Lydig: / at Arbeta, ock at Tiga, på sätt som Ordens / lagarna det föreskrifwa. Den öfwersta / himmelens Eld rene mig härtill, ock / lede mig på de wägar, som äro detta / uphögda Sällskapet wärdige. /

Wid deßa sidsta Ordens uttalande / slå alla Bröder ock Systrar de 5 Slagen
i händerna -- -- -- /

Stormästaren säger: Min Syster! / härmed ärer I nu antagen uti Mura- / rinnornas Orden. Utaf Eder Befordran / väntar wi, ock utlofwar Oß Heder: Utaf / Edra dygder et mönster ock utaf Eder ädla Wänskap de beständigaste fördelar. /

Stormästarinnan sätter härwid / förklädet uppå den Antagne, hwilket / är af hwitt Tafft, med hwita band frise- / rat, ock med en trekantig nederhängande klaff försedt / som är likaledes friserad med samma / slags band; Säjande: denna, med wår / gemensamt lika warande drägt, förbinder Eder / för alla Eder lifstid till hjertats ock Sin- / nets lika Böjelser med Oß. Deß hwita / färg är en Afbild utaf våra afsiktens / Oskuld och Renhet. I warden härmeldelst / förenad med Bröderne ock Söstrarna, / ock jag swarar Eder för den redeligaste Kär- / leks och ömhets åtnjutande tilbakars [sic!]. /

Här uppå häftar Stormästarinnan / äfwen en uppå et hwitt Band med en / enkel Ros hängande liten silfwer Mur- / slef

7

slef wid hennes Wänstra Bröst, med / deß Ord: Bären detta Täncktecken ock / Wärctyög, til erinran af Eder åliggande / Arbetsamhet uti Murare-Orden. Flit / och drift lär däruti föra Eder ifrån / det första, til det högsta Steget. Lären / Eder af Bröderne, ock följn Söstrarna. /

Sedan öfwerlemnar Stormästa- / rinnan henne de hwita Knäbanden med / en änkel Ros wid Ändan, under denna / erinran: At altid bära dem, när hon / går i Loge: Orsaken därtill skall icke blif- / wa någon Gåta för henne. /

Widare wisas hon af StorMästarin- / nan, huru Systrarna i denna graden gå / hwitklädde, om det är dem möjligt: / Bruka dubbla hwita örhängen, ock kom / aldrig in i Logen utan at hafwa hwita / handskar på händerna. /

Härpå underrättar Stormästarin- / nan henne om Murarinnornas hemliga Teckn ock / Ord: Tecknet i denna graden är: De 4 up- / på högra handen tilsammanslutna fingra- / na hållas öfwerst på Snörlifwet uppå / det sättet, at Tummen står winkelrätt / uppåt. Bröderna lägga den högra han- / den i denna Ställning på halsduken , ock / låta henne uti rät linie nedersjunka / på bröstet. /

Om det frågas, hwad detta Tecknet / betyder? så är swaret: Hällre dö, än at

wilja uppenbara de mig förtrodde hem- / ligheter. /

Ordet är Flix Fox. /

Uppå frågan hwad det betyder? Swaras: / Dygdens Schola. Frågas: Hwilkens Schola / detta är? Swaras: Frimureriets. / NB

8

NB. At undgå *equiwoguer*, brukas i en del / *Loger*, Ordet *Eva*: Då uppå frågan hwad det / betyder? Swaras: Alla lefwandes Ursprung. /

Häruppå tager Stormästarinnan / den Antagne Systren i famn, ock wisar henne / deß ställe öfwerst på raden af Stormästarens / högra sida, samt intager sedan sitt ställe wid Altaret. /

Stormäst: ock Stormästarinnan slå / häruppå bägge de 5 slagen i händerna, göra *Loge*-Tecknet, ock säja: Lyckeligt Lefwe, / Arbete, ock Tige denna Vår Syster! /

Alla närwarande göra häruppå / samma slagen, ock återsäga samma ord. /

Sedan upläses Lagarna, ock Stor- / mästaren erinrar de nyß intagne at / wara upmärksamma uppå *Cathechesen* / med hwilken alla *Loger* öpnas ock til- / slutes, och tillika är en förklaring / öfwer den utlagda Taflan på eller Tapeten. /

Lärings-Catheches. /

När en *Loge* skall öpnas, frågar Stormästa- / ren Förestånderskan: / fr: Hwaruppå bör en Murare, eller Murarinna / gifwa aktning? / sw: Om *Logen* är wäl tilsluten, ock betäckt / /:då detta noga efterses af wederbörande: /

1. fr: Ärer I en lärling, min Syster? /

sw: Jag tror det. /

2. fr: Hwarföre sägen I, jag tror det, men / icke at I ären det wißer? /

sw: Emedan en lärling icke är wiß på / något. /

3. fr: Huruledes ären I införd i *Logen*? /

sw: Med förbundna ögon. /

4. fr: Hwarföre det? / Swar

9

Swar: At lära mig, at innan man kan / komma til högre wigtiga hemligheter, måste / man dämpa sin nyfikenhet. /

5. fr: Hwarigenom ären I kommen til fri- / mureriet? /

sw: Igenom et Järn- ock Stål-hwalf. /

6. fr: Hwad föreställer detta hwalfet? /

sw: Styrcka ock Waraktighet. /: det ut- / märcker Ståndacktigheten. /

7. fr: Hwaräst ären I uptagen til Lärlinge? /
 sw: Emellan Babyloniska Tornet; Jacobs / Stege ock wid foten af Noæ Arck. /
8. fr: Hwad föreställer det Babyloniska Tornet? /
 sw: Denna Wärldenes barns högmod, för / igenom hwilken man sig med intet mera, än /
 med et sjelfklokt hjerta Kan, för- / lora, hwilket at bota, således blir en / Murare ock Murarinnas rätta kän- / netecken. /
9. fr: Hwad betyder Jacobs Stege? /
 sw: Denna Stege är full af hemligheter: / Bägge Stege-Trän föreställa kärle- / ken til Gud ock til Nästan: Ock mel- / lan Stegen äro dygderna hwilcka / hafwa deras ursprung ifrån en / ädel själ. /
10. fr: Hwad betyder Noæ Arck? /
 sw: Menskjo-hjertat, som bäres ock drif- / was af sina passioner äfwen som / Arcken af Syndaflodens wattn. /
11. fr: Huru kallas de, som ej äro murare? /
 sw: Profanes. /
12. fr: Kallas äfwen Profane, som wäl ej / äro Murare, men dock wärdiga at / wara det? /
 sw: deßa kallas dygdiga Menniskjo-wän- / ner: Men wi erkänner ingen för / Bror ock Syster, som icke är Murare / ock Murarinna. /
13. fr: Hwarom beflita sig Murare? /
 sw: At wäl inrätta sina Seder ock upförande / 14. fr.

10

14. fr: Kunna I gifwa mig Lärlinge-Tecknet? /
 /: detta gifwes uppå förr besagde sätt:/ /
15. fr: Hwad betyder det? /
 sw: At förr wilja dö, än at uppenbara någon / mig anförtrödd hemlighet
16. fr: Kunna I gifwa mig Ordet? /
 sw: Flix fox. /: Eller Eva:/ /
17. fr: Hwad betyder det? /
 sw: En dygde-Schola. /: Eva uttydes som förr är sagt:/ /
18. fr: Hwilken är denna Scholan? /
 sw: Frimureriet. /
19. fr: Hwad är en Murares ock Murarin-/ nas plickt ock Skyldighet? /
 sw: At höra, At lyda, Arbeta ock Tiga. /
- 20 fr: Hurudan är Eder Lydnad? /
 sw: Friwillig ock utan twång./

21. fr: Hwaruppå arbeten I? /

sw: At göra mig Angenäm, Nyttig ock / Lyckelig. /

När Logen öppnas, säger StorMästaren: / Mine Bröder ock Systrar!
Låten oß höra, / lyda, Arbeta och Tiga; då är Logen / öpnad. /

Wid Logens tilslutande säger St. M: / Wi hafwer hördt, warit
lydiga ock Arbetat. / Låtom oß Tiga. Då är Logen tilsluten. /

Sedan hålles Måltids Logen uppå / nedan skrefna sätt; hwarwid de
Fattiga / ihugkommas.

11

Andra Graden /
För Gesäller eller Compagnons /
Logens Beskrifning /

På väggen öfwer Stormästarens ock / Stormästarinnans hufwuden,
hänger en / Åttkantig brinnande Stjärna, hwilkens / andra sida är Klot-
Rund ock upfylld med / gul Spiritus Wini, som antändes. /

Mit ~~öfwer ifrån~~ emot Altaret, bakom före- / ståndarinnan brinner
en illumination af / som föreställer följande Målning: /

A.

Paradiset Eden hwaräst A- /
dam ock Eva stå wid Kunska- /
pens träd på Godt ock Ondt, /
ock äta af fruckten. /
Omkring Trädet ses Or- /
men slingra sig.

B

En döds-kalle, med där- /
under i kors lagda ben.

Framför denna Afbildning, som är / baktill uplyst med många ljus ock lampor, står / uppå en Tabourette ett Träd med hängande / Fruckt så naturlig gjord, at den liknar de wär- / keliga Äpplen, hwilka däruppå äfwen fästes. /

Framför Altaret är en Tappet utbredd / hwaräst på et Blått Täckedelt i Twänne delar / föreställes: / A.

12

<p>A.</p> <p>En Trägård i hwars medel- / punct står Kunskapens Träd på / Godt ock Ondt. Under Trädet / ligger Neptunus hållandes / en wal under Armen utur / hwilken flyter en flod ige- / nom Trädgården.</p>
<p>B</p> <p>Adams ock Evas utdrifwan- / de utur Paradiset.</p>

Framför denna Tapeten står uppå en tabou- / rette et Kärill, uti hwilket Spiritus vini brinner / En Syster har en lång Kedja i handen, utaf hwitt / Bleck, så lång, at hon går om halsen ock bägge / händerne. /

Den Grufliga Brodern håller en Oljo-Qwist i / handen. /
På Bordet för Stor Mäst: och StorMästarinnan, / Står ett kärill med Mandel-deg uti, hwaruti / äfwen ligger en liten Murslef. /

Brödernas ock Systrarnas ställning är som / i första graden, blott at Bröderna icke hålla wärje- / spetsarna tilsamman. /

Framför Altaret står den wanliga pallen ock /
[Öwergätet?] uppå. /

Logen öpnas ock slutes med Compagnons Cathe- / chesen. /

Reception /

Den Systren som skall Antagas, blifwer i för- / maket af
Införarinnan ock en Broder preparerad / ock i Synnerhet frågad, om
hon ej Kan erinra sig / det hon begådt något emot Ordens heder under
/ Sit Lärings-Stånd, samt om hon med frimodigt / hjerta kan begära
widare befordran i Orden. /

Förklarar hon sig häröfwer på behörigt sätt / så blifwer hon med
förbundna ögon förd til Lo- / gens

13

gens dörr: Upmuntrad til Ståndaktighet ock / igenom 5 slag uppå
dörren anmald. /

När innanfrån häruppå swaras, så / blifwer hon införd i Logen, ock
wid inkom- / mandet ropa alla med förskräckelse ock / frucktan: **Eva!**
Eva! Då Stormästar: / säger: Mina Bröder ock Systrar! Fruckten /
Eder intet: Det är intet farligt. /

Häruppå förer den Brodren, som tillika / med Införarinnan inkom
med Antaganden, / henne til Tapeten mitt för StorMäst: hwilken
frågar: /

Qwinna, hwad wiljen I? /

Swar: Jag önskar blifwa antagen till Compagnonne. /

StorM: säger: Känner I Eder nog starck / at utstå alla därtill
hörande förskräckeliga / prof? Den ringaste swaghet, som I känna /
låta förmärcka hos Eder, wore tillräckeligt at / aldeles utesluta Eder
ifrån vår Orden, ock / wi blifwa därigenom beröfwade af et Smycke /
i Orden.

Hon försäkrar om sin Ståndaktighet. /

Då säger StorM: Min Bror, låten henne / då utstå Elds-profvet. /
Han förer henne litet omkring, ock den / System, som bär Kädjan, gör
et stort buller med /
den samma. Wandrandet slutar sig wid / Tabouretten på hwilken den
brinnande Spiritus Vini / står, hwaröfwer han håller hennes bara hand.
/

StorM: frågar: har hon wäl igenomgått / det första profwet? /
Brodren swarar: Ja, med ståndaktighet / Venerable. /

StorM: Låten henne då utstå det andra, / ock wisen henne
Oskyldighetens stånd, tillika med / ursprunget till fördärfwet. /

Då föres hon omkring till ofwan beskrifna / illuminerade målning,
hwarest hennes tilbundna Ögon öppnas, / ock till henne säges af

Brodren: Sen I min Syster / Olydnad, ock deß påföljder? Här den första / Menniskans

14

Menniskjans Äpple-bett: där efterkomman- / des död; At minska ock mildra detta straf- / fet, är Frimureriet et nödwändigt medel: / såsom en ren dygdens utöfwning lärar at med tålmod fördraga / detta fatala Ögonblick. /

Efter en liten stund frågar StorMäst: / har hon utstådt det andra profwet?

Br. swarar: Ja, venerable. /

StorM: säger: låten henne gå ifrån döden / til Lifwet, ock wisen henne ljustet ock Mureriets /

Anförare Stjärnan ifrån Österlanden. /

Brodern förer henne fram ock wisar henne Stjär- / nan öfwer StorM: hufwud, säjandes: Sen I / min Syster, denna Stjärna ifrån Österlanden är / förnuftets uplysning ock Mureriets rätta ljus / hwarifrån wi icke skiljen oß emedan wi där / igenom föras til den sanna lycksaligheten. /

Sedan säger StorMästarn: Träden nu hit / min Syster, at undfå Tecknen af vårt för- / troende, sedan I gifwit oß prof af Eder bestän- / dighet. I lären så mycket hållre förnya / Eder redan till Orden gifwna förbindelse, som / I alt mer ock mer för warder för- / säkrad om deß ädla ändamål. /

Sedan den förande Brodern beledsa- / gat henne til Altaret, träder Systren med / kädjorna till henne ock lägger dem korswis om hennes / hals ock bägge Armar. Gruflige Broder / håller Oljo-Qwisten öfwer hennes hufwud, / hwilken ~~betecknar~~ är et Fridztecken, Ock således / knäfaller hon på pallen framför Altaret / at aflägga följande förbindelse:

Förbindelse:

Wid den ädla Käntzla, som mit hjerta / har utaf frimureriet, ock med den wid mit / första antagande utlofwade Trohet lofwar jag / at

15

at hålla denna gradens hemligheter förtegade: / At låta Mureriets ljus, förnuftet föra / mig. Ock at icke äta utaf någon förbu- / den fruckt; så sant mig Brödernas ock / Systrarnas förtroende af mig i högsta / wärde skattas. /

Wid deßa sidsta Orden, göra alla / Bröder ock Systrar de 5 slagen i
händerna / ock Kädjan blir henne aftagen. /

Sedan säger Stormästaren till Före- / ståndarinnan: Min Syster!
Bären til mig
den heliga Fruckten. /

Hon frambringar den framför det / illuminerade Bordet stående
trädet, af hwilket / StorM: tager ett Äpple ock gifwer det till / den
Antagne Systren, med följande Ord: / Min Syster, wi äro försäkrade at
I hållen / Edert löfte Men vår Orden befaller, / at I det i sanning
bewisen, i det i – / äten detta Äpplet. /

Så snart hon det gjordt klappa / alla Bröder ock Systrar på sina
förkläden / ock ropa: Eva! Eva! /

Häruppå tager StorM: något af Man- / deldegen på lilla
Murslefwen, ock trycker / det fast wid den Antagnas mund, hwilket /
en Bror aftorckar med ett hwitt / kläde så snart det fasttryckes:
hwarwid / StorM: säger: Nu sätter jag Tystlåtenhe- / tenes ock
Kloketenes Insegel på Edra / läppar; Erinren Eder detta, at aldrig /
öpna Eder mund, utan at tala wäl / om Edra Bröder ock Systrar, samt
at / aldrig uppenbara Frimureriets hem- / ligheter. /

Sedan träder Stormästaren ock / Stormästarinnan ifrån bägge sidor
af Altaret / till

16

til den nya antagne Systren: den förra / aflöser henne lärlings-
förklädet ock mur- / slefwen säjandes: I hafwen min Syster inlagdt /
Ära med denna drägtens nyttjande, ock / I kunnen den samma nu med
heder aflägga. /

Stormästarinnan framsträcka då / med **Compagnons**-förklädet til
henne, ock / säger: Detta är äfwenledes utaf hwitt / **Tafft**, ock med et
mörckblått **picqueradt** siden- / band **friserat**, samt med 5 änkla Rosor
/ utaf lika band; 3 öfwerst ock 2^{ne} underst / besatt. I det at hon påkläda
Antaganden / förklädet, säger hon: Bären allenast min / Syster denna
Logedrägt i en ädlare **forme** / ock tagen den till et tecken, at wi lärdt
känna / Edert ädlare Sinnelag; De Blå färger som därpå fin- / nes
~~betecknar~~ en Sinnebild af Beständigheten, er- / inrar Eder den
beständiga trohet för vår / **Orden**, ock den oförwanskelige wänskap,
som I ären / Bröderne ock Systrarna skyldig. /

Sedan sätter hon wid vänstra Bröset / den uppå en änkla Ros af
Blått Band hängande / murslefwen, säjandes: denna andra graden /
befriar Eder icke från den Arbetsamhet, med / hwilken I hittils aflagdt

de första profwen: / Bären detta Wärcktyg, till erinran af den flit / med hwilken I börer föreläsa Systrarna af / första **graden**, hwilka därefter ifrån denna dag / afmäta deras Skyldigheter. /

Sidst gifwer Stormästarinnan henne de / Blå strumpebanden med änckla Roser, ock til- / säger henne, at hon ej utan swårt straff kan / wisa sig i Loge förutan deße Strumpeband, / hwilka hon uppå anfordran är alltid skyldig / at wisa. /

Häruppå gifwes henne underrättelse om / denna **gradens** hemliga Tecken ock Ord. /

Tecknet är at de 4 tilsammans slutna finger- / na uppå högra handen, med Tummen satt i uprätt / winkel, läggas uppå munnen, ock därifrån åter / tilbakadrages. Då tilfrågas: Hwad detta betyder? / swaras

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swaras: Tystlåtenhetens Insegel. /

Lösens Ordet är **Belba**: ock förklaras med / Frid ock Endrägtighet, som midelst Oordnings Tornets / omkullstörtande åter blifwit erhållen. /

Sedan blifwer Tapetens figurer förklarade / utaf en Broder eller tilsäger Stormästaren An- / tagande at gifwa aktning uppå de frågor hon / gör Föreståndarinnan hwilkas swar lända til hennes underrättelse. /

Andra Gradens Catheches /

Stormästaren frågar Föreståndarinnan: /

1. fr: Ären I **compagnonne**? /

sw: Gifwen mig et Äpple, så läser I häraf / kunna sluta det. /

2. fr: Huruledes ären I till **compagnonne** uptagen? /

sw: Igenom ett slags Fruckten ock et band. /

3. fr: Hwad föreställer denna fruckten? /

sw: Sötman. /

4. fr: Hwad föreställer bandet? /

sw: Bröderskapets Enighet. /

5. fr: Hwad blef Eder pålagdt, när I blefwen **compag**: /

sw: Mureriets Stora Insegel. /

6. fr: Hwarföre? /

sw: At lära mig at min mund skulla hållas / tilsluten för alla ordens hemligheter. /

7. fr: Hwarföre åter icke **compagnonnes** äpplets / kärnor? /

sw: Därföre at Äpplets Kärnor äro ursprung- / get ock Säden utaf den förbudna frukten. /

8. fr: Hwad sågen I först i Logen? /

sw: Förförelsens Bild. /

9. fr: Huru wiljen I wakta Eder för den samma? /

sw: Igenom en försiktighet, hwilcken medelst / Frimureriets grund blir understödd. /

10. fr: Hwem gjorde Eder till Compagnonne? /

sw: Min Murslef ock min dygd. /

11. fr: Hwad tänken I wid det swåra ordet Eva? /

sw: Det förer mig tillbaka til mit ursprung / ock wisar mig hwad jag är, ock hwad jag bör / wara, till erindrande [?] af den högsta lyck- / saligheten. /

12. fr: Hwaräst ären I uptagen til Compagnonne? / Sw: Wid

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sw: Wid en lustens Trägård, hwaräst en Flod genom / strömade. /

13. fr: Huru kallen I denna Trägård? /

sw: Lust-Gården Eden, som Gud gaf Adam ock Eva. /

14. fr: Hwarföre blefwe de här utdrefne? /

sw: För deras Ohörsamhet skull. /

15. fr: Hwad sågen I uti denna Trägård? /

sw: Kunskapens Träd på Godt ock Ondt. /

16. fr: Hwad lærer detta Trädet Eder? /

sw: At hwar ock en god Murare skall fly laster ock / söka dygden. /

17. fr: Hwad föreställer Floden? /

sw: Häfftigheten ock människjors böjelsers hastighet / hwilka man med intet annat kan tillbaka- / hålla, än med Mureriets Grund-Regel. /

18. fr: Hwad är det förnämsta af Mureriet? /

sw: Att Söka göra Sig Siälf ock Andra Lyckliga. /

[genomstruket svar: At hwar och en ~~bör~~ söka sig sjelf, ock den an den andre at göra lyckelig]

19. fr: Huruledes Kommer wi alla till denna lyck- / salighet? /

sw: Igenom dygdens Enighet. /

20. fr: Hwad är Gesäll-tecknet? /

sw: Det warder gifwet. /

21. fr: Hwad betyder detta? /

sw: Tystlåtenhetens Insegl, som skall lära / mig, at ej tala oförsigtigt och utan hjerta. /

22. fr: Hwilket är Ordet? /

sw: Belba! Hwilket betyder Frid och Endräktig- / het, som igenom Oordentlighetens Torn ne- / derstörtande ibland Bröderna och Systrar- / na är återfunnit, såsom det uti / Sybillornas Spådomar är förutsagt ~~propheterat.~~ /

23. fr: Hwad är Murares och Murarinnors / plikt och skyldighet?

sw: At höra, lyda, Arbeta och Tiga. /

24. fr: Af hwilket slag ärer Eder hörsamhet? /

sw: friwillig och utan twång. /

25. fr: Hwaruppå arbeten I? / Sw: At göra

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sw: At göra mig angenäm, nyttig och lyckelig. /

Wid Logens öppnande säger Stormästarn: / Mina Bröder och Systrar. låten oß höra, / lyda, arbeta och tiga. Ty Gesäll Logen / är öpnad. /

Wid Logens tilslutande: /

Wi hafwen hört, warit lydige och arbetat; / låten oß tiga. Gesäll Logen är sluten. /

Bröderna och Systrarna slå då de / 5: slagen i händerne och göra Gesäll- / tecknet. /

Den Tredje, eller Mästarinne Graden /

Logen är i denna graden uplyst med / 13 ljus, af hwilcka 7: stå på den ena sidan / och 6 på den andra. /

Stormästarens, Stormästarinnans / Brödernes och Systrarnas ställning är, /

som uti de föregående graderne. /

Framför Tapeten til högra sidan står / En Stega eller stadig trappa med 5 steg.

På vänstra sidan en Mechanisk kista / eller Skrin i hwaruppå ligger en Meißel, en / Klubba och en Hammare. /

Tapeten föreställer i målningar, / hwilka hwar och en står i Cirkel följande: /

A	B.
Rägn-Bogen	Noachs Offer
C.	D.
Abrahams Offer	Noæ Arck på berget Ararat
E.	F.
Tornet i Babel	Sodom ock Gommorræ Uppbränning
G.	H.
Lotts hustrus förwan- / dling i en saltstod	Josephs Jacobs dröm: Solen, månen ock 11 stjärnor
I.	
Joseph uti Wattu-gropen.	
De 4 världenes delar exprimeras på sidorna eller i hörnen af Tapeten.	

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Reception

När Logen är öpnad med några frågor utur efter- / följande
Catheches, ock med de 5 slagen af Stormäst: / hwilka beswaras ock
återupprepas af Förestån- / darinnan, då skickas en Bror med Införarin-
/ nan til Antaganden, at bereda henne, ock / huruledes hon måtte med
eftertanke göra / det wiktiga steget til en högre grad i Orden / samt
utlåta sig: Om hon med otröttad Tro- / het ock Ifwer will sörja för
Ordens heder, till- / tagande ock tilwäxt.

Förklarar hon sig därtil beredd så be- / gäres: at hon skall låta
förebinda Ögonen. / Brodren förer henne då med de wanliga 5 /
Slagens görande wid Logens dörr, hwilken han / öppnar, til inträdande,
så snart Slagen blif- / wit innanföre beswarade. /

När Antaganden är införd, frågar Stor- / mästaren: hwem införer I
uti Logen, min Bror? / Swar: En Compagnonne, som önskar bli
Mästarinna. / Fr: Har hon sig wärdigt beredt til denna gradens /
undfående? /

sw: Hon lærer blifwa en Prydnad för Orden / St M: Så öppna då för
henne dygdens Tempel. /

Häruppå öppnas henne ögonen, då hon hälsar / på hela Sällskapet
med compagnons- Tecknet, / hwilket på samma sätt beswaras. /

StorM: Min Bror! Låten denna Syster upstiga / på den misterieusa Trappan. /

Brodren förer henne dit, ock föreståndar- / innan träder till henne, sägandes: Min Syster: / I måste stiga deße stegen med afdragna Skor. / När ~~hon tagit af sig Skorna~~ den Tiänande Wakt-mästarinnan dem aftagit ock förwarar dem, så fattar bägge / i hennes händer, ock låter henne med högra / foten stiga på det första Trappsteget; med den / vänstra på det andra; med det högra på det 3:dje / hwaräst bägge fötterna sättes tilsammans. / Sedan upstiges med den högra foten på 4:de trapp- / steget, ock med den vänstra, på det 5:te, då / bägge fötterna åter sättas tilhopa. / StorM:

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StorMäst: frågar: Är Systren nu kommen uppå / Lycksalighetens högsta trappa? /

sw: Ja, Très Venerable. /

StorM: Lycklig ären I min Syster, at hafwa / ernådt det steg, efter hwilckets / stigande många tusende sträfwa. / Stigen nu till mig, ock befästen Eder i / denna Lycksaligheten, på hwars wägar / I redan seen Målet. /

Man hjälper henne neder: hon får sina Skor på sig, / ock blir förd til Altaret. /

StorM: Nu hafwa I at aflägga Eder Förbindelse / som Mästarinna, hwilket I gören med / alfvarsammaste eftertänckande. /

Hon faller på Knä; Den Gruflige Brodern / håller en bar wärja på hennes hals, ock Stor- / M: förestafwar henne följande förbindelse, / hwilken hon eftersäger. /

Wid Noachs, Abrahams ock Jacobs Offer; / lofwar ock försäkrar jag detta venerabla mä- / stare Sällskap en ewig Trohet, Wänskap ock / Tystlåtenhet. Jag will alltid skatta mig lycke- / lig, at med Eder bygga mitt Wäl uppå den / rätta Grundstyrckan af Mureriet, ock at uppå / alt möjligt sätt söka hela min lifstid igenom / at befordra Ordens heder ock tilltagande. / Så sant jag mina wärdaste Bröders ock Systrars- / Kärlek ock äckta Wänskap öfwer allting högt / skattar. /

Wid deße sidste Orden, slår hela Sällskapet / åter de 5 slagen i händerna. /

Efter aflagd Förbindelse befaller StorM: / at Brodren skall sättja den nya Mästarinnan / i arbete: Han förer henne då till den förr- / nämnda Kistan, ock ~~tilsäger~~ anmodar henne at bruka / de däruppå

liggande wärcktyg: först ~~Mejseln~~ / at derpå göra 5 slag med Meißeln
ock Klubban / ock sedan at hon ock wille försöka ham- / maren

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maren, med hwilcken hon äfwen måste göra 5 / slag. Då wid femte
slaget upstiger utur / Kistans öfre lilla öfning, et hjerta. /

NB. *Mechaniquen* af Kistan är antingen så in- / rättad, at wid
slaget på ett wist ställe, en fjä- / der drifwer det inuti gömda hjertat i
högden, / i hwilket fall wises af Brodren de ställe som / hon bör slå
hwart slag uppå, at kunna / wid 5:te slaget anträffa stället där fjädern /
sitter: Eller är det, som ock bättre wore, lä- / gre neder på sidan en
förborgad splint på / hwilken Brodren trampar, när hjertat wid / 5:te
slaget skall stiga i högden. Somliga Loger / hafwa detta hjertat
illuminerat, at det som / brinnande upstiger. /

När hjertat upstigit, säger Stormästaren: / Hwad har Systren där
frambragt? Bröderna swara: / Tres V. [enerable]. Det har blifwit et
hjerta därutaf. /

Då talar St. M. til henne: Sen I min Syster, / at Mureriet är et arbete
för hjertat: Öfwer / hjertan ger det oß herrawälde: Wi weta at utaf / de
hårdaste ock obewekeligaste giöra de mäst med- / lidande ock ömaste.
/

Häruppå föres hon til Altaret, då Stor- / Mästaren ock
Stormästarinnan gå till henne. / Den förre löser af henne Gesäll-
Förklädet ock mur- / slefwen, med deßa orden: /

I hafwer nu gjordt Eder wärdig till en högre / drägt i Orden:
[oläsligt] den samma, men icke den / förre är Er nödig: Så ~~emottagen~~
ock bären denna / med Edert förre sinnelag ock heder, som fordr- / at
af oß mera uphöjas. /

Stormästarinnan sätter Mäster-förklädet / på henne, som är gjordt
med et bredt watnad / *Cramoisie*-täckta Band, besatt med 5 stora
femdubbla / Rosor af samma färg. 4 i fyrkant på sjelfwa för- / klädet,
ock en uppå Klaffen säjandes: /

Uti denna drägt, som de allra förnämsta / ock största menniskjor
satt en särdeles heder / at få bära, blifwa I nu klädd min Syster, till /
belöning för Eder ~~dygd~~ och Trohet, Arbetsamhet ock Tystlåten- / het

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het. Bären detta gläntzande smycke, såsom et / Bewis däraf, at I
hunnit upstiga til högsta / Steget af Lycksalighetens Trappa, igenom
Wishet, / Klokhet, Saktmodighet, Kärlek ock arbetsamhet. /

Sedan fästes en uppå en stor femb- / dubbel Ros hängande murslef af Guld under / vänstra Brösten, med följande råd: /

Det ädla wärcktyg hwilket I wid lär- / lings. ock Gesälls-Arbetet burit, blifwer Eder / wid denna förändrade Glantz en Ärofullt / Teckn af Edert Mästarskap. Jag meddelar / Eder detta, med samma nöje, som samtliga Bröd. / ock Systrarna hafft, at se Eder upstiga deße höga / stegen. /

Orden öfwerlemnar henne et par Hår- / band af lika cramoisie-färg, med stora femb- / dubbla band Roser, ock anmodar henne at / förbyta de förra med deße, på det dräkten må / bli likformig ock öfwerens stämmande. /

Stormästarinnan ger henne ock den under- / rättelsen, at Mästarinnor böra med rätta / aldrig ses i Logen uti andra än Swarta kläder- / neml: Swart snörlif; Corsetten med femb- / dubbla Spetzar besatt: Swart Robe och / Kjortel garnerad. /

Mästare-Tecknet gifwes, som är at / slå högra handen, med fem fingrar utspär- / rade, sakta på det vänstra bröstet. /

Uppå frågan hwad det betyder, swaras: / Hällre förlora hjertat, än at upptäcka Fri- / mureriets hemligheter. /

Slutel. undfår hon Lösens-Ordet, som / är: O Voltaire: Ock betyder: Det Klart Ski- / nande Ljuset: tages i famn ock kyßes af / Stormästarinnan, som ställer henne emellan

sig ock Stormästaren, hwilka med samtel. / Bröd. ock Systrarna framträda, görandes / en Kädja ock säja: Ewig Lycka glädja / den nya Mästarinnan. Ewig Trohet erfare / ock förhållige vårt Brödra-Sällskap. / Tapeten

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Tapeten förklaras, eller säger Stormästaren / den nya Mästarinnan, at gifwa aktning på / Cathechesen, emedan hon af den samma kan undfå / begrepp om den för henne liggande Taflan, / hwilkens fullkomliga kunskap blir nu / et wiktigt Ämne för hennes flit ock Arbetsamhet. /

Storm: sluter således Logen med följande /
Catheches /

Som beswaras af Föreståndarinnan /

1. fr: Ären I Mästare eller Mästarinna? /

sw: Jag har upstigit på den misterieuse Trappan. /

2. fr: Hwad betyda Stegens Sido-Stäckar
sw: Kärleken till Gud ock Nästan /
3. fr: Hwad föreställer de 5 Stegen?
sw: Mureriets Grund- ock Hufwudstycken: Wishet, Klokhet, / Saktmodighet, Kärlek ock Arbetsamhet. /
4. fr: Hwar ären I worden Mästarinna? /
sw: Wid foten af Noachs Offer. /
5. fr: Hwad will det offret betyda? /
sw: det är et ärkäntslas Tack-Offer efter / Syndaflo den. /
6. fr: Hwaruppå syftar Rägnbogen? /
sw: På förbundet, som Gud gjorde med Noach ock hans / Efterkommande. De 5 förnämsta däruti blan- / dade färger, wisa oß Brödraskapets Enig- / het. /
7. fr: Hwad föreställer Abrahams Offer? /
sw: Hörsamhet ock undergifwenhet för Guds wilja. /
8. fr: Hwad afbildar Noa Arck? /
sw: Det Mensklige hjertat ~~näras ock~~ drifwes af deß passioner /
9. fr: Hwaruppå wisar Eder Babylons Torn? /
sw: Uppå denna Wårdenes barns högmod ock Swaghet /
10. fr: Hwarmed motas detta högmod? /
sw: Med en rätt Frimurares Känneteckn ock hjerta, som / igenom

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- igenom Mureriets Grunder ock lagar är uplyst. /
11. fr: Hwad föreställer Sodoms förbrännande? /
sw: Himmelens hämd på Menedare. Ty den Eld, som / Gud lät falla uppå deßa Ogudaktiga Städer lærer oß / at wi aldrig böra wika ifrån dygdens wäg. /
12. fr: Hwad lären wi utaf Loths Hustrus förwandlande / i en Saltstod?
sw: At ej af Nyfikenhet, wi söka utforska hemlig- / heter, som böra blifwa oß förborgade. /
13. fr: Hwad betyda Solen ock Månen? /
sw: Josephs Fader ock Moder, som lät deße / wederfaras Murare-Rättigheter, då han emot / Sina Bröder, utöfwade af ädelmod Brödraskapets / Lagar. /
14. fr: hwad betyda de 11 Stjärnor? /
sw: Josephs Bröders hämd, som kastade honom i Gropen / på det han, med desto större triumph skulle därifrån / utgå ock härrska öfwer hela Egypten. /

15. fr: Hwad lærer oß Joseph i Gropen? /

sw: At ju mer man är förnedrad, ju mer warder / man igenom sin dygd uphögd, när man med / tålmod kan fördraga de förföljelser, som oß an- / fäckta. /

16. fr: Hwad betyder Jacobs dröm? /

sw: Den frid ock Stillhet, som alla Murare erhålla / i en Rättskaffens Murare-Loge. /

17. fr: Hwad betyder de 4 wärldenes delar? /

sw: At en Rätt Murare, genom sin dygd ock sina goda / Seder, är af hela världen Känd ock älskad. /

18. fr: Hwem war den som byggde Arcken? /

sw: Noach, som war hela det Mensklige Släktets bibehållare. /

19. fr: Huru länge påstod Arckens Byggnad? /

sw: 100: år: hwilket är den tid, som en wäl in- / rättad Loge warar. /

20. fr: Huru mycket Stockwärr eller Afdelningar hade Arcken? /

sw: Fyra. Det nedersta hwaräst fyrfotade djuren, / woro skall lära oß at trampa våra begä- / relser under fötterna. Det öfwersta, hwaräst / Foglarna med deras sång lära oß at uphöja / våra tanckar til den högsta ock Största Mästa- / ares lof. / 21.

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21. fr: Hwarföre lät Noach bestryka Arken in- / nan till med Beck? /

sw: At emotstå Wattenets swallande, som skall / lära oß, at utrusta våra hjertan med / Klokhet ock försigtighet, til motstående af / Profaners Afwund. /

22. fr: Hwar hwilade Arcken efter Syndafloden? /

sw: På bärget Ararath i Armenien. /

23. fr: Hwem upfant ock begynte Babyloniska Tor- / nets Byggnad?

sw: Nimrod /

24. fr: Hwad war grunden därtill? /

sw: Stolthet /

25. fr: Hwad war byggnings Redskap därtill? /

sw: Oordenteliga Böjelser /

26. fr: Hwad förorsakade Tornets ödeläggelse? /

sw: Tungomålens förbistring. /

27. fr: Hwarom underrättar oß denna händelsen? /

sw: Hon lærer oß at utan religion är människan / blott Swaghet ock et Intet. /

28. fr: Hwad lærer hon oß vidare? /

sw: At utan Enighet ock förtroende, samt Sinnens /
öfwerensstämmande, Kan et Samfund / icke bestå. /

29. fr: Huruledes är förtroendet återstält? /

sw: Igenom den Frid ock Enighet, som man ser / härrska ibland
Bröderne ock Systrarna. /

30. fr: gifwen mig Mästare-Tecknet /

Det gifwes /

31. fr: Hwad betyder det? /

sw: At förr låta utrifwa hjertat än at up- / penbara Frimurare
hemligheter. /

32. fr: Gifwen mig Mästar-Ordet. /

sw: O Volzaire. /

33. fr: Hwad betyder detta Ordet? /

sw: Det Klart Lysande Ljuset. / 34.

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34. fr: Hwad är Murares ock Murarinnors plickt? /

sw: At höra, lyda, Arbeta ock Tiga. /

Då säger Stormästaren: /

Oordnings-Tornet är omkullstörtat: ock / frid ock Enighet återställd;
Wi hafwa hört: / warit lydiga, hafwer Arbetat ock Tigit. /

Mästare Logen är tilsluten. /

Ceremonier / wid Måltids-Loge. /

StorMäst. ock Stormästarinnan sittja öfwerst / wid bordet. Ock
Föreståndarinnan med den / Upseende el. Införande Brodren mitt
emot dem, nederst /

Mitt på Bordet står et Äpple-Träd. /

Logen öppnas med de 5 slagen. /

StorM. fordrar upmärksamhet, med et slag; / då Upseende Brodren
ser på Systrarna; men / Stormästarinnan ock Föreståndarinnan gifwa /
ackt på Bröderna. /

Skålar drickes igenom 5 med alla frM- / hederstecken. /

Winet Kallas Röd Olja. Wattnet hwit dito / Bouteillen, Olje-Krus.
Glasen, Lampor: At / dricka, tända upp Lamporna. /

När som drickes klappes med Glaset / 5 gånger på vänstra Bröset, /:eller 5 ggr emot / nästsittandes Qwinnas glas:/, ock 5 ggr slås i / händerna. /

Allmänna skålar äro 1:o Konungens / ock drottningens: 2:a Stormästarens ock Stormä- / starinnans: 3:e Närwarande Mästares ock / Mästarinnors: 4:e Samtel. de öfwriga Systrarnas: / 5:e Upseende Brodrens: 6:e den Nyßantagnas.

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Lagar. /

1:a Alla Bröder ock Systrar böra gifwa noga / akt uppå Stormästarens ock Stormästarin- / nans Bud ock befallningar som gifwes / både i Logen, ock wid Taffeln, ock de- / samma utan motsägelse fullgöra. /

2:a Uti Loge, ock wid Bordet tillåtas icke / at tala annat än landzpråket, som / hwar ock en af Bröderne ock Systrarne / förstår. /

3:e Ingen må hemligen wiska något i / Örat till någon annan, eller at alle- / nast 2^{nne} Kunna höra det. /

4:e Man Känner här inga Titlar, Herre eller Fru / utan alla kallas Bröder ock Systrar. /

5:e Twetydige Ordasätt, Baktal ock swärjande / är förbudit. /

6:e Ingen gånge ifrån deß Ställe, utan an- / sökt ock erhållit tillstånd. /

7:e Ingen må wid Bordet dricka någon en- / skjldt Skål innan de Allmänna äro druckne. /

8:e Den som har något att Klaga, bör ock ej / göra det, förr än Skålarna äro druckna. /

9:e Alla Klagomål emot Bröder anmäles / hos Föreståndarinnan, som framförer / dem till Stormästarinnan, men emot / Systrar anmäles de hos Föreståndaren, / som berättar dem för Stormästaren. /

10:e De Straff, som Stormäst: ock Stormästarinnan / utsättja, erlægges strax utan Klander. /

11:e Ingen Skottsk Mästare blifwer insläppt / i

29

i Logen förr än han uti yttre Rummet af- / lämnadt försäkran om deß Tystlåtenhet wid / sin frimurare-Ed, uti en Systers ock en Bro- / ders händer. /

12:e En Syster är förfallen til Straff, om hon / ej Kommer wid den utsatta tiden i Loge, / ock om hon wisar sig därstädes, utan behö- / rige ornamenter till hennes innehafwande / grad; Så framt hon icke

förut gifwits or- / sakerna därtill tilkänna hos Stormä- / starinnan, som
äger at pröfwa om / orsakernas wikt, dem gilla eller / ogilla. /

13:e Logens Instiktelse-dag bör årl. firas, / samt deßutom 5 Solenne
Fest-dagar, näml. / Concordiae dag, den 18:e febr.; d. 21. Maii, d. 12
Aug.; / d. 17 Octob.; ock d. 24 December. /

14:e Uppå deße Dagar förrättas Talemans- / Syßlan utaf en Syster, så
framt at så- / dant icke updragas till Stormästarinnans / Broder. /

15:e Wid alla Sammankomster ihogkommes / de Fattiga ock
Nödlidande med friwillig / gåfwo, til hwilkena hjelp äfwen bötes- /
penningarne anslås. /

16:e Antagnings-Summan utsätter Logen / efter omständigheter.

[End of manuscript]

Comments to the transcription

The transcription literally represents the original manuscript. Line-breaks are indicated as 'space / space', page-breaks by an added right adjusted page number (the manuscript itself has no page numbers). The manuscript is predominantly written in 'German' handwriting. Words in 'Latin' handwriting are transcribed in the font Arial. Overstrikes to double consonants have been indicated by understrikes. Words that are crossed over in the original are transcribed ~~in this way~~.

APPENDIX-III
LOIX ET STATUTS DE LA MAÇONNERIE DES DAMES

Loix et Statuts
de la
Maçonnerie des Dames
[Laws and Regulations of Ladies Freemasonry]

The secret of Freemasonry
Should remain a problem for the world
That no-one can resolve
Who has not been allowed to become a lady Freemason

Order of Freemasons for Ladies.

On the organisation of the Order

This Order allows persons from both sexes to be received into it under the names of Brothers and Sisters. It is the Sisters who form the Order under the rule of a Scots Master as Grand Master who has a lady with him as Grand Mistress. Those two are appointed by a free election among the Sisters.

Scots Masters only have the freedom to visit the Lodges, and they have to seek admission in the proper form. When it has been approved, they have to swear upon their Freemason's oath in front of the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress not to reveal the constitutions of this Order nor to betray them to anybody. There has to be a very good reason for a Freemason with lower degree or an un-initiated person to enter, and in the case of the latter not until she or he has applied and been received into the Order of Freemasons and in the case of the first to undergo a formal blindfolded reception through the Grand Mistress.

A Sister holds the office of Directress and carries, together with the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress, a small gavel.

One Sister Freemason undertakes the preparation and introduction of the in-coming Candidate.

A Brother of considerable height and reputation represents the Angel in Paradise and is called *Frère Terrible*.

The Order is made up of three degrees: Apprentices, Fellows and Mistresses. Those degrees must be obtained step by step, through zeal and industry.

The assemblies are called Lodges.
First degree – or Apprentice's Lodge.

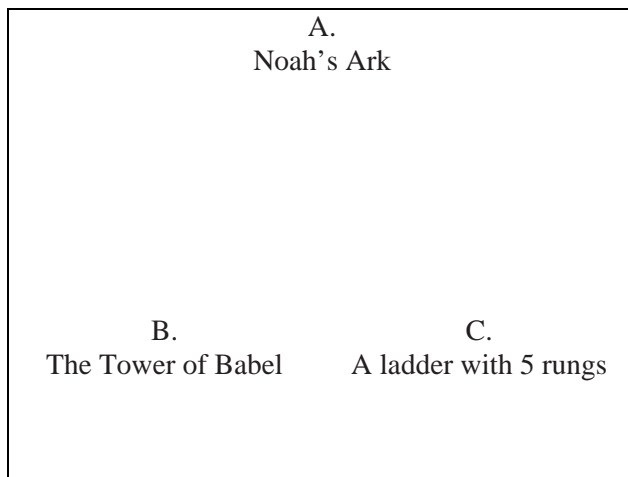
The Lodge is held in a room that is well ordered and locked.

The Grand Master and the Grand Mistress stand or sit at the top of the Lodge, opposite the entrance, and have a table in the form of an altar in front of them.

Before this altar, a kneeling stool is placed with a cushion of such height that it is possible to kneel down on it conveniently.

Opposite the altar, the Directress sits behind a small table covered with a blue cloth.

At a small distance from the altar lies a white cover on which the following designs are painted as shown below.



In front of this tracing board are two *guéridons* [= small tables on which lights are placed] upon which two vessels with *spiritus vini* are to be found burning; and these are the only source of light within the Lodge.

The Sisters are seated on both sides and the Brethren among them; the latter ensuring that the points of their swords are crossed.

The Brethren wear their Scots Master regalia: Sisters wear the dress of the degree they have as the same is described subsequently.

The Lodge is opened with the catechism as below, with questions asked by the Grand Master and answers given by the Directress.

Reception

The initiate is previously [to the reception] led into a chamber where a candle, together with an open Bible are found on the table, where she is left for a good while on her own to reflect.

Thereupon the lady introducing the Candidate walks in to ask her on behalf of the Order: If she has a righteous zeal for the intentions of the Order, which she is about to embrace, also constancy and taciturnity and if she is prepared to enter the Order.

If she answers in the affirmative, the lady introducing her (Deacon)¹ says to her: “Well then madam or miss, in that case you will not refuse to remove certain parts of your clothing, which the Order will see as the first sign of your preparedness of a desire to be freed from the general prejudices of the world outside”.

Hereupon, she demands that the Candidate give her an earring, a cuff or ring and one of her garters.

Then the Candidate is spoken to in the following way: “you will soon be blindfolded for a little while, so that things prepared do not cause you any fear and you must first be able to make your free declaration in front of the Sisters and Brethren, before you are allowed to see anything. Besides, you need to prove yourself courageous and steadfast”.

When she is subsequently well blindfolded, she is given a trowel in her hand as a sign that she does not refuse to work: then she is led to the door of the Society and there she is announced by the Deacon with five knocks on the door: the first two quick and the last three slow.

The Directress answers these knocks from the inside with five knocks, and opens the door with the following question: “Who is

¹ I have used the term Deacon from English craft ritual as there is no real equivalent to ‘Introducer’ as the person presenting the candidate for initiation and the task of guiding the candidate during the ceremony falls to the Deacon (MRT). The term in the original French text from which the Swedish version was translated will no doubt have been ‘Sœur Introductrice’, which denotes the function which in male French lodges was denoted as the ‘frère Expert’ (JS).

there?" Whereupon the Deacon answers: "A friend with a noble heart who desires to enter our illustrious Society as a female Mason".

The Grand Master says: if she is undressed properly and if her eyes are blindfolded, then the entrance will be opened to her. Thereupon she is introduced by the Deacon and as soon as she enters the room the Brethren and Sisters begin blowing into the *spiritus vini* and wafting with their aprons. Meanwhile she is led around the altar in front of the carpet [= tracing board], and is placed in between the *guéridons* where *spiritus vini* burns.

Then the Grand Master speaks to her: "As you are led here to our Society by virtues, the light of our secrets will not remain veiled from you. It is only righteous and noble souls who reach so far and to whom we grant the privileges of our Sister- and Brotherhood. We believe and we wish to find such [qualities] in that heart you now want to present to us.

And you will, on the contrary find neither a Brother nor a Sister who is Mason or female Mason, who will not give you that constant and unchangeable privilege through a noble and tender friendship. Each will encourage you to [fulfil] everything that you owe the Supreme Architect of the World, the King, your neighbour and yourself. Virtue alone is the mainspring of all our labour and work. And with such reassurance you may answer freely and without reservation, if you wish to undertake the obligation that our laws require.

If she answers in the affirmative, the Grand Master instructs the Deacon to open her eyes, then she sees the Brethren and Sisters in the position that was described before and under the arch of the crossed rapiers she is led to the altar where along with the Grand Master stands the *Frère Terrible* with a burning sword that is held above the head of the initiate when she kneels down and while the Grand Master administers the following oath to her that she repeats.

Obligation

With the knowledge I have about the great Sun of the whole Edifice of the World, which from a lump of clay has brought forth the four elements and out of this has created the very highest art of construction, I declare to hold, keep and hide all secrets of Freemasonry in eternal silence, and also never to speak about them, with the exception of a Sister or a Brother who I, after thorough examination, have found to be a proper member of this order. If I break this oath, I will through these words declare myself guilty of all dishonour and disgrace before

all mankind. I also promise to listen, to be obedient, to work and to remain silent during the assemblies of the order and in accordance with the direction of the laws of the order. So help me the fire of the supreme heaven and lead me on the paths that are worthy for this advanced society.

When those last words are spoken, all Brethren and Sisters clap the five claps with their hands: ●● — — —

The Grand Master says: My Sister! You are now made a member of the Order of female Freemasons. From Your promotion we expect and we promise to ourselves honour, from your virtues an example and from your gracious friendship the most constant advantages.

The Grand Mistress then fastens the apron on the newly accepted Sister. It is made out of white taffeta and ornamented with white ribbons and a triangular flap which hangs down and which is ornamented in the same way with the same ribbons, and she says: this, the clothing which is the same for us all, unites You for all Your lifetime with the same inclination of the heart and the senses as us. Its white colour is an image of the innocence and purity of our intentions. Through this you are united with the Brethren and Sisters and on their behalf I affirm their truest love and affection.

After this, the Grand Mistress also fastens a white ribbon with a simple rose, upon which hangs a small silver trowel, upon her left breast with these words: Carry this Token and tool as a reminder of the industriousness which is imposed on you in the Order of Masons. Diligence and zeal will lead you within it [the Order] from the first to the highest step. Learn from the Brethren and follow the Sisters.

Then the Grand Mistress hands over the white garters with a simple rose at the end while pronouncing the following admonition: Always wear them while you visit the Lodge: The reason for this shall not remain a mystery to you.

In addition the Grand Mistress shows her how the Sisters in this degree are dressed in white, and if possible they should also wear a pair of white earrings, and never enter the Lodge without wearing white gloves.

Subsequently the Grand Mistress teaches her the secret signs and words of the female Freemasons. The sign of this degree is: The closed four fingers of the right hand are held at the top of the stays

with the thumb extended at right angles. The Brethren place the right hand in this position on the scarf and let the hand fall down in a straight line downwards on the front.

If it is asked what that sign means? the answer is: It would be better for me to die than to disclose the secrets that are entrusted to me.

The word is Flix Flox.

On being asked what it means the reply given is: The school of virtue. Asked: Whose school is that? Answered: Freemasonry's. NB To avoid misunderstandings in some Lodges the word Eve is used and the question "what does it mean" is answered by: The origin of all life.

Thereupon the Grand Mistress embraces the newly received Sister and shows her to her place at the top of the row by the side of the Grand Master and subsequently she takes her place at the altar.

Next, both the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress clap the five claps with their hands; make the sign of the Lodge and say: may this Sister live happily, and work and keep silent!

Hereupon all present make the same claps and repeat the same words.

Subsequently the laws are read and the Grand Master reminds the recently received Candidates to be attentive to the catechism with which all Lodges are opened and closed and which at the same time is an explanation of the unfolded tracing board.

Catechism of the Apprentices

When a Lodge is about to be opened, the Grand Master asks the Directress:

q: What is the first care of every Mason and lady Mason?

a: To see that the Lodge is properly tiled. /: This is then checked thoroughly by the responsible person :/

1. q: Are you an Apprentice, my Sister?

a: I think so.

2. q: Why do you say, I think so, but not that you are sure of it?

a: Because an Apprentice is not sure of anything.

3. q: How were you led into the Lodge?

a: Blindfolded.

4. q: Why so?

Answer: To teach myself that before it is possible to reach higher important secrets, it is needed to moderate one's curiosity.

5. q: Through what did you reach Freemasonry?

a: Through an arch of iron and steel

6. q: What does that arch represent?

a: Strength and durability: which is a sign of steadfastness.

7. q: Where are you received as an Apprentice?

a: Between the Tower of Babel, Jacob's Ladder and at the foot of Noah's Ark.

8. q: What does the Tower of Babel represent?

a: The arrogance of the children of this world, which one cannot sympathise with unless you have a selfish heart, and to cure it accordingly becomes the right token of a Freemason and female Freemason.

9. q: What does Jacob's Ladder signify?

a: this Ladder is full of secrets. Both sides of the Ladder represent the love for God and the love for the neighbour. And in between those sides, there are the virtues that originate from a noble soul.

10. q: What does Noah's Ark signify?

a: The heart of the human being, which is carried and driven by its passions like the Ark by the water of the Flood.

11. q: How do we refer to those that are not Masons?

a: Profanes.

12. q: Are they also called profanes who are not Masons, but are worthy of being so?

a: They are called virtuous philanthropists: but nobody is recognised as Brother and Sister who is not a Mason or female Mason.

13. q: What do Freemasons endeavour to do ?

a: To practice every moral and social virtue.

14. q: can you give me the sign of the Apprentice?

/: it is given in the way described earlier :/

15. q: What does it mean?

a: rather to die than to disclose any secret that has been entrusted to me.

16. q: Can you give me the word?

a: Flix flox /: or Eve :/

17. q: What does it mean?

a: a school of virtue /: Eve is explained as earlier :/

18. q: Which school is that?

a: Freemasonry.

19. q: What is the duty and obligation of a Mason and a female Mason?

a: To listen, to obey and to keep silent.

20. q: describe the nature of your obedience.

a: voluntary and without compulsion.

21. q: What are you working upon?

a: to make myself pleasing, useful and happy.

When the Lodge is opened, the Grand Master says: My Brethren and Sisters! Let us listen, obey, work and keep silent; then the Lodge is opened.

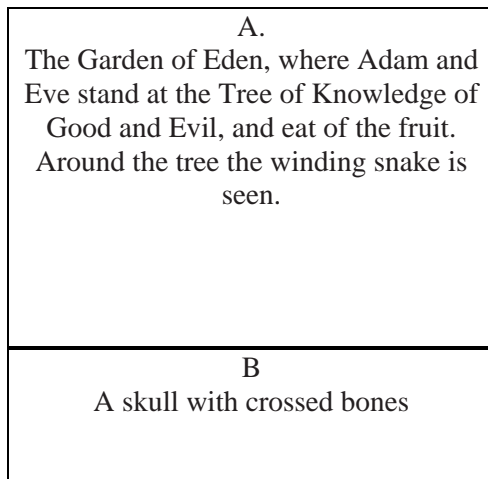
When the Lodge is closed, the Grand Master says: we have listened, been obedient, and worked. Let us keep silent. Then the Lodge is closed.

Subsequently the festive board is held in the manner described below, at the occasion of which the poor are remembered.

The Second Degree
For Fellows or Companions
Description of the Lodge

On the wall above the head of the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress, hangs an eight-pointed burning star, the opposite side of which is round like a bowl and filled with yellow spirit that is lightened.

Opposite of the altar, behind the Deacon, an illumination burns that displays the following drawing:



In front of this picture that is lit from behind with many lights and lamps, upon a small table, stands a tree with hanging fruit, so natural that it is like the real apples that are also attached to it.

In front of the altar lies a tracing board where, on a blue cover divided into two parts, is displayed:

<p>A.</p> <p>A garden in the middle of which stands the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Under the tree lies Neptune, holding a whale under his arms out of which a river floats through the garden.</p>
<p>B</p> <p>Adam and Eve being expelled from paradise.</p>

In front of this tracing board, on a small table stands a vessel in which spirit burns. A Sister has a long chain in her hand, made out of white metal, which stretches around her neck and both hands.

The *Frère Terrible* holds an olive branch in his hand.

On the table of the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress stands a vessel with almond paste in which also lies a small trowel.

The position of the Brethren and Sisters is like in the first degree, with the exception that the Brethren don't put the points of their swords together.

In front of the altar stands the usual footstool with its cover. The Lodge is opened and closed with the Catechism of the Companions.

Reception

The Sister who is going to be received, is prepared in the antechamber by the Deacon and a Brother. She is asked especially whether she can remind herself of having committed anything against the honour of the order during her time as an Apprentice, and also if she is able to demand further advancement in the order with an open heart.

If she explains herself on this in a proper way, she is led blindfold to the door of the Lodge, encouraged to be steadfast and announced with five knocks on the door.

When it is answered upon that from the inside, she is lead into the Lodge and when she enters all shout with fright and fear: Eve! Eve! Upon which the Grand Master says: My Brethren and Sisters! Do not be afraid: There is no danger.

Subsequently the Brother who, together with the Deacon, entered with the one who is going to be received leads her to the tracing board in front of the Grand Master who asks:

Woman, what do you desire?

Answer: I wish to be received as a Companion.

The Grand Master says: Do you feel yourself strong enough to endure all frightening trials that are a part of it? The slightest weakness that might be noticed on your part would be enough to exclude you totally from our Order and we would be deprived of an ornament to the Order.

She assures her steadfastness.

Then the Grand Master says: my Brother, let her then endure the ordeal by fire.

He leads her around for a short while and the Sister who carries the chain makes a great noise with it. The perambulation ends at the small table upon which the burning spirit stands, over which he holds her bare hand.

The Grand Master asks: has she endured the first trial well?

The Brother answers: yes, with steadfastness, Worshipful Master.

Grand Master: let her then endure the second trial and show her the position of innocence, which also is one of the sources of perdition.

Then she is led around to the illuminated painting that is described above, where her blindfolded eyes are opened and she is told by the Brother: Do you see my Sister, disobedience and its consequences? Here is the bite in the apple by the first human: there the death of the descendants; to diminish and mitigate this punishment, Freemasonry is a necessary remedy: as the practice of every moral virtue teaches us to face this fatal moment with fortitude.

After a short while, the Grand Master asks: has she endured the second trial?

The Brother answers: Yes, Worshipful Master.

The Grand Master says: let her walk from death to life and show her the light and the leader of Masonry, the star from the East.

The Brother leads her and shows her the star above the head of the Grand Master while saying: Do you see, my Sister, this Eastern star is the enlightenment of reason and the right light of Masonry from which we do not depart because by it we are led to true felicity.

Then the Grand Master says: now step forward, my Sister, to receive the signs of our trust, after you have given us proof of your constancy. You will so much sooner desire to renew your obligation that you already have given to the Order, since you will be assured more and more of its noble purpose.

After the guiding Brother has accompanied her to the altar, the Sister with the chains steps forward to her and places them crosswise around her neck and both arms. The *Frère Terrible* holds the olive branch above her head, which is a sign of peace, and in this position she kneels on the stool in front of the altar in order to take the following:

Oath

Upon the noble emotion my heart has for Freemasonry and with the fidelity I promised at the occasion of my first reception, I promise to keep the secrets of this degree silent: to let the light of Masonry, reason, guide me. And not to eat from any forbidden fruit, as sure as I esteem the trust of my Brethren and Sisters as the highest value.

At these last words, all Brethren and Sisters make the five claps in their hands, and the chain is taken off her.

Then the Grand Master says to the Deacon: My Sister! Bring me the scared fruit.

Upon this, she carries along the tree that stands in front of the illuminated table from which the Grand Master takes an apple and hands it to the received Sister with the following words: My Sister, we are ensured that you will keep your promise, but our Order demands that you will proof it truly by eating – this apple.

As soon as she has done so, all Brethren and Sisters clap on their aprons and shout: Eve! Eve!

Hereupon the Grand Master takes a little of the almond paste on the small trowel and pastes it on the mouth of the Candidate, which a Brother cleans off straight away with a white cloth while the Grand Master says: Now I seal your lips with the seal of Taciturnity and Wisdom; remember this, never to open your mouth without speaking

well about your Brethren and Sisters and never to disclose the secrets of Freemasonry.

Subsequently, the Grand Master and Grand Mistress from both sides step to the newly received Sister: the first takes off her Apprentice apron and the trowel saying: You have, my Sister, used this clothing honourably, and you can now put it down with honour.

The Grand Mistress then hands over the Companion apron to her and says: This is likewise made out of white taffeta and ornamented with a dark blue angled ribbon of silk and with five simple roses made out of the same ribbon; three attached to the top and two at the bottom. While she is dressing the recipient with the apron, she says: My Sister, you may now wear this cloth of the Lodge in a nobler form and take it as a sign that we have come to know your ennobled disposition. The blue colours that are upon it are an emblem of constancy; reminding you of the enduring fidelity for our Order and the most unadulterated friendship that you owe to Brethren and Sisters.

Then she pins above her right breast the trowel that hangs on a simple rose made out of blue ribbon while saying: this second degree does not liberate you from the industriousness with which you have until now managed the first trials. Carry this tool as a remembrance of the diligence with which you should be a shining example for the Sisters of the first degree, who from this day on will measure their own obligation. Finally the Grand Mistress hands over the blue garters with simple roses to her and says to her that she is not allowed, on pain of severe punishment, to enter the Lodge without these garters which she, upon request is always obliged to show.

Hereupon, she is instructed in the secret signs and words of this degree.

The sign is that the four fingers on the right hand are held closed together, with the thumb placed in a right angle are laid upon the mouth and from there are drawn back again. When asked: What this means? It is answered: the seal of taciturnity.

The password is Belba and is explained as peace and concord that have been restored by destroying the tower of disorder.

Then a Brother explains the figures of the tracing board or the Grand Master instructs the candidate to listen carefully to the questions he puts to the Deacon whose answers will teach her what she has to say.

Catechism of the Second Degree

The Grand Master asks the Deacon:

1. q: Are you a Companion?
a: Give me an apple, then you will know.
2. q: How were you received as a Companion?
a: Through a kind of fruit and a bond.
3. q: What does this fruit symbolise?
a: Sweetness.
4. q: What does the bond symbolise?
a: The unity of Brotherhood.
5. q: What was placed upon you when you became a Companion?
a: The Great Seal of Masonry
6. q: Why?
a: To teach myself that my mouth should be closed for all secrets of the order.
7. q: Why do companions not eat the pips of the apple?
a: Because the pips of the apple are the origin and the seeds of the forbidden fruit.
8. q: What did you first see in the Lodge?
a: A picture of seduction.
9. q: How do you guard yourself against it?
a: by my own discretion which is founded on the laws and principles of Masonry.
10. q: Who made you Companion?
a: My trowel and my virtue.
11. q: What do you think when you hear the difficult word Eve?
a: It leads me back to my origin and shows me what I am and what I should be, in remembrance of the highest felicity.
12. q: Where were you received as a Companion?
a: In a garden of pleasure, where a river flowed through.
13. q: What is this garden called?
a: The Garden of Eden, that God gave to Adam and Eve.
14. q: Why were they expelled from there?
a: Because of their disobedience.
15. q: What did you see in this garden?
a: The tree of knowledge of good and evil.
16. q: What does that tree teach you?

a: That each good Mason is obliged to shun vice and to search for virtues.

17. q: What does the river symbolise?

a: the swiftness of human passion which cannot be held back with anything other than the principles of Masonry.

18. q: What is the object of Freemasonry?

a: To strive to make yourself and others happy.

19. q: How do we all reach that felicity?

a: Through the unity of virtues.

20. q: Give me the sign of a Companion?

a: It is given

21. q: What does this mean?

a: The seal of taciturnity that shall teach myself not to speak incautiously and without care.

22. q: What is the word?

a: Belba! Which means peace and unity, which – through the bringing down the tower of disorder – has been restored among Brethren and Sisters as the prophecy of the Sibyls foretells.

23. q: What is the duty and obligation of Masons and female Masons?

a: To hear, to obey, to work and to keep silent.

24. q: Of which kind is your obedience?

a: free and voluntary.

25. q: Upon what are you working?

a: To render myself agreeable and a useful member of society.

At the opening of the Lodge, the Grand Master says: My Brethren and Sisters, let us listen, obey, work and keep silent, the Companions Lodge is opened.

At the closing:

We have listened, been happy and worked; let us keep silent. The Companions Lodge is closed.

The Brethren and Sisters then clap the five claps in their hands and make the sign of the Apprentice.

The third, or the degree of the Mistress

In this degree the Lodge is enlightened with 13 candles, 7 of which stand on one and six on the other side.

The position of the Grand Master, the Grand Mistress, Brethren and Sisters is as in the previous degrees.

In front of the tracing board on the right stands a ladder or a stable staircase with five rungs.

On the left side stands a mechanical chest or box upon which lie a chisel, a hammer and a club.

The tracing board depicts in illustrations, each within a circle, the following:

The tracing board

A	B.
Rainbow	The Sacrifice of Noah
C.	D.
The Sacrifice of Abraham	The Noah's Ark on mount Ararat
E.	F.
The Tower of Babel	The Burning of Sodom and Gomorrah
G.	H.
The transformation of Lot's wife into a salt pillar	The dream of Joseph : sun, moon and 11 stars
I.	
Joseph in the Well.	
The four quarters of the world are depicted on the sides or at the corners of the tracing board.	

Reception

When the Lodge is opened with a couple of questions from the following Catechism, and with the five knocks of the Grand Master, which are answered and repeated by the Directress, a Brother is sent together with the Deacon to the Candidate. They retire in order to prepare her, and instruct her how she should take with reflection the important step towards a higher degree within the order, as well as declare that with untiring fidelity and zeal she desires to ensure the honour, increase and growth of the Order.

When she has declared this she is ordered to be blindfolded. The Brother then leads her with the ordinary five knocks on the door of the Lodge, which he opens and enters as soon as the knocks have been answered upon from the inside.

When the Candidate has been led inside, the Grand Master asks: whom do you lead into the Lodge, my Brother? Answer: A Companion, who desires to become a Mistress. Q: Has she worthily prepared herself to receive this degree? A: She will become an embellishment for the order. GrM: Then open to her the temple of virtue.

Upon this, here eyes are opened, after which she greets the whole society with the sign of the Companion, which is answered in the same way. GrM: My Brother! Let this Sister ascend the mysterious Ladder.

The Brother leads her to it and the Directress steps forward to her and says: My Sister, you have to take these steps without wearing shoes. When the serving Sister has taken them off and put them aside both take her hands and let her take the first step with the right foot, with the left upon the second, with the right upon the third, upon which both feet are put together. Subsequently, she steps the fourth step with the right foot, and with the left the fifth, when both feet again are placed together.

The Grand Master asks: Has the Sister now reached the highest step of felicity?

A: Yes, *Très Venerable*.

GrM: You are fortunate, my Sister, to have reached that stage which many thousands strive to attain. Step now forward to me, and be confirmed in this felicity, on the road of which you already see the goal.

She is helped down, her shoes are put on her feet, and she is led to the altar.

GrM: Now you have to take your oath as a Mistress, which you will do with the most serious reflections.

She kneels down, the *Frère Terrible* holds a blank sword on her neck and the GrM administers the following oath to her which she repeats:

In the presence of this venerable society of Masters I promise and swear on the sacrifices of Noah, Abraham and Jacob, infinite fidelity, friendship and taciturnity. I will always estimate myself fortunate to build together with you my welfare upon the right founding principles of Masonry, and in every possible way during my whole lifetime strive to promote the honour and growth of the order. As true as I estimate higher above anything else, the love and proper friendship of my dearest Brethren and Sisters.

At these last words, the whole company claps the five claps in their hands. After she has taken the oath, the Grand Master instructs the Brother to put the new Mistress to work: He leads her to the earlier mentioned chest and orders her to use the tools that lie thereupon, first to give 5 blows upon it with the chisel and the club and to use the hammer with which she also must give 5 blows. After the fifth blow a heart rises up through a small opening in the lid of the chest.

NB. The mechanics of the chest are constructed either in such way that with a blow on a certain spot a spring pushes the heart that is hidden inside upwards, and if that is the case, the Brother shows the spot upon which she should strike each blow in order to find the place where the spring sits with the fifth blow: or there is, which is preferable, lower downwards on the side [of the chest] a hidden cotter upon which the Brother steps when the heart is supposed to rise with the fifth blow. Some Lodges have this heart illuminated, so that it rises burning.²

When the heart has risen, the Grand Master says: What has the Sister brought forth? The Brethren answer: Worshipful Master, a heart has been brought out of it.

Then the Grand Master speaks to her: You see, my Sister, that Masonry is a work for the heart: It gives us dominion over hearts. We know how to make the most compassionate and tender out of the hardest and most relentless. Hereupon she is led to the altar where the Grand Master and Grand Mistress go to her. The former takes off her apron of Companion and the trowel with these words:

You have now reached dignity to wear a higher dress within the order: [unreadable, probably “use”] the same, but not until it is needed, and carry this with your earlier disposition and honour that demanded to be altered by us even more.

The Grand Mistress puts the Master Mason’s apron upon her that is made with a broad ribbon out of crimson, ornamented with five double roses of the same colour, 4 in a rectangle on the apron itself and one on the flap, while saying: In this dress, which the most noble and supreme people wear with pride you are now dressed, my Sister, as a reward for your ~~virtue and~~ fidelity, industriousness and taciturnity. Carry this shining jewel as a proof that you have managed to step up to the highest rung of the ladder of felicity, through wisdom, prudence, gentleness, love and industriousness.

² Note of the translator: or “as if it would burn”, both readings are possible.

Then a golden trowel that hangs from a large five-double rose is fastened below her left breast with the following recommendation:

The noble tool that you have worn during your work as Apprentice and Companion is, with its changed lustre, an honourable sign of your Mastership. I tell you this with the same pleasure as all Brethren and Sisters had, to see you climb those high steps.

The Order hands over to her a pair of hair ribbons of the same crimson colour with large five-doubled ribbon roses and invites her to exchange the former for these, so that the dress will be uniform and conform.

The Grand Mistress gives her also the information, that proper Mistresses never should be seen in the Lodge dressed other than in black, that is: black stays, the corset ornamented with five double laces, black robe and skirt likewise ornamented.

The sign of the Master is given, which is to beat the right hand, with five fingers stretched out, slowly on the left bosom.

Upon the question what it symbolises, it is answered: rather to lose the heart than to reveal the secrets of Freemasonry.

Finally, she receives the password that is: O Volzaire: which means: The bright shining light. She is embraced and kissed by the Grand Mistress who poses her between herself and the Grand Master, who together with all Brethren and Sisters step forward, make a chain and exclaim: "May eternal felicity give pleasure to the new Mistress. May eternal fidelity receive and glorify our fraternal society." The tracing board is explained or the Grand Master says to the new Mistress to pay attention to the Catechism, because from the same she can receive an idea about the tracing board that lies in front of her, the perfect knowledge of which now becomes an important topic for her diligence and industriousness.

Thus the Grand Master ends the Lodge with the following Catechism
that is answered by the Directress

1. q: Are you a Master of Mistress?
a: I have climbed the mysterious Ladder.
2. q: What do the side sticks of the Ladder symbolise?
a: The love to God and my neighbour
3. q: What do the five rungs symbolise?
a: The basic and main parts of Masonry: wisdom, prudence, purity, love and industriousness.
4. q: Where were you made a Mistress?

a: At the foot of the sacrifice of Noah.

5. q: What does that sacrifice symbolise?

a: It is a thanks-giving sacrifice of gratitude after the Flood.

6. q: What does the rainbow signify?

a: The alliance that God concluded with Noah and his descendants. The five primary colours blended within it, show us the unity of the Brotherhood.

7. q: What does Abraham's sacrifice symbolise?

a: Obedience and submissiveness to the will of God

8. q: What does Noah's Ark display?

a: The human heart ~~nourished and~~ driven by its passions.

9. q: What does the Tower of Babel show to you?

a.: The arrogance and weakness of the children of this world.

10. q: What do you bring to oppose this pride?

a: The character and heart of a true Freemason, enlightened by the principles and laws of Masonry.

11. q: What does the burning of Sodom symbolise?

a: The revenge of heaven against perjurers, since the fire that God commanded to fall upon those ungodly towns teaches us that we never should depart from the path of virtue.

12. q: What do we learn from the transformation of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt?

a: That we should not, out of curiosity, strive to explore secrets which should remain hidden to us.

13. q: What do the Sun and Moon symbolise?

a: Joseph's father and mother, who recognised the honour of that Mason and the Laws of the Fraternity which he so nobly exercised in respect of his Brothers.

14. a: What do the 11 stars symbolise?

a: The vengeance over Joseph's Brothers, who threw him in the pit, so that he with even greater triumph was to escape from there and to reign over all of Egypt.

15. q: What do we learn from Joseph in the pit?

a: That the lower we are brought down, the more we will be elevated through our virtue, and that we must endure with patience the tribulations which beset us.

16. q: What does Jacob's dream symbolise?

a: The peace and quietude that all Masons must preserve within the Lodge.

17. q: What do the 4 corners of the world symbolise?

a: that a true Mason, through his virtue and his good manners, is renowned and loved by the whole world.

18. q: Who constructed the Ark?

a: Noah, who saved the whole human race.

19. q: how long did the construction of the Ark take?

a: 100 years, which is the time that a Lodge which is properly constituted lodge should last.

20. q: How many floors or divisions had the Ark?

a: Four. On the lowest the quadrupeds were to be found which teach us to trample our desires under foot. The second contained domestic animals. On the third were Noh and his family. On the fourth were the birds which, with their melodious song, teach us to raise our thoughts in praise of the supreme and greatest Master. 21. q: Why did Noah coat the Ark from inside with pitch?

a: In order to resist the surging of water, and to teach us to endue our hearts with wisdom and prudence, to resist the envy of the profane.

22. q: Where did the Ark rest after the flood?

a: On mount Ararat.

23. q: Who invented and started the construction of the Tower of Babel?

a: Nimrod.

24. q: What was its foundation?

a: Pride.

25. q: What were the instruments for its construction?

a: Wrong inclinations.

26. q: What caused the devastation of the Tower?

a: The confusion of languages.

27. q: About what does this event instruct us?

a: It instructs us that without religion, man is nothing but weakness and nothingness

28. q: What other lessons does it teach us?

a: That without unity and understanding between one another, the love and friendship of the Society cannot last.

29. q: How is understanding restored?

a: Through the peace and unity that can be seen to reign among Brethren and Sisters.

30. q: Give me the sign of a Master.

It is given.

31. q: What does it mean?

a: Rather to tear out the heart than to disclose the secrets of Freemasons.

32. q: Give me the Masters' word.

a: O Voltaire.

33. q: What does that word mean?

a: The Bright Shining Light.

34. q: What is the duty of Freemasons and lady Freemasons?

a: To listen, to obey, to work and to keep silent.

Then the Grand Master says:

The Tower of Disorder is brought down: and peace and unity are restored; We have listened, been obedient, have worked and kept silent.

The Masters Lodge is closed.

Ceremonies at the Festive Board

The Grand Master and the Grand Mistress sit at the top of the table and the Directress with the Observing or Introducing Brother opposite them at the [other] end. On the middle of the table stands an apple tree.

The Lodge is opened with the five knocks.

The Grand Master demands attention, with one knock; the Observing Brother looks after the Sisters but the Grand Mistress and Directress look after the Brethren.

Toasts are drunk with 5 and all tokens of honour of Freemasonry.

Wine is called red oil, water white ditto; the bottle oil jug, the glasses, lamps, to drink, to lighten the lamps.

When it comes to drinking, the glass is clapped five times to the left bosom, or five times against the next women's glass and five claps of the hands are given.

General toasts are: 1° to the King and Queen; 2° to the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress; 3° to present Masters and Mistresses; 4° to all the other Sisters; 5° to the Directress; 6° to the newly received.

Laws.

1st All Brethren and Sisters should carefully pay attention to the commands and orders of the Grand Master and Grand Mistress that are given both in the Lodge and at the table, and they should fulfil them without contradiction.

2nd In the Lodge and at the table it is not allowed to speak anything other than the native language [of the country], that everybody of the Brethren and Sisters understand.

3rd Nobody is allowed to whisper anything secretly in another's ear or in the way that only two can hear it.

4th No titles such as Mister or Miss are used here, but all are called Brethren and Sisters.

5th Equivocal sayings, backbiting and swearing are prohibited.

6th No one leaves his or her place without applying for and having been granted permission.

7th No one shall drink private toasts at the table before the general toasts are drunk.

8th Somebody who has something to complain about, should not do so until the toasts are drunk.

9th All complaints against Brethren are reported to the Directress who conveys them to the Grand Mistress, but against Sisters, they are reported to the Observing Brother, who tells them to the Grand Master.

10th The punishment that is defined by the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress, has directly to be paid without complaints.

11th No Scots Master is admitted to the Lodge before he has not, in the outer room, guaranteed his silence by his Masonic oath, at the hands of a Sister and a Brother.

12th A Sister is worthy of punishment if she does not arrive to the Lodge at the appointed hour or if she arrives without the proper ornaments according to the degree she holds; as long as she does not tell the Grand Mistress the reasons for this, who has to decide upon the importance of the reasons, and whether to accept them or not.

13th The foundation day of the Lodge should be celebrated annually and besides that five solemn days of celebration, namely the day of Concordia, the 18th of February, the 21st of May, the 12th of August, the 17th of October and the 24th of December.

14th On these days, the duty of the Orator is carried out by a Sister, unless the task is handed over to the Brother of the Grand Mistress [= the Grand Master].

15th At all assemblies the poor and needy are remembered with voluntary gifts for which purpose the money from fines is also intended.

16th The reception fee is set by the Lodge according to circumstances.

[End of the manuscript]

Comments to the translation

Words that are crossed over are marked in the transcription if they offer an alternative reading that changes the understanding of the respective section in the text. Comments of the translator are put in straight brackets.

**FREEMASON FEMINISTS:
MASONIC REFORM AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
IN FRANCE, 1840-1914**

JAMES SMITH ALLEN

In 1903 a Belgian author and activist living in Paris, Céline Renooz (see picture 3), was initiated into the mixed masonic lodge, 'La Raison Triomphale'.¹ The victim of a troubled marriage, Renooz was generally suspicious of men's motives, but not those of her newly found fraternal community. "I must say", she wrote in her unpublished memoirs not long afterward, "I was deeply impressed by the generous offers of help, assistance, and fellowship made together by all of the lodge's brothers".² For an impecunious widowed mother of four children who would all die of tuberculosis, this associational solicitude was most welcome. But Renooz's principal interest in mixed Masonry was not material; it was primarily symbolic. In 1925, still living in deep poverty, Renooz published the third volume of *L'Ere de vérité*, her sweeping historical survey of Western matriarchy. She traced the mythological origins of Masonry in a new interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, whose chief prophets and redactors, she alleged, were not men but women. In Renooz's rich masonic imagination, Hiram Abiff, the illustrious architect of the Temple of Solomon, was actually a woman by the name of Marih, Hiram spelled backwards. According to Renooz, Freemasonry's brotherhood of trust in keeping craft secrets had its Biblical origins in a woman's not a man's martyrdom. Masonry was therefore founded on an historical error, she claimed, which

¹ Allen 2000 116-151. The lodge 'La Raison Triomphale' was the sixth to join the Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise Mixte et Maintenu (GSLE II) in 1902 and was active until it disbanded in 1906. Little is known about this particular lodge or its adherents, other than that it belonged to the most liberal of the masonic obediences, which initiated men and women by the same rituals in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (Hivert-Messeca 1997, 260). Undoubtedly Renooz was attracted to Masonry generally, and not just the GLSE II, because of Freemasonry's symbolic importance in the history of Western religion. Hence, Renooz's tentative interest in La Nouvelle Jérusalem Adoption, under the aegis of the Grande Loge de France, in 1907, though she was never formally initiated according to her personal papers or according to the lodge's records. Otherwise, an ardent feminist such as Renooz would not have been interested in a form of Masonry with special rituals for women only. My thanks to Jan Snoek for bringing Renooz's interest in adoptive Masonry to my attention.

² Renooz n.d., b. 18, d. 1903, f. 10r.

only lodges in Le Droit Humain and some others in the Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise were committed to rectifying.³

Few Masons, much less Jews or Christians, would accept such a bizarre reading of Biblical scripture. But many others acknowledge the unusual role of women in French Freemasonry since its beginnings in the eighteenth century.⁴ Perhaps as early as the 1740s, women participated in the craft, albeit irregularly, until the Grand Orient de France officially tolerated the practice in special lodges of adoption in 1774. The Revolution of 1789 interrupted this activity; it resumed after Thermidor and flourished under the Napoleonic Empire. By then, however, the initiation of women into lodges had become primarily an occasion for elaborate banquets and balls. For much of the nineteenth century, women were feted in the special *tenues blanches* for Freemasons' families, including children. There was nothing necessarily masonic about these rituals. Eventually activists in the Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise (GLSE) attempted to do something about the exclusion of women from the craft's mysteries. In 1893 Maria Deraismes and Georges Martin established the mixed masonic order of Le Droit Humain, even though few Masons were willing to recognize it. For years Le Droit Humain would rival the break-away GLSE Mixte et Maintenu (hereafter GLSE II). Consequently, by the time Céline Renooz was initiated in the latter obedience, assertive individuals such as she, were transforming Freemasonry at the very height of the women's movement in Third Republic France.⁵

This paper examines more closely the remarkable coincidence between masonic reform and the women's movement in France. The struggle to initiate women must be seen in the context of the struggle for women's political rights, if only because so many feminists were active in mixed Masonry around 1900. The discussions of women's initiation in the annual convents of the Grand Orient de France and the GLSE in the 1890s, following the renegade initiation of Maria Deraismes in Les Libres Penseurs lodge in 1882, manifested a greater awareness of women's growing, though controversial, place in associations. As Philip Nord has argued in his book *The Republican Moment*⁶, the early Third Republic represented a major turning point in the development of French civic life, a culture of collective action on

³ Renooz 1925 177-200.

⁴ Hivert-Messeca 1997; Jupeau-Réquillard 2000; Allen 2003.

⁵ Hause & Kenney 1984; Klejman & Rochefort 1989.

⁶ Nord 1995.

the part of private citizens that one associates more with Anglo-American rather than with continental European society. Nord, however, failed to note that this Republican moment included women as well as men, just as Freemasons had begun to consider initiating women as well as men. Ultimately, French Masonry in the nineteenth century, almost despite itself, became a vehicle for women's activism not just in the craft but also in the larger world of modern European civic action.⁷

Civil Society and the Women's Movement

The rise of liberal society in modern France has been regarded as something of an historical contradiction.⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, for example, remarked in his studies of democracy in Jacksonian America, the Ancien Régime and the French revolution that the tradition of strong centralized government in France, first under monarchical then under Jacobin and Napoleonic regimes, made voluntary association much more difficult if not impossible.⁹ As Jean-Jacques Rousseau might have suggested in *Le Contrat Social* (1762), the tendency of French Republican regimes to represent the General Will made virtually subversive all political parties, labour unions, and similar groups. French laws regulating, and occasionally outlawing, such association underscored the familiar adage that civil liberties in France had to be authorized before they could be enjoyed. This particular political culture significantly handicapped the growth of all civic life independent of the state—or so political scientists and historians have long argued.

⁷ Cf. Habermas 1989; Corbin et al. 1997; Offen 2000.

⁸ Rose 1954; Hoffmann 1965. The notion of a liberal society is controversial, especially in France where the Anglo-American ideals of individual rights, self-interest, procedural justice, and representative government were often at odds with the French republican tradition of individual duties and community interest represented by a strong centralized state. For the purposes of this paper, French liberalism was based on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789 guaranteeing certain fundamental liberties, such as the freedom of expression and religious belief. But liberalism also defended the right to associate freely, which the Declaration did not explicitly protect (Lefebvre 1947 169-181). This particular liberty, as well as the others stated in the Declaration, was embodied by Freemasonry and thus makes this fraternal association such an historical touchstone of liberalism in modern France and elsewhere in Europe (Jacob 1991 3-22). No doubt the freedom of association also made possible the women's movement.

⁹ Tocqueville 1954 22-137; 1969 403-404.

In the past 35 years, however, social and cultural historians, including Maurice Agulhon and William Sewell, have discovered a rich tradition of French association, defined regionally and professionally, that survived from the eighteenth century across the revolutionary divide into the nineteenth century, because such sociability was at least as much social as it was instrumental.¹⁰ As Cynthia Truant (1994) has argued, the Ancien Régime's *compagnonnages*, for instance, well known for their regulation of journeymen's lives during their grand tours of France, formed the basis of modern labour unions for both sociable and occupational purposes.

The women's movement in nineteenth-century France is a good example of this same historical development.¹¹ What began in the eighteenth century in the form of revolutionary political clubs advocating women's rights before 1792, when the Jacobins closed them as a threat to the revolution, re-emerged in 1848 when the first woman candidate for public office, Jeanne Deroin, asserted the same claims on behalf of organized women's interests. The Saint-Simonians had briefly tried to establish an alternative social organization to rehabilitate women, albeit in their own idiosyncratic ways. This activity was impossible under the Second Empire, but courageous individuals such as the feminist authors Jenny d'Héricourt and Juliette Adam responded to the moralizing exhortations of Pierre Proudhon, Jules Michelet, and Auguste Comte on women, love, and family.¹² The formation of the Third Republic in 1870 marked the origin of many groups whose membership increased exponentially with the publication of various periodicals and books on women's interests as distinct from men's. In 1897 Marguerite Durand began publishing the first daily newspaper operated entirely by women, aptly named *La Fronde* after the seventeenth-century armed rebellion against Louis XIV,

¹⁰ Agulhon 1968 165-211; Sewell 1980 162-193. Cf. Rosanvallon 2007.

¹¹ Moses 1984. The women's movement was not synonymous with feminism, even though there was considerable overlap between them. Many men and women were feminists and shared in the women's movement, while many others in the women's movement were not feminists but advocates of women's interests, such as certain Catholic organizations, which did not challenge the status quo. Again for the purposes of this chapter, the term feminism is meant to underscore the self-conscious efforts of activists who worked collectively to end the political, social, and economic subordination of women (Offen 2000, 19-26). The masonic opposition to the initiation of women was rooted, in part at least, in the assumption of this subordination, hence the need of Freemason feminists to address the matter directly.

¹² See Héricourt 1860; Adam 1861.

which capitalized on the proliferating feminist organizations at the turn of the century—a dozen major groups with more than 20,000 members by 1900.¹³ Annual congresses of feminists highlighted the plight of women's rights. Despite the troubled trajectory of modern French politics, especially in the politically stalemated Third Republic, the women's movement in France—like Freemasonry—illustrated well the nature of a liberal society and its proclivity for association. Married women were legal minors under the Napoleonic Code, of course, but they enjoyed an active associational life, albeit of a very special sort.

It should come as no surprise then that the women's movement appeared in Freemasonry, especially in France, where women enjoyed a more privileged social place in the craft than just about anywhere else in the West. As Françoise Jupeau-Réquillard has argued in her historical monograph on the GLSE, "The history of Masonry cannot be distinguished from the cultural reality" around it, which permitted French women much larger public roles.¹⁴ The development of a modern liberal society, however troubled in France, manifested itself in the masonic transition from lodges of adoption under the old regime to the largely festive occasions in the nineteenth century and then to the mixed lodges on the eve of the twentieth century. This paper will focus, however, on the latter half of this historical transition in Masonry, that is, on the shift from the social to the active roles that women played from the 1840s to World War I. The rise of mixed Masonry in France has its origins in the remarkable synergy of men and women feminists, who worked together in the name of women's interests everywhere, not just in the craft. The most notable names in this collective effort are Louis-Théodore Juge in the lodge *La Clémentine Amitié* in the 1830s and '40s, Luc-Pierre Riche-Gardon in various manifestations of *Le Temple des Familles* under the Second Empire, Maria Deraismes and Georges Martin first in the GLSE and then in *Le Droit Humain* during the Third Republic, and finally the initiates in the individual lodges such as *Le Diderot* and *La Philosophie Sociale* sponsored by these mixed masonic obediences on the eve of World War I. Madeleine Pelletier, Louise Michel (see picture 8), and Isabelle Gatti de Gamond (see picture 7) are only the best known of these partici-

¹³ Roberts 2002 49-106.

¹⁴ Jupeau-Réquillard 2000 14.

pants at the height of the women's movement in France. Their stories are well worth (re)telling in the history of French civic culture.¹⁵

Théodore Juge and 'La Clémentine Amitié'

The first effort to define the instrumental function of women in Masonry was made by Théodore Juge, an early proponent of feminist interests.¹⁶ During the July Monarchy—well before the scandal created by the indiscreet republican deist, F.T. Bègue Clavel—the venerable of the lodge La Clémentine Amitié advocated a more serious place for women in Masonry. The banquets and balls reserved for women, only after the initiations reserved for men, were perceived increasingly unworthy of the craft; and a number of subsequent commentators, such as J.S. Boubée and Jean-Marie Ragon, actually attempted to re-define these social activities by recalling the illustrious members of the nobility and the royal court who had been initiated into exclusive lodges of adoption under the Ancien Régime.¹⁷ Juge argued for a new compact with women, an equal partnership, for nothing less than what Juge called “the moral regeneration of society”.¹⁸ Of course, his sweeping vision was entirely consistent with Freemasonry's time-honoured mission to convert the uninitiated to a better way of life. The question was how to draw women into the ideals of the craft without profaning its mysteries. The solution was to create a new form of adoption, which would include girls and boys as well as women, mostly the wives of regular Masons. By engaging whole families, Freemasonry would indeed regenerate society.

Juge's La Clémentine Amitié was especially active in masonic adoption from its inception in 1805 until its temporary dissolution in 1844.

¹⁵ Scholarship on civic culture and its history is an American specialty, perhaps because it recognizes the fundamental importance of associational life in a laissez-faire state. This work is well surveyed by Robert D. Putnam (2000 15-28, 367-401). But this concern is also increasingly of interest to scholars, commentators, and public policy makers in liberal states in Western Europe, especially in response to long-term political problems posed by post-industrial capitalism and the welfare state, even though European associational life has developed significantly in the past few decades. These problems are treated, albeit idiosyncratically, by Jürgen Habermas (1989) and Mark Huijling (2002).

¹⁶ Jupeau-Réquillard 1989 1:332-333; Hivert-Messeca 1997 185-186.

¹⁷ Boubée 1854 216-234; Ragon 1860 1-14.

¹⁸ Juge 1841 358.

This activity on behalf of women was consistent with that of many lodges, particularly in the Scottish and Egyptian Rites, before 1870. There were literally dozens of such events, well documented in the lodges' own published accounts of them, in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ In keeping with a tradition since the Napoleonic Empire, their adoptive initiations had become elaborate social gatherings, despite serious distortions of masonic meaning in the rituals. Consistent with the admonishments by Juge, Ragon and Boubée, serious reform efforts ranged from restoring eighteenth-century rituals to terminating the practice altogether. La Clémentine Amitié, for example, convened a special *conseil* in 1842 to address the problem, apparently without success; no further *tenues blanches* occurred before the lodge was disbanded.²⁰ All the same, the adopted women welcomed their association with the Masons. Initiated with much fanfare in 1838, Madame Turban, age 32, wrote on the eve of her adoption, "I desire to participate, together with my husband, in the good work that Freemasons do; and the opinion that I have of Freemasonry is that it propagates enlightenment in order to re-unite the entire world in the same family".²¹ Adoptive rituals may have strayed far from strictly masonic forms, but the principles of public association that the organization represented remained very much the same for both men and women.

Luc-Pierre Riche-Gardon and 'Le Temple des Familles'

Thanks to the Bègue Clavel's agenda to politicize Freemasonry, Juge's effort was not sustained in his former lodge.²² But it was embraced and given new life by Luc-Pierre Riche-Gardon (actually known as Bénédicte Noldran), first in 'La Renaissance des Emules d'Hiram' in 1858, nominally under the aegis of the Grand Orient de France until this lodge admitted women.²³ Then two years later Riche-Gardon and his kindred spirits, influenced by utopian socialism but also various mystical tendencies, established Le Temple des Familles (see picture 4) under the aegis of no regular masonic obedience, notwithstanding the rituals, customs, and symbols clearly borrowed from

¹⁹ Hivert-Messeca 1997 181-205.

²⁰ Loge La Clémentine Amitié 1838-44, f. 68r.

²¹ Anonymous 1846 72.

²² Fesch & Deny 1976 326.

²³ Baylot 1968 220-234; Combes 1976.

the craft. In Riche-Gardon's generous vision, women were invited to participate in what came to be called *la maçonnerie blanche*, which included numerous related social, cultural, and intellectual activities. Among the figures initiated into a special lodge for women were the likes of the socialist writer Angélique Arnaud-Bassin, the moralist Marie Guerrier de Haupt, the feminist Jenny d'Héricourt, the baronne Albine Hélène la Vassal-Roger, and the wife of Charles Fauvety, better known as Maxime of the Théâtre-Français.²⁴ Musical concerts, poetry readings, and public lectures constituted the principal interest of the lodge until 1864 when it gave up all masonic pretence and became a formal gathering of anti-clerical, socialist free-thinkers. Their nominal lodge became known as Le Travail and exerted little influence on Masonry except as a model for greater female involvement.²⁵

The ideals of Le Temple des Familles were variously expressed by its leaders. Publishing a series of short-lived periodicals in the 1850s and '60s, many of them with Renaissance in their title, Riche-Gardon was naturally the most vocal. His life-long mission, it is fair to say, was less masonic or feminist than it was quasi-Comtean, that is, he wished to rationalize religious practice by the careful study of God's work in the physical, intellectual, and moral order. Riche-Gardon's commitment to the craft and to the women's movement was in effect more instrumental than it was substantive. But his followers had other things in mind. Charles Fauvety and his wife Maxime saw in masonic adoption a much more profoundly emancipatory principle. As the lodge's Grande-Maîtresse put it in February 1861:

The work of masonic initiation is above all a work of moral education. It intends to instruct, to raise women of good will in light of the reparative and purifying action that they are called to fulfill in society. It is a question of making the woman strong enough, generous enough to understand and to practice her social and human duties without neglecting her family responsibilities. It is a question of opening [her] to religious meaning, so powerful in her and so spontaneous, [to make possible] an elevation unknown until now, an elevation so much more fertile [because] it will be at once directed and contained by science and reason.²⁶

For both Charles and Maxime Fauvety, the masonic adoption of women, which Ragon had forcefully defended just a year earlier, was

²⁴ Hivert-Messeca 1997 216-218.

²⁵ Cf. Desmed 1977.

²⁶ Quoted in Fauvety 1861 590.

a powerful associational means for liberating women from the constraints imposed by the circumscribed world of established secular and religious institutions, including the Roman Catholic Church. Masonry, feminism, and rational religion were thus not at all antithetical. For this reason, the leaders of Riche-Gardon's *maçonnerie blanche* worked hard, though ultimately unsuccessfully, to be recognized officially by the Grand Orient de France.²⁷

Maria Deraismes and 'Le Droit Humain'

A much better known incident in the development of mixed Masonry was the attempted initiation of Maria Deraismes (see picture 5) by 'Les Libres Penseurs' of Le Pecq in 1882.²⁸ Discussion of the formal introduction of women into the mysteries had clearly preceded this rebellious gesture of a lodge in the GLSE. Beginning in 1866, Léon Richer organized a series of conferences open to women at the Grand Orient de France's headquarters every Sunday, which Deraismes attended and which led her to join Richer in organizing the Society for the Amelioration of Women in 1870. Despite the studied opposition of the Grand Orient to women initiates, Deraismes remained interested in Masonry, in no small part thanks to Richer who arranged for the first international congress of feminists, again at the headquarters of the Grand Orient in 1878. She approached the Grand Orient's La Clémentine Amitié, but was rebuffed. A few sympathetic brothers in the GLSE's 'Les Libres Penseurs', however, persuaded the lodge to initiate her, even though they knew that the obedience would not recognize the initiation. As a consequence, the lodge withdrew from the GLSE, initiated Deraismes, and then re-applied to regularize its action. In the face of the widespread publicity—a detailed account of the initiation and Deraismes's incendiary remarks during the banquet celebration was published soon afterward—the GLSE was adamant and forced the lodge to delete Deraismes from its membership rolls before it would re-recognize the lodge. For twelve years, Deraismes was a Mason without a lodge. Undeterred, she put the best face on the set-back: "A prejudice was overcome", she wrote of the effort before she went back to her feminist writing and organizing.²⁹

²⁷ Loge Le Temple des Familles 1860-65.

²⁸ Grosjean 1988 1:55-64; Hivert-Messeca 2000 221-253.

²⁹ Deraismes 1895 282.

Deraismes's closest ally in Masonry soon became Georges Martin (see picture 6), who tried several times unsuccessfully to persuade lodges to admit her to their working of degrees.³⁰ Deraismes and Martin thus decided to establish a masonic obedience dedicated to mixed Masonry, beginning with discreet meetings at Deraismes's Paris home in 1891. Within two years, in 1893, just one year before Deraismes's untimely death, this resulted in the creation of the GLSE *Le Droit Humain*, the immediate forerunner to the independent, international, mixed masonic order known today. The history of this obedience is too familiar to warrant any further discussion here, but it is important to note just how many of the women originally affiliated with *Le Droit Humain* were, like Maria Deraismes, exceptionally prominent in the French women's movement at the turn of the century: Anna Féresse-Deraismes (Maria's activist sister), Clémence Royer (the feminist philosopher, see picture 10), Marie Bequet de Vienne (the philanthropic founder of refuges for unwed mothers), Eliska Vincent (the founder of the feminist Equality for Women), and Marie Bonneviel (leader of the French League for the Rights of Women and later Grande Maîtresse of *Le Droit Humain* from 1914 until her death in an automobile accident in 1918, see picture 11).³¹ The feminist credentials of *Le Droit Humain* are impeccable.³²

For the next twenty years *Le Droit Humain* and the renegade lodges of the GLSE enjoyed an intense rivalry to initiate many of the same activists.³³ When the GLSE and the *Suprême Conseil de France* merged in 1894 to become the *Grande Loge de France*, the lodge *Le*

³⁰ Grosjean 1988.

³¹ Hivert-Messeca 1997 286-287.

³² Jupeau-Réquillard (2000, 159-162) makes a careful distinction between *Le Droit Humain*'s moderate feminism and the GLSE II's more radical brand. The difference is apparent from the adherents of the two obediences. But the degrees of feminism here are clouded somewhat by the overlapping and changing memberships of the feminists themselves. As Renooz's example suggests, the obedience was often less important than the immediate community of like-minded individuals in the lodges; she was active in the GLSE II's *La Raison Triomphale* in 1903 and then considered initiation in the *Grande Loge de France*'s *La Nouvelle Jérusalem Adoption* in 1907, a lodge not at all well known for its feminist activism. Consequently, I would not exaggerate the oppositional feminisms represented by the GLSE II and *Le Droit Humain*.

³³ The various formulations of the GLSE, the GLSE *Maintenue*, the GLSE *Mixte et Maintenu* (GLSE II), the GLSE *Le Droit Humain*, and *Le Droit Humain* from 1897 to 1911 are accurately treated in detail by Hivert-Messeca (1997, 255-299). To trace their particular histories here would distract from the principal point of mixed Masonry's active welcome of feminists in the period.

Diderot took the lead to continue the more liberal traditions of the GLSE. In 1897 this lodge broke from the Grande Loge and was soon joined by six others by 1901. This movement provided the impetus for the constitution of the GLSE Maintenu et Mixte, which gave lodges the choice to initiate women. La Philosophie Sociale was happy to comply, initiating the likes of feminist activist Madeleine Pelletier and the former Communard Louise Michel. But internal divisions remained, not least of which was the challenge of Pelletier herself, who in a series of articles published in *L'Acacia* criticized her lodge for not going far enough in its support of women's rights; her fellow Masons were unmoved. So it did not take long for her to leave with the blessing of her lodge.³⁴ By 1909, Le Diderot was the only lodge left in the GLSE II, and it joined the Grande Loge de France two years later. Although the GLSE II lasted only 14 years, it provided an important base for the women's movement. It was ultra-democratic in its operations, very liberal in its attitudes towards personal morality, neo-Malthusian and libertarian in its social politics, and of course, almost exclusively Parisian in its support of feminist causes. Among its members were Nelly Roussel (the feminist activist), Isabelle Gatti de Gamond (the feminist journalist), Caroline Kaufmann (the feminist activist), Vera Starkoff (the translator of Pushkin), and Céline Renooz (the utopian feminist whose initiation was mentioned at the beginning of this paper). By comparison, Le Droit Humain appeared truly staid in its commitment to mixed feminist action, even though it welcomed many of the same Masons into its lodges.

In contrast to the development of mixed Masonry was the Grande Loge de France's resurrection of the Ancien Régime's lodges of adoption.³⁵ This rich tradition remained an alternative model to the social festivities for women throughout the nineteenth century. After Ragon and Boubée's efforts to re-create these lodges failed in 1870, interest focused instead on full initiation into the craft, which occurred in the GLSE II and Le Droit Humain. But when the Grande Loge de France was founded in 1894, the brethren eventually decided that the best way to deal with women's challenge to Masonry was adoption (see picture 9). The first such new lodge, Le Libre Examen Adoption, had a perilous two-year trial beginning in 1901, but a more successful effort, La Nouvelle Jérusalem Adoption, founded in 1907, was recognized by the Grande Loge de France. This form of mixed Masonry

³⁴ Gordon 1990 41-44.

³⁵ Hivert-Messeca 1997 329-345.

had its ardent advocates, such as Albert Lantoiné, who later wrote an admiring history of the movement in *Hiram couronné d'épines* (1926). But the support for this endeavour was not sustained, and in 1937 the Grande Loge discontinued sponsoring adoptive lodges. This phase of the movement did not survive the outbreak of World War II. And its adherents were never particularly well known for their feminist activities in the same way that the adherents of the GLSE II and Le Droit Humain were.

Conclusion

The rituals of the GLSE II and Le Droit Humain suggest why so many feminists were attracted to mixed Masonry. Unlike the rituals used in the Grande Loge de France's lodges of adoption, the signs, gestures, handshakes, passwords, and initiations were precisely the same for both men and women in these mixed obediences. Georges Martin decided very early that initiations had to be in accord with the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite consecrated by the Convent Universel des Suprêmes Conseils in Lausanne (1875), not just because some lodges in the GSLE had been willing to accept women into the craft, but also because the Scottish Rite's tradition of ritualistic innovation in adoption and various side degrees made its initiations particularly appropriate to a more inclusive Masonry. Its universality was widely acclaimed. As Martin wrote in Le Droit Humain's Constitution (1903), "Freemasonry has an organization which is proper to it, a Constitution and General Regulations which the Brothers and Sisters obey, because they command in the forms accepted by them as of the highest as well as the most humble law", that of the solidarity of humankind.³⁶ Martin was seconded by his wife, Marie Georges Martin, who confirmed that these rites were written in "an essentially secular and philosophical spirit" to offend no known cultural or religious tradition.³⁷ From its inception then mixed Masonry as an organization and as an ideal represented the integration of all people, men and women alike, everywhere.

There were, to be sure, more practical reasons for Masonry to interest French feminists. The most obvious was the opportunity that the lodges provided to network with like-minded individuals to advocate

³⁶ Quoted in Grosjean 1988 2:100.

³⁷ Quoted in Grosjean 1988 2:106-107.

on behalf of their favourite cause. The lodges were self-selecting; they admitted primarily kindred spirits; so it is not hard to imagine why so many activists appeared together on the same membership lists. Moreover, Masonry offered feminists a platform to speak their minds. Deraismes and Pelletier, for instance, were not alone in relishing frequent occasions to address a receptive audience in masonic meeting halls, either as part of formal initiations or as part of a program of lectures sponsored by the local lodge. Richer, Royer, Martin, Renooz, Kaufmann, and Roussel, most notably, addressed their fellow Masons. Some of them, such as Pelletier and Renooz, soon wore out their welcome and were not invited to speak again: in 1911 Renooz spoke no fewer than four times in her new, irregular lodge in the *Ordre des Chevaliers Philalèthes*.³⁸ But the masonic proclivity for talented oratory during initiations, banquets, and public meetings was well suited to masonic efforts to challenge the gendered politics of the Third Republic. According to Mildred Headings, the vast majority of the representatives in the French Chamber of Deputies were Masons, none of whom was immune to political blandishments in their lodges.³⁹

In conclusion, there is much more to mixed Masonry in France than just the names of its many feminists. The intersection of women Freemasons and the women's movement at the end of the nineteenth century is neither trivial nor accidental. In fact, the active participation of leading feminist voices in the GLSE and *Le Droit Humain* indicates that the development of a more liberal society, where voluntary association provides the foundation to a democratic, constitutional regime, was far more substantial than many observers have found. Although the French history of association—the rise of political parties, labour unions, religious organizations, professional and fraternal associations, and the like in France—was fraught with conflict, it is worth remembering that the liberal tradition remained an important feature of the Republic. Like Freemasonry and the Third Republic, French liberalism and republicanism are inextricably linked historically.⁴⁰ The accommodation of French feminists into such an established fraternal association as Masonry certainly undermines the longstanding historical assumption of an inevitable antithesis between the bourgeois liberal ideologies on the one hand and the universal republican principles on the other.

³⁸ Renooz n.d., b. 5, d. 1911 175-177, 180.

³⁹ Headings 1949 76.

⁴⁰ Headings 1949; Hulliung 2002.

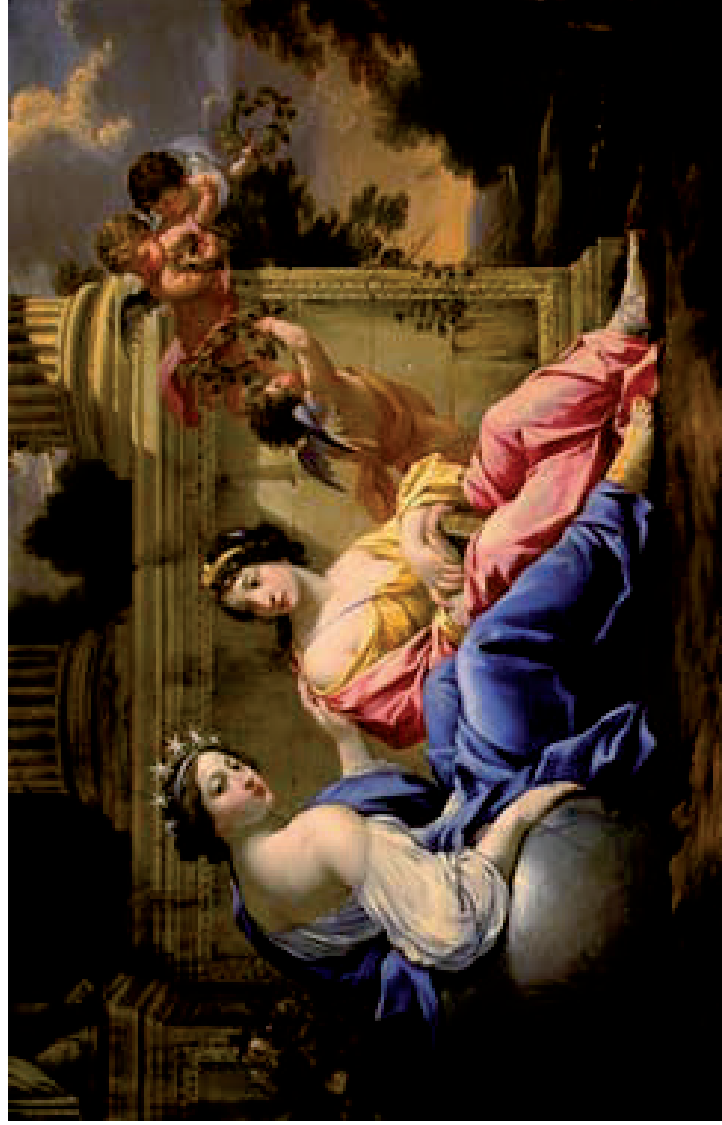
This historical phenomenon also underscores observations by many historians of Freemasonry, especially of eighteenth-century France, that the craft is a mirror image of society and culture. It is impossible to underestimate the fundamentally social quality of French association; sociability *à la française* was and remains profoundly instrumental, and French Masonry was no exception. The various roles of women in the development of Freemasonry in France speak much to the cultural adaptation of this pre-eminently English fraternal organization on French soil. No other Western country accorded women so generous a place in Masonry as did France, including the likes of Annie Besant who was initiated into mixed masonry first in Paris, before she took it back with her to London and elsewhere. Such a French exceptionalism deserves closer study in a comparative history of civic culture. There is much more to learn about the role of women in public life. It is an essential complement to the rise of modern liberal societies and not just in the otherwise curious French practice of including women in just about everything they do. The more that is known about this liberal sociability and its history, the better for both men and women everywhere and not just in France. Céline Renooz and her many fellow Freemason feminists would have approved.

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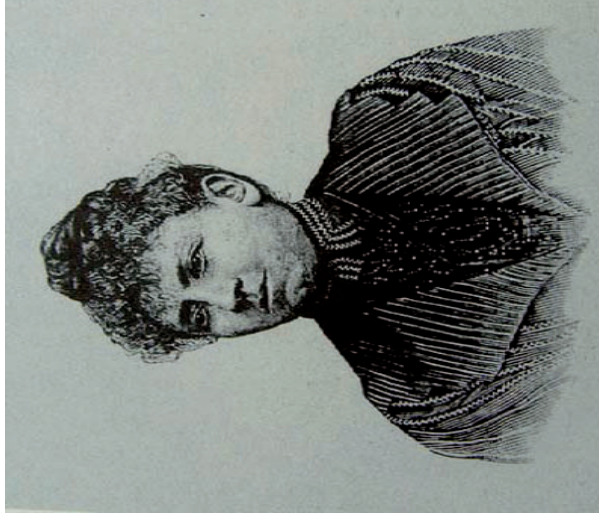
Picture 1: Simon Vouet: The Muses Urania and Calliope, c. 1634
(Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961.9.61)



Picture 2: Photo of Annie Besant, surrounded by a.o. Rajah Cophal (standing, second from left), Arundale and Leadbeater (sitting, middle row, first resp. second from left), and probably Krishnamurti (sitting, front row, first from left) in Adjar.

Picture by photo studio 'Wiele & Klein' in Madras.

(Collection of the *Völkerkundemuseum* of the *Von Portheim-Stiftung* in Heidelberg, Germany)



Picture 3: Céline Renooz (c. 1910)
Frontespiece to Henry Carnoy:
Mme C. Renooz et son œuvre, Paris: Maton 1902



Picture 4: Medallion belonging to L.P. Riche-Gardon,
from “Le Temple des Familles” (c. 1867)
(*Musée du Grand Orient*, Paris)



Picture 5: Maria Deraismes
Bronze plaque by Daniel Dupuis, 1893. (*Ordre Maçonnique Mixte International "Le Droit Humain"*, Paris)



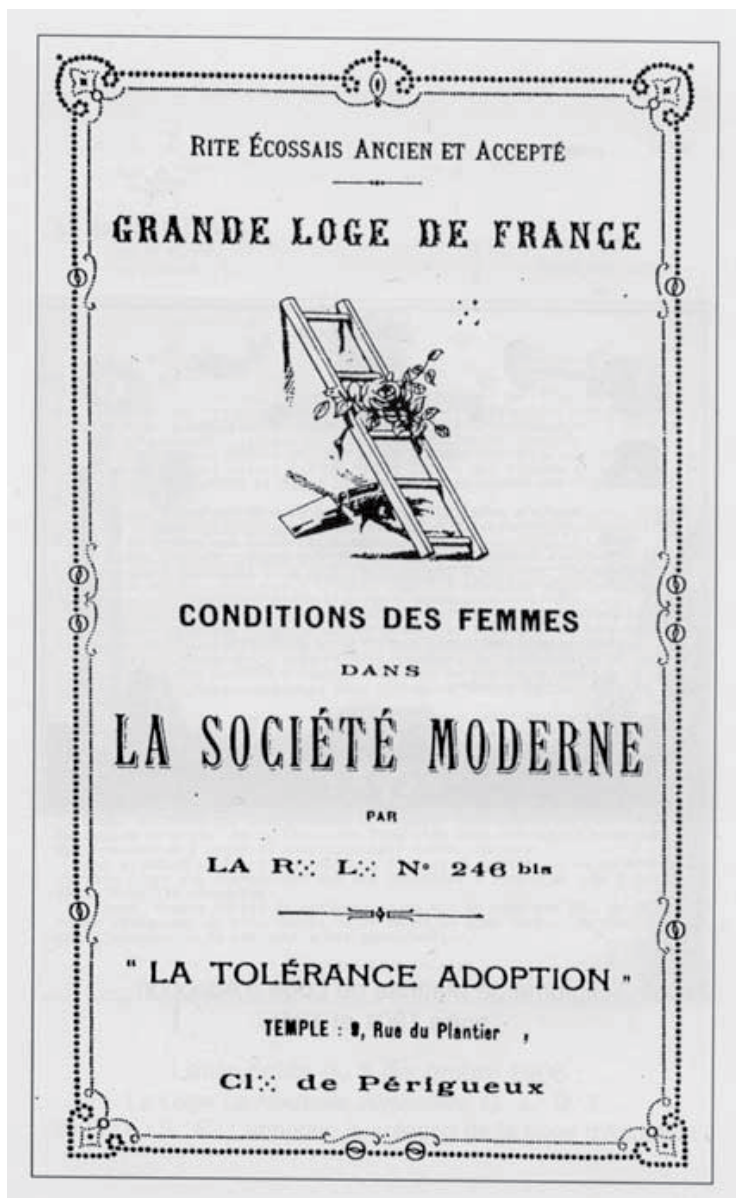
Picture 6: Georges Martin (c. 1900)
(*Ordre Maçonnique Mixte International "Le Droit Humain"*, Paris)



Picture 7: Isabelle Gatti de Gamond
 Photo G. G. G. G.
 (Collection IISG BG B1/904, Amsterdam)



Picture 8: Louise Michel (1880)



Picture 9: Frontispiece to a brochure published by the Lodge
"La Tolérance Adoption" [c. 1927]



Picture 10: Clémence Royer
(c. 1870) (Papiers Lucien Descaves,
IISG, Amsterdam)



Picture 11: Marie Bonneviel
(ca. 1917)



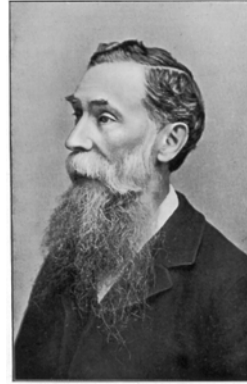
Picture 12: John Yarker
(*The Co-Mason* 5 (April 1913) 65)



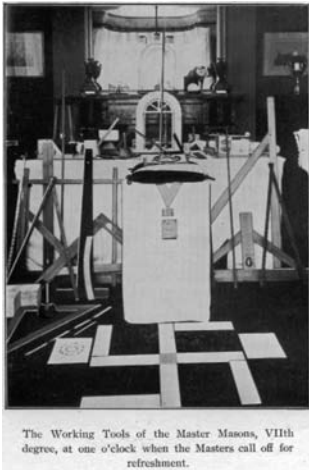
Picture 13: Miss J. Aimée Bothwell-
Gosse (*The Speculative Mason* 45.3/4
(1954/55) 50)



Picture 14: Arms of the Venerable Society of the Free Masons, Rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviours, Plaisterers and Bricklayers (*The Co-Mason* 2 (April 1910) 67)



Picture 15: William James Hughan (*The Lodge of Research* nr. 2429, *Leicester, Transactions for the Year 1910-1911*, 161)



Picture 16: The Working Tools of the Master Masons, VIIth degree (*The Co-Mason* 6 (April 1914) 64)



Picture 17: The three Grand Master Masons of Lodge nr. 91 "Leicester" in 1913. From left to right: Edward Male, Harry Smith, Clement Stretton. (*The Co-Mason* 6 (April 1914) 63)

**THE ‘WOMEN’S QUESTION’.
THE DISCUSSION, ESPECIALLY IN THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY, ABOUT OPENING MEMBERSHIP OF THE
DUTCH GRAND LODGE TO WOMEN**

ANTON VAN DE SANDE

A Controversial Issue in the Masonic Periodicals

Over the past two centuries Dutch freemasons have detached themselves from the phenomenon of having women in the lodge. They considered it a typically foreign problem. This seems rather unfair, if we consider that even in the early fifties of the eighteenth century, there existed a mixed lodge: ‘La Loge de Juste’ in The Hague.¹ Moreover, there are mentions from the 1770s of adoption lodges in Amsterdam (1771), Nijmegen (1774), ‘t Loo, Rotterdam, Leeuwarden, Alkmaar and The Hague (1778).² The library of the Dutch Order of Freemasons has a printed booklet with rituals translated from French into Dutch,³ as well as two manuscript manuals, written in Dutch,⁴ all dating back to the same period, which describe in detail the rituals of an adoption lodge. So there is no doubt that some Dutch masons must have been familiar with that phenomenon.

It is true that mixed freemasonry, using the same rituals as the male lodges, did not gain a foothold in the Netherlands before 1904, when *Le Droit Humain* opened a lodge in Amsterdam.⁵ During the whole of the nineteenth century Dutch masonry had modeled itself on the Anglo-Saxon United Grand Lodge of England, that is: it formally opposed the acceptance of women into the lodge. That does not alter the fact, however, that in the Low Countries the masons were put to the

¹ Davies 2003 66-95.

² Van Loo 1967 27; Croiset van Uchelen 1975 145-158; Van de Sande 1995 79-80; Snoek 2003 71-76.

³ *De Vry-Metselary der Vrouwen*, 1778 (GON 4.C.69 = 204.C.11), a translation of *La Maçonnerie des Femmes*, Londres 1774.

⁴ *Handboek der Vrije Metzelarinne of de Waare Metzelarij bij Adoptie* (GON 123.C.47), and *Regelen voor de Metzelarij bij Adoptie* (GON 123.C.48), both in the collections of the Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum Prins Frederik, The Hague.

⁵ The lodge ‘Cazotte’ was ‘formed’ on June 17th, 1904 (Minutes of the lodge ‘Human Duty’, archives of the British Federation of ‘Le Droit Humain’), and officially installed on June 10th, 1905, idem and Engel (ed.) 2004 27.

test heavily, when a growing number of women started to mobilize. Especially from the 1860's onwards, the 'women's question' ('vrouwenkwestie') drew quite interesting reflections from the masonic scene. The Dutch Order of Masons, the Grand Lodge as such, refrained from discussing it, but individual masons, sometimes even in connection with their lodge, did not hesitate to make a clear statement. In this survey I will take a closer look at that period.

Some years ago a young scholar did useful work by assessing how the *Maçonniek Weekblad*—the Masonic Weekly—dealt with 'the women's question'. His findings are remarkable.⁶ In what follows, I will draw from his notes, and complement that with what I have found in another Dutch masonic weekly, *L'Union Fraternelle*. The former started in January 1852 in Utrecht and was continued, from 1867 onwards, in Amsterdam;⁷ from 1887 the latter was issued in Amsterdam, but from 1899 onwards was edited by the lodge 'Sint Lodewijk' in Nijmegen.⁸ Both weeklies spread all over the country, among progressive and more conservative brethren alike. The editors and authors took into account that 'profanes' (= non-masons) could also read their output. Many times they referred to the 'esteemed fair readers', which means that they were well aware that female relatives of Freemasons read their texts. Until 1900 more than 200 articles were published concerning the 'women's question'. Most of them discussed whether or not women should be admitted to the lodge. But education, women's labour and regulation of prostitution also gave rise to a good deal of controversy. So, a first tentative conclusion may be that Dutch masons did not put their head in the sand when from the 1860's onwards the women's question arose.

Adoption Lodges and Sister Lodges

As I mentioned earlier, in the nineteenth century the Dutch Order of Freemasons adhered to the directive of the United Grand Lodge of

⁶ Moors 1995 99-136.

⁷ First editor of the *Maçonniek Weekblad* (MW) was J.G. Andriessen at Utrecht; C.L. Brinkman at Amsterdam took over in January 1867.

⁸ *L'Union Fraternelle* (UF) was an initiative of the radicals around the Amsterdam lodge 'Post Nubila Lux'; this (since 1849) 'irregular' lodge nevertheless received a Letter of Constitution of the Dutch Order in 1887. In the first volumes of *UF* there appeared several contributions by the former chairman of the lodge, Rudolph Charles d'Ablaing van Giessenburg, a declared positivist.

England in following the *Old Charges*, which forbade the initiation of women. However, in the Netherlands adoption lodges were officially not forbidden before 1813. The prohibition was issued after a range of discussions in the first decade after 1800. One of the oldest lodges, 'L'Union Royale' in The Hague, had organized two adoption lodge meetings in November and December 1806, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the lodge.⁹ Shortly before, the Batavian Republic had been changed into the Kingdom of Holland, under Louis Napoleon, a brother of the emperor. Thus the French influence in Dutch masonry was evident. Also, the *Grand Orient de France* had regular adoption lodges in 1774. Nevertheless, the Grand Officers of the Dutch Order opposed firmly the adoption meetings of 'L'Union Royale'. They emphasized that female and adoption lodges were a French phenomenon that deserved absolutely no imitation in Holland, sober as this country was or at least ought to be.

There was also a formal objection: since adoption lodges did not possess a letter of constitution, they infringed, according to the Dutch Grand Officers, the common masonic law. To share masonic secrets with women was contrary to 'honour' and 'duty'. Last but not least (and a very interesting argument indeed): were woman not deceived, when they were allowed entrance in an adoption lodge, that is, a lodge with special rituals? In that manner they were not offered 'real' masonry.

Most of the Dutch lodges agreed with the opposition of the Grand Officers against the adoption-minded brethren in The Hague, arguing that adoption lodges could degenerate into sexual abuse. Calvinistic remainders in an enlightened environment, I suppose. But there were also—and not merely a few—advocates of adoption lodges in Holland. According to them, adoption lodges stood in a long tradition and their meetings were absolutely legitimate, precisely because they were following no standard masonic practices. Such lodges were clearly not deceitful, since the women were regarded effectively as sisters and they were told that the adoption ritual was different from standard masonic rituals. So, the secrets were certainly not endangered. As their point of view went, 'sexual abuse?' – 'Ridiculous!' – 'Why should Dutch masons be seduced more easily into such abuse than brethren abroad!' Adoption lodges yielded benefits: they counteracted the prejudices so often held by women. The ladies could develop a

⁹ Birza 1984 101-111.

sublime idea of freemasonry, above any suspicion. In that way the sisters could contribute usefully to the destruction of the commonly negative opinion about freemasonry. Moreover, the women could learn many things in the lodges: the masonic charges and virtues, order and wisdom. Indeed, thanks to the adoption lodges they could become a good spouse and mother. And it would delight the true mason, to see in his wife a sister as well. Man and wife could gently associate with each other in the adoption meetings. Young brethren would learn to respect and honour women, as was laid down in the masonic rules.¹⁰

These discussions in the first decade of the 19th century make clear that at that time gender was still assumed to be based on biological sex exclusively, and thus a God-given, and therefore immutable entity since the creation of the world. Each had his particular destiny. In an idealistic view they were complementary to each other, the man in public life, his wife in the family as housekeeper, spouse and mother. Nature had equipped men with reason and leadership, women with a sense of love and humanity, and with an inclination to renunciation.

The prohibition of organizing adoption lodges issued by the Dutch Grand Lodge in 1813, found general approval throughout the nineteenth century. In the years 1860 the issue re-emerged in the newly created *Maçonniek Weekblad*, as a result of a statement by the Deputy Grand Master, Noordziek, director of the royal library in The Hague and a trusty friend of Prince Frederik, the National Grand Master. In the weekly, Noordziek had remarked that adoption lodges—at that time still in existence in France—made no sense for masonry. According to him, women could not be accepted in the lodge, since there is, or ought to be, a world of difference between their scientific and moral development and that of men.¹¹ It was the old refrain over again.

New and characteristic, however, was another observation in the same weekly, made by a teacher and man of letters, Derk Buddingh'. According to him, adoption lodges were an exotic novelty, a typical product of French gallantry. In France, according to Buddingh', the Catholic clergy stimulated feminine curiosity and tried to set the women up against freemasonry, by opposing the exclusion of women from the lodge. In this way, they were deliberately juxtaposing the

¹⁰ Moors 1995 108-109.

¹¹ Noordziek 1861 4-25; cfr *MW* 7 (1858).

inclusiveness of the Catholic church vis a vis women with the exclusion of women in masonry.¹²

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the debate in the masonic weeklies concentrated on the issue of what were now called 'sister lodges'. In a certain sense 'sister lodges' were a variation of the adoption lodges, but with a different form of access: they were in principle open only to female relatives of masons, and were organized only on specific occasions, such as jubilees. Sister lodges did not have a masonic character; they had no rituals at all. That is why the debate around this issue in the masonic weeklies focused more on their social relevance. Indeed, a majority of the authors agreed that women should be drawn into the masonic labour since they could give a new impetus to the establishment of the masonic Order in Dutch society. Sister lodges were supposed to be the appropriate way of achieving this aim. In such meetings, women could be confirmed in their equal moral rights and equal intellectual values. Indeed, they could be supported in their sublime destiny and in their struggle for self-esteem. In short, sister lodges meant: progress.¹³

Nevertheless the weeklies reiterated over and over again that a woman's place was as the centre of the family. The traditional view on the woman as spouse and mother remained intact. The only novelty was that masonry recognized that it had the task of giving support to the social role of women.

In 1887, a retired officer of the East-Indian army, Perelaer, gave a speech in a sister lodge meeting, organized by the new lodge 'Hiram Abiff' in The Hague.¹⁴ He stipulated that the time had come to recognize that everybody, man and woman, had the right to participate in the masonic labour. Of course, according to Perelaer, this development would be very slow in the Netherlands, but surely one day, real female lodges would arise alongside sister lodges. Next to the temple of brethren a temple of sisters would exist, and so the power of the black band of clergy would be shattered! Perelaer interceded for fundamental equality of rights. In the past, freemasonry had never honoured the rights of women. As by then sister lodges featured everywhere in the Netherlands, the time had come to strive in that way to-

¹² *MW* 16 (1867), 17 (1868) and 20 (1871); Moors 1995 111.

¹³ Moors 1995 112-120; articles in *MW* 6 (1857), 11 (1862), 14 (1865), 19 (1870), 25 (1876), 28 (1879), 40 (1890), 45 (1896), 46 (1897), 49 (1900); articles in *UF* 1 (1887-88), 3 (1889-1890), 6 (1892-93), 8 (1895-96).

¹⁴ Perelaer 1889 22-23; Moors 1995 117-118.

wards initiation on equal terms for men and women. The lodge could help women to obtain their rights in the household and in education as well. With his remarks Perelaer was a child of his time. Shortly before, the first female student, Aletta Jacobs, had been admitted at the University of Groningen.

Perelaer's prophecy of a very slow development in the Netherlands came true. In the last decade of the nineteenth century the masonic weeklies shelved the admission question. Apart from some Belgian speakers in the meetings of the League of Belgian and Dutch frontier lodges, only a few Dutch masons tried to remove the barrier between brethren and sisters. Since women were gaining influence in Dutch society, sister lodges no longer satisfied as an instrument for admission.¹⁵

Exclusiveness Against Social Relevance

Thus far we saw that in the years between 1860 and 1900 the masonic weeklies dealt with such questions as female rights to education and employment, the double standard of morals laid down in the Civil Law, and women's suffrage. However, a delicate problem came into play here: are lodges the proper place to look for answers to such common questions? Was Freemasonry not in the first place a spiritual movement? And, if one unlocked the door, how wide had it to be opened then? In looking for an answer, masons could differ considerably. The Dutch Order of Masons has always outlawed disputes on politics and religious issues in the lodges. The Grand Orient of Belgium, on the other hand, abolished that prohibition in 1854. This does not mean, however, that in the Netherlands the masons were less engaged in social questions than their Belgian counterparts.

For example, when in 1889 a National Congress against Prostitution was organized in Amsterdam, some masons argued in the *Maçonniek Weekblad*, and in *L'Union Fraternelle* as well, that the brethren could find a task here. According to them, active cooperation was advisable. Indeed, the congress board had asked masonry for moral and financial support. The Grand Officers of the Order thought it

¹⁵ The Belgian-Dutch League of Frontier Lodges was founded in 1895 (Moors 1995 119-120).

wiser, however, to steer clear. It would seem they feared getting their fingers burned.¹⁶

The same was the case with the National Exhibition of Women's Labour in 1898, organized on the occasion of Queen Wilhelmina's accession to the throne. Again the Dutch Order of Freemasons refused an invitation to cooperate, this to the great displeasure of some masons who openly regretted that in that case the organizing committee could only count on the personal cooperation of individual masons. If we want to use the influence of women to the benefit of the Order, they argued, then the Order has to give a clear signal to women, that we value their cooperation. According to these masons the exhibition offered a good opportunity to make contact with a part of the women's movement in Dutch society. In a lecture, held in the lodge 'De drie kolommen' at Rotterdam, one of the masons praised the initiative of the exhibition, and he emphasized the practical design of it: 'here [we find] no foolish hate against men, no denial that women are predestined to become mother and educator, no exaltation in politics and moral, no sickly sentimentality'.¹⁷

The demand for women's suffrage was positively commented upon in the masonic weeklies in the last decade of the 19th century. And now the time had come, so various authors argued, to recognize women's rights to initiation in the lodge. Every modern and right-thinking man had to accept the complete emancipation of women, outside the guardianship of men. According to these authors, the main mission of masonry was to demonstrate, by giving free access to the lodge, that difference in gender does not impede equality.¹⁸

It would go too far, however, to assume that Dutch freemasonry played a pioneering role in women's emancipation. The masons did not consider it their task to mount the barricades for women's suffrage. But most of them took it for granted that masonry had to promote the position of women in the judicial and economic fields. The main instrument for this purpose was education. Promoting good possibilities for women's education they considered the main social mission of Dutch freemasonry. In that way the exclusiveness of masonry began to decline: social relevance became more important. The women's movement served as a lever for this shift.

¹⁶ *MW* 38 (1889); *UF* 3 (1889-1890); Moors 1995 124-125.

¹⁷ Roll 1897 23-26; Moors 1995 126-127.

¹⁸ *UF* 6 (1892-93), 7 (1893-94); *MW* 48 (1899); Moors 1995 130.

A New Challenge: 'Le Droit Humain'

The question of admission of women arose suddenly in 1904, when in Amsterdam the first mixed lodge of 'Le Droit Humain' was founded. Only one year before, the general committee of the Dutch Order of Freemasons had put the question to the lodges: whether women of good conduct, with a spiritual maturity and well bred, and thus of potential benefit to masonry, had to remain excluded, only because they were women. A majority of the lodges was of the opinion that it was not advisable to exclude women only for that reason. A committee was installed to see if the Laws of the Order could be adapted in that sense.¹⁹ Unfortunately, that committee never reached a conclusion. It appears that the fear that 'London' and other Grand Lodges abroad would cease to recognize the Dutch Order, was the main obstacle. In 1920 the general committee found a way out, declaring that the basic peculiarities of women will indeed never disappear, but that objections resulting from that had to be surmounted. This could be reached only little by little, in an organic way. That was why the Dutch Order of masons had to offer an opportunity to the women to unite themselves into an appropriate organization, without men.²⁰ So, a year later, in 1921, the Union of Women of Freemasons—in Dutch: de 'Vereeniging Van Vrouwen Van Vrijmetselaren' (the five V's)—was founded. It could not satisfy everybody since it was not an initiation society. That is why, in 1936, some wives of freemasons in Deventer founded the 'Order of Demeter', which was intended to develop initiation rituals in due course. This initiative was stopped when, during the second World War, all masonic activity was forbidden in The Netherlands. In 1947 the women-only Order 'Vita Feminea Textura', also known as the Order of the Weavers (de Orde der Weefsters), was founded in Utrecht.²¹ Today they work in thirteen lodges, with 400 members. It is an alternative to masonry, with its own rituals and symbols, not masonic but undeniably influenced by masonry. In fact, the Order of Weavers was created with the assistance of some masons.

I mentioned earlier that the fear of no longer being recognized by the Grand Lodges abroad was the main obstacle to the admission of

¹⁹ Borrie 2000 96-97.

²⁰ Borrie 2000 121-123; Croiset van Uchelen 1975 155-156.

²¹ Fokker 1997.

women in the Dutch male Order. However, I think that it is reasonable to doubt that. If the lodges had firmly stuck to their opinion that women's emancipation made the admission of women into freemasonry inevitable, as they made clear in 1903, then no doubt in the long run the Order's Laws would have been adapted in that sense. The tenor of the discussions in the masonic weeklies points unmistakably in that direction. Therefore, I think that there must have been another reason why mixed masonry eventually was not an option.

It is not difficult to find out where the main problem arose. At the foundation of the mixed lodge 'Cazotte' in Amsterdam, a member of a regular lodge, Dr. W.H. Denier van der Gon, was involved. He was highly attracted by Madame Blavatsky's and Annie Besant's theosophy, and unfolded his intentions to reform all Dutch masonry in a theosophical sense in the masonic weekly *L'Union Fraternelle* from 1905 onwards.²² Thus the admission question became inextricably connected with another question: the identification of freemasonry with theosophy. For that reason, the general committee of the Dutch Order felt forced, in 1910, to formulate a clear opinion: The lodge 'Cazotte' was declared irregular and illegal and thus strictly forbidden to members of the Dutch male Order of Masons.²³

As long as the Grand East of the Netherlands adheres to the 'Basic Principles of Grand Lodge Recognition', formulated in 1929 by the United Grand Lodge of England - which explicitly forbid "Masonic intercourse of any kind with mixed lodges or bodies which admit women to membership" (Principle 4), it is unthinkable that it would allow its members' participation in a lodge of 'Le Droit Humain'. This does not mean, however, that the relations between 'Le Droit Humain' and the Dutch Order are unfriendly. The mixed lodges often hire the buildings of masculine lodges, and a number of members of the Dutch male Order, despite the fact that they have promised not to do so, visit mixed lodges now and then.

This short historical survey should, I hope, have made clear that in view of the developments within the Dutch male Order in the nineteenth century this practice is only to be expected. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was very close indeed - the Dutch male Order of Masons could have become the first of the 'old' masonic Grand Lodges in Europe to be a mixed one.

²² Essays of Dr. Willem Herman Denier van der Gon (1858-1938) in *UF* 1905-1912; Borrie 2000 89-91.

²³ Van de Sande 1995 137-138.

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**WOMEN AND THE HERMETIC ORDER
OF THE GOLDEN DAWN:
NINETEENTH CENTURY OCCULTISTIC INITIATION
FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE**

HENRIK BOGDAN

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn is perhaps the single most influential of all British 19th century occultist initiatory societies. Given the fact that the Order, in its original form, was active for just twelve years from 1888 to 1900, its legacy to later esoteric societies is remarkable. Although founded by three masons, the Order was open to men and women, and some of the latter rose to prominent positions in the Order. In this paper the Golden Dawn will be discussed from a gender perspective firstly through a brief historical introduction to the Golden Dawn. Secondly, and more importantly, the function of women in the Order will be discussed from an organisational perspective, and the roles of some of its more prominent female members, such as Mina Mathers, Florence Farr and Annie Horniman will be described. Thirdly, the idea of femininity found in the Order's teachings and rituals will be addressed. Finally, the Golden Dawn will be placed in the broader context of 'fin de siècle' esoteric spirituality in which social change was often seen as connected to individual transformation.

'Fin de Siècle' Occultism and Gender

The Golden Dawn emerged in a turbulent period of British history marked by the emergence of modernity. Late-Victorian society was characterised on the one hand by traditional religious observance and on the other hand by the positivistic ideals of scientism and materialism. The British occultism that the Golden Dawn came to epitomize can be interpreted as a reaction against these two strands of modern late-Victorian culture. However, as the American scholar Alex Owen has pointed out in *The Place of Enchantment* (2004), 'fin de siècle' occultism was not only a reaction against modernity, it was at the same time "constitutive or symptomatic of key elements of modern

culture”.¹ Perhaps the most characteristic key element of modernity to be found in occultism is its commitment to the Victorian notion of progress. Ever since the Renaissance the idea of personal spiritual progress has been a constituent component of Western Esotericism. Antoine Faivre has identified this constituent component as “The Experience of Transmutation”.² The word ‘transmutation’ is taken from alchemy and implies the alchemical process of purification leading from lead to gold; that is, from un-enlightened seeker to enlightened initiate. At the end of the 19th century, however, the idea of personal spiritual progress to be found in occultism was identified with the idea of social transformation. It is thus evident that for the members of the Golden Dawn, personal progress and the quest for enlightenment were not only a private matter, they also had social consequences. The final decade of the 19th century was seen as “a harbinger of a truly enlightened new order”.³ The social aspect of spiritual progress would later find its way into the New Age movement, one of the most dominant features of which is the belief that mankind is about to enter a new age, astrologically termed the Age of Aquarius, characterised by a higher spiritual development. This spiritual development is often considered to be connected to a monistic and/or holistic form of thought, as opposed to the supposed dualism of the previous age, the Age of Pisces.⁴

The emergence of modernity in late-Victorian society was often a difficult process, in which progressive ideas and ideals frequently clashed with traditional values and norms of Victorian society. One of these clashes concerned the emancipation of women. In Victorian times the only accepted role of a woman was as a wife and mother. Women were regarded as not only physically inferior to men, but also psychologically and intellectually lower. The ‘new’ and modern woman challenged man’s alleged superiority, and often chose to reject the role as wife and mother that was thrust upon her by society. By rejecting these roles, many women found themselves outside the acceptable norms of British society and thus had to find alternative

¹ Owen 2004 8.

² According to Faivre, Western Esotericism is a form of thought, characterised by four intrinsic constitutive components: (1) The Idea of Correspondence, (2) Living Nature, (3) Imagination and Mediations, (4) The Experience of Transmutation; and two secondary components: (5) The Practice of the Concordance, (6) Transmission. Faivre 1994 10-15.

³ Owen 2004 14.

⁴ Hanegraaff 1998 113-181.

communities in which to interact. One such alternative community or haven was the occultist milieu.

'Fin de siècle' occultism, which can be described as a secularised form of Western Esotericism, was a highly pragmatic and eclectic form of spirituality concerned with spiritual progress through self-knowledge.⁵ The members of the Golden Dawn saw spiritual progress as a process of initiation concretised by the initiatory system of the Order, as will be described later. Women played a much more dominant role in the occultist milieu than in society at large. In fact, two of the forerunners of the Golden Dawn, the *Theosophical Society*, founded in 1875, and the *Hermetic Society*, founded in 1884, were headed by charismatic women: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) and Anna Kingsford (1846-1888) respectively.

According to the official history of the Golden Dawn, William Wynn Westcott (1848-1925), a high-ranking Freemason and prominent member of the *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (S.R.I.A.), obtained some documents which were written in cipher (hence referred to as the Cipher Manuscript).⁶ Westcott identified the manuscript as being a set of pseudo-masonic rituals of a Rosicrucian provenance. He deciphered the rituals and enlisted the help of Samuel Liddell Mathers (1854-1918), who rewrote them into workable form. Among the papers was an address to a certain Fräulein Anna Sprengel in Germany (Soror Sapiens Dominabitur Astris), who was supposed to be a Rosicrucian adept and member of 'Die Goldene Dämmerung', i.e. The Golden Dawn. As pointed out to me by the editors of the present volume, if the name Anna Sprengel was invented (which seems most likely), then we would expect her name to have been chosen carefully. Not only was she supposed to be a female, she was also a 'Fräulein', which could be interpreted to mean that she was a virgin. In esoteric literature, such as *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer* (1788) the female Sophia, or Divine Wisdom, is often referred to as a Virgin, or the Virgin Sophia.⁷ Furthermore, St. Anna (Name-Saint of July 26) was the mother of Mary, thus the grandmother of Christ, which could be significant when keeping in mind that the Inner Order of the Golden

⁵ For a discussion of how occultist forms of esotericism differ from traditional, or Renaissance, esotericism, see Bogdan 2007 12-17.

⁶ The Golden Dawn Cipher Manuscript consists of 60 folios, and is written in a cipher alphabet printed in Johann Trithemius' *Polygraphiae et Universelle Escriure Cabalistique* 1561. A facsimile of the original folios, together with a translation, was published in Küntz (ed.) 1996 *The Complete Golden Dawn Cipher Manuscript*.

⁷ Allen 1974 304-305.

Dawn was a Rosicrucian Order – Christian Rosenkreutz is often interpreted as a symbol of Christ. Finally, Sprengel is not only a German name, but also a normal noun, meaning the area where a prelate or church has jurisdiction (implying at the same time where its power stops). It is used in German masonic context as ‘Sprengel-Recht’, referring to the area where a Grand Lodge is allowed to found lodges. From a masonic perspective, this could be a reference to the legitimacy of the charter upon which the Golden Dawn rested.⁸ After a brief correspondence with Sprengel, Westcott was chartered to open a Temple of the Golden Dawn, which was to be ruled by a triumvirate, consisting of Westcott, William Robert Woodman, and MacGregor Mathers.

Thus far runs the official history of the Golden Dawn. As R.A. Gilbert has demonstrated, the Cipher Manuscript was in all probability composed by a freemason and occultist named Kenneth Mackenzie (1833-1886), with the intention of improving the rituals of the *Royal Order of Sikha and the Sat B'hai*, an obscure Order founded by an Indian Army Officer, Captain James Henry Lawrence-Archer (1823-1889).⁹ Mackenzie, however, soon lost interest in this Order and instead got involved with the British branch of the *Swedenborgian Rite* under the leadership of John Yarker (1833-1913). After Mackenzie's death in 1886 the rituals found their way into Westcott's possession. The correspondence with Fräulein Anna Sprengel, through which the Golden Dawn was chartered, was a fraud concocted by Westcott. The German branch of the Golden Dawn is considered by scholars never to have existed. It is interesting to note, however, that the alleged source of authority, Anna Sprengel, from which the Golden Dawn claimed its legitimacy, was a woman. The implications of this fact should not be underestimated: by stating that a woman had chartered the Golden Dawn, Westcott challenged the Victorian view of woman as incapable of wielding authority over men. More than that, he defied the practice of only allowing men, a practice that is to be found in most of the contemporary masonic initiatory societies. At the same time, he appealed to theosophists and other occultist practitioners who already regarded women, such as Blavatsky and Kingsford, as potential spiritual leaders.

One can only speculate as to why Westcott went to such lengths to forge a story of origin for the Order, but it seems highly unlikely that

⁸ Personal communication J.A.M. Snoek 7-6-2005.

⁹ Gilbert 1996.

Westcott sought personal advantages through the formation of the Golden Dawn. Being a long-time mason and deeply familiar with esoteric literature, he was undoubtedly well-acquainted with the importance of legitimacy in transmitting esoteric teachings in general, and in the formation of initiatory societies in particular. Furthermore, legendary stories of origin were quite common in the milieu of nineteenth century British initiatory societies. For instance, the *Societas Rosicruciana In Anglia* and the *Red Cross of Constantine*, both founded by Robert Wentworth Little (1840-1878), had completely legendary stories of origin. However, legendary stories of origin are not restricted to the realm of small occultist initiatory societies, but can also be found in the more mainstream masonic orders, which is evident, for instance, in Anderson's *Constitution* published in 1723. Westcott's endeavour was to afford the Golden Dawn an apparently legitimate foundation upon which to grow, but history would prove this foundation highly unstable, as it would be the cause of a disastrous conflict only twelve years later.

Nonetheless, on the 12th of February 1888 the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was officially chartered in England to W.W. Westcott, S.L. Mathers (1854-1918), and Dr. William Robert Woodman (1828-1891), Supreme Magus of the S.R.I.A. On the 1st of March 1888 the Isis-Urania Temple was officially opened in London. Initially, male members were recruited from the S.R.I.A., but soon candidates were drawn from elsewhere, such as the ranks of the *Theosophical Society*. In less than a year some sixty members had joined the Order. Soon other temples were chartered in Britain: Osiris Temple in Weston-super-Mare, and Horus Temple in Bradford. The apparent success of this newly founded Order caused misgivings in certain circles, most notably in the *Theosophical Society* which set up an *Esoteric Section* as a countermove. Blavatsky was, however, not content with the mere formation of the *Esoteric Section*, but even ordered her members not to join any other occult Order and to give up their existing memberships. Diplomatic negotiations then followed between the two orders, which ended in their mutual acceptance of one another. Some minor dissensions within the Order followed, but as a whole, the Order continued to expand. In 1893 the important Amen-Ra Temple of Edinburgh was chartered, followed by Ahathoor Temple in 1894 in Paris, where Mathers and his wife Mina had moved in 1892.

1892 marked a new phase in the history of the Golden Dawn, as it was only from now on that the Inner Order, or *Rosae Rubrae et*

Aureae Crucis, was ritually worked. The rituals of the Inner Order were written by Mathers. Their central 'Leitmotif' was the legend of Christian Rosenkreutz, the legendary founder of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood. True to the legend of Rosenkreutz, a Vault of the Adepts, i.e. Rosenkreutz's tomb, was central to the rituals of the Inner Order. This vault was seven-sided, adorned with numerous astrological and alchemical signs, and painted in the Golden Dawn's characteristic 'flashing colours'. Incidentally, this vault has been interpreted by later occultists as a feminine symbol, symbolising the womb of 'the Goddess'. However, the Inner Order not only differed from the Outer Order in its emphasis on Rosicrucianism, but also in the important fact that its members were expected to put their theoretical magical knowledge into practice. The Adepts, as the members of the Inner Order were referred to, saw themselves as magicians in the proper sense of the word. In the heyday of the Golden Dawn, around 1896, less than 400 members had joined the ranks of the Order, of which about 60 eventually were initiated into the Inner Order—the existence of which was kept secret to members of the Outer Order.

As time went on, Mathers became the sole Chief of the Golden Dawn, as Westcott had been outmanoeuvred. However, in the latter half of the '90s, Mathers' behaviour became more and more eccentric and his autocratic rule soon caused dissension among members of the Inner Order in London. In 1900 this dissension culminated in an outright revolt against Mathers which, in essence, he had brought upon himself. On the 16th of February he had written a letter to Florence Farr, who was acting as his representative in the Inner Order in London. In his letter he cautioned her not to reveal the contents of the letter, but the charges it contained were so grave that it became the source for an investigating committee appointed by some Inner Order members. The object of the letter was apparently to justify Mathers' autocratic rule, which he tried to accomplish by denouncing any importance which Westcott might have had in the formation of the Order. What Mathers actually did was not only denounce Westcott, but also state that the Order was based on a fraud.

[Westcott] has NEVER been *at any time* either in personal, or in written communication with the Secret Chiefs of the Order, he having *either himself forged or procured to be forged* the professed correspondence between him and them, and my tongue having been tied all these years by a previous Oath of Secrecy to him, demanded by him, from me, before showing me what he had either done or caused to be done or both.

– You must comprehend from what little I say here, the *extreme gravity* of such a matter, and again I ask you, both for his sake and that of the Order, not to force me to go farther into the subject.¹⁰

The investigating committee, led by William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), confronted Westcott with these allegations. Westcott made a poor defence for himself, stating that all his witnesses were dead. Mathers tried to disband the committee since he, as Chief of the Order, had not consented to its formation in the first place. His demands were ignored and the London Adepts further declared themselves independent of his rule. In a desperate attempt to resume power Mathers sent Aleister Crowley (1875-1947) as his envoy to London, but Crowley only managed to deepen the conflict even more, if indeed that was possible.

Thus ends the saga of the Golden Dawn, but various factions of the Order continued its rituals in more or less adapted forms. Today there are a number of organisations that claim to represent the ‘genuine’ Golden Dawn, but as to the validity of their claims, a scholarly investigation is yet to be made.

Women in the Organisation of the Golden Dawn

The initiatory system of the Golden Dawn is based on the kabbalistic Tree of Life.¹¹ Each degree is attributed to a particular *sefira*, starting with the degree of Zelator which is attributed to *Malkuth*, and ending with Ipsissimus which in its turn is attributed to *Kether*. The degree of Neophyte is a preliminary degree and is considered to take place below *Malkuth*. The candidate thus symbolically ascends the Tree of Life through the rituals of initiation. At the initiations, he or she is instructed in the particular symbolism of the *sefira* that the degree is attributed to, as well as in the symbolism of the paths leading to the said *sefira*. Thus the Temple is rearranged in each degree in order to

¹⁰ Mathers to Farr, February 16, 1900; quoted in Gilbert 1997 51.

¹¹ The rituals of the Golden Dawn have been published a number of times: By Aleister Crowley in an abbreviated form, in “The Temple of Solomon the King” (1909, 1910); by Israel Regardie in *The Golden Dawn* (1937-1940), but these rituals are actually those of a Golden Dawn offshoot, Stella Matutina; by R.G. Torrens in *The Secret Rituals of the Golden Dawn* (1972); and again by Israel Regardie in *The Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic* (1984), which contains rituals from ca. 1894-1896.

adequately reflect the *sefira* being worked. The temple is, to a large extent, nothing but a symbolic representation of a particular *sefira*. It is important to note that men and women underwent the same rituals, and also that there were no offices that were restricted to either sex.¹²

What role, then, did women play in the Golden Dawn? The importance of female members of the Order, referred to as Sorores or Sisters, was made apparent by Westcott in the so-called Historical Lecture that the members were given after their admission into the Order:

I wish indeed to call special attention to the fact that in several instances in the ancient M.S.S. of our Order, which are written in cipher – where reference is made to the fratres and sorores, the words ‘her or him’ occur, thus clearly showing that in olden time, as at the present day, women rose to high rank and attainments in the secret knowledge of the Order. History is by no means silent in respect of the success of women in occult researches; mention may be made of Pernelle, the wife and fellow worker of Nicholas Flamel, of Martine Bethereau, companion to the Baron Jean de Chatelet, who died about 1645, and of the widow lady (afterwards symbolised by him as Sophia – heavenly Wisdom), fellow student and inspirer of Johann Georg Gichtel who died in 1700 famous as a mystic Theosophist.¹³

Although the Golden Dawn was founded by men, women appear to have had the opportunity to progress through the degrees on an equal level with the male members and to be able to assume administrative offices in the various Temples that were established. Each Temple of the Golden Dawn was ruled by three Chiefs: the Emperor, the Praemonstrator, and the Cancellarius. In their feminine form, these three offices were called Imperatrix, Praemonstratrix, and Cancellaria. The Emperor was the *de facto* ruler of the Temple, and he saw to it that the commands of the Inner or Second Order were carried out in the Temple. The Praemonstrator was to instruct, superintend the work, and to implement any instructions issued from the Second Order concerning the rituals. Finally, the Cancellarius was the Recorder, who also acted as the representative of the executive authority of the Chiefs of the Order. In the Paris Ahathoor Temple, for instance, Mina Bergson, the sister of the French philosopher Henri Bergson and the wife of Mathers, became the Praemonstratrix in 1893, and another woman,

¹² For a discussion of the initiatory system of the Golden Dawn, and an analysis of the Neophyte degree, see Bogdan 2007 121-144.

¹³ Westcott, “Historical Lecture” in: King 1970 216.

Annie Horniman, acted as the Sub-Praemonstratrix for a period in the London Isis-Urania Temple.

We also find that female members were active in writing official instructions for the members. These secret texts were called Flying Rolls, and they consisted of manuscripts which the members could borrow and copy by hand. Of the 36 Flying Rolls, nine were either written by women, or included parts and comments written by female members.¹⁴ The bulk of the remaining Flying Rolls were written either by Westcott or Mathers.

Women were also encouraged to act as officers in the rites of initiation that were central to the activities of the Order. The officers of a Golden Dawn Temple corresponded with the seven officers in a masonic Craft Lodge, and these were given both masculine and feminine names:¹⁵

Golden Dawn officers: Masculine version	Golden Dawn officers: Feminine version	Masonic parallels
Hierophant	Hierophantia	Worshipful Master
Hiereus	Hiereia	Senior Warden
Hegemon	Hegemone	Junior Warden
Kerux	Kerukaina	Inner Guard
Stolistes	Stolistria	Senior Deacon
Dadouchos	Dadouché	Junior Deacon
Sentinel	Sentinel	Tyler

From 1888 to the schism in 1900 almost 400 members had joined the Golden Dawn through one of the five Temples.¹⁶ Isis-Urania in London had 229 members, of which 133 were men and 96 women; Osiris

¹⁴ Flying Rolls: No. II, Part III, "Three Suggestions on Will Power"; No. IV, "Example of Mode of Attaining to Spirit Vision"; No. XIII, "Secrecy and Hermetic Love"; No. XVIII, "On Progress in the Order"; No. XXI, "Know Thyself"; No. XXIII, "Examples of Tattwa Visions"; No. XXXI, "Correspondence between the Enochian and Ethiopic Alphabets"; No. XXXIII, "Visions of Squares upon the Enochian Tablets"; No. XXXVI, "On Skrying and Travelling in the Spirit-Vision".

¹⁵ Gilbert 1986 80-82.

¹⁶ A list of all the members of the Golden Dawn is published in Gilbert 1986 124-175. The list comprises members of all Temples that were initiated 1888 to 1897. From September 1897 onwards, only the names of the members who were initiated into Isis-Urania have been preserved. The number of male and female members of Isis-Urania above includes members recorded up until 17 December 1900.

Temple in Weston-super-Mare had a total of only 12 members, of which all were men; Horus Temple in Bradford had 55 members, consisting of 40 men and 15 women; Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh had 54 members of whom 29 were men and 25 women; and finally, Ahathoor Temple in Paris had 26 members, consisting of 11 men and 15 women. The total number of members was thus 376, of which 225 were men and 151 women. Women therefore represented more than a third of the members. Judging from the records that have survived, however, it appears that female members as a whole were more active than their brothers, and that they tended to progress higher up in the Order. This can be deduced from the fact that out of about 60 members that joined the Inner or Second Order, about half were women. As Gilbert has observed, the majority of the members of the Order belonged to the middle class, and most of the women were drawn from the Theosophical Society.¹⁷ With a few exceptions, most of the women (as well as the men) were not prominent members of British society. One such exception is Mrs. Constance Mary Wilde, the wife of Oscar Wilde, who joined the Isis-Urania Temple in London in 1888 and chose the motto 'Qui patitur vincit': 'He who suffers conquers'. It is interesting to note that only a minority of the women were married to other members of the Order, a fact that easily might have been the source of misgivings in the late-Victorian society. However, it appears that sexual promiscuity was not a problem within the Order, and apart from a very few mild 'scandals' of a sexual nature (for instance, at one point a certain Dr. Berridge tried to kiss Mrs. Rand after instructing her in astrology),¹⁸ sources of conflict were instead either of a more occult nature, or—of course—pertaining to finances and authority.

The first female member to join the Golden Dawn in 1888 was the 23 year old Mina Bergson (1865-1928), who two years later came to marry Mathers. Each member of the Golden Dawn had to choose a magical motto, and in Mina's case she chose Soror 'Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum': 'I leave no traces behind'. Mina had been educated at the Slade School of Fine Art in London, where she met Annie Horniman. Together these two women would become key players in the history of the Golden Dawn. After Mina married Mathers, Annie supported them in their home in central London. This arrangement continued after the couple moved to Paris in 1893 and started the Ahathoor Temple. Mina was appointed Praemonstratrix of Ahathoor Temple,

¹⁷ Gilbert 1986 124.

¹⁸ Gilbert 1997 132.

which meant that she superintended the performance of the rituals of initiation. She also set out to paint the Temple furniture, of which the so-called Vault of the Adepts was the most demanding task. This Vault symbolised the tomb of Christian Rosencreutz, the legendary founder of the Rosicrucian Fraternity and it played a central role in the Adeptus Minor initiation of the Second Order:

The Vault itself was seven-sided and roofed over; it measured some twelve feet across, with the panels measuring eight feet by five feet. Each panel was divided into forty squares, each bearing a different symbol and painted in appropriate colours. Within the Vault was the elaborately painted pastos (or coffin) of Christian Rosencreutz, surmounted by a movable circular altar bearing upon it the Hebrew letter Shin, surrounded by symbols of the Cherubim of Ezekiel.¹⁹

Mina wrote no less than four Flying Rolls, entitled “Know Thyself”, “Examples of Tattwa Visions”; “Correspondence between the Enochian and Ethiopic Alphabets”, and “On Skrying and Travelling in the Spirit-Vision”. These instructional papers reveal that Mina was not only a competent theoretical occultist but also that she had put her theoretical knowledge to practical use. In one of these texts she states at the outset that self-knowledge is required in order to progress spiritually:

Perfect knowledge of Self is required in order to attain Knowledge of Divinity, for when you can know the God of yourself it will be possible to obtain a dim vision of the God of All, for *the God of the Macrocosm only reflects Himself to Man through the God of Man’s Microcosm*.²⁰

This quote summarises in essence the purpose of the initiatory system of the Golden Dawn: through self-knowledge the initiate seeks knowledge of the divine aspect of the self (often called the Holy Guardian Angel), and thus aims for unity with the Godhead. After the schism in 1900, Mina remained loyal to her husband and she even founded one of the factions of the Golden Dawn, the *Alpha et Omega Temple* in London, after her husband’s death in 1918. She continued to operate this lodge until her death in 1928.

Annie Horniman (1860-1937), who was Mina’s friend and financial benefactor for a number of years, joined the Golden Dawn at the

¹⁹ Gilbert 1986 100.

²⁰ Soror V.N.R., “Flying Roll No. XXI: Know Thyself” in: King 1972 137.

age of 30, and she became known by her motto Soror 'Fortiter et Recte': 'With Fortitude and Rectitude' (Bravely and Justly). Annie made swift progress through the degrees and quickly became one of the leading personalities of the London Temple. She took an active part as officer in the rituals and went through all of them, eventually becoming Sub-Praemonstratrix of Isis-Urania. She also wrote one of the Flying Rolls, entitled "Progress in the Order". The text is written for newcomers to the Order, and it describes some of the obstacles that they might encounter in their path and that they need to overcome in order to make any real spiritual progress.

Not one of us has any time to lose; youth and strength do not last us very long, and the present opportunities may never arise again. Work done to please or gain approbation from another is not what we want, but that real enthusiasm which overcomes difficulties and grows the stronger because of them.²¹

Annie's personal enthusiasm for work in the Order appears to have been especially strong for the performance of the rituals; something which probably stemmed from her enthusiasm for the theatre. She would later found the Abbey Theatre in Dublin and the Gaiety Theatre in Manchester. Annie shared her interest in the Golden Dawn and the theatre with the most interesting of the female Golden Dawn members (in my opinion): Florence Farr, known in the Golden Dawn as Soror 'Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data': 'Wisdom is given as a gift to the Wise'.

Florence Farr (1860-1917) embodied 'the new woman' of modernity. At the age of 21 Florence set out on a career as a professional actress, a profession which in Victorian times was usually considered not very different from prostitution. Although Florence married in 1884, she quickly came to dislike the role of a wife and she refused to carry out the tasks that were expected of her, such as cooking and cleaning the house. Four years later, in 1888, her husband left for America, which enabled Florence to regain her freedom and resume her acting career. The couple was not formally divorced until 1894, but this did not prevent Florence from seeing other men, her most famous affair being with the celebrated playwright George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950). It was also during this period, in 1890, that she joined the Golden Dawn. Her progress was rapid, and in little more

²¹ Soror F.e.R., "Flying Roll No. XVIII: Progress in the Order" in: King 1972 98-99.

than a year she entered the Inner or Second Order and was appointed Sub-Cancellaria of Isis-Urania. After Dr. Woodman's death in 1892, she became the Cancellaria, which meant that she served as the recorder and represented the authority of the Chiefs of the Order. One year later, when Westcott resigned, Florence became the Praemonstratrix of Isis-Urania, an office that she held for seven years; that is, until the schism in 1900. This meant that two women with a love for the theatre, Florence and Annie, were in charge of the performance of the rituals of the London Temple, the largest and most important Temple of the Golden Dawn. After the Isis-Urania Temple rebelled against Mathers and deposed him in 1900, Florence became the 'Chief Adept in Anglia' for two years, after which she left the Golden Dawn.

During her period as Praemonstratrix of Isis-Urania, Florence created a separate group that became known as the Sphere Group. The object of this group "was 'the transmutation of evil into good' by way of a complex process of visualisation involving astral travelling through an expanding sequence of spheres".²² The group was heavily criticised as an elitist Inner Order, and it was argued that the constitution of the Order did not approve of such inner orders. Chief among the opponents of the group were Annie Horniman and the poet William Butler Yeats. Annie's criticism of Florence's Sphere Group caused a rift between the two friends. Like Mina, Florence was also involved in writing a number of Flying Rolls. In what is perhaps the most important one of these instructional texts, entitled "Secrecy and Hermetic Love", Florence spelled out the necessity of keeping the Great Work secret. However, in this text she also revealed her belief that the adept should be independent, and that he or she should not accept other peoples' opinions as the truth without checking their validity.

Free yourselves from your environments. Believe nothing without weighing and considering it for yourselves; what is true for one of us, may be utterly false for another. The God who will judge you at the day of reckoning is the God who is within you now; the man or woman who would lead you this way or that, will not be there then to take the responsibility off your shoulders.²³

²² Gilbert 1997 144.

²³ Soror S.S.D.D., "Flying Roll No. XIII: Secrecy and Hermetic Love" in: King 1972 150.

The Role of Gender in the Teachings of the Golden Dawn

Turning to the esoteric teachings of the Order, we find that there is a firm belief that the feminine aspect of the Godhead is just as important as the male aspect. The notion of the Godhead within the Golden Dawn thus differed from the male-centred traditional Christianity of Western culture. In an attempt to accentuate and celebrate the female aspect of the Divine, Mathers and Mina staged the so-called Rites of Isis in Paris for the public. In these rites, Isis was regarded as a symbol of the universal feminine principle which should be in balance with the male principle. To a certain extent, the relationship between the male and female principles of the Divine to be found in the Golden Dawn can be compared with the two principles to be found in Hindu and Buddhist tantra; that is *shiva* as the male aspect, and *shakti* as the feminine. These two principles do not imply a strict dualistic world-view, but rather a form of monism since the one aspect cannot exist without the other. For the members of the Golden Dawn, who based their metaphysical understanding of the universe and themselves on the kabbalistic Tree of Life, the male and female principle should be in total balance. In an attempt to explain the purpose of the Rites of Isis, Mina said:

When a religion symbolises the universe by a Divine Being, is it not illogical to omit woman, who is the principal half of it, since she is the principal creator of the other half – that is, man? How can we hope that the world will become purer and less material when one excludes from the Divine, which is the highest ideal, that part of its nature which represents at one and the same time the faculty of receiving and that of giving – that is to say, love itself in its highest form – love the symbol of universal sympathy? That is where the magical power of woman is found. She finds here force in her alliance with the sympathetic energies of Nature.²⁴

It is thus clear that it was not only the idea of the feminine aspect of the Divine that was emphasised in the rites, but also that woman, in her human form, had a special role in the magical work. To Mina, the woman appears to be especially suited to be a magician due to her natural sensibility:

²⁴ Quoted in Gilbert 1997 121-122.

Have you ever realised that there does not exist a single flame without a special intelligence which animates it, or a single grain of sand to which an idea is not attached, the idea which formed it? It is these intelligent ideas which are the elementals, or spirits of Nature. Woman is the magician born of Nature by reason of her great natural sensibility, and of her instructive sympathy with such subtle energies as these intelligent inhabitants of the air, the earth, fire and water.²⁵

In contrast to society at large, the Order did not see women as inferior to men but rather as equals. This did not mean, however, that women and men were the same, but rather that they were considered to complement each other through their respective qualities. Gérard Encausse (1865-1916), who had been initiated into the Golden Dawn in the Paris Ahathoor Temple in 1895, wrote under the pseudonym of Papus concerning the feminine principle:

The occultist regards the feminine as the necessary complement of every active principle. Thus, woman is neither superior nor inferior to man, she is complementary, both psychologically and anatomically. Woman is the materialization, in humanity, of the universal plastic faculty, symbolized by the dove. She develops and perfects the forms created by man: for this reason she ought to insist on the development of his intellectual faculties.²⁶

In the teachings of the Golden Dawn we encounter the notion of a so-called 'astral body'. The idea of an astral body is not unique to the Golden Dawn; it can be found in a number of esoteric currents, under various names such as 'subtle body' or 'body of light', and there exist a number of interpretations of what this body actually is. The basic idea, however, is that the esotericist can visit the so-called astral plane, often understood as a higher dimension of reality. It is primarily through the imaginative faculty that the astral plane is thought to be reachable. The astral body is often regarded as tightly connected to the physical body, but it is supposed that it can be trained to be separated from it. Furthermore, the astral body is often seen as the link between the physical body and the soul, and it is also common to find the idea that the astral body is immortal whereas the physical is mor-

²⁵ Quoted in Gilbert 1997 122.

²⁶ Papus 1913 19.

tal.²⁷ This idea is found in the Golden Dawn, as a result of influences of theosophical ideas about reincarnation.

Travelling in the astral world was a central feature of the work to be carried out by the members of the Inner or Second Order of the Golden Dawn. In the Golden Dawn, this practice was often referred to as 'astral projection' and, very roughly, the technique taught to the members consisted of imagining a symbol such as an astrological sign or a symbol of one of the four elements, and then projecting this sign onto an imaginary door or a veil. The practitioner then imagines him- or herself as entering the door, or passing the veil, and proceeding beyond it into the astral plane. The esotericist often regards sexual dimorphism to be limited to the physical body, whereas the astral body is seen as androgynous. This does not, however, mean that the astral body is sexless. One of Mina's female students, Dion Fortune,²⁸ who founded *The Fraternity of the Inner Light* in 1927 which is active to this day, wrote in *The Esoteric Philosophy of Love and Marriage*:

It was said by One who knew that in the Kingdom of Heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage; this is erroneously supposed to mean that the spiritual man is sexless. Esoteric science, however, conceives him not to be sexless, but on the contrary, bi-sexual, and therefore complete in himself. The individuality is two-sided, positive and negative, has a kinetic aspect and a static aspect, and is therefore male-female or female-male, according to the relation of 'force' to 'form' in its make-up. The personality, however, is one-sided, and therefore has a defined sex. The individuality may be thought of as a magnet, having a positive and a negative pole, one of which at a time is inserted in dense matter, and the nature of the pole inserted determines the sex of the body that is built up around it.²⁹

The idea that the individuality is two-sided, consisting of a female-male polarity, was probably present in certain forms of alchemical theory from the Renaissance onwards, in which the alchemical goal was often symbolised by an androgynous figure. The initiatory sys-

²⁷ Gibbons 2001 56-65.

²⁸ After accusing Dion Fortune of revealing the secret teachings of the Order in two of her books, Mina Mathers expelled her from the Alpha et Omega (the continuation of the Golden Dawn under the leadership of Mathers). For an account of Dion Fortune's involvement in various Golden Dawn offshoots, see Richardson 1987 107-131; Gilbert 1983 77-78.

²⁹ Fortune 1967 34.

tem of the Golden Dawn took the initiates through the various spheres or *sefirot* of the Tree of Life and thus, symbolically, through each aspect of the human being. The often stated object of the Great Work of the Golden Dawn was to reach a total equilibrium, or balance, between the various parts which constitute the human being. It can be argued that, according to the teachings of the Golden Dawn, one of the central balances strived for was the male-female polarity found in each person. According to Israel Regardie, who had been initiated into the *Stella Matutina* in 1934, the left side of the Tree of Life is attributed to the feminine principle, and the right side to the masculine, whereas the *sefirot* in the middle pillar are neutral:

All the Sephiros, as these emanations are called, below that named the Crown are given masculine and feminine attributions, and the activity between male and female Sephiros in reconciliation is a 'child,' so to speak; a neutral Sephirah acting in equilibrium. Thus the Tree of Life, comprising these ten emanations, develops from the highest abstraction to the most concrete material in several triads of potencies and spiritual forces. Male, female and child; positive, negative and their resultant commingling in a third reconciling factor.³⁰

Conclusion

In conclusion, a few words about of the role of women in the Golden Dawn should be said in connection with 'fin de siècle' esoteric spirituality. As mentioned at the outset of this paper, occultist spirituality at the end of the 19th century offered women an alternative social context in which they were not as restricted as in male-dominated society at large. On the contrary, within the Temples of the Golden Dawn women entered a community in which they could, at least in theory, act on the same level as their brothers. Furthermore, the personal transformation or enlightenment aimed at through the rituals and teachings of the Order were considered to have wider societal implications. The adepts of the Golden Dawn considered themselves as forerunners of a new spiritual 'elite', of a 'New Age'. Since the microcosm—the adepts themselves—was considered to be in direct correspondence with the macrocosm—the society—personal transformation would, as a natural consequence, result in societal change.

³⁰ Regardie [1932] 1969 47.

As Mary Greer observed in *The Women of the Golden Dawn* (1995), it is important to note, however, that the leading women of the Golden Dawn found themselves outside the accepted norms of society: they did not fit into the Victorian standards of a woman as a childbearing, man-supporting wife constrained by the limits of the household. The women of the Golden Dawn were 'outsiders' to 'normal' society, and thus tried to change society from without, not from within.

To a certain extent, Victor Turner's theory of Liminality and Communitas can be applied to the Golden Dawn, in the sense that the Order functioned as a closed space wherein the members could act outside of the traditional confines of society. According to Turner, liminal social phenomena are characterised as persons or principles that (1) fall in the interstices of social structure, (2) are on its margins, or (3) occupy its lowest rungs.³¹ The occult spirituality of the Golden Dawn stood in sharp contrast to the traditional religious values of British society, especially in its male-female interpretation of the Godhead. Furthermore, the role of women within the Golden Dawn—as equals to their brothers differed from the role of women in society. In Britain, the Women's Suffrage movement began in the 1860s, and women did not win full voting rights until 1928. But the women in the Golden Dawn were not only regarded as equals, they also rose to leading positions within the Order and wrote a number of official instructions for the members, which show that, in the Golden Dawn, they could even wield authority over men. One of Turner's main points is that the primary function of liminal phenomena is to maintain and strengthen social structures by forming an anti-structure. The liminal persons or communities indirectly set the standards for the normal or structured society. That which is not liminal is normal, and therefore part of the structured sphere of society. As an anti-structure to the late-Victorian society, the Golden Dawn can be viewed as a forerunner of the emerging modern culture.

³¹ Turner [1969] 1991 125.

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STRETTON'S 'OPERATIVE' MASONRY: LEGACY OR FORGERY?¹

BERNARD DAT
TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL TAYLOR

In May 1909, in the small market town of Melton Mowbray, just ten miles from Leicester, there appeared a pamphlet, some twenty pages long, whose deep red cover bore the unusual title: *Tectonic Art*, and the name of its author: Clement Edward Stretton² (Appendix-I). Published by the local weekly newspaper, the *Melton Mowbray Times*, this little book with its no doubt rather small print run is, today, almost a hundred years later, both rare and very much sought after. At the time it didn't seem destined for such a star studded future, being nothing more than a re-print of a series of articles which appeared in the *Melton Times* in March and April reporting on the lecture given by Stretton to the Leicester Association of Engineers, of which he was a member, on the 20th of February 1909. Nevertheless it heralds the start of a truly amazing affair which was to have repercussions throughout the world of Masonry right up to the present day.

Let us examine in more detail, then, the contents of this pamphlet, comprising as it does the essence of what was to be often referred to later as 'Stretton's System'. In his introductory notes Stretton explains that for thousands of years Guilds in general and Free Masons³ in particular have kept strictly secret their ancient methods of working. But at a meeting in York some years earlier it had been decided to authorise, under strict control, the disclosure of certain basic information. Therefore Stretton can deliver his lecture and have an account of it published with the authorisation of the Grand Master of the Operative Masons. He signs himself as a member of the VII° (i.e. seventh degree) of the Guild of Masons. He reveals the origins of Guilds, trade societies, Casts, Associations, Brotherhoods and other "similar institutions" as going back far into antiquity, since the time of Babylon and King Nimrod up to the present time when the Lord

¹ This article is a slightly reworked version of the paper "La Maçonnerie 'Opérative' de Stretton: Survivance ou Forgerie?" in *Renaissance Traditionnelle* 30 (118-119) 1999 149-212, with kind permission from Pierre Mollier, the editor of that journal.

² Stretton 1909a.

³ Stretton always writes "Free Masons" in two words.

Mayor of London is still chosen from within the ranks of one of the Corporations of the City of London.⁴ He describes the internal organisation of the ancient Guilds; in particular that of the Free Masons who were split into two classes, Masons of the Square and Masons of the Arch, each class being divided into seven degrees; the first building only rectilinear structures and the second only curved structures. He goes on to develop certain technical aspects such as the device used by the Hebrews in the time of Solomon for measuring circles, the fixing of the centre point and gauging of angles for a future construction, according to whether it was to have a square base (such as a pyramid) or a rectangular one with a ratio of two to one or three to one (such as a temple). He then details specific points like the “Footing Stones”, the importance of the north-east corner, the orientation of King Solomon’s temple, the placing of the throne in the west, and the solemn founding of the Temple. He gives precise details of the use by the ancient masons of Jerusalem and Egypt of ingenious devices for raising the enormous blocks of stone used in the buildings and to lift on to the banks the huge logs floated down the Nile and in India. After having discussed the hewers of stone he illustrates the evolution of the work of the Guilds which has continued, uninterrupted from prehistoric times to the present day. In conclusion he highlights their decline in England, begun in 1714 as consequence of the treachery of James Anderson, at the time Chaplain to the Guild Masons working on St. Paul’s cathedral in London. He it was who revealed their secrets, making them known to those who were not entitled to them and thus giving rise to the system of modern Freemasonry, ‘Andersonry’⁵ which is nothing more than a misrepresentation of the ancient and authentic Masonry. Finally the law of 1871, recognising trade unions and their right to exist, delivers the fatal blow, taking control away from the Masters and undermining the unity of the city Craft Guilds.⁶

It is within the framework of this mix of technical explanations, historical backgrounds, myths and legends that Stretton sets out to present a very elaborate and detailed system for Operative Masonry

⁴ Stretton writes: “City Livery Companies”.

⁵ This is the term used by Stretton himself in Stretton 1909a 14.

⁶ The *Trade Union Act* brought in by Gladstone demonstrated enormous social progress but was practically worthless as it outlawed strike action. Disraeli’s cabinet finally gave it teeth in 1876 by voting in a new law which allowed unions to engage in strikes.

complete with Rules, Obligations and Rituals and all of it completely unheard of. Pierre Girard-Augry, in a lecture given in 1981 in which he cites Stretton said:

If these affirmations were found to be true, they would of course shed an entirely new light on speculative masonry which some writers such as R. Guénon consider to be a break with Tradition without having anything more concrete to offer in the way of proof than tradition, ritual and symbolism. But what credit, if any, can we give to the affirmations of the Operatives in general and to Clement Stretton in particular?⁷

There lies the core of our investigation: is Stretton's Masonry a legacy from the past or a forgery? And in order to attempt to find an answer to that question we do not intend to rely on tradition, ritual or symbolism either. That is too vast a territory, constantly shifting, devoid of historical landmarks or even simple chronology and totally inappropriate for the purposes of our research. We shall adhere strictly to the examination of documents coming either directly or indirectly from Stretton himself. In particular, owing to the proven nature of the source and the way each body of writing supports the other, the analysis of letters written by Stretton to Yarker and Miss Bothwell-Gosse is a very rich vein.

Using this as our starting point we will present our findings thus: after introducing the documents themselves, Clement Stretton and his system and his correspondents, we will examine the development of the System and the composing of the rituals, the way in which Stretton promotes the System, the role of women—without whom this system would never have come to fruition—the Operative Lodges and their members, the criticism of speculative Freemasonry, the opposition to the historical school of thought, both Stretton's and Yarker's sources together with the inconsistencies of both Stretton himself and of his System. In conclusion we shall try to provide a synthesis of the whole.

The Documents

The pamphlet we have just described is, in reality, nothing other than the first significant emergence of a surprising quantity of writings which forms the basis of the present study. We can separate this body

⁷ Girard-Augry 1981 113.

of writing into three distinct types: newspaper and magazine articles, specialist or not; books and pamphlets; and finally private correspondence and manuscripts. The vast majority of the documents emanate from the pen of Stretton but also that of John Yarker, Thomas Carr, Charles Metz, Miss Aimée Bothwell-Gosse and Miss Marjory Cecily Debenham. Without going into the minutes of detail we think it may be useful at this point to give some indication of the extent of the work, which, being but little known, may be found surprising in its extent.

Newspaper and magazine articles

In 1907 an article by Stretton about the Operatives appears in *The Freemason* and a little later in the *Freemason's Chronicle*. From the beginning of 1908, letters between Stretton and Yarker are regularly published in the 'Notes and Queries' sections of both magazines. This was to carry on for several years up until Yarker's death in 1913 and that of Stretton in 1915. But before he was to be found writing in the *Loco Journal* (a Leicestershire railway magazine to which Stretton was a contributor) and in the local press in the area around Leicester where he lived; for example the *Melton Mowbray Times*, the *Coalville Times* and the *Staffordshire Advertiser*.

In 1909 the information reaches the United States and the *American Freemason*, the *Tyler Keystone* and the *Masonic Bulletin* of Iowa re-print and expound upon the articles published in England. A few years later (1914) they reach Canada and appear in the Toronto publication, the *Masonic Sun*.

But by far the most important source is the *Co-mason*, the magazine of the burgeoning English branch of the Order of International Mixed Masonry 'Le Droit Humain'. Edited by Miss Bothwell-Gosse this quarterly publication became almost immediately the principal channel for the dissemination of Stretton's ideas and contributes to them becoming widely known both at home and abroad. Advertised in the July edition, an article singing the praises of the pamphlet *Tectonic Art* appears in October.⁸ Then, January 1910 sees the publication of an article entitled: "How I became a member of the Ancient Operative Guild of Freemasons"⁹ attributed to one George W. Anson, in other words by Stretton himself using a *nom de plume*. In all, ten articles together with numerous contributions to "Notes and Queries" on the

⁸ K. 1909.

⁹ Anson 1910.

subject of the Operatives are published by Stretton, Yarker and Miss Bothwell-Gosse during the course of the same year. And much more was to come over the ensuing years.

Pamphlets and Books

Almost immediately after the publication of *Tectonic Art* there appeared two works by John Yarker: first in April his magnum opus *The Arcane Schools*,¹⁰ an enormous tome some 566 pages long, and then at the end of 1909 a little booklet entitled *The Guild Charges*¹¹ lending weight to Stretton's ideas. In 1911 Dr. Thomas Carr of Blackpool published in the United States a short book on Operative Free Masons.¹² Stretton and Carr then enter into voluminous correspondence with the Lodge of Research N^o 2429 in Leicester. This is published in its reports between 1909 and 1913.¹³ Finally in 1918 Charles Hope Merz published, in the United States, a compendium almost 500 pages in length entitled: *Guild Masonry in the Making*,¹⁴ devoted entirely to the system of the Operatives.

Private correspondence and manuscripts

The main source of material for this study is the private correspondence, for it reveals the true origins, the development of the theory and the putting into practice of Stretton's system. It is made up of, on the one hand letters written by Stretton to Yarker between July of 1908 and October 1910, the typed transcript of which can be found in the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England, and on the other of letters written by Stretton to Miss Bothwell-Gosse between August 1910 and January 1915, just one month before his death, which have remained unpublished and of which I have photocopies.

A large selection of the first body of letters, classified by subject and with an introduction and accompanying notes and comments was published between 1951 and 1957 by Miss Cecily Debenham in *The Speculative Mason* (which was subsequently published as *The Co-Mason*) of which she was the joint editor from 1945 and sole editor after the death of Miss Bothwell-Gosse in 1954.

¹⁰ Yarker 1909b.

¹¹ Yarker 1909a.

¹² Carr 1911.

¹³ Stretton 1909b; Anonymous 1909; Stretton 1911; Carr 1912; Anonymous 1912.

¹⁴ Merz 1918.

We are also in possession of photocopies of the hand-written notebooks belonging to John Yarker which contain the operatives' rituals as well as numerous notes on the subject (Appendix-II). These notebooks, a prime source, were found in John Yarker's library which was split up and sold after his death but whose principal purchasers are known.¹⁵

Clement Edwin Stretton and his System

The time has come to introduce the principal character in the story. Clement Edwin Stretton, born on the 3rd of October 1850, was an engineer employed by one of the British Railway Companies. At the time of the events we relate he was living in Leicester where he was to remain until his death on the 20th of February 1915. Professionally he was very active, organising several exhibitions on the theme of railways and making numerous gifts of artefacts and documents relating to the development of rail travel to a variety of museums. Married, he had one son (also named Clement) who became an architect and member of the prestigious RIBA (the Royal Institute of British Architects).

Stretton was a strange man. He gives a pen-portrait of himself in a letter sent to Miss Bothwell-Gosse on the 23rd of July 1910. She must have made some reference to his astrological chart and he replies thus:

There seems something very curious about my character and Uranus! Yours is the fifth opinion given by persons who do not know me personally. "Mechanical, clever, engineer, lover of ritual, firm opinion don't forgive anybody. When a matter is taken in hand stick to it till ended. Fond of writing." There are some of the opinions I have had sent to me lately and it is curious that they seem so correct. I don't know what to think about it, but I don't see what Uranus can have to do with the subject.

We have been able, through reading his letters, to establish that this is no doubt an accurate picture of the man. Stretton is very proud of his ancient family name and of his Christian name, Clement, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and he is quick to

¹⁵ St.Clair 1947; K.M.B. 1913; Watson 1913.

remind us of this on several occasions. On the 20th of August 1908 he writes:

In 1530 a Clement Stretton of a village of Stretton¹⁶ near Leicester, came into Leicester, he was articled to a Trade and became a Free Man of the Town of Leicester. The name Clement Stretton has run on through 14 generations and my son has the same name.

His 'modern' masonic life is also very full: initiated into St. John's Lodge N° 279 in the register of the United Grand Lodge of England in Leicester he was twice its Worshipful Master and remained a member his entire life. He was Grand Senior Warden of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Leicester and Rutland. Exalted to the Holy Royal Arch Chapter of 'Fortitude' in Leicester he was installed as First Principal in 1883. He was a member of the 'Fowke Lodge' of Mark Master Masons in Leicester and a founding member of another Mark Lodge, the 'Simon de Montfort' lodge, in the same town. Lastly he was a member of the Red Cross of Constantine in a conclave in Leicester and was appointed its Sovereign in 1887.

For knowledge of his career in Operative Masonry we have no other source than his own writings. It is true that he makes reference to it fairly consistently several times and in a variety of articles and letters. This is the description of his progress that he gives in his article published by the Leicester Lodge of Research (minutes of the meeting of the 24th of January 1910) of which the first chapter is entitled "Why I became a member of the Worshipful Society of Free Masons, Rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviers, Plaisterers and Bricklayers" (see picture 14):

My own record is as follows:

1st Degree. May 1867. Apprenticed and bound for seven years.

2nd Degree. May 1874. Passed as a Fellow of the Craft.

3rd Degree. May 1875. Became a Super fellow of the Craft.

4th Degree. May 1876. Erector on the Site of the Temple.

5th Degree May 1877. Intendent and Super-Intendent of the Works.

6th Degree. May 1878. Passed the examinations as a Master and was appointed "Junior Passed Master". – October 1897. Appointed Second

¹⁶ The village of Stretton is about 20 miles from Leicester on the border of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, today quite close to the A1 between Stamford and Grantham. It should be noted however that it is a common place name in England and there are 14 Strettons in all.

Deputy to Master Masons. – October 1901. Appointed Senior Passed Master and Grand Deputy Master Mason.

7th Degree. October 1908. Installed Third Master Mason of the York Division, addressed and saluted as H.A. Prince of Free Masons. – October 1909 S.....¹⁷

Thus after being on the active roll for forty-two and a half years, a pen was drawn through my name and the words S..... October 2nd 1909 were written at the side.¹⁸

In order to understand the above we need to look at the whole of the system as described by Stretton. In his booklet, *Tectonic Art*, he states that the operatives, united in a Craft Guild since ancient times, not to say prehistoric, are organised into seven levels according to their particular tasks and skills. Access to the different levels, with intervals of anything from one to seven years and based on proof of efficiency is awarded during a secret ceremony that has remained unchanged for thousands of years, and is found in Egypt as well as Israel, India, China and others. The practices of the English operatives descend uninterrupted from those of the Hebrew Operatives. In the 17th century and before the Society of Operatives was very active throughout the whole of England at a time when the London Grand Lodge of the Moderns was yet to come into existence. The rituals which up until then had been handed down orally were put into writing in 1686 by one Robert Padgett, Clearke to the Society. In 1677 this Society had eight divisions established in the City of London, Westminster, Southern, Bristol, Chester, the Isle of Anglesey, Lancaster and York. But in 1714 a momentous event took place. James Anderson, a minister of religion, was, by this title, Chaplain of the Operative Lodge of St. Paul constituted in 1675 for the building of the cathedral. As Chaplain he was entitled to be present at the first six levels of the secret meetings of the Operatives without having been admitted to any of them by following the full ritual, since he was not himself a workman, but nonetheless swore an oath of absolute secrecy. The same applied to the doctor who was attached to each lodge. In violation of his sworn oath, Anderson began holding meetings from which the operatives were excluded even though he was holding them in their very own meeting rooms and in the course of which he set about admitting non-operatives. In this fashion he admitted George

¹⁷ Member of the *Sanhedrim*. *Sanhedrim* or *Sanhedrin* can be used equally. Stretton always uses the former.

¹⁸ Stretton 1909b 84-85.

Payne, Desaguliers, Johnson, Stuart, Sayer, Entick and the Duke of Montague. Clearly, what Stretton is describing here is the foundation of Modern Speculative Masonry. In 1715 the Operatives discover the rotten apple in the barrel and expel Anderson and his friends. They then go on to found further new Lodges in the English capital and select for themselves a Grand Master, thus creating the Grand Lodge of London. As far as the Operatives were concerned, Anderson had simplified and destroyed the character of their ritual in its essential points, which was even worse because he had never had access to the highest levels within the Operatives. They furthermore hold the following points, above and beyond his violation of a solemn oath, against him: the elimination of seven years of apprenticeship by admitting to the degree of an Entered Apprentice of the Craft after only a few days; the condensing of the seven levels into merely two; the custom of having just one Master of the Lodge instead of three and his position in the East and not the West; the mixing of Square Masonry and Arch Masonry; the incoherent introduction of various elements of the operative ritual such as the degree of Master and the ceremony of installation of the Worshipful Master and the Officers of the Lodge. Stretton establishes some measure of correlation between the seven degrees of the operatives and the 'unnatural' elements incorporated over time into modern Freemasonry. On the 23rd of August 1908 he writes to Yarker:

So now we have accounted for the modern	1	as like ancient	1 ^o
" " " "	2	" " "	2
" " " Mark		" " "	3
" Part of Mark, Part of 3rd)			
and part of Arch as			4
" Officers of the Lodge			5
" Chief Officers			6
" our B of Installed Ms ¹⁹ as			7

So in fact the Moderns really have 7 degrees but they do not know it.

What is more, the Operatives hold three great annual festivals; in April-May the commemoration of the foundation of the Temple of Jerusalem; on the 2nd of October the commemoration of the death of Hiram; the 30th of October the ceremony of the Dedication of the Temple. These events are entirely separate from the ceremonies of

¹⁹ Board of Installed Masters.

admission to the different degrees but can coincide with symbolic acts which are an essential part of an operative mason's career, in particular the ceremony of the 2nd of October which complements the 6th degree. Operative Lodges continued to exist at the same time as the Modern Lodges were beginning to increase in number but they grew less and less as Stretton explains in his *Tectonic Art*.

Stretton's Correspondents

Like many other English Freemasons, Clement Stretton, as we have seen, writes letters, short articles and questions to masonic magazines as well as the local newspapers on matters related to the Order. His missives are published in "Notes and Queries", a gallery of often contradictory opinions where the contributors confront each other through their writings. It is very popular with the readers for there they can find, side by side, the most well known of the masonic researchers of all persuasions such as Hughan, Gould and Yarker, and those Masons who are simply anxious to learn more or have an opinion of their own they want to express. So in 1907 Stretton contributes to the pages of the *Freemason* a succinct description of the Operatives. He then goes on to do the same in the *Freemasons Chronicle*. Very soon he comes across another author whose writings touch upon his own: John Yarker (see picture 12).

This was a man very much out of the ordinary. Born in 1833 (he was almost 75 at the time which concerns us) he was initiated in 1854 and became interested not only in any and everything even remotely connected with Freemasonry but with a wide range of occult movements. The list of degrees of which he was a member and of the offices he held is a long one and we will content ourselves with mentioning, on the one hand, his membership of the Correspondence Circle of the celebrated Lodge of research Quatuor Coronati 2076 to which he addressed numerous contributions and on the other, the major role he played in the development in England of the Ancient and Primitive Rite of which he was the Grand Master General 33°-36°. He published an appreciable number of different booklets and in 1909 his full-length work *The Arcane Schools*,²⁰ an astonishing comprehensive history of masonry incorporating theosophical, scientific,

²⁰ Yarker 1909b.

philosophical and occult themes of all kinds. He died in 1913, two years before Stretton. A paper on John Yarker by John M. Hamill was published in *Ars Quatuor Coronati* in 1996.²¹

Stretton first wrote to Yarker to introduce himself on the 25th of July 1908, describing his entry into Antient Freemasonry some 42 years previously, his admission into Modern Masonry in 1871 and his current position of Passed Master in the VI^o Operative degree. He goes on to add:

That great event which you will know as 3rd Degree, is by me worked only once a year on the 2nd Oct. or 4 weeks before the dedication of the Temple. That was the day that H.²² broke up the 3 cubit rod ... Knowing as I do both the ancient and modern systems, it is quite easy to see what has been altered; and in fact the alteration is not so great as some persons think. The ancient method is practical and complete and far better than the modern.

This is the start of an astonishing exchange of letters. Stretton writes to Yarker almost daily, and sometimes as many as two or three times in one day: anywhere from a few lines to several pages and often enclosing documents, sketches, drawings, text book like illustrations of plane or descriptive geometry, press cuttings, even entire books or brochures. On one occasion Yarker had to pay a special delivery tax on receipt of a masonic attendance token which the Post Office mistook for a coin! But it is mostly one-way.

Of course Yarker replies, but not nearly as often, which frequently prompts Stretton to write even more.

His other main correspondent is Miss Aimée Bothwell-Gosse (see picture 13) to whom he first wrote on the 23rd of August 1909 (one year after Yarker) and continued to do so up to his death in 1915. The volume of letters is nothing like as great as that sent to Yarker, but nevertheless remains of considerable interest.

Miss J. Aimée Bothwell-Gosse was another exceptional person. Born in 1866 she was 43 when she first made Stretton's acquaintance. She already had an outstanding career behind her. A brilliant personality, at 20 she was the head of Teacher Training College in Cape Province in South Africa. On returning to England she became a member of the Theosophical Society and in 1904 was initiated into the

²¹ Hamill 1996.

²² Hiram.

Human Duty Lodge N° 6 of the International Mixed Order “Le Droit Humain”. There she quickly made a name for herself by the quality and quantity of her work. In 1909 she founded the magazine *The Co-mason*, the official organ of the British Federation of “Le Droit Humain”. In 1911 she was a founder member of the first co-masonic Mark Lodge and in 1916 of the first co-masonic Holy Royal Arch Chapter. In 1912 she was admitted to the 30° degree of the Scottish Rite and in 1914 to the 33° in Paris where she became a member of the Supreme Council of “Le Droit Humain”. In 1925, however, she was to leave the Order to found a completely new mixed Order, “The Order of Ancient Free and Accepted Masonry for Men and Women” (A.F.A.M.) as well as the first British Supreme Council for Women of which she was to remain the Grand Commander up until 1950. She died in 1954 after handing over the baton to Miss Debenham, her lifelong friend, sometime secretary and closest confidante.²³

It may be useful at this juncture to look more closely at Stretton’s relationship with his two main correspondents. Up until 1910 he had never met Yarker and they only met very infrequently after that date. Obviously transport was nothing like as swift as it is today but Manchester, where Yarker lived, was only a hundred miles or so from Leicester with a direct train service between the two cities. He met Miss Bothwell-Gosse more often as she made the journey from London to Leicester on several occasions. Stretton, it seems, never strayed more than a few miles from Leicester. When he is expecting some communication from one of his correspondents he becomes very persistent, even demanding. He cannot abide having to wait and if he has to he will send several reminders. He is often very critical and quite harsh towards them, especially Yarker despite the high regard in which he holds him and the fact that he clearly admires his talent as a writer.

The Development of the System and the Creation of the Rituals

In reply to Stretton’s first letter Yarker asks him if there exists an operative ritual. Of course, replies Stretton, but as yet it has not been written down. And straight away, even though he only knows of him

²³ A detailed biography of Miss J. Aimée Bothwell-Gosse was published on the occasion of her death in *The Speculative Mason* 45 (third and fourth issues, 1954 and 1955) 51-63.

through his writings, Stretton sends to Yarker all kinds of notes, descriptions and very detailed explanations which reveal almost the entire operative System; and all this, for the greater part, in a period of under six months. As events unfold and prompted by requests for more clarifications by Yarker he goes on to send him all the information available.

This consists of a considerable amount of information, sometimes very detailed and at other times short and to the point. He moves rapidly from one topic to another but can also give a complete and finely detailed description of certain ceremonies. He frequently repeats himself and sometimes no more than two or three days apart. Yet at the same time some aspects and quite important ones at that, are never mentioned again. So, on the 31st of August 1908 Stretton writes concerning closing in the VII^o degree "we finish with our heads together and with thanks to our 3 Gods respectively". On the 8th of September he reaffirms this reference to three Gods: "Both in the Square and in the Arch we take it that Yah, Baal and On were 3 great gods equal in power". No further mention of this is ever found.

On the 17th of March 1909 Stretton sends Yarker a truly remarkable letter for it is the first time he addresses him as "Dear Passed Master Yarker". Here is what he writes:

I am very pleased to have your letter and that you will represent the Guild practice in Manchester. We will not put any work on you. If you get any letters on Guild matters simply send them to me. I will let you have a clear outline of the 6th which you will be able to pass without trouble. (We do not expect you to pay any fees). I cannot ask you to be an 'honorary member', because we have no place for either honorary members or Past Masters, they must all be in one or other of the 7 degrees ... I take it that you are "quite able of cunning" to rule in the 6th and that you approve the charges in the G[rand] L[odge] of Eng[land] book of con[stitutions]—especially "he shall be true to master and Fellows, shall carefully oversee the work in the master's absence to the lord's profit". (In theory) You must be prepared to rule in No. 6, provided you are the senior Passed master present, and that the No 7 G.M.M.s [= Grand Master Masons] are not present. Are you so prepared. (I know you are so you may take that as read.)

There then follows a document entitled "G.M.Ms 7^o Degree", giving a very detailed description of the installation of the Deputy Grand Master Mason in which the name John Yarker appears throughout the text. Next, bearing the same day and date, comes another letter

containing nothing more than four quotes from the Bible. Three days later, on the 20th of March, yet another letter: "I am now sending you the ceremony—it is practically just as I gave on 2nd Oct. last". The new document he encloses is entitled: "2nd Oct 1004 BC. Commemoration Ceremony". It takes the form of the text of the ritual of the ceremony of the death of Hiram in which the 3rd Grand Master is called Stretton and the new deputy Grand Master (6th Degree) is called Yarker. Thus in two consecutive stages Stretton admits Yarker "by correspondence" to the 6th Degree of the System and has him taking what amounts to the principal role in the ceremony of the death of Hiram, placing him in a position enabling him to be admitted to the 7th degree to which he himself has been admitted—or so he says—less than six months earlier as 3rd Master Mason. In his next letter of the 22nd of March, Stretton writes: "Now you hold 6 degree rank I can tell you much that I could not tell before". Let us just remind ourselves at this juncture that the two men had yet to meet. In her introduction to the extracts of Stretton's letters published in 1951 Miss Debenham was to write: "John Yarker pursued the matter further and a long correspondence ensued leading to his joining the Guild, that is to say being accepted in the 6th degree in Lodge 91, Leicester and Mt. Bardon 100",²⁴ but no date is given either by her or by Yarker in any of his writings. This delicate question of Yarker's membership of the Guild having been settled in such a practical and swift fashion, Stretton immediately sets about his task of producing ritual books.

On the 29th of March he writes: "Do you intend to publish a book with all the Guild ritual you have. It would open the eyes of people"; then on the 8th of April: "Now your book is all right,²⁵ I hope you will have another go at the Guild ritual". He continues providing Yarker with a multiplicity of precise details which have, on occasions, been quite surprising. For example, in October 1909 he explains that the candidate for the 1st degree is introduced into the Lodge with a rope knotted round his neck, one end held by a man walking in front of him and the other by a man walking behind him and another rope, held by one man on each side, tied around his genitals. In addition to this Stretton explains that the members of the Guild wear their hair in different styles according to the degree they hold which is indicated by the position of the parting; in the centre for the I°; on the left for the II°, III° and IV°; on the right for the V°, VI° and VII°. Naturally, John

²⁴ Debenham 1951 10. It is in fact Lodge No° 110.

²⁵ This refers to *Arcane Schools* (Yarker 1909b).

Yarker whose ability in this field is already well established goes on to formulate with great care the rituals of the seven degrees, as well as those of the three annual ceremonies of the Assembly of the Sanhedrin. The work was completed in 1911. Thus we can be quite certain that Stretton himself never wrote any of the operative rituals. They are the fruits of Yarker's labour alone. It was he who collated and gave shape to Stretton's notes using contemporary masonic idioms. Finally, to bring to a close this very important point we would like to quote part of an article published in 1950 in the *Speculative Mason*, by Miss Debenham who at the time was its joint editor, under the heading "Operative and Speculative, an important correction".

René Guénon in *Etudes Traditionnelles* July-August, 1950, p. 288 in note 3²⁶ to an Article on "The Letter G and the Swastika" says (on whose authority we do not know, his words are: *et que celui-ci fut dit-on*) that Clement Stretton, whose letters to John Yarker are in our custody and have been quoted in *The Speculative Mason*, "was the principal author of a 'restoration' of the operative rituals in which certain elements were lost owing to circumstances, and which had never been completely clarified, and had been replaced by portions borrowed from the Speculative ritual. As regards these portions there was nothing to guarantee their uniformity with that which existed anciently. "I would like to state categorically that there is not a word in Clement Stretton's letters or articles nor in Thomas²⁷ Merz's book on Operative Masonry, nor Dr. Thomas Carr's pamphlet, nor in articles by other Operative masons that appeared in pre-1914 numbers of this periodical, to suggest that Clement Stretton was "a restorer of the Operative rituals". His enthusiasm helped to keep the Operative Lodges going and to arouse interest in them, which is another matter. The Operatives of Mt. Bardon Lodge claimed to have transmitted their ritual faithfully since the time of K. Solomon, but they also state that Robert Padgett, Clerk to the Company of Masons, rewrote them, by which I understand them to mean brought the language up to date. The Operative rituals written

²⁶ In *Études Traditionnelles* 285 of July-August 1950, 238, it is in fact note 2: "One could possibly argue that the previously unpublished documentation given in the *Speculative Mason* concerning the Swastika is the work of Clement Stretton and that he was said to be the sole author of the so-called reinstatement of the operative rituals in which certain elements, lost as result of circumstances that were never properly explained, were replaced by elements borrowed from speculative rituals and which cannot be guaranteed to be the same as that which existed previously; but this objection does not hold in this instance since we are dealing with something of which we can find not the least trace in *Speculative Masonry*".

²⁷ Merz's first name is Charles, not Thomas.

down by John Yarker (who joined Mt. Bardon Lodge in the VI^o) are not however in the style of the 17th century but in that of his own day. There may have been written rituals locked up in the G.M.'s²⁸ chest, but the usual transmission was oral and the men spoke the language of everyday use. This is the testimony of the Editor²⁹ who heard them.³⁰

Stretton's Efforts to Publicise the System

Stretton shows a constant desire to demonstrate the perfect logic and coherence of the operative system as well as to prove its authenticity. One can easily understand why he doesn't want it to be kept secret but on the contrary to give it as wide an audience as possible in order to prove its superiority over the modern masonic system. But either out of modesty or from a lack of confidence in his own ability to set it all down in writing or as deliberate policy or even some other reason he does not want to undertake the task himself but rather sees in Yarker his ideal partner in the venture; he provides the ideas and Yarker writes and publishes them. On the 3rd of August 1908 he expressly asks Yarker not to mention his name in any of his writings and to refer only to his communications to the *Freemason*, to his "ancient ritual of Salomon" and the one of "old York". He was to remind him very explicitly several times. On the 12th of August:

I think it would be better to say less about Bro Stretton, as it is now; it looks as if Bro Stretton furnished the details and Bro Yarker signed it. Of course we do not want it to be said that "one says and the other backs it up". If anyone calls your opinion in question I shall back you up, all the same.

And on the 17th of August:

I very much wish that you would take the York Durham ritual, my notes, the 7 degrees and all your knowledge, and put it into a clear straight forward article, lecture or paper. You are free and can use the information, but of course I must not do this as my O.B.³¹ stands in the way.

²⁸ Grand Masters Masons in the VII^o.

²⁹ Miss Bothewell-Gosse.

³⁰ Debenham 1950 77-80.

³¹ Obligation.

At the same time he wants Yarker to make the information known to his own circle: "I am inclined to suggest that you might call a meeting of your own Primitive rite, and explain to them as much as you have on the subject".³²

Stretton sends a never ending stream of correspondence to local newspapers and to masonic periodicals. He badgers Yarker to do the same. He even works out a strategy which he puts to Yarker on the 22nd of August 1908, less than a month after their first contact with each other.

I have just noticed in the *Freemason* that they do not publish your letter or mine. Evidently they want to block the information. Let us now turn our attention to the *Freemasons Chronicle*, they have a reply of mine today. I trust you will send them an article if you have not done so. Also would you send something of an article to the *Stafford Advertiser*. You could say that you have recently read some very interesting articles in the *Stafford Advertiser* on the ancient Operative Free Mason system, (you can go on to give the facts of the old York ritual). After a time when the *Freemason* sees our letters in the F.C. they will soon wish to have them.

Thanks to Yarker who is already well known they begin to reach a wider audience, even abroad, although mainly in the Anglo-Saxon countries. In the United States some articles appear in the *American Freemason*, then later in the *Tyler Keystone*. The former reserves judgement on the Operative System but the latter is enthusiastic and becomes an avid supporter. In 1911 it publishes a substantial work by Thomas Carr entitled *The Ritual of Operative Free Masons*.³³ In 1914 the *Toronto Masonic Sun* publishes an article by Merz.

In 1909 Stretton notes that several brethren of the 'modern' persuasion (H. Harris in London, R.H. Baxter in Rochdale, Arthur Bowes in Newton-le-Willows) are very interested in the publications relating to the Operatives. He writes to them, but they live too far away to be able to play an active part in the "operative" activities he wants to set up in Leicester. He then has the idea of creating a 'Correspondence Circle' for the Mount Bardon Lodge N^o 110 along the lines of those already in existence for Lodges of Research. He puts the idea into practice on the 28th of November 1908 with Arthur Bowes and H. Harris, mentioned earlier, as founder members together with R.E. Ogden of Leicester

³² Letter of 22/08/1908.

³³ Carr 1911.

who became an active member of Lodge N° 91 a year later, B.F. Stretton of the United States and A. Bothwell-Gosse, managing editor of the *Co-Mason*. John Yarker is also a member of the Correspondence circle and 1911 sees Thomas Carr's name added to the list, he being further honoured by being made an "honorary member of the Guild". Stretton likes this means of making the Operative System more widely known and on the 1st of December 1909 suggests to Yarker that they set up another Correspondence Circle in Manchester even though there is no Guild Lodge in the city. The idea does not seem to have come to fruition.

On the other hand, as we have already stated, a paper by Stretton on the operatives is read in his absence at the Lodge of research N° 2429 in Leicester in January of 1910. A second paper is similarly read on the 15th of September 1911. On the 25th of March 1912 Thomas Carr sends a long letter to this same Lodge on "Operative Free Masons and Operative Free Masonry".³⁴ It is worth remembering that Stretton himself had been a member (N° 522) of the Correspondence Circle of this Lodge since the 25th of January 1909.³⁵ Merz was to become a member (N° 769) on the 23rd of September 1912.³⁶ Stretton was disappointed by the cool reception his papers received. On the 2nd of February 1910 he writes to Yarker: "The modern Masons don't really want information, and if you give it them they don't understand it. My paper was read for me at Lodge 2949 and no one asked any question or took any interest. What use is that?"

In contrast to that Stretton is delighted by the enthusiastic reaction of the periodical *The Co-Mason*. But he is more reluctant than ever to have articles published under his own name. He is, on the one hand, very pleased with the support that he gets from this publication and especially from its editor in chief Miss Bothwell-Gosse, but on the other hand he is not at all comfortable with the idea of Co-masonry to which the magazine lends its support. In fact, although never openly opposed to Co-masonry he pays little attention to it at all in the first instance. He mentions several times the ban on members visiting Co-masonic Lodges imposed by the United Grand Lodge of England and he abides by it. On the 7th of October 1910 he writes to Yarker:

³⁴ Carr 1912.

³⁵ *Transactions for the year 1908-09 of the Lodge of Research N°2429, Leicester*, 75.

³⁶ *Transactions for the year 1912-13 of the Lodge of Research N°2429, Leicester*, 33.

I don't want to go to a CoMason meeting ... In the same way I never write anything direct to *the Co-Mason*, but all correspondence goes through Mr. R.B. Grant who is now our Scribe at Bardon Hill Operative Lodge. So you are not correct to mention in your letter my letter to *[the] CoMason*, as it was sent by Mr. Grant.

Nevertheless he continues to write numerous articles and notes in *the Co-Mason* up to his death in 1915, but always under a *nom de plume* such as Anson, or using pseudonyms like "Investigator" and names of his brethren in Mount Bardon Lodge, particularly R.B. Grant. Girard-Augry has quite correctly pointed out the great similarity between Stretton's paper which was read to the Lodge of research N° 2949 on the 24th of January 1910 and an article published at the same time in the *Co-Mason* under the name of George Watkin Anson, describing it as either blatant plagiarism or the use by Stretton of the pseudonym Anson. We now know that the latter is in fact the true explanation. In all Stretton published six articles using the name Anson, seven using R.B. Grant and numerous notes using both in the *Co-Mason*. It is also clear that Stretton asks Yarker to write in support of his various articles. On the 14th of January 1910 he writes: "Would you be inclined to write to CoMason and back up Anson. You have the full ritual and could say how well he puts his facts". And again on the 12th of February: "What more could Anson have told in the CoMason than he told?" And then on the 20th: "That Anson's experience is interesting and reading between the lines it is easy to see that it was the old Operative Free Masons ritual, and you are in possession of the full ceremony".

There is one anecdote that we cannot omit. On the 13th of August 1909 Stretton writes to Yarker: "Have you seen the co Mason? Perhaps you will let Bro. Gosse know that you have ample information on Guild matters besides those in your book".³⁷ On the 8th of October he asks him: "Can you tell me if the Editor A.B. Gosse is a Lady or a Gentleman. I thought a gentleman but a friend says the writing is that of a Lady". Either Yarker does not know or he simply declines to answer. In any event, when Miss Bothwell-Gosse is admitted to the Correspondence Circle of the Mount Bardon Lodge on the 29th of October 1909, she is informed in writing the next day in a letter from R.B. Grant addressed to "Dear Sir and Bro". But the misunderstanding only lasts a few months: on the 13th of April 1910

³⁷ I.e. *The Arcane Schools*.

Stretton writes: “Miss Gosse has been down to Bardon Quarries and was shewn the working tools of the Lodge and she is coming again on the 5th May”. Contrary to rumour this short-lived error was never a reason for accepting Miss Bothwell-Gosse into full membership of the Guild. Her subsequent admission was achieved in full knowledge of the facts, for as far as mixed membership was concerned Stretton had made considerable progress in his approach to the matter.

The Presence and Role of Women in Stretton’s System

In order to examine this topic we need to look at an aspect of Stretton’s System that we have so far left untouched or at least not developed in any detail. We are dealing here with the presence of ‘Mason *dames*’ in the operative Lodges. In his explanations Stretton ascribes to these ‘Dames’ a role comparable in every way to the Dames-hostesses and Mères found in the French Compagnonnages: that is to say, welcoming operative masons into “Lodge Free Masons Arms Inns”,³⁸ the preparation of meals, care for the sick etc. Stretton mentions them to Yarker on the 1st of September 1909: “As you are aware in those days the Innkeeper at a Mason’s Arms was sworn as a serving Brother, and his Wife was sworn as a Dame so that she could go into the Lodge and be a serving Bro. also”. It is worth noting that Stretton returns to this matter several times in his correspondence, for example on the 20th of August 1910: “The Doctor and the Chaplain being professional men, are sworn but they are not initiated as Masons. They take a very similar oath to a Dame not to tell anything they may see!” He also raises this point in his published writings.³⁹ These Dames were to go on to occupy an increasingly important place in the life of the Guild Lodges.

In 1910 the daughter of a member of the Operative Lodge N° 110 asks Stretton to allow her to be admitted to her father’s lodge as a Dame. Stretton writes to Miss Bothwell-Gosse:

³⁸ See Thorp 1909 51-52.

³⁹ Stretton 1909b 90. Also: “The innkeeper of every Free Masons’ Arms was sworn as a Serving Brother, so that at ‘certain intervals’ he could enter the Lodge, and another interesting fact is that his wife was sworn as a ‘Mason’s Dame’, so that she could also enter the Lodge”. (“Grant”: “The Arms of the Worshipful Society of Free Masons”, *The Co-Mason* 2 (April 1910) 68).

She came to call on me to see about it and wanted me to pass her as a Masons Dame at once. I tried to talk her out of it. Bath and cloak, cords and swords branded. She would go through with all that without any bother and before a lodge of all men. Well done[,] she is a brick!

We must stress that this admission of a Dame was done following a ritual composed of a series of trials comparable to those used in the initiation of an Apprentice, although attenuated and changed to accommodate the gender of the initiate. It is not a case of merely swearing an oath as was done by the Chaplain or the Doctor. A second admission ceremony for a Dame was held on the following 3rd of September at Lodge N^o 91 in Leicester. And on the 22nd of October a remarkable event took place. A third Dame's admission ceremony was held in Lodge N^o 110 but there was more to it than that. Here is how Stretton reports it to Miss Bothwell-Gosse in his letter of the 24th of October:

On Saturday I went by 12.20 to Bardon Hill and there was a lot of work.

Mrs. Grant was elected as Dame, but when it came to the point she became so upset that I said at once that she must not think of it, in fact I thought she might lie, but her daughter Mrs Bailey went through it like a brick.

Mrs Bellward and Mrs Ogden did the work. Then the three old Dames held a Dames Lodge of their own and we men got shewn the door for about 10 minutes.

I think it is no secret that they installed each other in the three chairs, for when the men were allowed in, the Ladies were in the 3 chairs, and they did not attempt to give place to the men, but Mrs Bellward requested Mr Grant to salute them with that grand salute, which he did. After that the Ladies were kind enough to allow the Men Masters to take their seats.

So a 'Lodge of Dames' was created under the presidency of three Lady Master Masons of the VII^o degree. Clearly the ritual must have been simplified in the extreme, but the actual ceremony receives the approval of the members of Lodge N^o 110 and of Stretton himself. We should also note that although Stretton mentions the possibility of Lodges of Doctors or Chaplains existing he does not ever do the same for Dames Lodges. In the days following the event things move very rapidly. On the 29th of October Mr. Robert Grant writes to Miss Bothwell-Gosse, a member of the Correspondence Circle, to inform

her that he has proposed her as one of the Dame members of his own Lodge N^o 110. On the 31st of October Stretton also writes to Miss Bothwell-Gosse to ask for her assistance: He wants to know the techniques of Co-masonry so as to adapt the men only rituals to admit women with a view to making them a part of Operative Masonry. There then follows a rapid exchange of letters: Miss Bothwell-Gosse supplies all the answers to Stretton's questions and Stretton, in turn, then proposes that she is admitted using the operative ritual. On the 3rd of November she expresses her interest but has reservations about certain elements of the ceremony: "I do not wish you to think me silly & prudish, but I draw the line at the 'bath'. – I have however no objection to walking round a room in my bare feet, in a ceremonial procession, even if men are there!"

Stretton quickly gets round the problem. He puts it to Miss Bothwell-Gosse that she will become simply affiliated as she has already been admitted to other degrees in Modern Mixed Freemasonry and she knows that other Dames have been admitted. This way she will have the same qualification as a Dame but without having to undergo the trials. With the immediate acceptance of one of its correspondents, Lodge N^o 110 votes in favour of this affiliation at the beginning of November, and Miss Bothwell-Gosse promises to take the solemn oath when she next visits Leicester. On the 19th of November Mr. Grant admits his daughter-in-law as a Dame. The idea of a separate Dames lodge disappears, leaving behind that of a Co-masonic lodge even though the term "Dame" continues to be used to designate the female members of Mount Bardon Lodge N^o 110. Miss Bothwell-Gosse continues to give the Dames of Bardon Hill the benefit of her knowledge by supplying them with much written symbolical and masonic instruction. The principal of Co-masonry is so far assimilated by Stretton into his System that by the 14th of February 1914 he is asking Miss Bothwell-Gosse if she is prepared to launch a new periodical entitled the *Operative Co-Mason*. It never sees the light of day; Stretton was to die one year later and with him died, to all intents and purposes, those structures he had put in place, that is to say the Operative Lodges whose development and membership we shall now examine.

The Operative Lodges and their Members

A systematic study of all documents reveals one notable fact: unless other documentary evidence comes to light, there is no trace of the working by any Lodges of Stretton's System before its discovery or creation by Stretton himself in 1908. Certainly, Stretton mentions in a document⁴⁰ a Mount Tor Lodge N° 70 at Cromford in Derbyshire but we are not able to find any record of its existence, not even in the article he publishes under the name of Grant in the *Co-Mason* in 1912 where he describes very precisely the structures and organisation of the "Worshipful Society".⁴¹ Strangely enough, on the 2nd of March 1909, Stretton asks Yarker if he would like to create an Operative degree in one of the systems where he is at the head (most likely the Ancient and Primitive Rite of which he had been Grand Master General since 1872). He returns to the theme on the 25th of April: "I wish you and your friends would hold a meeting, say at your house to read and consider the ritual and Traditional history of the Guild system". The project gathered dust but nevertheless two lodges did progressively become active after that time; Lodge N° 91 in Leicester and Lodge N° 110 in the quarries at Bardon Hill some ten miles from the town.

Lodge N° 91 in Leicester

According to Stretton this Lodge was constituted in 1761. In the article in the *Co-Mason* of 1912 mentioned above Stretton writes:

With reference to the York division, it should be mentioned that the Worshipful Society of free Masons, rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviers, Plaister[er]s and Bricklayers of the city of Durham had been granted a Charter by the Bishop of Durham on the 16th of April 1683 and this Lodge desired to remain independent of the York Division, and so it remains to this day. In 1761, a Lodge of the York Division of Free Masons, No: 91, was sent to Leicester to repair the Churches.⁴²

The reference to the Durham Operative Society is interesting and we have re-read with great care the Charter of 1638, published in *Ars Quatuor Coronati* in an article written by Harry Brown, shortly before

⁴⁰ Stretton 1911 170. We are unable to find any mention of the original document of which Stretton provides a copy, nor of a date for it.

⁴¹ *The Co-Mason* 4 (October 1912) 177-179.

⁴² *The Co-Mason* 4 (October 1912) 178.

the article appeared in the *Co-Mason*. The word 'lodge' does not appear in the text of the Charter. What is more, Brown's paper shows that this operative Society has a benevolent and self-help objective and a completely different way of operating than that described by Stretton:

There is a general consensus of opinion amongst Freemasons that our Constitutions, Rites and Ceremonies are founded upon and to a certain extent derived from the Ancient Guilds. Nothing, unfortunately, has been discovered here which will tend to strengthen this supposition. In a close inspection of the books and documents of the Masons' Guild, as well as those of the Weavers' Guild, the Goldsmiths' Guild and the Guild of Smith, no trace can be found of any allusion to any kind of initiation or degree, or that the Ancient Charges were ever read to apprentices. The Guilds met at the Guildhall, in compliance with the regulations of their Charters (which were all very similar) four times a year, for the purpose of binding apprentice boys by indenture, swearing in freemen before the Mayor and one or more Aldermen, and making bye-laws, if necessary, as is done at the present time. The meetings are ordinary meetings, and, as membership is now so small, the only officer elected at the Annual Head-meeting is a Warden to take charge of the books and plate.⁴³

It is not at all surprising, then, that Yarker should ask a great many questions as to the origin and evolution of this Lodge. The answers are not very clear and at times inconsistent. We have just seen that the reference to the Durham Guild is not acceptable, but on closer examination we can also state that there is a certain confusion between an Operative Guild Lodge and a lodge of the Grand Lodge of the Antients, as a result of the undoubtedly complex relations between the Antients and Moderns from the end of the 18th century up until the union of the two in 1813. An examination of the returns made by Hughan shows that a lodge N^o 91 is included in the list of the Grand Lodge of the Antients in 1813: it was held at "The George Inn" at Leicester. It appears in the list of United Lodges as Lodge N^o 114 in 1814. It no longer appears in the list of lodges drawn up in 1832.⁴⁴

As to the practical issues, Stretton writes on the 6th of July 1909: "The Guild 91 worked on till 1883, when there was another split and most of the men went into the Trade Union. Ten remained in the

⁴³ Brown 1909 22.

⁴⁴ Hughan 1874 103.

Guild. Three have died, but 4 have returned and now 91 meets on the 2nd Thursday in each month". We have drawn up a list of members per Lodge and can find no name other than that of Stretton before the beginning of 1909. Yarker is admitted to the VI^o degree by correspondence on the 22nd of March. The first initiation of an Apprentice follows in October of 1910, perhaps along with those who were admitted into Lodge N^o 110 at Bardon Hill.

It is very likely that this candidate was admitted to the II^o and III^o Degrees on the same day. The Lodge has very few members up until 1912. A second Apprentice, R.E. Ogden, is admitted in September 1910, but into Lodge N^o 110 on behalf of Lodge N^o 91 due to a shortage of members; the only representatives of Lodge N^o 91 present being Stretton and no doubt Edward Male who was admitted the previous year. In 1912 Male and Ogden receive very rapid promotion; the former is made 2nd Master Mason VII^o, Stretton himself being the 1st Master Mason (see picture 17). For that year we have been able to distinguish 7 or 8 members of whom one was a Dame but we are not able to establish whether Lodge N^o 91 was a Co-masonic Lodge (Appendix-IV).

At the beginning the Lodge is surprisingly active. On the 3rd of July 1909 Stretton writes:

For instance on Thursday July 8 we begin to open 91 at 11.45 all ready by 11.58 for salute at XII. Then we go at once to the train 12.22 to Burton and Basses', return to Leicester at 9.32. close the Guild at 9.45 to 10 p.m. So 91 will be open for 10½ hours.

It is worth noting that there were some quarries at Burton and that Stretton, as a railway engineer, has complete confidence in the punctuality of English trains! On a more serious note, however, we should be aware that the Lodge is held at Stretton's private address, Saxe Coburg House and does not acquire the distinguishing title of "Leicester" until two years later. It bears simply the number 91 and its headed letter paper identifies it as being under the authority of "The Masons' Guild and Company". The well-known name of "The Worshipful Society of Free Masons, Rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviers, Plaisterers, and Bricklayers" does not appear until 1910 on the headed note paper of Lodge N^o 110 (Appendix-V). Only one Dame is admitted into 91, but she is initiated 'by courtesy' for Lodge N^o 91 in Lodge N^o 110 in 1910 and she is the wife of the Lodge's second Apprentice.

We believe that this Lodge N° 91 acts as the springboard for Stretton's operative system. He is its sole member to begin with but then Yarker is enrolled, although he never attends. Two further men and a Dame bring the total membership to five. It meets either in Stretton's home with the help of the members of Lodge N° 110 or at their own headquarters at Bardon Hill from the end of 1909. At no time is there ever any mention of the names of the three others whom Stretton declares as 'having joined' in his letter of the 6th of June 1909. Is this the same Lodge N° 91 or is Stretton using the number of an extinct lodge of doubtful origin? We are inclined to believe that the latter is the more likely answer. In the end, and very quickly, some confusion arises between the entity of Lodge N° 91 and the entity of the "District of the Division of York" of which Yarker, and later Stretton, are respectively the secretary.

Bardon Hill Lodge N° 110

The study of the creation and development of this second Lodge is very interesting. Between May and September of 1909, Stretton visits the quarries in the vicinity of Leicester: Burton, Croft and finally Bardon Hill. And it is there that he finds what he is looking for. On the 1st of October he writes to Yarker:

At Bardon Hill quarries near Leicester, there was an operative Free Masons Lodge 80 years ago, but for past 10 years it has held very few meetings. Mr. R.B. Grant is the Sup[erintenden]t of Works. I want to put a little life into it. I very much wish that you would write me a letter to point out that these old Lodges which have existed for years ought not to be allowed to die out. In order to help in the matter would you accept the position of a Past Master of the Bardon Free Masons Guild if they can get it to work. If they cannot raise enough members of the old Guild to hold a meeting they can make some new ones, and in the meantime we can help them from Leicester.

It is only 1½ hour ride by train from Leicester, so that I and a few other Guild Masons could soon run over, and help if we can get them to make a start.

The meeting with Mr. Grant is decisive. Aged 70, he is the manager of the Bardon Hill quarries which are owned by Ellis and Everard. He has under him a large number of employees running into several hundred. He is a man of professional standing but untutored as

Yarker⁴⁵ says and his style of writing bears this out. He lives literally at the quarries themselves along with other members of his family. In his writing Stretton always links Mr. Grant's professional undertakings with the development of Lodge N° 110, having, as he does, a working relationship with hundreds of theoretical members of the first degrees. Obviously this is pure fiction and not a single worker from the quarry appears in the Lodge other than those members of the Grant family who work there. Stretton's personality and his qualifications as an engineer make a strong impression on Mr. Grant. He is immediately won over by Stretton's idea of an Operative Guild which would validate his professional activity and that of his immediate family even though it is apparent that he is unaware of what it entails. Following an important meeting with Grant on the 3rd of October 1909, Stretton writes to Yarker on the 8th: "I have ordered 4 copies of your latest book from Tait, it will be most useful to some members of our Guilds, where they are not well up with the work". Stretton, taking account of Grant's professional status as Superintendent of the quarries, considers him *de facto* as belonging to the V° degree in the System.

On the 22nd of October, the first meeting of Lodge N° 110 takes place at Bardon Hill. With the help of Stretton, because the ritual has not yet been compiled, Grant receives six Apprentices, of whom five are members of his own family. Of the sixth, John Martin, there is never any further mention. The Lodge soon acquires the distinctive title of "Mount Bardon",⁴⁶ and urged on by Stretton's energetic enthusiasm, immediately embarks on a period of intense activity. On the 25th of October Stretton writes: "Bro. R.B. Grant the 'Supt of Work Bardon Hill' is most anxious for me to ask you to sign the Cards for the six new apprentices. He is very anxious for you to add Master Mason VII° and some of your other orders". Yarker does just that and signs the said documents: "John Yarker Master Mason VII°, a G.M. in the Rite of 33° F.M., entered by Clement E. Stretton, District Secretary". We should note here the appearance of this word 'District'. On the 6th of November, one month after his first meeting Grant, Stretton

⁴⁵ "He is described as an unread man, who has worked himself up by industry ..."
John Yarker: Handwritten notebook I: "Guild Rites I-IV°, March 1911", 11. This confirms, if it were necessary, that the articles which appeared in the *Co-Mason* under Robert Bennett Grant's signature were in fact written by Stretton using this pen-name.

⁴⁶ Claude Gagne has observed that this was the name of a Lodge of the Memphis Rite of which Yarker was a member. ("Au sujet du système de Stretton et d'une parodie du Compagnonnage" (September 1995), an unpublished paper).

writes: "I have been over to Bardon Hill today, they are getting a very good Operative Masons Guild there, the old 110 of 1831". On the 27th of November the Correspondence Circle is created. On the 30th of November Grant is admitted to the VII^o, and on the 12th of January 1910 becomes 1st Master Mason. This is indeed a rapid promotion since he has taken only three months to pass from the V^o to the VII^o whereas Stretton tells us that he took 31 months to achieve the same.

Everything moves very quickly; for a while Grant uses the headed notepaper of the quarry for correspondence related to Lodge 110 until such time as the Lodge should acquire its own. (Appendix-V). For a year there are no candidates for admission to the Lodge other than Dames, in June, in September (on behalf of Lodge N^o 91) and in October. In November 1910 Miss Bothwell-Gosse is affiliated and Grant's third son-in-law is admitted as an Apprentice. Starting in May 1909, in order to gain the maximum support from those who had shown any interest in his ideas, Stretton organises visits to the quarries around Leicester, especially Bardon Hill of course. Miss Bothwell-Gosse takes part several times in these "excursions" which always end, naturally, with tea taken at Stretton's or at Grant's home. Despite his efforts, Stretton finds the development of Lodge N^o 110 to be less than satisfactory and the arrival of the 'Dames' provides an appreciable supplement to the membership, allowing them to list 12 members in November of 1910: 8 men and 4 women. This makes for a rather large number to carry out the functions of 'Lady Stewards' for a Lodge of 8 men and it is certainly not how we are intended to look upon them, even though they still refer to them as Dames. We have already stated that the trials of the admission ceremony, stripped of some of the parts not suitable for women or deemed too shocking for the established customs of the age, are the same as those used for the initiation of men. We must conclude that Lodge N^o 110 is essentially co-masonic, with a few necessary amendments. We could call it the Grant Lodge since it is truly a family lodge. In a letter to Miss Bothwell-Gosse on the 21st of November 1910, Stretton, without any malice aforethought and even with humour, writes:

Mr. Grant is a brick, he has two sons and their wives, 2 daughters and their husbands, in his Lodge Total 9. Then he proposed his brother, and now he is going to have another daughter. Total 12. It will hardly be

necessary to put the minutes for conformation, you can take them for 'Granted'.⁴⁷

Even better: Stretton has forgotten to count in Geoffrey Bellward, Robert Grant's grandson! In this month of November 1910 the Mount Bardon Lodge N^o 110 has now reached a total of 12 members: the members of the Grant family, Miss Bothwell-Gosse and Stretton himself. (Appendix-IV)

The progress through the degrees continues to be very rapid, and in May of 1911 three members admitted as apprentices on the 22nd of October 1909 are fulfilling the roles of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Master Masons VII^o. The two Lodges develop little beyond this but in 1912 and 1913 sections of the Correspondence Circle are established in London, in Ireland and the United States. On the 21st of May 1913, 21 people gather for a meeting of the London Section. On that occasion Thomas Carr proceeds with the installation of a Lodge of Master Masons as the London Section of Lodges N^o 91 and N^o 110. Within a short space of time the First World War strips Lodge N^o 110 of the greater part of its members, and Stretton's death in February of 1915 delivers the final blow to Lodge N^o 91. The two Leicester Lodges soon disappear altogether. The London Section moves quickly and on the 14th of April 1915 announces the creation of the Westminster Division N^o 2 and its constitution in 'Channel Row Assemblage' under the auspices of that Division. Finally on the 19th of October 1931 the 'Channel Row Assemblage', comprising some 21 members, is constituted as the Grand Assembly of Operative Free Masons and creates a regulatory body under the title of 'Grand Assemblage of Operative Free Masons'.⁴⁸ The continuity of the Guild is thus assured after the disappearance of the two lodges founded by Stretton and the resulting disappearance of the Division N^o 8, that of York.

The criticism of Speculative Freemasonry

Throughout all of his correspondence Stretton demonstrates great hostility towards Anderson. This is hardly surprising since he attributes the creation of the Moderns' speculative Freemasonry to his distortion of Operative Freemasonry. Stretton cannot find words nor

⁴⁷ Stretton writes the word 'Granted' with a capital G and in inverted commas.

⁴⁸ Bing 1975.

insults strong enough with which to describe Anderson, going so far as to say that since the discovery in 1715 of the supposed treachery of the Pastor, entry into membership of the Guilds is forbidden to anyone bearing the hated name. This extreme ostracism quite clearly fades away during the 20th Century as one M.J. Beevor Anderson figures among the Master Masons VII^o who took part in the Grand Assembly of Operative Free Masons in 1931.⁴⁹ This active hostility leads to a most virulent contempt for 'Modern' Freemasons. In Stretton's eyes they are little more than fools; stupid men with no thought other than towards overindulging in food and drink. A few examples drawn from many will serve to make the point: "The modern Masons are such fools that it is useless to give them information for they cannot understand it".⁵⁰ "It seems to me that Anderson & Co. wanted just what they got. A peculiar system of excuse for going out to a Banquet without their wives. And that is just what it is now, a 1st class feeding club".⁵¹ "We don't know the depth of ignorance that is in the heads of the modern Masonic Banquet 'fools'".⁵² Stretton went so far as to amuse himself by designing a jewel parodying the different ones that were prevalent in English Freemasonry⁵³ with representations of a knife, fork, spoon, plate and bottles, and bearing the motto "Eat, drink and be merry".⁵⁴ We should not forget, however, that Stretton was himself a member of this speculative Freemasonry which he despised so much, from 1871 until the end of his life, that he was twice the Worshipful Master of his own Lodge, and did not refuse the Provincial honours offered to him.

What is even more surprising is that Stretton's hostility towards Anderson spread over into the latter's calling as a Minister, holding against him the introduction of Christian values into Freemasonry. This rejection of all Christian influence by the Operatives is a matter of profound disagreement between Yarker and him. On the 28th of August 1908 Stretton writes to Yarker:

When Anderson began his tricks in 1714, there is no doubt he wanted to make Masonry Christian. I have been told he made Christ take the part

⁴⁹ Bing 1975 31.

⁵⁰ Letter to Yarker of 20/08/1910.

⁵¹ Letter to Yarker of 15/04/1909.

⁵² Letter to Yarker of 16/11/1909.

⁵³ Perhaps more especially the past Zerubbabel's jewel of a Royal Arch Chapter which has three sceptres of the three principals in bars on the ribbon.

⁵⁴ Letter to Yarker of 7/08/1908.

of H[iram], and he made him rise again, whereas Guild Masons simply give H. a grand funeral and there he ends. (no rising to life). [...] We have nothing about Christ or saints or Church ...

And on the following 12th of September: "In the Guild system we have no Mount Calvary of Jesus or anything so modern, I fear Anderson introduced some of those ideas". No doubt Yarker must have explained to him the irrefutable evidence of the presence of Christian references in the Old Charges since Stretton, reluctantly, backtracks. On the 16th of September he writes:

We can't understand how the Virgin Mary, or Holy Church could get into the Masonic Guilds. We have nothing to shew that they did. But if you can find that the church was mixed up with some of the Guilds then we can only think that it was done by the Priests.

It may be that when Masons were building a church, the Priests introduced matters that did not belong to true Free Masonry.

In spite of everything Stretton continues to try to keep Christian references out of Operative masonry. On the 26th of March 1909 he writes to Yarker: "I think you must keep Jesus out of your Guild history because the Mason's death of H[iram] is long, long before his time".

Opposition to the Historical School

Another object of Stretton's loathing should come as no surprise. He was entirely opposed to the writers and researchers who, as freemasons were members of this new phenomenon: the "historical school". It was on a rising tide of popularity as Colin Dyer so amply demonstrates in his history of the 'Quatuor Coronati' Lodge.⁵⁵

The need to revise the Book of Constitutions after the Union in 1813 focused attention on the only official history of the origins of freemasonry before 1723. This traced its roots back to Adam. Obviously, they had not yet reached the point of calling into question the Biblical version of the creation story, but some Masons were beginning to wonder and worry about the lack of any alternative to the one written by Anderson in the first part of the Book of Constitutions. In 1850 Darwin's theory produced shockwaves everywhere. In 1839

⁵⁵ Dyer 1986a.

J.O. Halliwell's study of the Regius Manuscript and its publication in 1840 cleared the way.⁵⁶ The need to find an authentic history of Freemasonry became imperative. It led, in particular, to the foundation in 1885 of the Lodge N° 2076 'Quatuor Coronati' whose work is devoted to historical research and especially an understanding of the origins of freemasonry. Its founders were Freemasons who were historians and researchers: Charles Warren, William Henry Rylands, Robert Freke Gould, William James Hughan (see picture 15), etc. The founding of more Lodges of research follows quickly, in Manchester and Leicester for example. Many brethren are anxious to know their true origins. But not all of them; far from it in fact. A great many English Masons see this research with its rigorous academic approach as a serious attack, a sacrilege even, against the spirituality conveyed by Freemasonry and on its very initiatory nature, founded as it is on oral tradition with a total ban on writing anything down concerning the tradition of the Craft. For example: in 1872 Brother Thomas Lewis Fox publishes a pamphlet in which he defends, without any concessions to anyone or anything, the Biblical version of creation and the mythical origins of Freemasonry.⁵⁷ The adherents to the "romantic" school are diametrically opposed to the historical school and Stretton lines up alongside them. The historical school demands documentary evidence in support of the theories put forward, and the one relating to the appearance of speculative Freemasonry at the beginning of the 18th century is no exception. Now, for Stretton the history of the Guild needs not to be proven, still less its existence. Nevertheless, his affirmations, most especially those concerning the uninterrupted existence of the actual practice of a ritual within operative Guilds well before 1717, and his theory about the creation of speculative Freemasonry by Anderson, cannot be ignored by the historical school. In 1908 and 1909 there ensues an exchange of letters between Stretton and Hughan which appear in *The Freemason*. Stretton is very critical of the historical school. In 1908 he writes to Yarker: "Now you know just the fringe of the ancient guild system of King Solomon, what do you think of some of the so-called 'History of Freemasonry'?"⁵⁸ "I

⁵⁶ Halliwell 1840; edition used: Halliwell 1844.

⁵⁷ Fox 1872.

⁵⁸ 3/8/1908. The reference is to Robert Freke Gould's book, *The History of Freemasonry*, first published in three volumes between 1882 and 1887, reprinted several times and which remains a major work of reference for all researchers into Freemasonry.

wish you had seen Bro. Gould, as he is evidently not so clear on the matter as he should be".⁵⁹ "I have no doubt that your book will wake up some of the so-called Masonic historians. They will find they know nothing about Freemasonry. I am truly surprised that Gibson, Hughan, Gould and others have tried to write the history without going into the Guild part of the matter".⁶⁰ "Hughan, Sadler, and others can't understand that the guild has 7 degrees and that they don't know the fact".⁶¹

His opposition increases at the beginning of 1909. Stretton affirms that the entire history of Anderson's treachery and his version of the creation of the Grand Lodge of London are proved by an original document whose provenance is incontestable: the minute book of the 'St. Paul' Lodge of the Guild held at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Obviously Hughan asks to see the minute book which, if authentic, is of invaluable importance not only as proof of what Stretton has been saying all along, but as a key to better understanding the period up to 1723 for which no other book of this kind has been found. Stretton refuses point blank, stating that the document is only open to Grand Master Masons of the VII°. On the 24th of April 1909 he writes:

Of course Hughan wants to see the Guild Masons books, without being a member which is absurd. You might as well go to his house and ask to see inside his iron safe. [...] If Hughan and Co. don't know let them find out by serving Apprenticeship same as I did.

The two positions are irreconcilable. No matter how much Hughan credits Stretton with being a man of good faith, no serious historian can accept an unsubstantiated claim and even more so given that Stretton has no credentials as an historian himself and can give no guarantees as to the authenticity of the document. Even if there were such a document, it would not be the first spurious one in the history of Freemasonry. It goes without saying that Hughan is critical of the "Theory of the Guild" in the 1909 edition of his book the *Origin of the English Ritual in Freemasonry*. Referring to the pamphlet *Tectonic Art*, he writes:

⁵⁹ 7/10/1908.

⁶⁰ 28/10/1908.

⁶¹ 8/04/1909.

[Bro. C.E. Stretton] remarks that the workmen of that period were divided into two distinct classes, viz. "Square Masons and Arch Mason. The former, who were distinguished by the colour blue, were divided into seven degrees ... the seventh being the degree of Grand Master Mason." "The Arch Masons (or *Red* Masons) Guild was also divided into seven degrees."

Not a single MS. has yet been made public which proves that seven degrees were thus known to Dr. Anderson, or to any other Brother in 1714; but as a matter of fact, all Masonic Records before 1717 so far traced and published, are entirely silent as to *Red* and *Blue* Masons (so-called), and likewise as to Dr. Anderson's connection with the Freemasons prior to the third decade of the 18th Century.

The year 1714 is much too late for the introduction of the Speculative element of the Craft; quite a profusion of minutes of such admissions having been traced from the year 1600. All we can do, therefore, is to patiently wait for the production of documents in confirmation of the claims thus made, and so intelligently and persistently advocated.⁶²

Stretton immediately classes Hughan as an enemy to be defeated. On the 29th of November 1909, he writes; "I find Hughan's last new book reprinted by Thorp has had a very poor sale! Good!" On the 24th of October he had already written to Yarker about the publication of his booklet entitled *The Guild Charges*.⁶³

In your preface you mention Hughan, Sadler and others, but in fact these brethren have done nothing more than take the Guild charges and print them. These charges have nothing to do with Modern Freemasonry so it is difficult to see why they trouble to print other people's charges.

A year later on the 7th of October 1910 we read:

There is no doubt that the Hughan School are very sick. They have proved that G[rand] L[odge] knows nothing before 1717, so that they are powerless to contradict any statement in your book, [...] or by Co Mason. The information in Co Mason completely takes the wind out of their sails.

We should note here that as far as Yarker is concerned things are not quite so black and white as is the case with Stretton. He maintains close ties with the historical school. He had been a member of the

⁶² Hughan 1909 31-32.

⁶³ Yarker 1909a.

correspondence circle of "Quatuor Coronati" form the very outset; he fully recognises the need for documentary evidence and always attempts to provide it in his writings; he has an extensive masonic library for his time and devotes many hours to the study of manuscripts of the *Old Charges*. But he is often less disciplined than he might be, and his passion for esotericism in general and for all the different varieties of higher degrees in particular, leads him not so much towards the objective examination of the facts but rather towards the proposition of a theory for which he then sets out to find some proof, at the expense of stretching the principles of documentary evidence and making it fit when it does not provide the answers he is looking for. He does not make the effort to substantiate what he is told and glosses over the need to check his sources. Yet in spite of all that Yarker distances himself from Stretton. He is beguiled by his system but as he examines the replies to his questions he cannot help but be aware of certain inconsistencies. He remains divided between the historical and the romantic schools, for which Stretton reproaches him on several occasions; he himself being most definitely of the latter and a fierce opponent of the former.

The Sources used by Stretton and Yarker

The idea of documentary proof now leads us to examine the sources of Clement Stretton and John Yarker. Clearly, Stretton claims an essentially oral tradition which he tries to support by reference to certain documents. Elsewhere he relies heavily on the sources that Yarker makes use of.

Stretton's Sources

The only source claimed by Stretton is that which he received orally in the Guild to which he says he belonged. The only proof he brings in support is the minute book of the St. Paul Operative Lodge, which he refuses to allow anyone to see. On the 23rd of August 1908 he writes:

Privately the minute book re the split of the St. Pauls Guild Sept. 1714, is clearly written, it is in a room into which only Guild Masons can be admitted and from which it cannot be allowed to be removed. So it is useless for any non member to want to see it.

And the following day:

When I wrote to the *Freemason* first I had only seen a photo of the old Guild Minute book but on the 21 April 1908 I saw the book itself, as stated in the *Freemason* 25 April 1908 page 689. I have had the old book in my own hands.

On the other hand he makes frequent reference to the *Old Charges* and to the survival of fraternities and operative associations. He speaks often of the Grand Lodge of York; for example: "I am informed that for very many years before 1813, the Grand Lodge of York had the Operative meetings every Saturday afternoon at XII noon, and the Modern meetings every Friday at 7 pm. The pass words were different ...".⁶⁴ He also makes mention of the Royal Order of Scotland stating that: "I can see that the Royal Order of Scotland has much that the Guild has in our Passed Masters degree, - the curtain is of course the same as our folding doors. We have the grip of Harodine".⁶⁵ He quotes the writings of Oliver but his most frequent reference is the Mason's Company of London and Conder's book on the subject. In 1894 Edward Conder brought out a book on the Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London, comprised of the minutes of the said Society between 1619 and 1894, together with numerous other details relating to it.⁶⁶ This book is of great value in the study of the operative societies. Stretton attaches considerable importance to it, emphasising on numerous occasions that the only thing it lacks is any mention of the operatives' ritual which he claims to know. Lastly he relies heavily on the source which Yarker mentions in his first letters, referring to it as the 'Old York Ritual'. He quotes it several times, citing it as the 'York Durham Ritual'. On the 31st of August 1908 he writes to Yarker: "The more you look into the York Durham Ritual the more you will find of our Masons Guild working. Masons Guild Members are quite aware of this fact. There are whole pages together of the old ritual which in the York Durham have not been altered at all". We shall examine this source in more detail when we look at those used by Yarker.

⁶⁴ Letter to Yarker of 7/8/1908.

⁶⁵ Letter to Yarker of 23/8/1908.

⁶⁶ Conder 1894.

Yarker's Sources

For his part Yarker uses a variety of sources, mainly the Old Charges which were known at the time; his pamphlet entitled *The Guild Charges*⁶⁷ presents an accurate and interesting synopsis, even if the link with Stretton's System is never established. He also mentions several rituals, of which the Durham and Bristol versions seem to him to most resemble the System his correspondent describes. Stretton confirms in his letter of the 6th of August 1908: "So we can see at once the little difference between my Operative ritual and your Durham ritual is due to the 1725 alterations". And again on the 8th of August:

You will be able to explain very clearly that the York Durham ritual is the true Guild working with very little alteration. You might refer to a lecture [in the] Freemason [of] 19 Oct. 1907 p. 242 – and say it is evident that Bro. Stretton gave the ancient Durham working as nearly as might be given.

But Yarker's principal point of reference, which Stretton repeatedly links to the Durham which he believes originated in York, is what he calls the 'Old York Ritual'. From the beginning of July 1908, at the very start of the exchange of letters between them, he makes Stretton aware that he has a copy of the ritual and sends him a resumé of it. Stretton is full of enthusiasm. On the 3rd of August he writes: "The notes you sent me are wonderful, they show that under the Old York ritual you have got hold of the true ancient system of the Operatives as it came down from K. Solomon and as it was communicated to me in the stone yard and in the Masons Guild". And the next day he reiterates this: "It is evident that by some means you have got hold of the ancient working or practically the same with few alterations". And the day after: "It is quite clear that the York ritual which you have sent to me, is on just the same lines as the Ancient Guild system".

So just what is this 'Old York Ritual'? Whatever it is, in 1908 it is nothing new. For masonic researchers of the time it had been for several decades their very own 'Loch Ness Monster'. It is linked to the Grand Lodge of York, also known as the Grand Lodge of all England which, even though it may well have existed,⁶⁸ certainly gave rise to more legends than authenticated facts. A good number of works

⁶⁷ Yarker 1909a.

⁶⁸ Clearly we are not saying that this York Grand Lodge never existed since it is proved beyond doubt ; what is of interest here is to find out whether Yarker had any knowledge of an authentic ancient ritual from this Grand Lodge.

have been written on the subject, the most significant by Hughan. They have especially made it possible to disassociate this Grand Lodge from the York Rite currently worked in the United States, having nothing in common other than the name in a manner somewhat similar to Scotland and another Rite. Few authors have made mention of the 'Old York Rite', which has nothing to do with the American York Rite. Hughan's interest is demonstrated in a work almost totally given over to the study of York Freemasonry, published as *Masonic Sketches and Reprints* in 1871. This is what he writes:

We have often been asked, "What was the York Rite, and is it *now* worked?" On this point we have received numerous letters from Brethren "at home and abroad", and to all we have given the one reply, There *is* no such Rite, and *what it was*, no one *now* knows. The "Grand Lodge of *all* England" ceased to work during the last decade of the eighteenth century, and as there is no one living at the present time who was a member of that Body, and as all our investigations, (as also those of several most intelligent and indefatigable Masonic students) have failed to trace the "Rite", either through oral transmission, or by any other means, we cannot but believe that all attempts to dogmatize on such a subject, and palm off on credulous Masons the "Ancient York Rite", is not only absurd, but positively wrong and contrary to fact.⁶⁹

In conclusion we present Miss Debenham's evidence which was included in a commentary on Stretton's previously quoted letter of the 3rd of August 1908 that appeared in *The Speculative Mason* in 1951:

The old York ritual alluded to is presumably synonymous with the ritual of that name contained in a notebook in Yarker's handwriting in the Yarker library. The latter proves to be an abbreviated copy made by Yarker in 1890 of a copy in Alexander Dalziel's handwriting of a ritual said to belong to York and the original of which was dated circa 1761. Alexander Dalziel was initiated in All Saint's Lodge, Wooler, and must have made his copy of the York ritual between 1804 and 1820. Later he moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Dalziel's copy was apparently not from the 1761 original but from a copy of this made in 1790, but either he or Yarker gave his copy the 1790 date, probably Dalziel. (He was only 9 years old in 1790, so this is the only possible explanation). John Yarker called this ritual the "Old York Ritual", not Dalziel.

It is known that the 1761 original existed but it has disappeared and all that remains of the 1790 copy of this is John Yarker's abbreviated ver-

⁶⁹ Hughan 1871 148.

sion in his notebook. The ritual in Yarker's Notebook is not the same as the "Wooler ritual" also transcribed by Dalziel although the latter may have been Dalziel's modernization of the 1790 copy, as there are points in common as well as many differences.

These facts have been checked from a reliable source.

In Yarker's "Old York Ritual" the 3rd degree is a more dramatic performance than the present ceremony and in that sense approximates more to the Guild Passion Play of October 2nd, but otherwise it is difficult to see any close resemblance to the Guild system. It is not divided into seven degrees and the Master sits in the East.⁷⁰

It is quite unnecessary to take this any further to conclude that the 'Old York Ritual' is a source without value.⁷¹

The Inconsistencies of Stretton and his System

Having systematically examined every aspect of this extraordinary affair we are drawn towards putting the inconsistencies in Stretton's writings and his attitude as well as in his Operative System itself under the spotlight. We will restrict ourselves to looking into the most important aspects, for there are many. Claude Gagne has already highlighted a number of them, stressing, after having verified it, the impossibility of finding a source for Stretton's system within the Guilds.

Stretton's inconsistencies.

In his correspondence Stretton frequently returns to the same theme, and the similarity of what he writes on several occasions, and furthermore to both his correspondents shows that:

1. At the time when his correspondence with Yarker begins he introduces himself on the 12th of August 1908 as belonging only to the VI^o degree: "I am a qualified Engineer and Mason, a 6th degree man, but as I don't own a stone yard I can't become a Master Mason". (I.e. a Grand Master Mason in Degree 7). However, on the 31st of August

⁷⁰ *The Speculative Mason* 43 (first issue 1951) 18, note *. See also *The Speculative Mason* 41 (July 1949) 85.

⁷¹ We are here only taking into account the source mentioned by Yarker himself, and not any of the other 'Old York Rituals' since this is not the purpose of our study. The only aspect of any interest to us is the declaration by Miss Debenham who had in her possession both Yarker's document and Stretton's ritual: "it is difficult to see any close resemblance to the Guild system".

1908 he sends Yarker very precise details of the opening in the VII° which is normally only done in the presence of members of that degree and which he ought not to have known since he states in his letter to the Leicester Lodge of research that he was not admitted to the VII° until October of 1908. He seems to confirm this in a letter to Yarker dated the 5th of October 1908 in which he explains: “on Friday last there was no 7th degree man available to perform the duties, and I went under special instructions to act. I was given the 7th degree powers for that one day only from XII noon to VI p.m. Dressed in a little brief authority for 6 hours was my position after which I fell down again back into my 6th degree rank”. He makes no mention of any meeting held in the month of October 1908. A year later, on the 3rd of October 1909 he informs Yarker that he has reached the summit of achievement in the System, his name having been added to the list of the Third Grand Master Masons ‘retired list’, and that he was therefore a member of the Sanhedrim, the supreme governing body of the Guild. So, was Stretton admitted to the VII° in 1908 or 1909? It is not at all clear. In any case, since he has not bought a quarry we can only presume that he must have rented one, although he never makes mention of this. And yet it can’t have been a trifling affair. It is also quite surprising that we have not the slightest inclination of the names of those who admitted him on one or other of the dates. At the same time he cannot be said to be slow to disclose most confidential information nor yet the names of those participating in his System. Likewise, the distinction between Master Mason and Grand Master Mason remains rather blurred. Stretton seems to distinguish the three officers of the VII° as Grand Master Masons and to refer to the others as Master Masons whilst the latter, according to the ritual, have been first admitted as a Grand Master Mason. He often uses one term in place of the other. On the 13th of April 1910 he leaves Yarker to understand that he has not yet reached the degree of 2nd Grand Master Mason: “Of course you have to remember that I have been in this 3rd M. M. chair and know what I was told – but I do not know if when a man is made 2nd or 1st Master Mason, he gets any more information”. So just exactly when was Stretton installed into the second and then the first chair? It is really very difficult to say, especially when we consider that Grant, admitted to the V°, VI° and VII° degrees in October – November 1909, has already been installed in the first chair on the 12th of January 1910! Whatever the situation is, he definitely signs a document as 1st Master Mason on the 2nd of June 1912.

2. Is Stretton an Arch Mason or is he not? Earlier he has confirmed that he is not, is not able and has no desire to be. On the 9th of September 1908 he writes: "I am not a member of the Guild Arch 7° so really can't say what it is". Then on the 1st of March 1909:

A boy could be apprenticed to the arch or to the square, but not to both. [...] A square guild mason who had worked up to the 7th degree square, never began again in the 1st degree Arch. Do you think that after 42 years in "Square" I am going to begin as an apprentice in the arch stone yard. Not likely!

If I had known as much 42 years ago as I do now, I would have gone into the Arch as an apprentice.

Despite this the separation becomes less distinct at the end of this same month of March. Stretton writes on the 29th: "Although I am not a Guild Arch Mason I know about all the ritual. We shall have to work up the Arch side of the question". A year later he has already communicated to Yarker a substantial amount of information concerning the VII° degree of the Arch, such as the detailed description of the staff of office of each of the three Grand Master Masons of the Arch and of their assembly. On the 15th of August 1910, he writes to Miss Bothwell-Gosse: "I have been staying a week at Bardon, on top of the Hill and in the quarries most of the time, and an operative Lodge meeting every day. We went through all 7 square and all 7 arch degrees, in the week". We can only conclude, therefore, that Stretton (we know not how) had been able to go through the 7 degrees of the Arch since the 1st of March 1909. There is one possible explanation in the pamphlet published by Thomas Carr in 1911: "In these two higher grades, VI and VII, it is possible for a man of high social position to be Passed Master [VI°] or a Grand Master [VII°] in both Square and Arch Masonry".⁷² No doubt Stretton was unaware of this in March 1909.

3. The interpretation by Stretton of the wording of the oath sworn by the Operatives concerning secrecy is fairly surprising and, to say the least, rather lax. This oath of secrecy is absolutely binding and consists of elements also known in speculative Masonry: "I will not at any time hereafter by any act or circumstances whatsoever, directly or indirectly, write, print, cut, mark, publish, discover, reveal, or make

⁷² Carr 1911 18.

Known, etc”.⁷³ We can readily accept that this forbids him to disclose to anyone whatsoever the contents of the minute book of the St. Paul operative Lodge, even though these—if they exist at all—are only concerned with the day to day running of the Guild and not with the esoteric or ritualistic part of its life, since these are supposed not to have been written down, and even though the exposure of but a small fragment of them would serve as documentary evidence of the age of Stretton’s system. But it does seem totally inconsistent that this same obligation should not prevent him from divulging, either directly himself or through the good offices of Yarker—who, in principle was bound by the same undertaking—of the whole of the inner workings of the Operatives including the pass words and sacred text. It is also worth noting that not one of the members who were received into the VII° degree of Grand Master Mason ever stated that they had read nor even cast eyes upon the St. Paul minute book, although their rank would have permitted them access to it. It is no real surprise to learn, then, that serious doubt has been cast as to the existence of this proof. Of course it could be said that some of the inconsistencies we have pointed out—among others—reflect more on the character of Stretton himself than on his System. We would argue that they also bring into question the latter’s credibility and authenticity, given that the inconsistencies we have found relate not just to Stretton but to his System itself.

Inconsistencies of the System

These are numerous indeed. Pierre Girard-Augry⁷⁴ and Claude Gagne,⁷⁵ among others, have already made this clear. We will restrict ourselves to looking at the most important ones and those concerned with the technical side. One of Stretton’s prime claims is the link between the professional activities of members of the Guild and the transposition into the ritual of working knowledge of the construction crafts, of their techniques and their organisation since time immemorial throughout the entire world. But some aspects of his System are in direct contradiction of this fundamental statement.

1. Stretton makes a clear and absolute distinction between Operative Masonry of the Square and Operative Masonry of the Arch, even though, as we have seen, this might be subject to a few adjustments at

⁷³ 1° Apprentice – March 1911.

⁷⁴ Girard-Augry 1981.

⁷⁵ Gagne 1995.

a later date. Such a distinction is not to be found in any traditional professional organisation and if, for example, the hewers of stone can have a specialisation in respect of their particular skill, there is no separation of other aspects of work such as dressing, drafting of plans, overseeing or the laying of stones.

2. Stretton takes this even further, strictly forbidding the use of compasses by Square Masons. On the 5th of October he writes:

If an Arch or red mason finds a square mason using a pair of compasses it is his duty to jam one point into his centre, and the other into his heart, and kill him.

Compasses are not allowed in an Operative Guild Lodge of Square or blue Masons

The Arch Masons made all those round pillars for Solomon's house etc.

He extended this total ban as far as forbidding the use of round symbolic columns as opposed to polygonal ones in Operative lodges of Square Masons. Such a ban is a nonsense, based on a completely false notion; neither the compass nor the square are actual tools used in working on material but belong to the set of instruments used in measuring and verification. A compass is very rarely used by a craftsman to draw a circle unless he is a tracer or a sculptor which are professions that Stretton distinguishes from that of stonemason. In the general body of crafts associated with building work, stonemasonry included among them, a compass is used as device for gauging and measuring. The building of columns, contrary to expectations, does not require the use of a compass, since from earliest times they are made on a lathe either in a single piece or in sections depending on the height of the vault and the diameter. The stonemason turner only needs templates or profiles and linear measurements relating to radius, diameter and height. As far as necessary, I refer the reader to the publications on the subject by professionals, particularly the ones dealing with the use of stone in building, among which those by Jean-Claude Bessac and Pierre Noël are altogether remarkable.⁷⁶

3. The main inconsistency resides in the decisive application within his system of a little known measuring instrument: the groma. In the VI°, as in the ceremony of the commemoration of the death of Hiram, the use of a wooden structure in the shape of a cross from which are suspended five plumb lines is paramount. It is to be found in the

⁷⁶ Bessac 1986; Noël 1968.

complex gamut of tools used by the Operative Lodges, but also in much larger proportions as a stretcher carried by four men, on which the person representing the assassinated Hiram lies. An essential part of the System, this instrument represents the operative symbol of the 'five points'. Stretton describes it in great detail on the 1st of May in reply to a question put to him by Yarker about this "permanent wooden cross hanging over the centre in No: 6":

Yes. There is a model – there is a base hollow square, say 1 foot 6 inches square – four uprights at corners say 3 feet high then a flat portion about 1 foot square. Then two strips of wood each about 3 feet long and a screw at the centre – and the under side is a plumb line, and at the four corners a plumb line. The 5 points are set to the centre at the proper angle required.

This instrument can be seen clearly on the photo exhibiting the working tools of an Operative Lodge (see picture 16 and Appendix-VII). It is a groma, used during the Roman era by surveyors alongside another device, a chorobate, which served to lay levels. An article by A. Lewis published in *The Speculative Mason*⁷⁷ entitled "The Surveyors Groma" presents it as being an essential item in an Operative Lodge. This groma was studied in the 19th century, in particular in a work *Gromatici veteres* by K. Lachmann and A. Rudorff which was published in 1848 and dealt with the surveying techniques used by the Romans.⁷⁸ But at the time the instrument remained little understood. The only images of it on the funeral steli of two surveyors (*agrimensor*) revealed precious little as to how the cross is supported on its centre so as to allow room for the fifth plumb line. Archaeological digs in the ruins of Pompeii after 1860 uncovered a groma in a toolmakers shop. For a much more detailed description the best work to consult is that of Jean-Pierre Adam published in 1982 and 1983.⁷⁹ The model as conceived by Stretton has a foot which allows the fifth plumb line to be fixed in place although this pedestal cannot be used on uneven ground.

Why is all this significant? It is quite simple. The groma died out with the Romans. Vitruvius, studied since the Renaissance, makes

⁷⁷ *The Speculative Mason* 22 (October 1930) 138-139.

⁷⁸ K. Lachmann and A. Rudorff: *Gromatici veteres, Die Schriften der Romischen Feldmesser*, Blume: Berlin 1848, quoted in Adam 1982 1006, note 12.

⁷⁹ Adam 1982 1003-1029 and Adam 1983 22-29.

mention of the chorobate,⁸⁰ but never the groma. This instrument, fallen into desuetude, is completely unknown until the middle of the 19th century, a time when research and archaeological study reveal its existence and its nature. Therefore, even if we accept the possibility that Stretton was not the creator of his own System, it cannot have been coherently put together before the middle of the century before last. In one of his lectures, René Desaguliers (pseudonym of René Guilly, 1921-1992) stressed the fundamental importance of this inconsistency.

Conclusion and Summary

It is time to draw matters to a close, and we would first of all wish to emphasise how interesting the content of Stretton's System is. We intend to publish it at a later date. It is abundantly rich in symbolism, which will always attract those who are interested in ritual and esotericism. We are convinced that if Stretton had put in place a system of degrees complementary to speculative Freemasonry without any claim to an historical pedigree, such as exist today in other domains, he would have been certain to receive the warmest of welcomes and both guaranteed and swift expansion. This he did not do and we have to conclude that:

1. Everything we know about Stretton's System has only one source and that is Stretton's own statements:
 - there is no documentary proof;
 - there is no direct link established between the various operative societies that have been in existence since the 17th century and remain so to this day, the best known example perhaps being that of the Livery Companies of London.
 - Some of these operative societies in the 19th century practise a ritual, the content of which is known, as in the case of the society of Operative Masons of Clapham Common,⁸¹ but this has only a very superficial resemblance to so-called Modern Freemasonry and none whatsoever to Stretton's system.

⁸⁰ Vitruve 1673 248-249.

⁸¹ Grantham 1958 42-52.

- All the documents quoted by Stretton as confirmation of his theory, especially the Old Charges, have no direct historical connection to it.
 - It has been recognised for a considerable time now that a good number of *gentlemen* were 'accepted' into English operative lodges well before 1714.
2. Stretton constantly blurs the distinction between these operative societies on the one hand, and both the so-called Freemasonry of the "Antients" and the Grand Lodge of York on the other.
 3. No proof, not a single verifiable name of any other participant is given in relation to Stretton's admission to the different degrees of his System including the later ones which took place at the time of his correspondence with John Yarker and Miss Bothwell-Gosse.
 4. Stretton's system is full of inconsistencies and anachronisms which preclude the possibility of any origin prior to the middle of the 19th century.
 5. The rituals penned by John Yarker come from a single source: the notes supplied to him by Stretton. Not only is the 'Old York Ritual', propounded as a confirmation of these notes, of very doubtful origin, but on top of that it has next to nothing in common with the Operative System itself.
 6. The putting into practice of Stretton's System after 1909 is more of an experiment than the continuation of something handed down from posterity. We note the following:
 - a promotional campaign, cleverly orchestrated by Stretton and following a clear strategy, by letters, press releases, publications, lectures etc. both in England and the United States.
 - the practice of the System in total contradiction of the principles set out by Stretton himself in order to guarantee the most rapid and far-reaching expansion; initiation by correspondence; admission as members of people who have no links at all with the operative crafts; the edging of the lodges towards mixed membership; very rapid promotion from one degree to the next including the very highest degrees.

So is it inherited or is it invented? We can hardly consider it inherited: if Clement Stretton is not the ingenious inventor of this system, which

seems to us to be the most likely scenario, it cannot possibly date from any earlier than the middle of the 19th century. The numerous publications of the time on subjects such as the religious and spiritual roots of the Middle and Far East; erudite and varied papers such as the study of the swastika, the bibliography of which, published by Thomas Wilson in 1894, is composed of no less than 118 references;⁸² the ritual belonging to Speculative Masonry, to the Mark and the Holy Royal Arch, not forgetting the many side and high degrees, furnish enough elements for it to be perfectly conceivable that an intelligent, methodical and opinionated man such as Stretton could have synthesised them into a separate entity. The book published by Conder in 1894⁸³ on the Operative Societies of London provided a perfectly adequate historical context. What was needed was to provide him with the ritual that he was so obviously lacking, as Stretton himself wrote.

So is it a forgery? Not really. This word carries a pejorative implication of deceit. We remain convinced that Stretton never set out with the intention to deceive anyone. But he could not stand the development of the historical school in Masonry. He no doubt wanted to put forward something in opposition to what he saw as an attempt to destroy ancient and traditional Masonry, and simply failed to grasp that true faith cannot be founded on obscurantism, that history does not judge, still less condemn, but that it does give us the safety net so indispensable for our imagination. Clement Stretton never wanted to go backwards, being as he said himself, 'firm in his opinions and not forgiving anybody' and 'when a matter is taken in hand, stick to it till the end'. And so he remained until his death. We would rather see it as fiction than as forgery and would leave the final word to Arthur Bowes, a member of the Correspondence Circle of the Mount Bardon Operative Lodge N^o 110, who, writing in the *Notes and Queries* section of *The Freemason* on the 15th of May 1915 on the subject of Clement Stretton's revelations, stated: "If it be fiction what charming fiction it is!"⁸⁴

⁸² Wilson 1894.

⁸³ Conder 1894.

⁸⁴ Press cutting found in the collection of correspondence from Clement Stretton to John Yarker, and quoted by J.D. Bing in his article on the Operatives (Bing 1975 36).

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APPENDIX-I
STRETTON'S *TECTONIC ART*

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Tectonic Art.

**Ancient Trade Guilds and
Companies.**

Free Masons' Guilds.

BY

CLEMENT E. STRETTON,

Member Society of Engineers, Leicester.

A Paper read before the Leicester Association of Engineers, Leicester,
on Saturday, 20th February, 1909.

Reprinted (by request) from the "Melton Mowbray Times."

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Author's Note.



For thousands of years Guilds in general and the Free Masons' Guild in particular, carried out the most strict letter of the law, not to allow outsiders to obtain the very "least trace" of the Ancient system of working, but a few years ago at a meeting held at York it was decided that it was perfectly lawful to give certain "bare facts" on condition that the proposed article or communication be first sent to the proper Officer for his "mark of approval."

During the past few years a number of interesting visits, have been paid to quarries, Iron works, Coal mines and Engineering works in or near Leicestershire, and at several of the quarries much interest was taken in the fact that although the work was not being carried out under the Guild system, many of the workmen "proved themselves by proper signs" to be members of the Ancient Operative Masons' Guild, which system has come down to us from Babylon.

When the writer was first asked to draw up a paper on Operative Masonry he feared that it would be impossible to write anything of interest without running the risk of saying too much. However, after consultation with a Grand Master Mason the work was undertaken.

When the M.S. was completed it was duly forwarded to the proper Officer, and came back with the necessary "mark of approval" and very highly commended, as "the best thing that had been written upon this subject."

On the 20th, February last the paper was read before the Leicester Association of Engineers, at their meeting held at the Technical School, Leicester, and the reports of the same have appeared in the "Melton Moworay Times" for March 12th and 26th, April 2nd, 9th and 16th.

Naturally it is pleasing to the writer to find that the articles have proved of so much public interest that they are to be reproduced in the present pamphlet form.

Saxe Coburg House,

Leicester, April 19th, 1909.

CLEMENT E. STRETTON,

(Masons' Guild, 7th degree).

TECTONIC ART.

Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies.

Free Masons' Guilds.

By CLEMENT E. STRETTON.

TRADe Guilds, Castes, Societies, Companies and similar institutions have existed from a very remote but unknown period in the world's history, and a reference to Whitaker's Almanack will show that in London alone there are fully eighty of these ancient trade companies still in existence at the present day.

The Lord Mayor of London is always selected from the members of one or other of these City Livery Companies, and it is a well-known fact that a copy of every book printed in this country, for sale, has by law to be forwarded to the Stationers' Company at their Stationers' Hall, London.

The origin of all the trade guilds, many thousands of years ago, was the desire of each trade to keep its particular art, science, knowledge, method, system or craft in its own hands, in other words to strictly preserve the respective "trade secrets."

Experts who have made investigations amongst the ruins of Babylon have been able to obtain proof from the ancient inscriptions and marks, that the Guild system for all trades was in use at the time when that city was built, also that the King of Babylon, Nimrod, was either a Grand Master or a Protector of every trade guild.

All the guilds which work in metal, in all parts of the world, in their "Traditional History" state that

"Tubal-Cain founded the smith-craft of gold, silver, iron, copper, bronze, steel, and other metals."

The Building Guilds have records that "Jabal founded the craft of geometry, and first wrought houses of stone."

The Weavers' Guilds claim that

"Naamah founded the craft of weaving."

The Musicians' Guild states that

"Jubal was the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ, and the craft of music and song of mouth."

To carry out its system each trade guild divided its methods and also its members into grades or degrees, and the officers and workmen were instructed in that particular portion of the art or craft which belonged to the respective degree of which they were members, consequently it will be evident that to obtain the full knowledge of any trade a person must begin as an apprentice in the lowest grade and by skill and attention to duty, gradually "work up" to be a Master or chief ruler of his Guild.

The number of grades or degrees varied according to the practical requirements of the trade, but in each instance it follows that if a young man desired to work in any of the trades he must belong to the Trade Guild, as the members would neither teach nor work with any "outsider." The young man must seek and find the respective Trades Hall and make formal application to be made an apprentice to the trade, and bring at least seven persons who must satisfy a master or other officials as to his good character; also that he has not previously been an apprentice to any other guild, and that he has never been discharged or expelled or left the work without authority. His application having in due time been received and accepted he attended at the proper time to go through the formal ceremony of being "apprenticed."

The "proper time" in every case was twelve o'clock at noon on the last day of the week, that being the only time when

"apprentices" were "made." Every guild required the candidate to "Fear God, honour the King, obey the ancient charges, and strictly preserve the secrets of the trade."

Having been sworn, and "charged," his name was entered upon the roll of apprentices. He was then provided with the proper working tools used in the trade, being carefully taught and instructed how to use them. He was always addressed as Brother, and officially described as "an entered apprentice to the craft of—" (in accordance with the name of the trade).

After the "Day of Rest" the apprentice commenced regular work, being placed with the other new hands in the lowest room, yard, or degree, where they were all under the special control of expert members of the craft or calling.

Gradually the young apprentice progressed, and was promoted to higher work and rank in exact accordance with his skill, knowledge and ability, and in time it was open to him to attain to the highest office in his guild.

"Efficiency"—the power, skill, knowledge and will to perform the allotted task, whatever it might be, in a proper workmanlike manner, was the object and desire of every guild member; therefore, to say that a person was a master of his craft was an honour to him.

The particulars above given show the general outline which applied, and still applies, to all the ancient guilds in all parts of the world, and attention must now be directed to

THE GUILD SYSTEM OF WORKING.

In the construction of any building of importance it follows that the members of many guilds must be employed, and consequently it is of very great importance that the chief officers of each guild should be perfectly well acquainted with the particular portion of the work which each has to perform and carry out.

As an instance, let it be assumed that a very important building be required, such as a temple at Jerusalem.

The first step towards the erection of such an edifice was to decide upon the "unit of measure" to be adopted, and, secondly, to have a complete model constructed to scale, showing every part of the building and its fittings made in the proper material. In ancient times each nation had two standard units of measure. The one was the unit for ordinary use and for civil purposes, the other was the Royal measure, used for ecclesiastical buildings, temples, kings' palaces, and the most important structures.

For instance the Hebrews at Jerusalem had a short cubit for general use based upon the length of a man's arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, or very nearly equal to our modern 18 inches. They also had a Royal cubit which is clearly

explained by Ezekiel xl. 5, who shows that the Royal or long cubit was a short "cubit and an hand breadth," therefore it follows that the Royal cubit was equal to our 1.324 English foot, or very similar to the present 21 7/8 inches.

This long cubit was divided into 60 minutes in length, each being very similar to our 3/8ths of an inch, each minute being again divided into 60 parts known as seconds.

If we refer to the volume of the S.L. II. Chronicles iii. 3, it will be found that King David instructed Solomon when building the temple to adopt "The length by cubits after the first measure." The word here translated in the English Bible as "first" should read "first importance" or the Royal measure.

In I. Chronicles xxviii. 2, we are informed "Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof." The Hebrew word translated in the Bible as "pattern" also includes "model," and after David had fully explained to Solomon all the details of the intended Temple, we are told, I. Chronicles xxviii. 20, "He said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it."

The first step necessary to be taken in order to put this command into force, was to summon a meeting of the masters of the various trade guilds, at the "Guilds' Hall," so that they could each

EXAMINE THE MODEL,

take out quantities, and ascertain exactly how much of the work would have to be prepared and carried out by their respective guilds.

At the time when King Solomon constructed his Temple he had a number of trade guilds working for him, for instance—

The model or pattern makers' guild.

The gold-smiths guild, which carried out the gold work recorded in I. Chronicles xxviii. 14.

The white-smiths, who worked in silver.

The red-smiths, who worked in copper and bronze.

The yellow-smiths, who worked in brass, and who cast the two pillars.

The black-smiths, who worked in iron and steel, and who also had to make and repair all the tools of iron or steel used by the other guilds.

The plumb-smiths worked in lead.

The masons carried out all the stone-work.

The carpenters made the wood-work, and they also constructed the stanchions and levers used in the apparatus for lifting enormous blocks of stone.

The grave-diggers performed any manner of "graving" or carving.

Thus it will be seen that the examination of the "model" furnished each trade with

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the exact details of the part which it would have to construct and supply in order to make the complete Temple of King Solomon perfect in all its parts and honourable to the trade guilds.

Having now dealt at length with the general system of the trade guild method of working, we will direct our attention to one in particular, namely that of

THE ANCIENT OPERATIVE GUILD OF FREE MASONS.

The question immediately arises, What is Ancient Operative Guild, or Company, Free Masonry? and the official reply is: "The practice of the craft of tectonic art—the science of building temples, important structures, and working in stone in accordance with the ancient usages and established customs of the guild or company."

Naturally, the next question is, When and where were the guilds first established?

We are unable to trace the Ancient Operative guild or craft of Free Mason to its source, or to ascertain the name of the expert master who first devised the complete system of placing the officials and workmen in grades or degrees, by means of which every part of the work was properly and efficiently performed. However, we do know that one of the very earliest and most important steps taken by the founders of the Operative Masons was to divide the work—and consequently the workmen—into two distinct classes, namely,

SQUARE MASONS AND ARCH MASONS.

the reason for this being that the art of performing straight and square work required less skill, and was worth less wages, than the art of making arches, bridges, and all kinds of curved, carved, or graved work.

The investigations which have been made at Babylon prove that the "marks" of both the "Square" and the "Arch" Guild Masons are to be found on the ancient stones, especially in this the case at the "Hanging Gardens."

These gardens were of square form, and in terraces one above another, until they rose as high as the city walls, the whole structure being constructed upon vast arches, raised upon other arches, the top being covered with flat flag-stones upon which was a sheet of lead, upon which was placed the mould for the gardens.

The King of Babylon also instructed his "Square Masons" to prepare stones for "stone roads." These stone roads consisted of two continuous lines of blocks of stone, each being from two feet to six feet in length, one foot in width and about six inches in depth, the distance between the two lines being four feet, and the outside width six feet; consequently it will be seen that the centre or wheel gauge was five feet between the centres.

Railway engineers will not fail to notice

that this is practically the gauge of our railways of to-day.

In the traditional history of the early guild masons it is recorded that, "at the making of the tower of Babylon was masons first made much of; and the King of Babylon, called Nimrod, who was a mason himself, loved well the craft. And when the city of Nineveh and other cities in the East were to be built, Nimrod sent thither sixty masons at the request of the King of Nineveh his cousin."

"These masons were well cared for and received good pay; the King of Nineveh becoming one of the three Grand Master Masons in his kingdom."

Investigations which were made in Nineveh a few years ago proved that the "Square" and the "Arch" Masons' "marks" were clearly to be seen in the arched vaults and on other stone structures discovered amongst the ruins of that city, and that the "stone roads" were in a good state of preservation.

Some of the Egyptian Masons' Guilds still working at the present time claim and are able to prove that their ancestors have existed more than 5,000 years, and that they originally obtained the craft or "trade secrets" of the operative Free Masons from Atlantis, the lost continent, which once existed to the south-west of Spain, and which is now under the sea, owing of course to an alteration or depression of the crust of the earth.

On the other hand some of the other Egyptian Masons' Guilds have in their possession ancient stone tablets, written in the language of Babylonia, which prove beyond doubt that the King of Babylon sent masons from Babylon to Egypt to instruct the King of Egypt in tectonic art and to form Masons' Trade Guilds in the land of the Pharaohs.

In Egypt there are also very ancient guilds which have records to prove that their ancestors were employed in the construction of the Pyramids, and they are in possession of the important fact that when a King of Egypt ordered Pyramids to be built it was found by their experts that it would be impossible to work and measure from one side, and consequently it was resolved to "set out" the foundation on the ground by a new "centre" system, in which all the measurements were taken from a centre and a centre plumb line. This method was known as the five point system, because it included the point in the centre, and also each of those at the four corners, and when completed the apex or top of the pyramid formed the fifth point.

There are at the present time Operative Free Masons Building Guilds in China, India, Persia, and the east, which prove by their records, ritual, manners, and customs that they have existed for fully 5,000 years.

The Hebrew Masons' Guilds, one of which went down into Egypt with Jeremiah to Memphis and Assuan, agree with the Guilds

of the Egyptians, that King Solomon was made a member of the Guild or Craft of Free Mason by King Pharaoh, who was at that time the Grand Master Mason of Egypt, and that Solomon paid a very large sum of money to obtain the Guild "trade secrets" and system of building temples.

Operative Masons' Guilds existed in Rome, and there is no doubt that in the year 55, when the Romans came over to Britain, they brought with them from Rome a very large number of Free Masons, and they were at once set to work to build forts, city walls, bridges, and to true up the stones for the great Roman roads.

Immediately after the Romans arrived in England they set to work to make "stone roads" similar to those at Babylon (for instance), the Watling-street and the Fosse (as well known), in order that their war chariots could keep up a constant communication between the various military camps or centres.

It is an interesting fact that these "stone roads" or "tracks" are found in Egypt, Pompeii and Rome, also that near Weedon, Northamptonshire, at the present day some of the Roman stone road is still in use in the Watling-street.

The Roman Masons were of course formed into Lodges or Guilds, and one of the earliest Free Masons' Guilds in the centre of England was formed near Ulleshorpe at the point at which the Watling-street and Fosse-roads cross each other.

Here, 1854 years ago, the Roman General Ostorius Scipula, ordered the Masons to construct a "fort," a "walled camp," and some good private houses. From this point he made an attack upon Leicester, and took it from the Britons, and Free Masons then had Operative Lodges in Leicester, engaged upon the building of city walls, forts, gates, temples, and private houses.

When the Normans came over to England 843 years ago they also brought over a large number of Free Masons.

Guild Masons who were Romans, Danes, Jews, or Normans soon worked together on friendly terms, as they all carried out the Masonic system which they had all originally obtained from Jerusalem and the Grand Lodge of King Solomon.

The Guilds and Companies thus brought to this country have existed ever since, some of the very oldest being in London, York, Berwick, Lancaster, Bristol, Holyhead, and at the Dalkey Hills, near Kingstown, Ireland.

From these details it will be evident that the Guild method of building was a professional architectural "institution," "guild," or "company," having for its object the working in stone and the construction of temples, public buildings, and other stone structures.

To clearly grasp the methods adopted by the "Square" and the "Arch" Masons

respectively, it is necessary to consider the two grades separately. We will therefore first take

THE SQUARE MASONS.

The "square masons," who were distinguished by the colour blue, were divided into seven degrees, which commenced with the pupil or apprentice who served for a period of Seven years, in order to become a Free Man, and the seventh being the degree of the Grand Master Mason. The Square Mason used square building stone only, all his work was square, oblong, straight, level, and upright, and by his rules he was not allowed on any account to do any curved, circular, arch, or other form of "round work;" nor might he touch a pair of compasses. He was a "square mason" pure and simple, and his rank was clearly shown by the "blue" devices upon his apron, and by the blue garter, the blue armlet on his right wrist, and the blue badge upon the left breast of his tunic.

It will now be interesting to consider the plan of the ancient "Square" stoneyards at Jerusalem.

There were three stone-yards in a row, with double doors between each, namely, numbers 1, 2, 3 degrees, also three offices, numbers 5, 6, 7, and, in addition, there was the site of the Temple or 4th degree.

The "Square" branch of the Ancient Operative Guild, for instance in the days of King Solomon, was divided into seven degrees or grades corresponding to the seven stone-yards and offices.

Seventh Degree.—At the top of the tree the system was controlled by the three Grand Master Masons who had supreme command of the guild. Their office or degree was situated at the western end of the No. 6 degree, and from this seventh office the whole system was ruled and managed, and into this important room no man below "seventh degree rank" might on any account enter.

Sixth Degree.—Next came the experts of the sixth degree rank, mentioned (I. Kings v. 16) as "the chief of Solomon's officers which were over the work." They were known as "Passed Masters" because they had successfully passed the examination for a Master. They had to take command of certain departments, also to lay schemes, draw plans, and be responsible to the Grand Masters.

Fifth Degree.—The members of this grade consisted of the "Super-Intendent of works," and (I. Kings v. 16) the "three thousand and three hundred, which ruled over the people that wrought in the work." The department being under the Super-Intendent of the Works and his Intendents. This officer had control over the workmen, he appointed new men, discharged men, and heard any complaints that the Task-masters might make against any bad workman, or "won't-work," and he decided on the punishment. Thus it will be seen that the

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first three grades may be said to be practically Masters, Officials, Inspectors, Foreman, and Gangers.

FOURTH DEGREE.

This was the actual site of the building, where the erectors and setters built up the structure.

Every stone had been completed and marked, the reason being that when Solomon laid the first stone of the Temple he made the whole site on Mount Moriah (II. Chronicles iii. 1) holy ground. Every man, therefore, employed on the site of the Temple, or 4th degree, be he the Master of Works, Clerk of Works, Erector, or Super-Fellow, had, according to Hebrew custom, to remove his shoes, and keep his head covered, and that is why (I. Kings vi., 7) "neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron was heard in the house while it was in building."

The men engaged upon the holy work were not allowed to speak, except when necessary to perform their duties, and the Chaplain performed a service daily, at morning, noon, and evening, during the whole seven years that the work was in progress.

It was also in the fourth degree that (I. Kings v. 17) "the King commanded, and they brought the great stones" to lay the foundation of the house. It was at the north-east corner of the Temple that the great corner footing-stone was laid. Here also the "foundation sacrifice" was offered, and this accounts for the skeletons which are always found under the corners of the temples and towers both in the East and in some parts of Europe. Why the ancients believed that a building would not last unless a "foundation sacrifice" were offered it is difficult to understand, but such was their belief.

Third Degree.—The third degree "stone-yard" was the place in which all the "fitting" was done by very expert "Super-Fellows." Here every stone (I. Kings vi. 7) was "made ready before it was brought" to the site of the Temple. So that in the "3rd degree yard" the most important fitting had to be done, and every stone was very carefully "marked" by most expert men in the art of marking, so that the actual erectors should have no trouble in putting all the stones properly in their intended places.

Second Degree.—The "Fellows" of the craft in their 2nd stoneyard smoothed and polished the stones to exact gauge, so that every one was true and "up to standard." Every bit of work was tested by a most expert Mason, and anything not up to "sample" was rejected and thrown on the scrap-heap; and the man who did rejected work soon found himself rejected, and had to go down into the "grade below." So a bad workman speedily found his "level" with those "threescore and ten thousand that bare burdens, or the four-score hewers." (I. Kings v. 15).

First Degree.—The No. 1 stoneyard con-

tained the "Apprentices" and men of small experience; they worked upon the stone as it came from the quarry and got it into a better form for the "Fellows" to begin upon.

"Hewers in the quarry" were regarded as "quarrymen," and the Masons did not recognise them as members of their trade; in fact, they called them "Low Men" or "Cowans," and would not associate with them.

It will now be interesting to consider the work performed of the ancient "Square" stoneyards at Jerusalem.

In No. 1 yard the apprentices and No. 1 masons worked. The No. 2 yard contained the "Fellows of the Craft," who completed the stones, and made them to perfect size and gauge. In No. 3 yard the stones were fitted together by Super-Fellows, and marked by the proper Marked Masters and their assistants.

No. 5 Lodge consisted of 3,300 Overseers, Officers, Inspectors of Material, Task Masters, Deacons, Wardens, and (I. Kings v., 16) those who "ruled over the people that wrought in the work." This department was under the Super-Intendent of the Works and his Intendents.

No. 6 Lodge was the Passed Masters.

There were fifteen members of this high rank, mentioned (I. Kings v., 16) as "the chief of Solomon's officers." At the western end of the No. 6 degree came the office or degree of the three Grand Master Masons, who ruled the whole system in the 7th office or degree, and into which degree no man below seventh degree rank might on any account enter.

The only possible way for a young man to enter into the ancient guild of a "Square" Mason was for him to apply at the office of the Super-Intendent of the Works, and at the same time get not less than seven persons who are members of the order to propose, second, and support the application, and to speak as to his good character and position.

For a period of four weeks his application must be posted up, and read out aloud as the members passed through the door leading to the works. If at the end of that period the report of good conduct was in his favour he was elected as an apprentice, and was instructed to attend on the following Friday, or sixth day of the week, at twelve o'clock at noon, that being the time of the closing of the week's work, and the only time at which new apprentices were received, initiated into the duties of the Square Mason's Trade, and had their names "entered" upon the Guild Apprentices Roll.

Each apprentice was "bound" both by indentures and by oath, to well and truly serve as a "Mason's Entered Apprentice" for a full term of seven years. It is hardly necessary to mention that during the time he thus served under this "bond" he was not a Free Man or a Free Mason, for the

simple reason that he was a "bound man" or "bond man" having to obey orders.

The "Apprenticing ceremony" being completed, the new Brethren were warned to appear at six o'clock a.m. on the first day of the following week, to commence their duties.

On taking their places in the first stone-yard they were each provided with the usual mallet, chisel, and straight-edge, and were set to true up the rough ashlar stone-work from the quarries, and to bring it to about one-sixteenth of an inch larger than the final size required. In other words, they "dressed off the rough," and left the stones right to be "finished" by expert Fellows of the Craft. About a month before the completion of the seven years, the apprentice gave notice to the Super-Intendent of the Works that he should soon be "Free," "out of his bond time," and he applied to be passed as "A Fellow of the Craft."

If the necessary examination proved satisfactory, the man was "accepted" as a Fellow, he became a Free Mason, and a Free Man of the city or town, and was known and addressed as "Fellow." He then worked in the second degree stone-yard with the "Fellows," not with the apprentices.

After serving for twelve months the Fellow had the right to apply for another rise in position, namely, to be made a Super-Fellow in No. 3 stone-yard. Here he was employed in fitting all the stones together in their proper positions, and when so fitted, to mark them with the proper Masons' marks so that they could be again placed in position upon the actual site of the building.

The next advance for a man to make was to the "Fourth Degree" or Erectors; here he would be engaged in the actual erecting and building up of the stones that had been made ready in the three previously-mentioned stone yards. After this experience, the man would apply, and be made an Intendant or Foreman, and held rank as a "Fifth Degree Man," acting in command of a gang of men and being directly responsible to the Super-Intendent of the Works. The next step was to apply to be examined as a Master. This was a very difficult examination indeed, and required a candidate to know all the practical part of the Mason's profession. If this examination proved satisfactory he was raised to the "Sixth Degree," and ranked as a "Passed Master" of Arts and Sciences. In this position he would remain for many years, as there was only one grade higher that he could attain to, and that was limited to three in number. However, if he was successful and fortunate, he might be selected to be a Grand Master Mason, and thus be one of the three heads who sat in the Office of the Grand Master Masons, or Seventh Degree, who controlled the whole of the Square Guild system of working in tectonic or building art.

As already explained the Square Masons did all the square, level, upright, and straight work, and the Arch Masons carried

out all the arch, curved, or circular work. In many instances stones would be required to be square or straight at one end or side, and curved or moulded at the other, and the ancient guild practice was for the stone to be sent from the quarry "rough-hewn" to the square stone yard, where the square work was done in the 1st and 2nd yards, and after being tested and marked in the 3rd yard it was sent to the 1st yard of the Arch Masons so that they could pass it through their 1st, 2nd, and 3rd arch yards, and perform the curved work that was necessary.

THE ARCH MASON.

The "Arch," round, or "Red" Mason, carried out all kinds of curved stonework; for instance, round columns, arches, pillars, domes, and he also cut skew-backs, vousoirs, and key-stones; he used compasses, and measured the circumference of his work and took no notice of diameter. He was not troubled about the ratio 3.14159; his circumference was 1. His circular measure was like our clock faces of to-day, based upon the sexagesimal method in which 60 seconds are a minute, 60 minutes an hour or degree, 30 degrees equal a sign, 90 degrees or three o'clock a quadrant or fourth part of a circle, 360 degrees or twelve hours a complete circle. Thus on one dial they, like ourselves, have time and angles all upon the face of our watches, although we seldom hear a person say "30 degrees one hour," still there is the fact that it is so. The Arch Masons divided their system of working into seven degrees, each held in a circular lodge or stoneyard, the apron, garter, armet, and badge being "red," and their chief officers are known as the Grand Arch-i-Tectus.

The Arch Masons Guild was divided into seven degrees, and the offices and stone yards were in circles or rings. The inner circle of all was the

Seventh Arch Degree.—Here the three Grand Arch Master Masons, or "Arch-i-Tectus," sat and exercised supreme control, and it is important to notice that in the days of Solomon, he and the other two Grand Masters were the heads of both the "Square" and the "Arch" Masons, so that they had in their own hands the complete control of both classes of work.

Sixth Arch Degree consisted of a ring round the "inner circle." The Passed Arch-i-Tectus here performed the important work of designing the necessary arch or curved work.

The Fifth Arch Degree was another ring outside the sixth. It was under the control of the "Arch Superintendent of works," who was assisted by Arch Wardens, Arch Deacons, and Arch Intendants.

The Fourth Arch Degree was a circle upon the site of the building itself, where the arch erectors performed the actual building up of the arched portion of the structure.

The Third Arch Degree was another ring outside the fifth degree, and here all the

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arch work was tested and marked by the "Arch Markers."

The Second Arch Degree was a ring outside the third in which the work was made to the exact form and dimensions required.

The First Arch Degree was the outer ring of all, in which the "Arch Apprentices" and men of little experience worked.

From the Masters' door at the outside of the outer circle there was a straight walk or "enter-ance" to the centre or inner circle, but as the doors of each circle were carefully guarded by both inner and outer guards, it follows that no person would be able to get through to the inner circle unless he was of the proper rank, and "on business."

Although all the Arch Masons would belong to one or other of the seven degrees, there were also three grades of workmen—(1) The "Arch Mason" who worked in stone for bridge, buildings, and ordinary work. (2) The "Royal Arch Mason" who made arches for the Royal entrance to a building, and also "Arches of Triumph," which were usually constructed of polished granite, and were built after a successful war. (3) The "Holy or Sacred Arch Masons" who only worked in white marble. They constructed the Sacred or Holy Arch which was erected in the Temple of King Solomon, to divide the nave or body of the temple from the chancel and the holy of holies. It is hardly necessary to say that as the Sacred Arch Masons had to erect their work within the temple, upon holy ground, they wore their hats, removed their shoes from off their feet; and as stated I. Kings vi. 7, were not allowed to use "any tool of iron" in the house.

Spon's "Dictionary of Engineering" describes an arch as "a form of structure in which the vertical forces, due to the weight of the material of which it is composed, are transmitted to the supports." However, many thousands of years ago the ancient Guild Masons employed three ways of constructing arches—(1) The ordinary method of "skew-backs," "voussoirs," and a "key-stone." (2) The system in which each side of the arch is cut out of one piece of stone or marble, and keyed with a key stone, or three pieces in all. (3) The method of cutting out the whole arch complete so that it could be lifted up into position in one piece.

Arches are found in Babylon, Nineveh, also in Chinese bridges of great antiquity, and investigations prove that in one of the Egyptian pyramids, the "Hawara," there is an arched top to the sarcophagus chamber.

One of the oldest Arch Masons' Guilds in Egypt has in its possession inscriptions on tablets of stone which prove that the science of building stone arches came to them from Babylon.

One authority (Wilkinson) considered that the arched chambers of the Pyramids at Memphis carried the antiquity of the arch back to 2,600 B.C. The stone arch at Saqqara

is of the period 600 B.C., and the stone arches of the tombs of Beni Hassan are coeval with Usertensen II. and the Viceroy Joseph.

"Bow" is the name of a very ancient instrument which consisted of a large arch of ninety degrees graduated. From an ancient building guild the writer finds that Bow Church, London, was built by arch stone masons, known as "Companions of the Arch Guild." It was designed by the Master of their Guild and was considered a masterpiece of arch-test.

The "Treasury of Science" (Maunder) states that the Court of Arches is the Supreme Court belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that the name originated from the Court having been held in Bow Church, which was built on arches.

Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates," states:—"Arches, Court of, the most ancient consistory court; it derives its name from the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, London, where it was formally held, and whose top is raised on stone pillars and built archwise."

A "Bow Carpenter" or Centro Maker was a trade to itself, and the members belonged to the Bow Makers' Guild, but worked very closely with the Arch Masons, as their work was to construct the bow or centre of wood upon which the Arch Mason built his voussoirs, and finally, when he had completed the arch and put in the key stone, the "Bow Carpenter" removed the "centre." As previously mentioned the ancient Arch Masons measured their work by "circumference," "circular" or "round about" measure; for instance, we read I. Kings vii. 15, that at the time of Solomon's temple two pillars of brass were cast, "and a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them about." In the II. Chronicles iv. 2, we find that a molten sea was cast, "and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about."

The unit of the

ANCIENT HEBREW CIRCULAR MEASURE

was a circle having a circumference of one cubit.

As the royal cubit of Solomon was equal to our English 1.824 foot, it follows that a circle having a diameter of barely 7 inches will give the one circular cubit in circumference. Consequently if we examine a clock face having a diameter of 7 inches we have the Hebrew circular measure. Each minute of time, and each minute of distance, will then be one and the same in length, that is, very similar to our present three-eighths of an inch. Taking 15 o'clock as "0" we then find that 1 o'clock equals 30 degrees; 2, 60; 3, 90; 4, 120; 5, 150; 6, 180; 7, 210; 8, 240; 9, 270; 10, 300; 11, 330; 12, 360. It is a very interesting fact that this table of hours and angles has been discovered cut on stone both in Babylon and in Egypt, and it is preserved by the Arch Masons Guilds in England.

To illustrate the importance of the ancient

circular measure the writer by the courtesy of a member of a Masons' Company was able to give a table which related to the English foot. In practice there are many cases in which it is of value to be able to take the circumference and have the diameter worked out ready, in the same way that the Babylonians did thousands of years ago.

Before closing the details relating to the "Square" and the "Arch" Masons it should be added that two chairs about 230 years old are preserved at the Leicester Corporation Museum, the one has belonged to the Operative Square Guild, and the other to the Arch Guild—both of which guilds met at the White Lion Hotel, Leicester.

SETTING OUT THE CENTRE AND THE CORNERS.

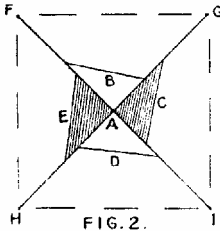
A King or Ruler in ancient times having decided to construct a temple, public building, or pyramid, on a day arranged, attended in state at midday, and at the moment when the sun shone through an aperture fixed in the south, a proper signal was given that it was XII. o'clock noon.

Then with the usual ceremony of the period the "centre stone" was laid by the King, who also with a centre-punch made the centre mark upon the stone, at the same time remarking "There is the centre of the intended structure, work ye to it."

The ancient buildings were usually constructed of one of three forms—(1) Square. (2) Oblong—2 to 1. (3) Oblong 3 to 1.

SQUARE BUILDINGS.

If the building required was to be square, or to have a square-base, as in the case of a pyramid, the King decided upon the size and gave the distance measured from the centre A to each of the four corners F, G, H, I.



The length of the sides followed as a matter of course, but it was not considered in the laying out, which was simply based on the centre and four corner points.

Ancient tradition informs us that "6 times 60 equal to 360 Egyptian cubits was

the length of the great pyramid from the centre to the corners, and modern experts estimate the length from the centre as 540 feet, which will give a diameter of 1,080 feet.

The ancient three Master Masons by means of their 3, 4, 5 rods, would then, from the centre struck by the King, form four right angled triangles and place the "pegs" to mark the position of the corners.

As the pegs at the corners would be probably moved or disturbed, the ancient Masons as long ago as the days of Babylon adopted

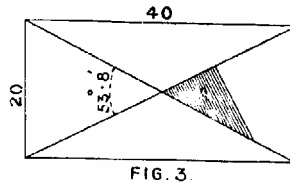
LANDMARKS.

They saw in those early days that if the pegs at the corners were moved the whole setting out of the work thus far would have to be repeated, therefore they adopted "land-lines" which extended to a considerable distance beyond the actual site of the structure. The land marks were pegs stuck into the ground at such a distance that they would not be disturbed, and it was the duty of every Guild Mason to take great care that these ancient land marks of the order were carefully preserved—in fact in the days of Solomon it was death to move a Free Mason's land mark or land line.

As mentioned previously, the ancients set out the ground plan of their square buildings by the distance from the centre to the four corners, and they proved the correctness of their work by the "land lines" and "land marks," also they measured the four angles at the centre, each of which of course must in the case of a square building be 90 degrees or the fourth part of a square.

OBLONG BUILDINGS, TWO TO ONE.

In the case of oblong structures built in the proportion of 40 by 20, or two to one, the ancient masons used the same "five point system," but the angle between the diagonal lines at the centre of a building having its length equal to twice its width, is 63.06 degrees as shown. The 63.06 degrees angle of the "3, 4, 5" square being used (A).



OBLONG BUILDINGS, THREE TO ONE.

All ancient temples in all parts of the world were constructed with the main hall or nave three times as long as the width or in the three to one proportion, and the

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height of the wall was "half the length."

King Solomon's temple was built exactly to this ancient mason's standard, for we read I. Kings vi. 2, "And the house which King Solomon built for the Lord, the length thereof was threescore cubits, the breadth thereof twenty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits." This proportion, cut upon stone tablets which have been discovered in Babylon and in Egypt, show that the ancients were fully aware that the angle at the centre formed by a three to one temple is equal to 36 degrees, 52 minutes.

The 36 degrees 52 minutes angle of the Master's square being employed as illustrated (B).

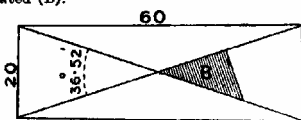


FIG. 4.

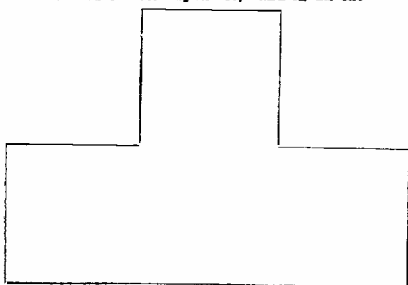
It is an interesting fact that many cathedrals and churches in England at the present day have been constructed on the three to one proportion used for temples in Babylon, India, Egypt, and Jerusalem.

The ancient Guild Masters in their records and "traditional history" explain that the reason why they had so much veneration for this proportion, is that the throne of their three Grand Masters had three seats, and rested upon a three to one basis.

From the above illustrations it will be seen that the three angles of the same "Master's square" were used for the laying out of the three forms of building, and it is easy therefore to understand the reason why the building trade secret of laying out on the centre was then preserved by the various "guilds" and "castes."

FOOTING STONES.

In order to give increased bearing surface upon the earth, every building and wall has "wide footings," that is the footing is made considerably wider than the wall or structure which has to rest upon it, and in all the



ancient temples and important buildings "footing stones" were used for the foundations. These stones were of great size and weight being in cross section very similar to the letter L back to back.

"Footing stones" are well understood by all installed Masters at the present day, as upon their aprons they have three cross sections of these ancient stones.

The four "corner footing stones" were of similar cross-section but formed the angle at each corner, and those used in the temple of King Solomon were of great size, as the dimensions work out as equal to a weight of no less than 45 tons each.

In the case of very large blocks of stone, such, for instance, as the corner footing stone of a temple, the ancients undermined the huge block of stone in the quarry, so that rollers could be placed under it. Therefore, when the stone was completely cut out it rested upon rollers, and did not have to be lifted. On arrival at the site of the building the stone was rolled on to a stage of timber constructed in the space for the foundation. The stone was then "eased up" sufficiently to enable the stage to be pulled away to the side, and the block was lowered into its position. So it will be seen that in the case of "footing stones" there was very little lifting necessary.

THE NORTH EAST CORNER.

It is a well known fact that at the present time, and also for thousands of years past, the first or foundation stone is always laid at the North East corner of the intended structure, and the question is frequently asked "Why do you begin at the N.E. any more than at any other corner?"

From the very earliest times, the answer to this question has been carefully preserved as one of the important Trade secrets of Guild Master Masons, but quite recently investigations at Babylon have led to the discovery of inscriptions which give the "reason" in full. As the information has already been made public in Egypt it is no longer a "Trade secret" and the Guilds and Companies of Masons have themselves communicated the following details.

To commence the actual building, the "land lines" must be tightly stretched between the respective "land marks," and at the points of intersection of the four outside "lines," the outside corners of the tops of the four great footing stones must be placed. To place these corners exactly correctly is of the very greatest importance as upon their correctness depends the whole work of erecting. Consequently the best possible light is required to see that the "footing stones" are placed "true to the land lines." The ancient Masons were quite well aware that the best possible light they could have upon the outside of their corner stones was "that great light of heaven," the sun, at the four periods of the day.

THE POSITION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

The door or "Enter-ance" to the Temple

of King Solomon, by which the ancients entered, was at the east end of the structure, and the north-east corner footing stone was laid near to the door on the left side of the building, as viewed by a person within the Temple.

THE THRONE IN THE WEST.

The most holy place, the inner courts, the King's throne, and the channel were all at the west end of the building. The King, the High Priests, and others who were entitled to sit within the sacred channel-arch, faced the east; but those who only had the right to sit in the nave or body of the Temple faced the west, and worshipped towards the most holy place.

The right or left hand side of the Temple always refers to the right or left of the King as he sat upon his throne in the west and faced the east, and this is made quite clear II. Chronicles iv, 10: "And he set the sea on the right side of the east end, over against the south."

In the same way we find that in all the ancient Building Guilds and Masons' Companies, in all parts of the world, the Three Masters are always placed in the west, so that they may see the rising sun in the east. An official is placed in the north to watch the sun at its meridian, and another officer sits in the east, so that he can watch the sun set in the west.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE.

From II. Chronicles iii., also from I. Kings vi., and from the Guild Masons' records, we find that Solomon began to build the temple on Mount Moriah, on the second day of the second month, Zif, which is equal to our month of May, at which time there would be ample sun-light.

At 6 o'clock in the morning Grand Master Mason Solomon began to lay the great North East corner footing stone, because at that time the sun-light was at the outside of the N.E. corner stone. That stone having been "well and truly laid to the land-lines," he proceeded at 10 o'clock to the South East corner and laid the S.E. corner stone as the sun at that time was shining at that corner. After refreshments, he proceeded to the South West corner and there laid the S.W. corner footing stone at 2 o'clock, by which time the sun was shining from the South West, and finally about 6 o'clock he proceeded to the North West corner and laid the N.W. corner stone. Thus it will be seen that the course of the sun was the reason why they commenced the temple at the N.E. corner and worked round to the North West. The four corners being thus "fixed" the work of laying all the intermediate "Footing stones" was carried out by Passed Masters or members of the sixth degree.

When the complete oblong foundation of footing stones was in position, the members of the Red Smiths' Guild arrived and placed

"double taus of bronze" in the recesses which had been cut for them at the joints of the stones. Then the Plumb-smiths guild, "ran in the taus with melted lead." Thus the foundation was firmly held together, and all visitors to the East at the present day find at Babylon, in Egypt and in Rome the tau marks cut in the ancient stones, but unfortunately most of the ancient taus have been removed.

As soon as the row of footing stones was in position, the ancient Carpenters' Guild erected at the centre and at each corner, "stanchions of wood" and from each of these a plumb-line and plumb-bob was suspended respectively, exactly over the centre which the King had struck, and over the corners. From the centre plumb line the four corners were kept true until the work was completed. It was a well-known maxim that "if they kept true to the centre the corners could not err." It will, of course, be understood that the original centre stone remained in position, and a means was left to get to it in order to ascertain that the work was being carried out "dead upright," and on the "five point system."

Every day the "Super-Intendent" of Works tested the work from the centre, and at twelve o'clock, at noon reported to the Grand Masters that "the work is true to the centre."

The ancient Guild Masons were wonderfully particular as to carrying out the work

COURSE BY COURSE.

That is they would not allow any stone of the second course to be laid until the whole of the footing stones were in position, nor might a third course be laid until the second course was completed.

At all the corners the ancients used "corner or angle stones" in the form of a letter L. These were of two sizes known as "long corner" and "short corner," the object being that when built up alternately, "they broke the joint," exactly in the same way that any bricklayer to-day avoids straight joints one over another.

The top row of stones in all ancient temples was formed of head, cope, or cape-stones, and they were usually twice the size of the ordinary stones.

The Guilds in Jerusalem and in Egypt have an ancient record that when the temple of Solomon was nearly completed and nothing remained but according to ancient custom for the King to lay the great North East "corner-head-stone" that by some error in the "marking" it was sent to the wrong stone-yard on the site of the building, and as it was not wanted there, it was "rejected."

After some delay, the rejected stone was found upon an Arch Guilds' rubbish-heap. The Square Guild Masons soon had it conveyed to its proper place, and thus "the stone which was rejected by the Arch

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Masons was ultimately laid by Solomon and actually as a fact became the head-stone of the North East corner." The fixing of this head-stone, and also the fixing of the white marble key-stone within the temple, completed the structure ready for the dedication ceremony which is clearly described I. Kings viii.

LIFTING STONE.

Frequently we hear the question asked: How did the ancient stone-masons raise the enormous blocks of stone which they used in their temples and pyramids to the heights and positions in which they are now found?

frames C, and when 50 tons had been placed at the two ends, of course the stone was in perfect balance, and a few pounds placed on one side or the other would raise or lower the stone as the Master in charge might wish.

If stones of very great weight had to be raised, such for instance, as 1,000 tons, then the levers were made with their outer arms two, three, four, or five times longer than the inner ones. Thus the Ancients obtained enormous power, and with levers of three to one in favour of the power, it follows that 187 tons upon the two end scales at C would lift 1,000 tons in the centre, D.

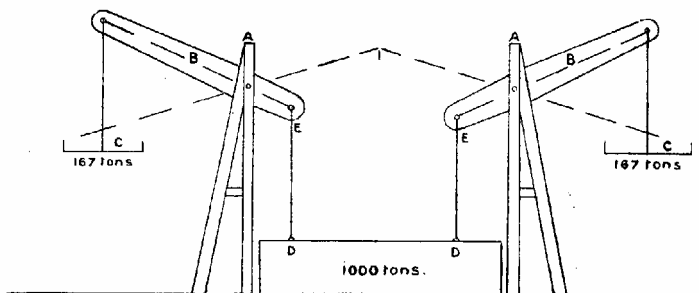


FIG. I.

It is a very fortunate fact that the present Guild Masons have full details in China, India, and Egypt which clearly show how the work was carried out. The Carpenters' Guild constructed very strong uprights of timber A, and upon these they placed strong levers B, one end of the lever at E was attached to the stone at D, and the other end was attached to a frame-work upon which weights could be placed—C. To make the system clear we will take two pairs of ordinary scales, of the same size, and place them in a line, with say two feet between them. Place a board of say 2ft. 6in. in length so that the ends rest upon the two inner scales. If the board which represents the weight to be lifted weighs say 2lbs., it follows that if we place a one pound weight in the scale at each end, the "board" will be in perfect "balance." Then half an ounce weight added to or taken from the end scales will either raise or lower the board at our pleasure.

It is a most remarkable fact that this simple matter of "balancing" is fully explained and illustrated on tablets of burnt clay found in Babylon.

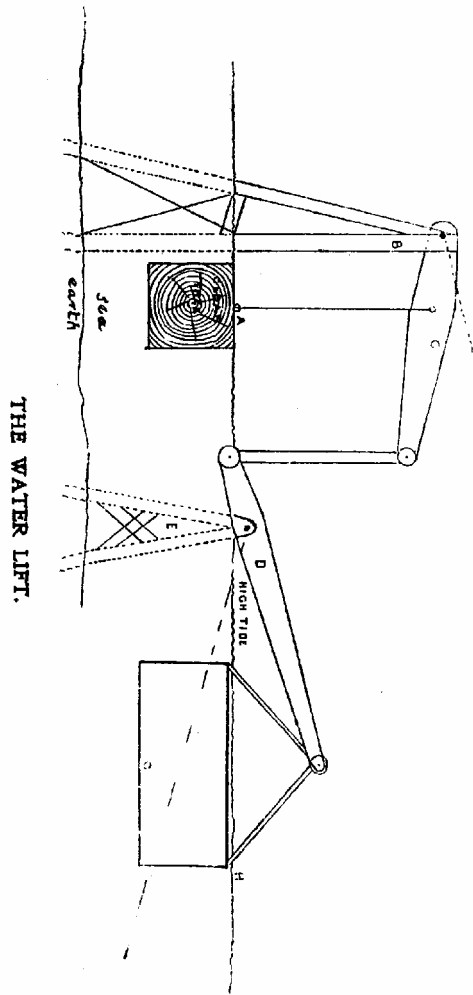
If it was necessary to lift a stone of, say, 100 tons, a gang of men was engaged to carry up weights and place them on the

The stone having been raised a few feet, blocks of wood were placed under it; the levers were returned to the former position, the chains shortened, and the process was repeated. Slowly, but surely, the ancient stonemasons lifted great weights to any height by this system. In those days there was unlimited labour and an ample number of men to carry up the necessary weights.

For light lifting they frequently employed the dead weight of men. Twenty men weigh one ton, and 100 men five tons, so if they sent up 100 men to the ends of the two levers it follows that they would raise ten tons without any trouble.

It is very fortunate that the Ancients cut on stone in Egypt, India, and the Holy Land the details of all their methods, so that we, thousands of years later, can clearly see how they carried out their work.

The above details show at a glance that the Ancient Free Masons had a perfect knowledge of levers and balance weights, and they had great knowledge of "wood craft," or they could never have designed the stanchions and balance beams capable of lifting 1,000 tons weight.



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If a river or a brook ran near, the Ancients made use of it, and let the water run into tanks, at the end of their levers, and at the sea side, and also in Egypt, they used the rise and fall of the tide. These were known as "the water lifts," and practically are the same as if we place the tray of a pair of scales under a tap of water, for as soon as the dead weight of the water at the one end, exceeded the weight of the load at the other the load must rise, no matter if the load be a pound, a ton, or a thousand tons.

THE WATER LIFT.

This form of "lift" was used on the River Nile, also in India, thousands of years ago; also at other sea coasts to raise timber, and was a very simple and mechanical appliance.

At the Egyptian Hall Exhibition of July, 1893, a model was shown of which the annexed diagram is a copy, and a similar model was at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893. A, is the tree to be lifted. B, the staunchion erected in the sea a short distance from the shore. C, a lever of the second order. D, another staunchion, which carries D, a lever of the first order. E, a connecting-rod between the two levers. G, a large tank capable of holding a vast weight of water, and open at the top.

All being ready, the tide rose to H, and the sea filled the tank G. When the tide went down, the tank of water went down, and the cedar tree was raised, and was then supported or "blocked up" until a further lift could be made.

At the conclusion of the first lift, a plug, or door, was opened in the tank, the water was released, and the tank placed again in the position shown. The chain from C to A was shortened, and the process repeated.

If the tide did not rise sufficiently, or the timber was required to be raised quickly, the ancient "Intendent" in charge of the lifting called up a few hundred "carriers of water," and instructed them to carry up water and fill the tank.

In those days there was unlimited labour, and an ample number of men to carry up the necessary weights to the platforms, and when "water lifts" were worked by the rise and fall of the sea it sometimes happened that the work was required to be done quickly, the Task Master would then set a few hundred men to carry buckets of water to place in the tank and provide the lifting power.

As previously mentioned, the Guilds of Free Masons would not include or associate with quarrymen, they looked upon them as "some of these fourscore thousand hewers in the mountains." 1. Kings v. 15. Free Masons were not allowed to touch a "rough-hewing tool" or 28lb. pointed or "sabbling" hammer. "Cowan" is the name of the man who "rough hewes," and who builds the stone walls between fields in North Wales, Derbyshire, etc., simply by "packing up"

rough broken stone. If a Free Mason is asked why he does not include the hewers in his Guild he will reply "My work is stone in courses, Cowan's work is stone out of course." It is which the member of the "Hewers' Guild" will generally retort: "Where would you chaps be if we did not hew some for you."

THE ROUGH HEWERS.

The Hewers' Guild in ancient times certainly did some wonderful work, for instance they quarried single blocks of stone which before being "dressed" weighed at least 1,100 tons. To get out such vast blocks they first undermined the stone from one end to the other and then placed rollers under it. Then at the back they cut out some hundreds of square holes, into each of which they dropped down a wedge of wood with the wide end downwards, then they put in a second wedge with the thin end downwards, this system being known as

HEWERS' DOUBLE WEDGING

and was of course one of their trade secrets. Then three powerful men with heavy setting mauls commenced to drive down every one of the uppermost wedges as far as they could, and it was quite usual for 500 or 800 of the workers to be employed on this work at one time. Then the "carriers of water" were sent for, and they filled all the holes with water. In time the expansion of the wedges caused the 1,100 ton stone to burst out, and it then rested on the rollers ready for the "haulers" and some of those "three score and ten thousand that bare burdens" (1. Kings v. 15) to come and haul it out of the quarry, and take it to the No. 1 Square Mason's stoneyard for the apprentices to begin upon.

In various parts of the world there are most wonderful examples of

PREHISTORIC GUILD WORK.

One of the most wonderful places is the Indian Madura Temple. There is a door like a tunnel that pierces through a huge pyramid of gods that towers into the sky. Then is reached the temple porch, a silent and echoing city, whose vaulted streets cross one another in all directions, and whose countless people are the stone images graven here. Each column and each monstrous pillar is made of a single block, placed upright by means of the "lifts" previously described, and afterwards deeply sculptured and carved into images of all sorts of gods and monsters. Again, in the grottoes of Siva, the god of death, near Goconda, are courts hewn out of the solid granite, and of troops of carved elephants which form the supports of a triple sequence of monolithic temples. Truly a wondrous land, bespeaking a barbaric civilization and splendour at a period when England had hardly come into being. Another perfect piece of

prehistoric architecture is the wonderful "mosaic chamber," situated among the famous ruins of the ancient city of Mitla, thirty miles south of the city of Mexico. Although months have been spent by prominent travellers, writers and archaeologists in the attempt to read the history of this old city from the hieroglyphs yet visible on its walls, the only thing known to-day of Mitla or its buildings, of architecture, of temples and palaces, is grouped on a slight elevation besides a narrow stream. Even the name of Mitla is of unknown origin. But while every structure of which this group is composed is covered within and without with mosaics, it remains for the great Hall known as the "mosaic chamber" to reveal the work at its best. The marvellous part is that there is not a single piece of tile missing from the entire room. These mosaics were put together without the aid of cement or mortar.

Some portion of the ruins of Mitla had been covered with sand for unknown centuries when the Mexican government began excavating, but the larger portion of the buildings were above the ground, exposed to the elements. About two hundred and seventy-five years ago one of the Mitla temples was pulled down, and a church built with the stone. This the natives call the "new church," although it is nearly three hundred years old.

Beneath one of the temples of Mitla an underground chamber has been found, and under this is believed to be another subterranean room, which the Mexican government is now taking steps to investigate. It is fully expected that the old Guild method of building from a "centre plumb line" will be found in this lower room, and great interest is being taken in the matter.

One of the most sacred shrines of India, which had been for centuries the goal of pilgrimages from all parts of India, was the great temple of Ramesvara, sacred to Rama, situated on an island close to the mainland, in the channel between South India and Ceylon. It had a magnificent Gopuram. Its most striking feature, however, was the wonderful corridors which adorned it. The south corridor was 700ft. in length, that is to say, it was the longest in the world except that in the Vatican. The most attractive of all the Chalukyan shrines was the great temple of Siva at Halebid, about twenty miles from Belur, built on a terrace slanting down to the lake.

In the year 1270 A.D. it was left unfinished, and the towers have never been completed. It was one of the most remarkable monuments in India. One of the pavilions in front contained a huge image of the Bull of Siva. In the interior were some remarkable black stone pillars, which looked as if they had been turned in a lathe. This temple was unmatched in the variety of its details and the exuberance of fancy shown in its ornamentation. There is, perhaps, no

other temple in the world on the outside carving of which such a marvellous amount of graving has been performed. It will give some idea of the enormous amount of sculpture with which this temple was covered when it is mentioned that the lowest band of the frieze alone contained a procession of about 2,000 elephants, no two of which are exactly alike.

Now turning to the wonders of Egypt, in one of the caverns at Memphis there are numerous sarcophagi in granite blocks, weighing from 60 to 80 thousand kilos—says a French writer. Mariette Bey endeavoured to get one of the smallest of them removed. But all his efforts little enabled him to draw the monolith a little further towards the passage.

Over the top of the door of Solomon's temple there was placed a very long and large "head-stone" or lintel. It contained no less than 60 cubic cubits of stone, and was regarded as the height of Square Mason's tectonic Art. This stone, which was placed in position by the King, had "graved" upon it, in Hebrew characters, the first words of that Holy Book:

"IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED
THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH."

The letters themselves were of solid gold, and let into the graven part of the stone. It was, therefore, indeed, a work of art worthy of the King, the nation, the masons, and the goldsmiths' guild.

After investigations one can only come to the conclusion that years ago in the Guild days there were some wonderfully clever men engaged in the ancient system.

In England, St. Paul's Cathedral was commenced in the year 1675, by the St. Paul's Guild of Free Masons, the stone being made ready at Portland and sent to London by water.

THE GUILDS IN ENGLAND DECLINE.

In 1740 the Rev. James Anderson was the Chaplain of the St. Paul's Guild Masons, who, at that time, had their head quarters at the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house in St. Paul's churchyard, London, and in September, 1714, the books of the Guild shew that Anderson had made a very remarkable "innovation" in the rules, which was, to admit persons as members of the Masons' Guild without their serving the seven years' apprenticeship. This caused a split in the ranks. Many of the Masters and Passed Masters of the Guilds in various parts of the country joined the new system of Dr. Anderson.

At the White Lion Hotel, Leicester, for instance, a Guild had existed for a very long period, but in 1790 the chief members became members of the system of Anderson, termed by the Guilds "Andersony." At a later

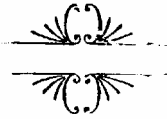
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date the workmen of the lower grades all decided that they would not continue to work under the Guild system, and no boys would serve the seven years' apprenticeship.

Soon after the Trade Union Act of 1871 was passed, the new "Stonemasons' Trade Union," took over as members a large majority of the Guild members, and at the present time although Masons' Companies and Guilds exist in England the writer is not aware that any stone-yard since 1883 has been managed and controlled upon the ancient Guild system of the Free Masons.

In conclusion the writer may say that for thousands of years guilds have carried out the most strict letter of the law not to allow outsiders to obtain the very "least trace" of the ancient systems; but now several of them have decided that it is perfectly lawful to have the "bare facts" of their history written by their own respective officials. It must therefore be understood that the recent articles in the *Melton Times* are not by any means the complete history, but only so much as the writer has received authority to make known to the readers.



The L. & N.W. Railway Company's Diamond or Trade Mark.

By CLEMENT E. STRETTON.

Reprinted from "Melton Mowbray Times," February 19th, 1909.

The question is often asked, why do the coal wagons on the London and North-Western railway have two white diamonds painted thereon? The diamond is a most ancient and scientific method of calculation, and was one of the great trade secrets so carefully preserved by an early guild. The method is based upon the well-known triangle having its three sides respectively 3, 4, 5 in length, and containing an area of 6, the angle at the junction of the 3 and the 4 sides forming an angle of 90 degrees, or the fourth part of a square. The unit, of course, may be inches, feet, cubits, miles or thousands of miles, and the method has been in use in Egypt for thousands of years to measure the land after the River Nile goes down. The system is illustrated by being cut on stone in Egypt, and it is also found in India. If four of these 3, 4, 5, angles be placed together with the 90 degree angles in the centre they form a diamond 6 by 8 having its four sides each 5, and its area equal to 24. In 1836 Mr. Joseph Locke, the engineer of the Grand Junction Railway decided to have a "Trade Mark" so that the Grand Junction trains could be distinguished from those of other companies. Mr. Locke at that time was a member of a guild or company of Freemasons by whom the ancient diamond of Egypt was preserved, and he decided to adopt it, and it was painted on the buffer-beams of each of the Grand Junction engines, also on the back of the tender tank and upon the vehicles. At Newton East and West Junctions in 1837, the signalmen had instructions to keep a sharp look-out for the "Diamond" trains approaching from either Liverpool or from Manchester, and to turn them on to the Warrington—that is the Grand Junction line, which at that period ran from Newton to Birmingham, Curzon Street. Mr. John Ramsbottom, when he took charge at Crewe, 1st August, 1857, continued the practice, and placed the diamond upon all the engines he built down to the time of the 1862 exhibition, when the "Lady of the Lake" was the first engine to

be built without the diamond. In 1837 Mr. Gooch (afterwards Sir Daniel) placed two of the Egyptian diamonds vertically upon the buffer-beams of the Great Western engines. Many years ago the wagons of the Haydock Colliery Company, Lancashire, also had the diamond of the Masons painted in black upon them. It is hardly necessary to say that the 3, 4, 5 angle forms the centre of the 47th Prop. of Euclid, and is of great practical use. If we take a sheet of paper 12 inches by 8, and set out the 3, 4, 5 angle at each corner, and draw the diagonal lines, we obtain two diamonds, two side positions, and four corners. The area of the corners, 4 at 6 equal 24, the area of the diamonds, 2 at 24 equal 48, the area of the sides, 2 at 12 equal 24, total 96. The two diamonds, 48, are equal in area to the two sides and the four corners together. By this ancient method the Egyptians performed their calculations without the use of decimals or fractions. To this day in all parts of the world engineers and surveyors use the 3, 4, 5, angle to set out an angle of 90 degrees upon the ground, however, some thousands of years ago the method was only known to three people in the world, and they were sworn to keep the information in their own possession. To do this they adopted what was termed "the three rod method," which consisted of three rods of wood, cut respectively 3, 4, and 5 cubits in length; there was no mark or measure on either rod—simply the name of the person to whom it was handed, and who was responsible for its safe keeping, it therefore followed that unless the three people met together, each having his rod with him, it was impossible for the angle of 90 degrees to be formed. Our old friend Euclid, about whom we heard so much in our school days, was a most scientific man, and also a Guild Mason. In his first book Prop. 47, he clearly published to the whole world the three rod method which previously had been so carefully protected by the use of the 3, 4, 5 "rods."

APPENDIX-II

Guild Rites. 1e IV°*The Worshipful Society of Free Masons,**otherwise**The Worshipful Society of Free Masons,
Worsh Masters, Wellers, Slaters, Pairors,
Plasterers and Bricklayers.**— March 1911 —*

I.

Guild Rites. V to VII°*Of the**Worshipful Society of Free Masons,**re re re.**— March 1911 —*

II.

Guild Rites*Worshipful ^{of the} Society of Free Masons,
re. re. re.**Being the
Annual Ceremonials.**— March 1911. —*

III

APPENDIX-III

(From: *The Lodge of Research n° 2429. Transactions for the Year 1909-10, Leicester, 84-85.*)

84

usages and established customs of the Fraternity as
Fellows have done in all ages.

Witness my hand this day of

Signed.....

Witness.....

Certificate of character.

Signed.....

Superintendent.....

Approved.....

G.M.M. VII°.

* * * * *

After we had been made free of the Apprentice bond,
we proceeded to the Second degree stone-yard, and were
passed through the ceremony of Fellow of the Craft of
Free Masons; on the same day we went off again on a
year's journey-work as "Fellows on the journey."

My own record is as follows:—

1st Degree. May 1867. Apprenticed and bound for
seven years.

2nd Degree. May 1874. Passed as a Fellow of the
Craft.

3rd Degree. May 1875. Became Super Fellow of the
Craft.

4th Degree. May 1876. Erector on the site of the
Temple.

5th Degree. May 1877. Intendant and Super-Intendant
of the Works.

6th Degree. May 1878. Passed the examination as a
Master and was appointed "Junior Passed
Master."—October 1890. Appointed Third
Deputy to Master Masons.—October 1897. Ap-
pointed Second Deputy to Master Masons.—

85

October 1901. Appointed Senior Passed Master
and Grand Deputy Master Mason.

7th Degree. October 1908. Installed Third Master
Mason of the York Division, addressed and saluted
as H. A. Prince of Free Masons.—October 1909.
S.....

Thus after being on the active roll for forty-two and a
half years, a pen was drawn through my name, and the
words "S..... October 2nd 1909" were written at the
side.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY.

Good Fellow of the Craft of Free Mason. You having
been passed as a Fellow of this Ancient and Worshipful
Fraternity, it is our purpose to tell you how and in what
manner this worthy Craft of Masonry was begun, and
afterwards how it was kept by worthy Kings and Princes,
and by many other Worshipful men.

Before Noah's flood there was a man that was called
Lamech, and this Lamech had two wives, the one called
Adah and the other Zillah.

By his first wife Adah he gat two sons, the one called
Jabal and the other Jubal.

And by the other wife Zillah he gat a son, Tubal-Cain,
and a daughter Naamah, and these four children founded
the beginning of all the Crafts in the world.

The eldest son Jabal founded the Craft of Geometry,
he had sheep and lambs in the fields, and was the first
Mason who wrought houses and walls of stone.

And his brother Jubal founded the Craft of Music, song
of mouth, harp, organ and trumpet.

APPENDIX-IV

Chronological list of the members per Lodge, as far as possible with their degree and function

Date	7/10	22/3	3/10	22/10	2/10	23/10	18/11	30/11	12/1	23/6	23/8	13/9	7/9	12/10	7/10	22/10	9/11	21/11	6/5	2/6	5/10	14/12
Lodge	917	917	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1910	1911	1912	1912	1912
SINELTON Clement Edwin	7	X																				
YARNER John	6	X																				
*GRANT Robert Benett																						
BAYLEY Wm. George Major (son-in-law 1)				Supr			X	7*	IMM*	X*	X*		X*	IMM*	Secr		X*	IMM*				
BELLWARD Geoffrey Wm Frank (grand-child 2)				App			X*	X*	X*	X*			X*	X*			X*	IMM*				
BELLWARD Frank Thos. (son-in-law 2)				App			X*	X*	X*	Cour	X*		X*	X*			X*	IMM*				
GRANT John Alfred (son 1)				App			X*	X*	X*	2.S	X*		X*	X*			X*	IMM*				
GRANT Robt Walter (son 2)				App			X*	X*	X*	X*			X*	X*			X*	IMM*				
MARTIN John				App			?	?	?	?			?	?			?	2MM*				
*Mrs BELLWARD A.L. (daughter 2)				App																		
*Mrs OGDEN				App																		
*Mrs BAYLEY (daughter 1)				App																		
Miss BOTHWELL-GOSSE A.																						
*GRANT Mary (daughter-in-law 1)																						
*PARSONS El. (son-in-law 3)																						
MALE Edw'd Percok																						
OGDEN R.E.																						
SMITH Harry																						
BAUER Harry C.																						
MIRZ Charles Hope																						
STITT James A. Stewart																						
TOTAL	1	2		8	3	2	7	7	7	7+1	7+1	4+1	7+1	7+1	7+1	3	12	12	12	7+1	?	?

* Members of the family of Robert Bennett Grant

APPENDIX-V
LETTER HEADDINGS

The Masons' Guild and Company

(YORK DIVISION),

LODGE 91.—Established at The White Lion Hotel, Leicester, 1761.

CLEMENT E. STRETTON,
(MEMBER, SOCIETY
OF ENGINEERS)
THIRD MASTER, MAJOR
SECRETARY.

NAT. TELEPHONE 4222 LEICESTER

Leicestershire House,

Leicester, 1909.

THE WORSHIPFUL SOCIETY OF FREE MASONS,

ROUGH MASONS, WALLERS, SLATERS, PAVIORS,
PLAISTERERS, AND BRICKLAYERS

(YORK DIVISION).

LODGE 91.—Established at The White Lion Hotel, Leicester, 1761.

MARKFIELD AND BARDON-HILL GRANITE QUARRIES.

ELLIS & EVERARD
TELEGRAMS
TO
BARDON-HILL STATION

LEICESTER.

Nov 20 1910

The WORSHIPFUL SOCIETY of FREE MASONS,

ROUGH MASONS, WALLERS, SLATERS, PAVIORS, PLAISTERERS,
AND BRICKLAYERS.

Lodge "The Mount, Bardon," No. 110.

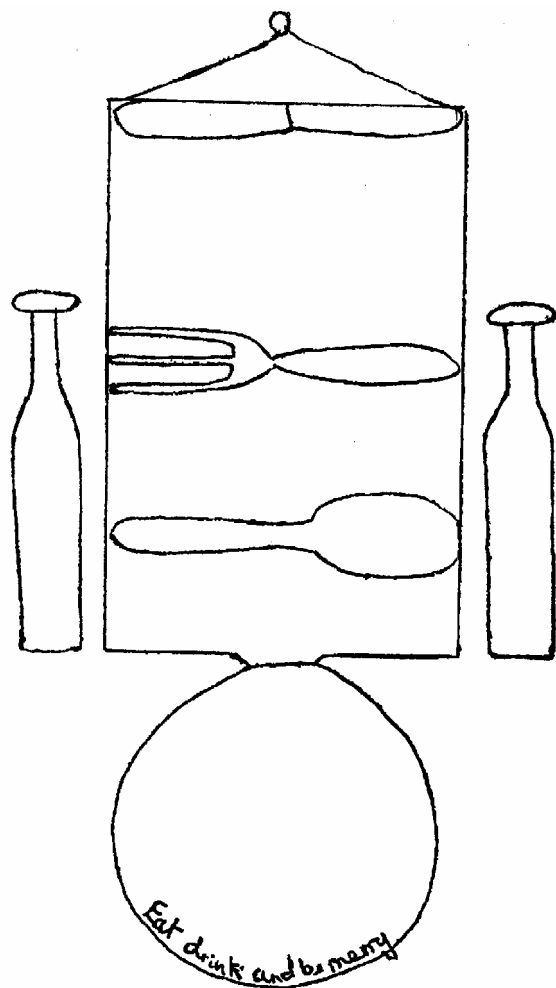
ESTABLISHED 1881

Bardon Hill,

Leicestershire.

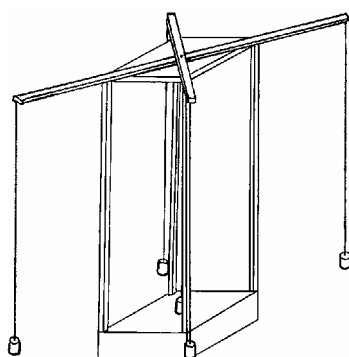
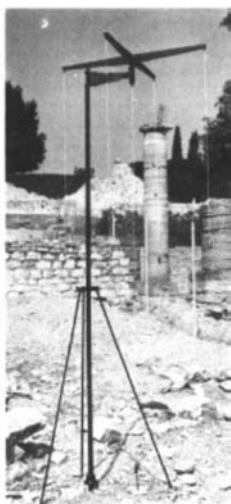
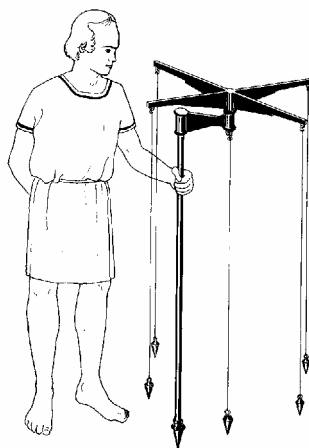
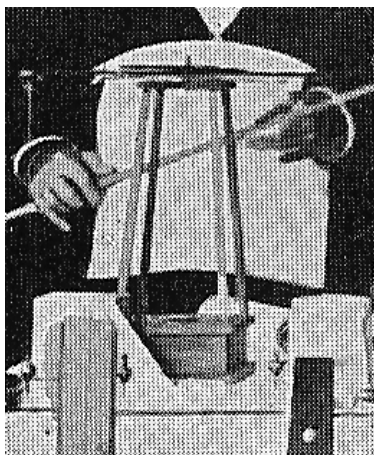
Nov 1910

APPENDIX-VI



*New design of jewel for the Modern Free Mason (or some of them)
knife, fork, spoon, plate and two bottles of wine.*

APPENDIX-VII



FREEMASONRY AND SUFFRAGE: THE MANIFESTATION OF SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

ANN PILCHER-DAYTON

My sources for the information in this paper are primarily the three periodicals of the suffrage movement—*The Common Cause* was that of the moderate National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, *The Vote* was that of the tending-to-militancy Women's Freedom League and lastly *Votes for Women* belonged to the overtly militant Women's Social and Political Union.

Let us set the scene—the year is 1911 and it is the Saturday before the coronation of George V. London is crowded with visitors, hungry for spectacle. On the afternoon of 17th June 40,000 women formed up along Westminster Embankment in the fifth, the last and the biggest procession ever seen in the campaign for the vote. In the words of Lisa Tickner, “The pavements were soon almost impassable, and only with difficulty could the stewards and marshals join up the bewildering mosaic and slip participants into the place allotted them”.¹ The weather was brilliant and the mood celebratory and expectant. In Trafalgar Square the seats erected for the Coronation procession were all filled and, as a writer in *The Vote* related at the time:

On the big branches of lamp-posts—more people. Up ladders, on sign-boards, on scaffolding, on the tops of drays, motors, taxi cabs, on other people's toes, on their backs, on the very verge of the fountains, up the long streets which lead to the Square (whether they could see or whether they could not see), anywhere where they could stand, sit, lean or be pushed, were people—buzzing, excited people.²

At 5.30 the procession moved off—seven abreast and five miles long—to the strains of Ethel Smyth's *March of the Women*. They were led by Florence Drummond, (famous for chaining herself to the railings in Downing Street and nicknamed The General) on horseback, followed by a colour-bearer and an MP's daughter representing Joan of Arc in full armour on a white palfrey. There were forty five sepa-

¹ Tickner 1987 124.

² Frederic Lawrence in *Votes for Women* 30/6/1911 (cited in Tickner 1987 125).

rate contingents, representing all aspects of women in society and throughout the ages and (unique in these demonstrations) drawn from the full spectrum of the suffrage societies. Charlotte Despard and the Women's Freedom League with their green, white and gold colours marched together with Millicent Fawcett of the conservative National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies under their white and red and also the white, purple and green banners of the Women's Social and Political Union—the militant wing of feminist protest. As *The Vote* reported "United they march! All animated by one great hope, by one great vision of the future—the emancipation of half the human race".³

Contingent number 35—tucked between the Ethical Societies and the women pharmacists and health visitors—were ladies of the Order of Universal Co-Freemasonry, in full Masonic regalia and led by Dr. Annie Besant, bare-headed and in a yellow silk sari, who was on a visit to England with her protégé and the future world leader Krishnamurti. Lady Emily Lutyens, wife of the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, took part as an Entered Apprentice, and the participants were said to be much admired by the watching crowds.⁴ According to the periodical *The Co-Mason*, Dr. Besant "sanctioned wearing regalia on this occasion because she regards the women's movement as a matter of national concern, not as one of party politics ... The crowd liked us ... we amused and interested them".⁵ Many of the crowd remembered Annie Besant's oratory of the seventies and eighties and welcomed her back.

This paper will outline some of the background to this event. We have three strands to our story—Theosophy, Freemasonry and the feminist and suffrage movement, all of which had features in common. It will focus particularly on the line of descent which resulted ultimately in the foundation in 1908 of the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry which after the First World War became the Order of Women Freemasons. There were other threads in the development of mixed and women's Freemasonry in Britain but this study will concentrate on the creation of the largest order.

³ *The Vote* (17 June 1911) 95.

⁴ Lutyens 1957 33/34.

⁵ *The Co-Mason* 3 (July 1911) 128.

The Theosophical Contribution

The Theosophical movement was a feature of the last quarter of the 19th century, when its syncretistic vision appealed to those who needed to reconstruct their shaken faith, to come to terms with advances in physics and biology, particularly Darwinism, and to justify personal experiences of a mystical or occult nature.⁶ The Theosophical Society, founded in 1875 by Helena Blavatsky, provided a setting for the exploration of ideas and phenomena usually dismissed or prohibited by the established churches and sects—and, most importantly, it offered women an equal part in the enterprise and laid great emphasis on the universal brotherhood of humanity. The impact of Darwinism on traditional Christianity had left a vacuum and the Theosophical fusion of elements of Buddhist and Hindu thought with an ecumenical Christian morality filled it for many. It was also sensational in a period when detailed knowledge of other cultures was not generally available. The objects of the Theosophical Society were in harmony with socialist and feminine ideals. Women took an equal share in lecturing, travelling and writing on behalf of the Society, and many donated funds.

Significantly, women were some of the best exponents and interpreters of Theosophy, be it Helena Blavatsky, Annie Besant or Charlotte Despard. The specific appeal of the Theosophical Society to women was in its explicit statement rejecting sexual discrimination and in the dynamic of two principles coming from the Absolute—the *ying* and *yang*, male and female—which provided a theoretical legitimization for equality between the sexes.

According to Diana Burfield in her paper on *Theosophy and Feminism* the Theosophical movement appealed mainly to the upper and middle classes—TS meetings closed at the end of the London Season—and from membership lists of the early mixed Lodges in England we can see that this was also the case with women in Freemasonry, with a considerable percentage of titled ladies amongst its members.⁷ Both organisations attracted a shifting and overlapping membership of socialites and intellectuals. Following the setting up of the Fabian Society in 1884, some of the Fabians were drawn into occultism and moved with Annie Besant into the TS. A few, including Enid Nesbit, the children's writer, and Marion Halsey, who became

⁶ For an introduction to the following see Dixon 2001 and Burfield 1983.

⁷ Burfield 1983 28, 33; Membership lists of Lodges 1, 2, & 3 of HFAM.

the second Grand Master of the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry (a mixed Order), were attracted to magical Orders such as the *Stella Matutina*, an offshoot of the Golden Dawn.⁸

The Establishment of Co-Masonry

Co-Masonry, which admitted (and still does admit) both men and women in contrast to the all-male United Grand Lodge of England, started in the 1880's in France when the social activist Maria Deraismes was initiated into a Lodge called 'The Free Thinkers' ('Les Libres Penseurs').⁹ After various vicissitudes and considerable opposition a genuinely mixed Lodge was started in Paris in 1893. The first Englishwoman to join the French Lodge was Mme. Maria Martin, who had married a Frenchman. She was the sister of Francesca Arundale, close friend and co-worker of Annie Besant. Francesca joined the French Lodge on 21st July 1895 and received the degree of a Master Mason in the lodge in Zurich on 11th August 1896. She gives her reasons for joining:

My sister was an ardent feminist, and I sympathized most strongly with her views, and the fact that in this movement men and women could work together and that once again women could triumph in a disability removed, was sufficient to draw me within the Order.¹⁰

Francesca Arundale relates how an apparently casual remark of Annie Besant's led to the establishment of the Co-Masonic movement in England.

I was travelling with her on the District Railway between Ealing and London when she said "I have been told to join the Masonic Order. I know there is a section that admits women, but I do not know where it is to be found." That information I was able to give her ...¹¹

Annie Besant had become convinced of the value which a system of Masonry admitting men and women on an equal footing could have.

⁸ See the article by Henrik Bogdan in this volume.

⁹ Buisine 1995; Hivert-Messecq 1997; Gilbert 2002.

¹⁰ F. Arundale 1915.

¹¹ F. Arundale 1915.

With her tireless energy, and her characteristic devotion to a Cause, which she had reason to believe was considered important by some of those great Agents of the GAOTU¹² [*the Masters who instructed their pupils in wisdom*], to whose service she was utterly dedicated, Sister Annie Besant had set to work to interest [others] in the new project, and by degrees to draw into the Order, those who might be able to respond to its ideals. Those ideals were pre-eminently the furthering of the Brotherhood of Man, and the restoration to what had been their place in the ancient Mysteries of that half of Humanity which up to quite recently has been and still in most countries is excluded from Masonry.¹³

In the summer of 1902, Annie Besant was living in the home of Ursula Bright and her daughter Esther at 31 S^t. James' Place, London. The Brights were a prominent Quaker family and active in feminist causes. Ursula was the widow of Jacob Bright, who introduced the first Woman Suffrage Bill in 1870, and was herself an ardent worker for the Married Women's Property Act and for Woman Suffrage. Esther Bright wrote later in 1947:

Doctor Annie Besant became deeply interested in the possibility of starting a Co-Masonic movement in England in the summer of 1902. ... she asked us if we would be willing to co-operate with her in the formation of such a movement. We were of course only too willing to stand by her and do all we could to help. I well remember those early days when she chose those whom she thought suitable to be the founders of the new movement, workers whom she trusted and who had been in close touch with her for many years. So we, whom she had chosen, all travelled to Paris—seven of them. We were initiated, passed and raised into the *Ordre Maconnique Mixte International*.¹⁴

The particular Lodge was Maria Deraismes Lodge No. 1 and it was on 27th July 1902. It was decided to set up a provisional Lodge at the Bright's home in London, 31 S^t James' Place, to prepare for the founding of the first British Lodge. The first Minute Book of Lodge Human Duty No. 6 reports a Provisional Lodge Meeting on 29th July 1902 when the seven founding members (those who had travelled to Paris) drew up and signed the Petition for the Lodge to the Supreme Council. The title of the Lodge was to be 'The Scotch Symbolical

¹² 'Great Architect of the Universe'.

¹³ F. Arundale 1915.

¹⁴ E. Bright, Typed statement dated July 1947 in the archive of the International Federation of Co-Masonry, Surbiton, Surrey, England.

Worshipful Lodge of England: Droit Humain', No. 6 'Human Duty'. These same Minutes recorded: "It is decided to use the terms Brother and Sister in speaking of members thereby maintaining the distinction of sex". Esther Bright was the Secretary and all the early Minutes were recorded by her. She tells us:

Many Meetings and rehearsals were held in our home in S^t. James' Place and when the great day came for our first real Lodge meeting in a big hall we were all slightly nervous, anxious to play our parts as well as possible. I drove in a hansom cab with Dr. Annie Besant and for the first time she was going to do without her ritual book! It was a great occasion, but all went well!¹⁵

The formal Consecration of Lodge 'Human Duty' No. 6 took place in the Lecture Hall of the Theosophical Society.¹⁶ The Right Worshipful Master, Sister Annie Besant in her speech of welcome said that if the impulse of Speculative Masonry was carried from England to France in the 18th century, it was the French who had that day brought it back, completed and strengthened by the admission of women on equal terms with men. The Delegation then took over the offices of the Lodge, and four candidates were initiated. The French Grand Master, having given an account of the formation of the first Lodge in France, then proceeded to the Installation of the new Lodge. The Master Elect Annie Besant took the Obligation, as did the Senior and Junior Wardens, Francesca Arundale and William Lauder. Evelyn Lauder, as Senior Deacon, surrounded by the other officers of the new Lodge then took an Obligation on their behalf. The Grand Master handed Annie Besant the Warrant of the Lodge and "declared the Lodge duly constituted, establishing to it the right of initiating, passing and raising to the three degrees of Masonry men and women who were deemed suitable".¹⁷

An important principle was established right at the start by Annie Besant. The French mixed Lodges did not recognise a Supreme Authority. Annie Besant stipulated that if her influence was to be used to spread Joint Freemasonry (as it was then called) in England and other countries, the recognition of the 'Great Architect Of The Universe' must be an essential clause in the Constitution of the Lodges so formed.

¹⁵ E. Bright, *International Freemason* 17 (13 July 1962) 2.

¹⁶ The following is taken from the Lodge minute book.

¹⁷ Lodge minute book.

Co-Masonry expanded in England. Annie Besant was by that time the chief English Co-Masonic official, although she spent most of her time in India. An article on Co-Masonry was printed in *The Vote* of September 1911 and this gives the principles of the English Constitution.¹⁸ Included in these were three particularly important clauses for feminists—it was open to men and women of all nationalities, all creeds and all races; its aim was to combat ignorance in all its forms, imposing no restrictions on the free search after truth, and to secure that freedom exacted the fullest tolerance from all its members; and also exacted a pledge from its members of obedience to the laws of the country, loyalty to the Sovereign, the upholding of justice, a high standard of honour, a kindly feeling to all, and a ceaseless endeavour to promote the welfare of humanity. How could this fail to appeal to the majority of moderate suffragists?

Dr. Cobb and the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry

In 1907 to 1908 there were rumblings of discontent within the hierarchy of Co-Masonry.¹⁹ These centred on a return to the spiritual values of Freemasonry which were lacking in the United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE), a return to the 'purer' form of ceremonial working which consisted of the three degrees of the so-called York Rite as opposed to the thirty-three degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite worked by the Co-Masons, but above all a desire to distance themselves from the Theosophical bias of Co-Masonry and to admit men and women on equal terms. Foremost among the dissidents was the Rev. Dr. William Cobb, Rector of S^t. Ethelburga's Church in the City of London and a member of the 'Human Duty' Lodge No. 6 and also of the UGLE. Eventually he and a group of colleagues, both men and women and including several married couples, founded a new Order called the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry in June 1908, when its first three Lodges were consecrated. He was the first Grand Master of the new Order, an office he held until 1912. In future years this Order was to become all-women and it changed its name to the 'Order of Women Freemasons' in 1958.

Dr. Cobb believed that for women to be in Freemasonry was no more than a restitution of their rights.

¹⁸ *Common Cause* 28/9/1911, 425.

¹⁹ For the following see Pilcher-Dayton 2008.

Not only does Masonry appear to have lost its original spirit, but it has done what no religion of antiquity ever did: it has excluded women from its mysteries. That is, it professes to be the basis of a universal brotherhood, but excludes women, which is a contradiction in terms.²⁰

In the Order's periodical *The Gavel* he wrote in 1909:

The admission of women is not so much an innovation as a recovery. It is but one recognition of the right of women to share in the labours of men, and to give them that training in common work which has taught men most of the virtue they possess.²¹

In 1910 he pursued the same theme:

Now at this present moment particularly one movement amongst many others stands out pre-eminently as characteristic of our age. It is what may be called tersely the Woman Movement. Whatever may be the reasons alleged for or against the emancipation of women, no thoughtful observer can fail to see that a cosmic process is at work in bringing them from the background, and putting them into a place side by side with man. In social movements, in education, in municipal affairs, in politics and the economic realm women are assuming a new importance. We may applaud their appearance on equal terms with men, or we may decry it as monstrous and dangerous, but it is there and has to be dealt with. English Masonry has so far shown no signs that it at all appreciates the enormous importance of this movement. It has been left for other Masonic bodies to step into the breach and to assume the duty which English Masonry has not cared to undertake.²²

Dr. Cobb was an enthusiastic speaker on behalf of the suffragists. In "the most exciting 'At Home' meeting of the Season" in the Caxton Hall in London in 1910 he was the first speaker. As *The Vote* describes:

With the prophetic eye of the Church of England, he said that he made bold to declare that they would not have long to wait for the suffrage! When they had obtained the vote, he urged them to do their best to elevate civic life, to endeavour to eliminate party from politics, and to in-

²⁰ Interview in the *City Press*, "Women and Freemasonry", 22 July 1911.

²¹ *The Gavel* (April 1909) 3.

²² *The Gavel* (July 1910) 3.

sist that whatever bills were for the good of the country must be got through without considering which party had introduced them.²³

Votes for Women gave another aspect:

Another representative of the Church has spoken with no uncertain voice in sympathy with this movement. At the Queen's Hall on Monday last the Rev. Dr. Cobb delivered a broadminded and inspiring address, which was listened to with the greatest appreciation by the large audience. After dealing with the reasons why women should have this common measure of justice, and after wittily refuting some of the common arguments urged against it, Dr. Cobb pointed out how the duties of citizenship would make women's minds broader and more beautiful, and they would then help men to ideals, no longer as unpaid servants, but as friends with equal rights and privileges. He considered that the greatest question before the Government was that of women's franchise, but politicians would do nothing unless they were forced to it, and therefore the women would have to go on fighting, regarding the whole official class as their enemies. Much as he deplored unnecessary violence, he admitted that he could see no other methods open to women at present except the militant ones.²⁴

In the same month of February 1910 he chaired a meeting at St. Ethelburga's Church during the suffragists' 'Special Effort Week'—a meeting specially arranged to attract businessmen in the City of London.²⁵ He also spoke for the 'Women's Social and Political Union' at Debenham in Suffolk, near his country home at Rishangles.²⁶ In the course of his speech he said it required some courage nowadays for a man to stand on a platform and speak for women who spoke so well for themselves. One of the elements of democratic government was government by the consent of the governed. The women were working for a simple measure of justice. Later, in 1914 Cobb was one of the vice-presidents of the newly formed United Suffragists, a mixed male and female organisation dedicated to the enfranchisement of women.²⁷ Dr. Cobb's contributions to other concerns of the feminist movement, such as marriage law and divorce law reform, also exem-

²³ *The Vote* (19 February 1910) 194.

²⁴ *Votes for Women* (10 December 1909) 162.

²⁵ *The Vote* (26 February 1910) 211.

²⁶ *Votes for Women* (15 April 1910) 463.

²⁷ *The Vote* (6 February 1914) 245.

plify his commitment to equal rights and the removal of discrimination.

Connections with the Suffrage Movement

The 'Church League for Women's Suffrage' was founded in 1909, one of the many organisations, drawn from the whole spectrum of society, in favour of the vote for women. Prominent in the 'Church League' were not only Dr. Cobb but also the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Chapel Royal at the Savoy and brother of Cecil Chapman, a magistrate and important speaker for the cause of suffrage.²⁸ Whilst not himself a Freemason, Hugh Chapman's background and principles were sufficiently similar to those of Dr. Cobb to give us an idea of the motivation of both men.

In an interview with *The Vote* in 1910, Hugh—a cousin of Elizabeth Fry—gave the Editor some of his views on the Suffrage movement:

- The Church League has been formed to band together Church people, who are Suffragists for devotional purposes and to further the cause of Women's Franchise—'in the name of God.' It is non-party, and its object is to secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community. ... My own feeling is, that there is at the back of this movement a strong idea of the religious status of woman. What we want in every country is a readjustment of the relations between men and women, and it is well to realise that women count from the patriotic point of view, and that a woman is not a man's toy but his equal.

- But you dwell more on the spiritual side of the movement than on the political side of the agitation?

- Yes; I think that that which will eventually win is the deep moral point of view – that the woman who is self-supporting physically and mentally will be recognised as having a civic side to her nature, and that the aim of her life will not be regarded as necessarily merely to be peaceful and moral.

²⁸ *Crockford's Clerical Dictionary* for 1918 describes Hugh Chapman as a graduate of Keble College, Oxford and Vicar of St. Luke's, Camberwell 1885-1909 (both High Church). Both Cobb and Chapman were involved in suffrage support and were Vice-Presidents of the Divorce Law Reform Union (Annual Report 1923).

The spiritual force of which Mr Chapman speaks he brings into the movement wherever he goes, and he always finds it there because he inspires it. He introduces a new atmosphere into the controversy. It becomes not a matter of persons—Asquiths and Churchills dwindle away when he speaks—it becomes a matter of a great principle. His point of view is best summed up by a passage from one of his speeches:

I believe that a healthier era is setting in—I believe that men and women will eventually live in a saner way—I believe that, although the Vote is no doubt your immediate objective, it includes far more than appears on the surface. There is a certain atmosphere, though it is very difficult for me to put it into words, at Suffrage meetings for which I am always grateful, an atmosphere which always sends me away a better man, and reminds me of the best women I have ever known. That is why I gave myself up to this movement. I owe to this influence a debt which, if I use the rest of my life until your movement is successful, I shall not have perfectly repaid.²⁹

Feminists saw Freemasonry as a force which could be used to change society for the better. Theosophy, Co-Masonry and the Women's Movement all shared two common principles—the process of spiritual self-improvement and that of equality. Feminists (mistakenly as it turned out) thought that the acquisition of the vote would enable them to effect the changes in society which would give women equality. Annie Besant, in an impassioned speech at the Albert Hall following the Coronation March, said:

Our use of the vote will be the judgement on the value of our claim to equality. Men have had the vote ... yet the world is full of misery. By working, and working together, adding not their sameness but their difference, and remembering that the human race is a family, you will not be doubling a vote but multiplying a nation.³⁰

In an "Editorial" in *The Co-Mason* of July 1911 we have the statement: "... the Co-Masonic Order, who take[s] the mystical and symbolical view of Freemasonry ... gladly took English Women's part in the effective practical presentation of that opportunity of greater service to their country for which they yearn".³¹

Co-Masonry encouraged the free discussion of social and political problems. In *The Co-Mason* of 1911 Ursula Bright wrote:

²⁹ *The Vote* (27 August 1910) 208.

³⁰ *The Common Cause* (22 June 1911) 188.

³¹ *The Co-Mason* 3 (July 1911) 129.

Co-Masonry is the latest development of two great ideas—the religious and the political—I almost said the feminist—for the emancipation of women includes all politics. Our Supreme Council in Paris makes the complete equality of men and women, in every department of human life, its chief object ... It is true that male Masonry proclaims the brotherhood of half the race, but even here we find that the maimed, the halt and the blind, as well as the whole sisterhood of humanity, is shut out ... Male Masonry is the expression of power, wealth, social influence and exclusiveness. Co-Masonry is the expression of service, tolerance, freedom of speech on all subjects. Masons working under the Grand Lodge of England and Scotland may not discuss ... the two subjects of deepest interest to mankind ... religion and politics. We expect the members of our organisation to be able to speak on any subject fit for public discussion ...³²

And, of course, they did! Annie Cobden-Sanderson, daughter of the great Liberal reformer Richard Cobden, is one of the best-known militant suffragettes. A member of the Women's Freedom League, which was led by Charlotte Despard, she also belonged to the mixed Lodge in Paris, 'Maria Deraismes' Lodge No. 1, the Co-Masons in England and later the 'Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry' under Dr. Cobb.³³ She was a frequent speaker at suffrage meetings and in an interview in *The Vote* of March 1910, she explained "Why I want the Vote".

I came to believe in the Vote as part of my political faith four years ago, when two girls, earning their living in the same labour market with men, were thrust out of a public meeting with brutal violence for asking a Liberal Cabinet Minister how much longer they were to be excluded from sharing in political representation with their fellow working men. Since that time 500 women have been sent to prison as common criminals for refusing to submit in silence to this exclusion from their constitutional rights of citizenship.

I joined in the revolt against such intolerable injustice, maintained, as every injustice must be, by the employment of the physical force of the law. It is in order to get rid of this injustice, and all that it means, which makes me want to have the Vote. I now see in the ballot the symbol of the natural equality of women with man.³⁴

³² *The Co-Mason* 3 (January 1911) 4.

³³ Minute book of Lodge Human Duty No 6, 1 December 1902; minute book of Lodge Golden Rule No 1 of HFAM, 19 September 1908.

³⁴ *The Vote* (26 March 1910) 260.

She had a strong Labour bias and in May 1906 gave a paper to her Co-Masonic Lodge on *Masonry and the Labour Movement*.³⁵ In November of the same year she was arrested following a militant protest demonstration and sentenced to two months in prison. The Lodge sent a message to her—"This Lodge desires to convey the assurance of its sympathy with Sister Cobden-Sanderson in her present suffering and self-sacrifice in the cause of political equality of the sexes, and to express its admiration for her courage and endurance in conditions so trying". Following an objection by a Sister Webb, who may or may not be Beatrice Webb, the words 'political equality' were omitted.³⁶

In a discussion within the Lodge on the purpose of the Co-Masonic movement, Annie Cobden-Sanderson said that she had hoped that they might put themselves directly in touch with some of the great movements—such as women's suffrage—outside.³⁷ Similarly, Charlotte Despard gave a paper in 1906 on *Masonry and Society* and thought that Masons should be in touch with all the great movements of humanity.³⁸ In 1908, after a paper on *Masonry and the social problem*, she described the ideals which inspired her so greatly on coming into Freemasonry: the recognition of brotherhood, with glimpses of a time when true brotherhood existed in a way that it did not then; the reverence accorded to work and labour, depicted by the constant presence of the Working Tools; and the protection of the helpless, symbolised in the Initiation Ceremony by the Candidate who enters blind and penniless.³⁹

Another notable figure in the suffrage movement and also a Freemason was Muriel, Countess de la Warr. Representative of the moderate constitutional feminists, she was president of the 'Federated Council of Suffrage Societies', founded in 1911 to unify the many disparate groups and determine a united policy. She was also Honorary Treasurer of the 'National Political League', which tried to further social and political reforms on a non-party basis and, as a member of the 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies', she formed her own branch at her home of East Grinstead in Surrey. She was a member of

³⁵ Minute book of Lodge Human Duty No. 6, 7 May 1906.

³⁶ Minute book of Lodge Human Duty No. 6, 5 November 1906.

³⁷ Minute book of Lodge Human Duty No. 6, 3 February 1908.

³⁸ On her life in general, but with little reference to Theosophy and none to Co-Masonry, see Linklater, 1980 and Mulvihill 1989.

³⁹ Minute book of Lodge 'Human Duty' No. 6, 7 May 1906, 4 May 1908.

Lodge 'Golden Rule' No. 1 of Dr. Cobb's 'Honourable Fraternity of Ancient Masonry'.⁴⁰

Naturally, just as there were men for and against women's suffrage, there were men for and against women in Freemasonry. As early as 1906 Alfred Faulding, London General Secretary of International Co-Masonry, wrote to a colleague: "I feel very strongly indeed that Co-Masonry should not degenerate into a woman's movement but should be, what its name implies, a movement for men and women, and therefore I want to obtain, if I can, a balance between the two sexes..."⁴¹ His correspondent, Oliver Firth of the Bradford Lodge, sent a somewhat patronising reply:

I quite agree ... if masculine Masonry is a mistake, it doesn't mend matters by doubling the mistakes and having a scheme of feminine Masonry. I think the idea of having more men on the Areopagus [governing council] is a good one and though I daren't say so in my comments, I think it wouldn't be amiss if room could be made for 'em by shifting two or three of the women off! But A.B. [Annie Besant] put 'em there and there they must stick until the genuine secrets are discovered!⁴²

Nevertheless, Alfred Faulding and his wife Florence were one of several married couples who left Co-Masonry in 1908 to found, with the Rev. Dr. Cobb and his wife and family, the 'Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry'. Florence was the first (female) Master of the 'Lodge of Unity' No. 3. Another prominent couple in Masonry were Eustace Miles and his wife Hettie. Vegetarianism was one of the in-things of the time and we find advertisements for Eustace Miles' vegetarian restaurant in Chandos Street, Charing Cross in the suffrage periodicals such as *The Vote* and *Votes for Women*: "Best Light and Sustaining Luncheons for Brain Workers" and "Eustace Miles Proteid Food—best food basis instead of meat for clear thought". And we have a further cross-connection here—some of the early meetings of the 'Fraternity of Antient Freemasonry' were held at this same restaurant.

⁴⁰ *Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who* 1913 31, 59; *The Common Cause* (19 September 1912) 408; Minute book of Lodge 'Golden Rule' No. 1, 17 December 1909.

⁴¹ Letters Oliver Firth/Alfred Faulding, Co-Masonic Archive, Surbiton.

⁴² Letters Oliver Firth/Alfred Faulding, Co-Masonic Archive, Surbiton.

The United Grand Lodge and Women Freemasonry

The United Grand Lodge of England was extremely unhappy about the presence of women Freemasons and indeed refused to recognise as legitimate either the Co-Masons or any of its offshoots. In March 1910 this Grand Lodge issued a directive to all Lodges forbidding male Masons under their jurisdiction to visit mixed Lodges and giving the sanctions that would be invoked for non-compliance:

It having been brought to the attention of the Board of General Purposes that certain irregular bodies are in the habit of holding meetings—within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge—professing to be Masonic meetings, for working ceremonies of an alleged Masonic nature, and called by summons copying the summonses of regular Lodges, I am directed to remind you and all the Brethren of our Order, that such bodies have no authority or warrant ... any members of our Order who take part in or visit such spurious and irregular bodies, are, by Rule 204 of our Book of Constitutions, precluded from being admitted as members, or even as visitors, into any regular Lodge, or to any other Masonic privilege [and] in cases of wilful persistence, they are liable to suspension, and even expulsion by Grand Lodge.⁴³

A further and even harsher circular was issued in 1919. Some men returned to the fold but some ignored the ban and continued to visit or took the deliberate choice to support, encourage and train women Masons, to the jeopardization of their own Masonic careers. In the 'Order of Women Freemasons', two outstanding examples of the latter were Peter Birchall and Peter Slingsby, respectively Deputy Grand Master and Grand Secretary. They continued to work for the Order until Peter Slingsby died in 1935, and the decision was finally taken to restrict office to women only. The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of the 'Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry' show that members of the UGLE were still recorded as visitors up until 1920.

There were, however, some unfortunate men who were caught in the middle. A notable example was Alfred Faulding, mentioned above. He was Director of Ceremonies of the mixed 'Lodge of Unity' No. 3. He also belonged to 'Lodge of Unity' No. 183 and 'Clarendon Lodge' No. 1769, both UGLE lodges. He was one of the participants in a murky little incident in 1912 caused by the conflict of loyalties provoked by the edicts of the United Grand Lodge.

⁴³ Pilcher-Dayton 2008.

In the course of an Appeal Hearing connected to an internal dispute in the mixed Order, Faulding accused another Brother of inviting male UGLE Masons to the door in order to catch him attending a meeting of an 'irregular body' and so incriminate him in the eyes of the United Grand Lodge. He had been summoned to appear before the Board of General Purposes of the UGLE in April to answer the charge of unlawfully associating with a ladies' Lodge, and it is possible that he backdated his resignation from the mixed Order so as to predate the hearing. He seems to have got away with it, and even asked the 'Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry' to write a letter confirming that he was no longer a member of it, "so that I might put myself right with the English Order". His wife Florence resigned in December 1912 and went back to the Co-Masons.

The relationship between Freemasonry and suffrage has not been previously considered in detail, but evidently there were rich and important connections. To return to the great procession of 1911, *The Vote* described:

The flying banner, the music, the close shoulder to shoulder march, the genial pleasantries of the crowd, all proclaimed the fact that the days of contempt, of ridicule and of real antagonism to the cause of woman suffrage had gone for ever. On they came, the great army of women which is to herald the dawn of a newer and brighter day; on they come, the last march of voteless women that London will ever see; on they come, hope and faith and courage, singing a paeon in every heart, and giving vitality and animation and vigour to every step.⁴⁴

The Common Cause, in an article by Elizabeth Severs, a Theosophist and Co-Mason, struck a quieter and more dignified note –

That women have won their way to perfect equality in Freemasonry, for centuries exclusively a masculine activity, is a very striking sign of the times, and is surely a favourable omen of their final victory in the only field they have still to conquer, that of political equality with men.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *The Vote* (24 June 1911) 110.

⁴⁵ *The Common Cause* (28 September 1911) 425/426.

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**‘BUILDERS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE NEW
CIVILISATION’:
ANNIE BESANT AND FREEMASONRY**

ANDREW PRESCOTT

I love Co-Masonry, and feel it to be
cruelly hard that after introducing it
into Britain, Australia, New Zealand,
Africa and India I should be sacri-
ficed by the Sup[reme] Coun[cil].

Annie Besant, March 1924¹

A distinctive and colourful feature of civic life in Victorian and Edwardian Britain were the many parades and processions held by various associations.² The most exotic of these were perhaps the parades of freemasons, which most frequently took place when the foundation stones of public buildings were laid “with masonic honours”.³ On 3 September 1911, one such ceremony took place at Tavistock Square in Bloomsbury, close to the British Museum.⁴ There was always great interest in seeing a masonic ritual conducted in public, but the ceremony at Tavistock Square attracted greater curiosity than usual, because the new building was to be the British headquarters of the Theosophical Society, and the stone-laying was performed by the President of the Society, Annie Besant, one of the most controversial women in Britain, who was a thirty-third degree mason and Vice-President of the Supreme Council of Universal Co-Freemasonry, a form of Freemasonry which admitted women. This was the first time a woman mason had performed such a ceremony, and the Grand Secretary of the Order in Britain declared that

¹ Draft letter of resignation by Annie Besant to the Secretary of the Supreme Council of Universal Co-Freemasonry, Adyar, 20 March 1924: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

² Prescott 2004.

³ See, for example, Stewart 2002; Prescott 2003a 7, 12-13.

⁴ Dixon 2001 1-3; Harrison 1911. The ceremony was reported in *The Times*, 4 September 1911 2. Photographs of the foundation stone laying were published in the popular newspaper *The Daily Mirror*, 4 September 1911 11.

The ceremony...will be known throughout the masonic world; and arouse widespread interest amongst our Brethren, who have hitherto looked on the speculative science of Freemasonry as the exclusive possession of men, they will see that at last women are recovering their rightful place in the Mysteries, of which this science is a part.⁵

As Ann Pilcher-Dayton has described elsewhere in this volume, this event at Tavistock Square was not the first time that the women co-masons had paraded in public. Five months earlier, Besant had led a contingent of co-masons, dressed in the regalia of all degrees from entered apprentice to the thirty third and carrying lodge banners, in one of the great marches demanding votes for women.⁶ These 1911 processions emphasise the major themes which dominated the history of women in Freemasonry in Britain from its first appearance at the end of Queen Victoria's reign up to the Second World War. First, the introduction from France of a form of Freemasonry which admitted men and women was an integral part of the women's movement. The standard bearer in the Tavistock Square procession was Charlotte Despard, the President of Women's Freedom League,⁷ and many of the participants in this event, such as the social campaigner and novelist Edith Ward,⁸ were activists for women's rights. As the author of the article describing the Co-Masonic participation in the suffrage march put it,

May the good augury of the future that Co-Masonry has established by asserting in an activity for centuries exclusively male, that humanity underlies sex and that sex should be no barrier to the search for Truth and the desire to serve, be a good omen for woman's speedy victory in the vast field of political independence!⁹

⁵ Harrison 1911 161.

⁶ Dixon 2001 1-3, 5; Severs 1911.

⁷ On Despard, see Mulvihill 1989, but this gives little attention to Despard's interest in Theosophy, describing Despard as (p. 36) 'a long distance recruit to fin-de-siècle mysticism', and does not mention her involvement in Co-Masonry. In 1911, Despard contributed an article to *The Co-Mason*: Despard 1911. In 1917, *The Co-Mason* carried an appeal from the committee of which Despard was a member seeking to set up the Brackenhill Children's Theosophical Home, to be based on Montessori principles: *The Co-Mason* 9 (1917) 41.

⁸ Dixon 2001 134-135: 'As a Co-Mason, she [Ward] used the order to promote her continuing commitment to equality between men and women'.

⁹ Severs 1911 129.

For Annie Besant, the matter went deeper. She did not simply feel it was wrong that an organisation which claimed to offer personal and moral improvement should exclude half the human race. She argued that masculine Freemasonry had broken a link with the past when it excluded women, so that Co-Masonry represented a restoration of an ancient form of Freemasonry. As she put it,

Co-Masonry has arisen from the bosom of masculine Masonry in order to bring women into that ancient fraternity on exactly the same terms as men, and thus to restore the whole Brotherhood to the position from which it fell, when it broke its link with the Ancient Mysteries by excluding women from its ranks, by recognising distinction of sexes within the pure sanctuary of the Temple. By that act the White Light was divided into parti-coloured rays, and the aspirant who seeks light now finds only colour. With the divorce of Strength from Beauty the accomplishment of the Great Work became no longer possible; Wisdom, deprived of its two-fold support, has ceased to guide and instruct the Craft, and it has become a great social organisation, generous in its charities, luxurious in its festivities, but is no longer the birthplace of Illuminati, over which shines the bright and morning star.¹⁰

These words of Besant indicate the second major theme in the history of women's Freemasonry in Britain, its intimate and frequently troubled relationship with Theosophy. While the use of masonic ceremony in laying the foundation of the Theosophical Society headquarters was, as Joy Dixon has emphasised, intended to challenge contemporary notions of the role of women in public space,¹¹ it was also a public affirmation of the links between Co-Masonry and Theosophy. This was made explicit in the words used by Besant in laying the foundation stone:

By that triple logos, the triple word, by whom the worlds are moved, by the Guardians of Humanity, the mighty hierarchy in graded order watching over the world, by the love and service of those who seek to carry out the divine will in evolution, by them I declare this stone to be well and truly laid.¹²

While it was not necessary to be a Theosophist to become a co-mason, during Besant's lifetime the overwhelming majority of co-masons in

¹⁰ Besant 1909a.

¹¹ Dixon 2001 2.

¹² Harrison 1911 160.

the British Empire were theosophists.¹³ Besant claimed in 1922 that "It was the T[heosophical] S[ociety] which brought Co-Masonry into Britain and has fostered it."¹⁴ The enormous controversies within the Theosophical Society about Besant's leadership also shook English-speaking Co-Masonry, frequently leaving the Supreme Council in Paris perplexed.

Besant and Bradlaugh

At the centre of all this was Annie Besant herself and it is her personality which dominates the history of women's Freemasonry in Britain. Besant was one of the most remarkable women in British history.¹⁵ Born into an impoverished middle class family, she nevertheless received a first-rate education from a wealthy spinster who was a friend of the family. The precocious Annie was intensely devout, finding the writings of the Church Fathers particularly congenial. She was attracted by the Anglo-Catholic movement, and toyed with becoming a Roman Catholic. However, marriage to a dull and autocratic clergyman devastated her, and she found the constraints of being the wife of a Victorian country parson intolerable. Her Christian faith was shaken when her daughter Mabel nearly died, and her intensive reading of theological works only made her doubts greater. She wrote theistic pamphlets expressing doubts about the divinity of Jesus, and refused to take communion. Her husband insisted that she should desist. Annie saw this as a choice between hypocrisy or expulsion, and left.

Her theistic phase proved brief. After meeting Charles Bradlaugh in 1874, the leading advocate at that time of freethought and republicanism, she declared herself an atheist. Bradlaugh gave her a job on

¹³ Cf. comments by Francesca Arundale in a report to the Supreme Council, 8 October 1923: 'most of us are Theosophists but we should be careful that theosophical ideas and language should not be made prominent in open L[odge]. I am glad to note that all R[ight] W[orshipful] M[aster]s are taking this into consideration, so that non-theosophists may not have to listen or take part in that which they do not understand or believe in. It seems to me that as we have L[odges] for the study of Masonry from the Astrological point of view and by research into antiquity, so we might have L[odges] whose avowed aim should be the study of Masonry through Theosophy': British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

¹⁴ Letter to Mabel Besant-Scott, 29 Nov. 1922: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

¹⁵ The following is based on Taylor 1992; Wessinger 1988; Nethercot 1961; Nethercot 1963; Tribe 1971; and Tillett 1982.

the leading freethought journal the *National Reformer*, published by Bradlaugh from 1862 until his death in 1890. Besant discovered her innate gift as an orator, and was soon second only to Bradlaugh in her ability to fill halls of science up and down the country. Bradlaugh was considered a pariah by the respectable middle class, but he and Besant quickly became inseparable colleagues, lecturing and writing with boundless energy against Christianity and for freedom of religious conscience. They established a Freethought Publishing Company, and were prosecuted for reprinting a book describing methods of birth control.¹⁶ Annie conducted her own defence, the first woman in Britain publicly to advocate the use of birth control. At the conclusion of the trial, the pamphlet was judged to be calculated to deprave public morals, but Bradlaugh and Besant's motives in publishing it were considered honourable. Nevertheless, Besant's behaviour was considered to be unacceptable for a respectable woman, and her husband succeeded in denying her access to her children on the grounds that she was not fit to have contact with them.

Bradlaugh was elected as a member of parliament, but was unable to take his seat because many members of the House of Commons were outraged at the suggestion that a notorious atheist should swear an oath on the Bible. Bradlaugh and Besant spent six years campaigning to allow Bradlaugh to take his seat in parliament. Bradlaugh was at one stage imprisoned beneath Big Ben. Eventually, legislation allowing new members of parliament to affirm was introduced, and it is for securing this constitutional change that Bradlaugh is nowadays chiefly remembered. In his general political views, Bradlaugh was a classic Victorian liberal, emphasising individual responsibility and viewing with suspicion the new socialist thought. Besant was more sympathetic to socialist ideas, publishing during the 1880s in her journal *Our Corner* articles on socialist and other themes by another free-thinker, Edward Aveling who had recently declared himself a convert to Marxism.¹⁷ Besant became friendly with the young George Bernard Shaw and joined the Fabian Society, a society founded in 1884 for the promotion of social reform which played a leading role in the development of socialist thought in Britain. Besant's growing socialist sympathies caused tensions with Bradlaugh who was infuriated by her

¹⁶ Manvell 1976.

¹⁷ Aveling contributed a drama column to *Our Corner* during 1883, 1 (1883), 44-47, articles on "Shakespeare the Dramatist", 1 (1883) 147-152, 218-222, 272-276, 345-349.

attempt to involve him in protests against government bans on demonstrations. Besant actively supported the attempts of girls working in a match factory in the East End of London to improve their condition and helped them form a union, the first trade union for women, and it is for her involvement in the match-girls strike that she is nowadays chiefly known in England.

‘Gone to Theosophy’

Besant felt increasingly dissatisfied with the materialist outlook of her friends such as Bradlaugh and Shaw. In 1889, as a result of reviewing Blavatsky’s *The Secret Doctrine*, Besant became profoundly interested in Blavatsky’s ideas and arranged to meet her. The two women felt an immediate kinship. Within a matter of weeks, Besant publicly declared that she had become a theosophist, and put her large house at the disposal of Blavatsky. Bradlaugh expressed his displeasure that his co-worker of so many years should be an advocate of a system he regarded as “utterly erroneous and wholly unsound... as unreal as it is possible for any fiction to be”.¹⁸ Besant on the other hand criticised freethinkers for their unwillingness to engage with spiritual and psychic phenomena and, to the annoyance of many freethinkers, advocated Theosophy from freethought platforms. Bradlaugh died in 1891, with his daughter blaming Besant for his death. Besant was by this time Blavatsky’s most favoured protégé. Besant was appointed by Blavatsky the Chief Secretary and Recorder of the Inner Group of the Esoteric Section, a group of twelve disciples (six men and six women) to whom Blavatsky gave personal instruction.¹⁹ In March 1891, Besant attended the Annual Convention of the American Section of the Theosophical Society as Blavatsky’s personal representative.²⁰ Following Blavatsky’s death in May 1891, Besant, as President of the Blavatsky Lodge, the largest in the British Empire, formally welcomed to the first convention of the Theosophical Society in Europe Henry Olcott, who had founded the Theosophical Society with Blavatsky and was its first President, and moved adoption of his proposal that Blavatsky’s ashes should be deposited at Adyar.²¹ Besant now

¹⁸ Nethercot 1961 311.

¹⁹ Dixon 2001 45.

²⁰ *The Theosophist* 12 (1890-1) 504.

²¹ *The Theosophist* 12 (1890-1) 705, 714.

declared that her life was “exclusively devoted to Theosophy”.²² In 1893, she visited Olcott in India, and thereafter spent much time there, adopting Indian mourning dress in mourning for the wrongs Britain had done in India. Following Olcott’s death in 1907, Besant became President of the Theosophical Society and settled in the complex established by Olcott and Blavatsky at Adyar, near Madras, as the headquarters of the Theosophical Society (see picture 2). For her free-thinker and socialist friends, Besant’s Theosophy was devastating and verged on the incomprehensible. The note made in the membership records of the Fabian Society when she resigned summed up the feeling of many of them, “Gone to Theosophy”.²³ Besant certainly altered and adjusted many of her beliefs. There was a potential incompatibility between birth control and the idea of reincarnation, and Besant withdrew her earlier works supporting birth control. Nevertheless, she argued vigorously that theosophists were engaged in a search for religious truth in much the same way as freethinkers and continued to affirm that she was a socialist.

The direction in which Besant took Theosophy proved increasingly controversial. One of her first acts was to reinstate Charles Webster Leadbeater, an Anglican clergyman who had resigned his benefice to travel to India to work for the Theosophical Society and to develop his occult powers. Leadbeater had resigned from the society in 1906 after he was accused of encouraging boys in his care to masturbate and possibly assisting them to do so.²⁴ Leadbeater and Besant sought to use clairvoyant powers to investigate the structure of atoms, while Leadbeater compiled directories listing the previous lives of many of his friends and enemies. Besant and Leadbeater were not only close colleagues and co-workers in the astral world. They were also the most influential popularisers of Blavatsky’s doctrines. Besant stressed particularly in her lectures the theme that a new sub-race would soon appear with enhanced psychic powers. This would be marked by the appearance of a great teacher. In 1909, Leadbeater declared that he had identified the teacher as a fourteen year old Brahman boy Jiddu Krishnamurti. Besant and Leadbeater took charge of Krishnamurti’s education, successfully fighting off a legal case brought by his father for custody in what could be viewed as a distressing replay in reverse of Besant’s own custody battle.

²² *The Theosophist* 12 (1890-1) cix.

²³ Quoted from Taylor 1992 255.

²⁴ Tillett 1982 77-90; Taylor 1992 283-285; Dixon 2001 94-108.

The Ceremonial Revival

Besant's introduction into Britain of Co-Masonry in 1902 marked the first stage of what was called a ceremonial revival which saw the establishment of a large number of ancillary organisations in which theosophists played the leading part.²⁵ This process gathered momentum considerably after Krishnamurti was singled out by Besant and Leadbeater. Following the publication of the book *At The Feet of the Master*, published in the name of Krishnamurti but probably with substantial ghost writing by Leadbeater,²⁶ an order was formed which was intended to draw together all those who believed in the coming of the world teacher and this was developed by Besant into an international body, the Order of the Star in the East. Particularly influential in this burgeoning of ceremonial groups was James Wedgwood, a rich young man who had trained for the Anglican ministry but became a theosophist after hearing lectures by Besant.²⁷ He became General Secretary of the Theosophical Society in England. He also became an enthusiastic co-mason, acting as sword bearer in the laying of the foundation stone for the headquarters building and becoming Supreme Secretary of the British Jurisdiction of Co-Masonry.²⁸ In 1912, he was instrumental in establishing with Marie Russak, another co-mason, the Temple of the Rosy Cross, also intended to help receive wisdom from the Masters.²⁹ In 1913, Wedgwood was ordained as a priest in the Old Catholic Church, a breakaway catholic group which had refused to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility.³⁰ After the Archbishop of the Old Catholic Church, suddenly doubtful about the compatibility of Catholicism and Theosophy, decided to submit to Rome, Wedgwood became the presiding bishop of the church, which was eventually re-

²⁵ Tillet 1982 166-170; Dixon 2001 80-85; Wedgwood 1914.

²⁶ Tillet 1982 136-139.

²⁷ On Wedgwood, see Tillet 1982 166-174, 178-184, 215-223, 240, 255.

²⁸ Harrison 1911 157; Buisine 1995 : 107-109. Wedgwood claimed that he also joined a lodge under the *Grande Loge de France* in 1912 and that 'My own prerogatives in the thirty third degree (in the Scottish, Memphis and Misraim rites) were derived from John Yarker, whose line of succession was valid, and I was afterwards affiliated to this degree by the Grande Maîtresse of the *Droit Humain*, Madame Martin, in Paris in the company of Esther Bright and in the presence of Annie Besant': Wedgwood 1927 457.

²⁹ Tillet 1982 167 ; Dixon 2001 82-84.

³⁰ Tillet 1982 169-177; Taylor 1992 322-323; Nethercot 1963 309-312; Dixon 2001 84-85.

named the Liberal Catholic Church. Wedgwood ordained Leadbeater, who had by now settled in Sydney, as a bishop in the church, and also finally on 12 June 1915 initiated Leadbeater as a co-mason.³¹ Leadbeater said that he had been doubtful about the value of Co-Masonry in Theosophy, but found that he remembered the ceremonies from his previous incarnation in ancient Egypt,³² and enthusiastically worked with Wedgwood in preparing new rituals for the Co-Masonic order.³³ In preparing these rituals, they were guided by the Master of the Seventh Ray, the Count of Saint Germain alias Prince Ragoczy, who Leadbeater gave an additional masonic genealogy, claiming that he had first been initiated when he was St Alban, according to masonic tradition the man who brought the art of masonry to Britain. Leadbeater claimed to have physically met the Master in Rome in 1901, but generally relied on psychic communication with him.³⁴

Besant endorsed and encouraged these activities. She helped devise, also with assistance from the Master, the rituals of the Order of the Temple of the Rosy Cross.³⁵ Although women could not be ordained in the Liberal Catholic Church, Besant composed a form of benediction used at the end of the Mass,³⁶ and was “a kind of Visitor; whenever she attended services she was conducted to a seat beside the high altar”.³⁷ Besant approved the use of the masonic rituals devised by Leadbeater and Wedgwood, and enforced their occult interpretations of masonic ritual. For example, Besant’s insistence that the removal of metals from a candidate for initiation in the first degree should include wedding rings (customarily exempt from this requirement in mainstream Freemasonry) apparently reflected Leadbeater’s insistence that the wearing of any metal, including hairpins and rings, interfered with the flow of occult magnetic currents during the ritual. When a dispute arose as to whether a particular candidate should remove a wedding ring, Leadbeater sought guidance from the Head of All True Freemasons.³⁸ Besant’s association with and support for

³¹ Tillett 1982 168.

³² Leadbeater 1919 4-5; Leadbeater 1926a 2-3.

³³ Buisine 1995 108-109; cf. Leadbeater 1926b 328-329.

³⁴ Leadbeater 1919 6-7; Leadbeater 1926a 11-17; Leadbeater 1926b 328-329; Tillett 1982 173.

³⁵ Tillett 1982 167; Dixon 2001 87.

³⁶ Tillett 1982 175.

³⁷ Taylor 1992 322.

³⁸ Circular letter to lodges, 18 Sep. 1927: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305; Leadbeater 1926a 193-196. The circular letter declared that ‘In the

Leadbeater and Wedgwood created many difficulties for her, particularly after Wedgwood was accused in 1922 of sexual relations with young men in his care and Leadbeater was subject to a renewed investigation by the Sydney police.

It has been suggested that by this stage Besant was more preoccupied with Indian politics, an activity of which Leadbeater disapproved since he saw the British Empire as the epitome of perfect governance.³⁹ Besant's pugnacious advocacy of Indian home rule during the First World War led to her internment in 1917. Following her release she became the first woman President of the Indian National Congress, but she got on badly with Mohandas Karamtsjand Gandhi and misjudged her response to the Amritsar massacre in 1919, when about 400 civilians were killed by British troops firing on a protest meeting without warning. As a result Besant became progressively sidelined from Indian politics. But the greatest blow in the last years of her life came from Krishnamurti. Increasingly suspicious and doubtful about the burgeoning attempts of Wedgwood and Leadbeater to use ritual to generate gigantic occult forces which would change the world, Krishnamurti argued that the way to truth did not lay in organisations and ritual. The truth lay within oneself and it was for every person to find their own truth. In 1929 Krishnamurti dissolved the Order of the Star in the East.

For Leadbeater and Wedgwood the second coming had gone wrong; Besant remained convinced that Krishnamurti was a great world teacher, and Krishnamurti, who turned against Leadbeater and Wedgwood, retained his love and respect for Besant. Leadbeater and Wedgwood sought to create new rituals and organisations which might retrieve the situation. In 1933, they published in *The Theosophist* a series of questions on the origins of Freemasonry which they claimed to have put to the Master in 1915, with his responses.⁴⁰ The Master declared that he himself had created Masonry,

it was one of many endeavours to keep alive the true traditions. As Christianity became narrower, and less tolerant of fact, those who knew something of the truth, and wished to preserve its enshrinement in the

consecration of the Neophyte, the channels for the magnetic forces bestowed by it are opened for the first time. Metals deflect these, unless the consecrator can control the currents he bestows. Hence the rule as to the absence of all such deflecting articles'. The wedding ring case is discussed extensively in Snoek 2007 109-110, 115-119.

³⁹ Tillett 1982 159.

⁴⁰ Leadbeater 1932-3; cf. Leadbeater 1919 6-7.

form of ancient religion, had more and more to keep their meetings secret.⁴¹

The secret order of Freemasonry had been one vehicle by which the Master, as St Alban, had sought to keep the ancient religion alive:

I did what I could for the religion of my day, but many of your traditions about me do not agree exactly with my own recollection of the facts. The Knights Templar did find in the East and bring back to the West a different set of symbols and ceremonies. There was a Charter given at York about the time you mention; you may find different workings there, but you will understand the situation better if you do not try and classify all these varieties as 'better' or 'worse'. It is not a case of original orthodoxy and a gradual declension from it, but rather of a number of parallel streams of tradition which frequently crossed and became confused with one another. The losses were earlier than 1717, and the portion which Anderson brought with him was perhaps fairly representative of the general chaos.⁴²

"You are fully at liberty", the Master told Leadbeater and Wedgwood, "to look back and study Cagliostro's ritual if you wish, but it is only one of many attempts at revival".⁴³ The reference to Cagliostro was apparently intended to justify the last ceremonial invention by Wedgwood and Leadbeater, the Egyptian Rite of Ancient Freemasonry, claimed by Leadbeater to be "the most powerful occult ritual in the world".⁴⁴ During his visits to Java, Leadbeater had selected seven young girls, who were settled at Adyar. They were trained in Masonry and despite their youth made thirty third degree masons by him. The seven girls played a central part in the six degrees of the Egyptian Rite of the Ancient Mysteries, which was a complex dramatisation of spiritual progress. The rite was inaugurated at the Masonic Temple in Adyar, and was published, with a sanction signed by Besant as Grand Master of the Sovereign Sanctuary of the Egyptian Rite of the Ancient Mysteries, at Adyar in 1932.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Leadbeater 1932-3 57.

⁴² Leadbeater 1932-3 59-60.

⁴³ Leadbeater 1932-3 61.

⁴⁴ Tillett 1982 245-7.

⁴⁵ A copy of one part of the ritual, *The Egyptian Rite of the Ancient Mysteries: Temple of the Quest* (Adyar 1932), is in the British Library: 20030.e.75. A preliminary note on p. 3 states that 'The Temple of the Quest, with its three Stages, of Fire, of Form, of Life, is intended for the helping, through ceremonial, of those who are expected in due

The Many Lives of Annie Besant?

Besant died in 1933. The funeral ceremony took place at Adyar. On the bier was placed the green and red flag which she had designed for India and on her breast was the seal of the Theosophical Society. After prayers of the great world religions were repeated, her body was carried into the masonic temple, where a Co-Masonic funeral ceremony was performed. The body was then carried back to the sandalwood pyre, which was lit by Leadbeater. Besant's life has remained both inspiring and perplexing. While Besant undoubtedly blazed an extraordinary trail for women and prefigured many political, social and cultural themes which subsequently proved of great significance, the apparent contradictions of her life seem overwhelming. The Great World Mother of Adyar seems like a completely different person to the fiery orator of the Hall of Science.⁴⁶ Arthur Nethercot's monumental two volume biography of Besant emphasised this aspect of Besant by suggesting in its title that she lived nine lives. Bernard Shaw saw her as a woman of prodigious impulsiveness, an actress assuming a succession of parts:

course to be ready for presentation to a Lord of Light as possibly worthy of being placed on Probation by Him. No applications for admission can, therefore, under any circumstances be entertained. Indeed an application would *ipso facto* disqualify the individual making it. Admission is by invitation only, through definite channels'. The note also stresses (p. 7) that all officers should have a thorough knowledge of *At The Feet of the Master* and concludes (p. 14) that 'It should be understood that the Egyptian Rite is most specially dedicated to the service of young people, for in these lies the greatest hope for the times to come... Wherever possible young people should be appointed in office in preference to older people. The Rite is primarily for the young, though older people who have remained young in heart, and who possess the necessary qualifications for admission are of course welcome'.

⁴⁶ Cf. the recent comments of Mark Bevir: 'All of her [Besant's] previous biographers have emphasised the contrast between these two sets of beliefs. They have been unable to recover any coherence in her activities within the secularist, Fabian and theosophical movements. Indeed, they have spoken of her many lives, as though she wandered aimlessly, if enthusiastically, from cause to cause with no guiding theme whatsoever. When they do look for a pattern in her life, they typically turn not to her reasons for doing what she did, but rather to her hidden needs, such as to follow a dominant man or to exercise her powers. They turn to her emotional make-up to explain her final flight from reason, and they then explain her earlier commitments by reference to the emotions they have uncovered.', Bevir 1999 62-63.

Like all great public speakers she was a born actress. She was successfully a Puseyite Evangelical and Atheist Bible smasher, a Darwinian secularist, a Fabian socialist, a strike leader, and finally a Theosophist exactly as Mrs Siddons was a Lady Macbeth, Lady Randolph, Beatrice and Voluminia. She 'saw herself' as a priestess above all. That was how Theosophy held her to the end.⁴⁷

Both Besant's friends and enemies suggested that her apparent changes in direction were due to male influence.⁴⁸ Besant's friend the journalist W.E. Adams declared that:

She was yet the creature of circumstances. Mrs Besant made the acquaintance of Thomas Scott, and became a Rationalist; made the acquaintance of Charles Bradlaugh, and became a Freethinker; made the acquaintance of Madame Blavatzky [*sic.*], and became a Theosophist.⁴⁹

Besant was thus portrayed as the victim of a succession of svengali figures. The Marxist campaigner and dramatist Edward Aveling was considered to have seduced her into socialism, before discarding her in favour of Karl Marx's daughter Eleanor,⁵⁰ while many considered Leadbeater to have had an evil occult hold over her.⁵¹ Nethercot even gave serious consideration to the suggestion that she felt a lesbian attraction towards Blavatsky.⁵²

Many of these comments seem to suggest a difficulty in coming to terms with an enormously charismatic and independent-minded woman who had no hesitation in defying every convention. Even the celebrated socialist intellectual Beatrice Webb found problems in accepting Besant's forceful personality. "I heard her speak, the only woman I have ever known who is a real orator, who has the gift of public persuasion", wrote Webb.

But to see her speak made me shudder. It is not womanly to thrust yourself before the world. A woman in all relations of life ought to be sought [*i.e. should be socially passive*]. It is only on great occasions

⁴⁷ Quoted from Taylor 1992 261-262.

⁴⁸ According to Bradlaugh's biographer, David Tribe, Besant 'passed through cyclical phases and sought matching men', Tribe 1971 227.

⁴⁹ Adams 1968 405.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the description of her relationship with Aveling in Manvell 1976 162-163, 166-167.

⁵¹ Taylor 1992 290.

⁵² Nethercot 1961 321-322; cf. Taylor 1992 249.

when religious feelings or morality demand it that a woman has a right to lift up her voice and call aloud to her fellow mortals.⁵³

It was probably precisely Besant's fearlessness in public life that first attracted Blavatsky, who chafed against the constraints imposed on women in India. Those aspects of Besant which bewildered or horrified contemporaries are of course now more familiar and socially acceptable. Recent studies of Besant emphasise the greater continuities in her life. Catherine Wessinger, for example, has pointed out how the story of Besant's life is so enthralling that her own writings have been neglected.⁵⁴ Wessinger's study emphasises Besant's consistent concern with ushering in a society based on brotherhood and self-sacrifice, and argues that this inevitably led to what Wessinger terms progressive messianism. Another obvious connecting theme in Besant's life, but one which has been insufficiently emphasised, is the struggle for a better life for women. The link between such varied issues as birth control, matchgirls and Co-Masonry was quite simply improving the lot of women. Joy Dixon's important recent study has examined the intimate connection between theosophy and early feminism,⁵⁵ while a major concern of Besant's work in India was the improvement of the lot of Eastern women.⁵⁶ The gulf between Besant's life as Bradlaugh's co-worker and her later interests was by no means as great as it seems at first sight. One of Bradlaugh's preoccupations in the later years of his life was securing greater freedom for India, and he became known as 'the Member for India'. Besant's political work in India can be seen at one level as a direct continuation of that of Bradlaugh. Her own dilemmas in dealing with the more militant Gandhi curiously echo Bradlaugh's difficulties in coping with Besant's determination to face down the ban on demonstrations in London in 1887.⁵⁷

⁵³ Quoted from Taylor 1992 223.

⁵⁴ Wessinger 1988 1-7.

⁵⁵ Dixon 2001 1-14, 67-93, 177-205.

⁵⁶ Anderson 1994.

⁵⁷ On Besant's work in India, see now Anderson 2002.

Annie Besant and Co-Masonry

So, where does Co-Masonry fit into all this? Certainly some members of the Theosophical Society felt that Co-Masonry was a distraction for Besant, and throughout her presidency concerns were expressed that Co-Masonry, the Liberal Catholic Church and all the rest were cuckoos in the theosophical nest.⁵⁸ Does Besant's involvement with Co-Masonry help in interpreting and understanding her life and achievements, or was it indeed something of a sideshow? Ann Taylor's recent authoritative and sympathetic biography of Besant offers a more integrated view of Besant's life than previous studies but does so by giving a very restricted view of the range of her work and activities. Thus, Besant's enthusiastic work in promoting the Scout movement in India is not mentioned.⁵⁹ Likewise, Co-Masonry is only mentioned by Taylor in passing as an exotic theosophical manifestation.⁶⁰ In both cases such treatment seems at odds with Besant's strong personal commitment to each movement and the immense amount of time she devoted to them. Co-Masonry was one of her most long-standing concerns. She served on the Supreme Council for over thirty years. She declared at the height of a controversy in 1922 that, if she was forced

⁵⁸ Nethercot 1963 72-3; cf. the comments of Dorothy Jinarajadasa in a letter circulated to members of the General Council of the Theosophical Society in 1929 and printed in *The Theosophist*: 'When a seeker after truth, who has probably with pain and struggle left his orthodoxy and who is trying to find the Ancient Wisdom, comes to a lodge of the Theosophical Society to find that teaching, he is told that Mass, Freemasonry, ceremonies of various kinds, are the methods now wanted by the Great White Lodge for the helping of the world ... I have absolutely nothing against the L[iberal] C[atholic] C[hurch] or Freemasonry, etc. I think both these are excellent organisation (I myself actively belong to the Co-Masonic order) and they have a useful work to do in the world ... [but] ... Any organisation with a creed, form, dogma, should not be an integral part of a T.S. Lodge ... I personally feel that in the T.S. the chief officials ... should not be officially associated with any sects, denominations, creeds, dogmatic cults, as leaders thereof': Jinarajadasa 1929 286. In 1933, a senior member of the Theosophical Society complained that the Liberal Catholic Church was stifling freedom of thought in the Theosophical Society and said that its methods smacked of Jesuitism: Jinarajadasa 1933 313-319.

⁵⁹ Besant's work in establishing the Indian Scout movement is given a fuller treatment in Nethercot 1963 255-256, 321, 447. Taylor devotes 240 pages to the first forty years of Besant's life, and less than 100 to the rest of her life. Consequently her treatment of Besant's involvement with Theosophy, which dominated the second half of her life, is extremely compressed.

⁶⁰ Taylor 1992 283.

to resign from the Supreme Council, she would be 'crippled'.⁶¹ If only on a personal level, Co-Masonry provided Besant with an important shared interest with younger friends such as Esther Bright and Besant's own daughter Mabel, who at the age of 18 began making clandestine visits to her mother and was consequently banished by her father. Mabel became Grand Secretary of the British Jurisdiction of Co-Masonry in 1921, and the playful letters Annie wrote to her in an official capacity are touching testimony of the loving relationship which developed between them after Mabel's traumatic childhood.⁶²

The important place held by Co-Masonry in Besant's later world scheme is evident from a long article which appeared in her newspaper, *New India*, at the height of the attacks on Besant's political position in India in the 1920s.⁶³ It is striking that, while Besant was struggling to maintain her influence in Indian politics, she should use her most important political platform to reflect on Co-Masonry. The article illustrates how, for Besant, Theosophy, Co-Masonry and India were all inextricably linked together. The article begins with a declaration that "In the midst of a crisis, such as the present, every effort must be made by those who have the inner knowledge to carry through one of the greatest triumphs the world shall ever know. This requires dedication from everyone, and everyone must try to perceive the great plan". In Besant's view, the key to this plan was India, "the centre of that great storm which shall usher in a splendid peace". The greatest need at the present moment was brotherhood, pure unclouded brotherhood:

You must establish and maintain brotherhood in your own immediate surroundings, in every movement to which you belong ... Challenge yourselves as to your membership of the Theosophical Society, as to your membership of the Order of the Star, as to your membership of the

⁶¹ Letter to Mabel Besant-Scott, 29 November 1922, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

⁶² For example, in a letter to Mabel from Madras dated 4 Jan. 1923, Annie adds, after the description of herself on the printed letter-head as "V.P. of the S.C. and Deputy for Great Britain and Its Dependencies", "and various other things". The letter begins: "Darling Mab, This heading is intended to over-awe you, after the unofficial beginning of 'Darling Mab'". Signing herself "Ever and always (reverting to the unofficial) your loving Mother", Annie adds in a postscript "There is another little row by a T.S. Lodge at Nice. I find it difficult to take all the wee folk seriously", British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

⁶³ Afterwards reprinted in *Freemasonry Universal*, Besant 1929.

Co-Masonic movement, as to your membership of any Association or Society which exists to promote Brotherhood.

Disruptive conduct in these bodies should be avoided; brotherhood should be promoted at all costs. This, in Besant's view, was the only means of achieving a greater brotherhood in society at large. In such a movement, Freemasonry for Besant occupied a very special place. Freemasonry had been revived in India for India's service, and only those who were genuinely committed to brotherhood should become masons. The Master's obligation was the most searching expression of brotherhood. "Membership of the true Masonic fraternity is no mere form. It is a tremendous reality at every point".

As early as 1909, Besant had stressed that Co-Masonry had a special contribution to make to the achievement of universal brotherhood. In a lecture in London, she declared that there were only two societies in the world which recognised universal brotherhood, the "great fraternity of masons" and the Theosophical Society. She held that they both illustrated an important lesson, namely that the establishment of brotherhood and liberty required hierarchy: "The masons lay down the principle of universal brotherhood over the whole surface of the globe, but there is nothing more rigid in its order and in the authority committed to the officers than a masonic lodge".⁶⁴ For Besant, the hierarchy of a masonic lodge provided an allegory of the hierarchy which controls the destiny of humanity, the Masters who were the guiding hand behind the laws of evolution.

Freemasonry and the British Radical Tradition

Co-Masonry was the first of the organisations through which Besant sought to hasten a condition of universal brotherhood.⁶⁵ Her initiation as a mason predated her Presidency of the Theosophical Society and is of particular interest as illustrating her early views on the future development of Theosophy. Co-Masonry began in France.⁶⁶ In 1881, the lodge '*Les Libres Penseurs*', established the previous year under the

⁶⁴ Besant 1909 77.

⁶⁵ On universal brotherhood as a connecting theme in Besant's thought, see Wessinger 1988.

⁶⁶ For the following, see Hivert-Messeca 1997 221-328; Gilbert 2002 170-173, Snoek 2007; Buisine 1995 69-71; Dharma Lodge 1903 16-18; Wedgwood 1915; Wedgwood 1927.

Grand Loge Symbolique Ecossaise (GLSE), sought permission to initiate women. The GLSE refused, so '*Les Libres Penseurs*' decided to withdraw from the GLSE. On 14 January 1882, as an unattached lodge, '*Les Libres Penseurs*' admitted the radical writer Maria Deraismes to the first degree in a huge ceremony with a large number of visitors from various French masonic bodies. Nevertheless '*Les Libres Penseurs*' received little formal support for its action and the lodge, finding itself completely isolated, decided after a few months to petition for readmittance to the GLSE. This was granted, provided the lodge agreed not to have any women members. Deraismes was cast into the masonic wilderness. In 1890, the doctor and liberal politician Georges Martin, the Master of '*La Jérusalem Ecossaise*', another lodge under the GLSE, organised a conference to consider the question of the admission of women to masonic lodges and invited Deraismes to take part. A report was produced advocating the admission of women to lodges under the GLSE, but it was rejected. In response Martin persuaded Deraismes to join with him in establishing a new masonic obedience. This was inaugurated on 14 March 1893 when Deraismes initiated 13 women, and within three weeks passed and raised them. On 4 April, elections were held for the officers of the new *Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise de France* '*Le Droit Humain*'. Deraismes was elected Founding Master, while Martin and his wife both held senior offices. Following Deraismes's death in 1894, the organisation of the new order passed through various stages, but a major landmark occurred in 1901 with the formal establishment of a Supreme Council following the bestowal of the thirty third degree on Georges Martin in a clandestine ceremony in Paris.

Although *Le Droit Humain* had not established any lodges in Britain, some British women had been initiated as masons. These included Francesca Arundale, a wealthy woman who was an enthusiastic theosophist and helped finance the Theosophical Society.⁶⁷ Francesca Arundale had apparently been assiduous in her pursuit of Freemasonry; by 1902 she had reached the thirty third degree. Unwilling perhaps to recognise that Francesca Arundale was indeed the first English woman co-mason, Annie Besant afterwards claimed that she had been asked to become a member of the new order in 1893/94 by Maria Deraismes herself but had refused. Besant explained her alleged refusal by saying that her view of Freemasonry at that time was influenced by

⁶⁷ Buisine 1995 76-79. An obituary of Francesca Arundale is in *The Co-Mason* 16 (1924) 95-96.

what she knew of English Freemasonry. She saw Freemasonry as a useful charitable organisation, but as otherwise chiefly concerned with banqueting. However, in 1902, Besant learnt from the Master, 'the Head of All True Freemasons', that Freemasonry was a vestige of the ancient mysteries of the world, and was moved to reconsider her original decision. 'The Head of All True Freemasons' urged Besant to become a freemason and to talk to Francesca Arundale. After discussing matters with her, Besant got together a party of five other theosophists who went with Besant and Francesca Arundale to Paris to be initiated in *Le Droit Humain*.⁶⁸

There are some difficulties about Besant's presentation of these events.⁶⁹ First, if Francesca Arundale was indeed a thirty third degree mason at this stage, it seems likely that she played a more active part in persuading Besant of the potential value of Co-Masonry than Besant indicates. The work of Francesca and George Arundale in translating the French ritual for use by the new British lodge until a better one was found was, for example, never mentioned by Besant.⁷⁰ Besant at all stages seems anxious to present herself as the one who sowed the seeds of Co-Masonry in Britain. This perhaps accounts for her stress on her original invitation from the order's founder. Besant's account of her reasons for refusing the invitation does not ring true. She had in 1893 a deeper knowledge of the world of Freemasonry than she indicates because Charles Bradlaugh was an extremely enthusiastic freemason and had himself struggled to establish in England a more socially committed form of Freemasonry.⁷¹ Bradlaugh had

⁶⁸ Besant 1927. The party comprised, apart from Besant, Francesca Arundale and her nephew George, Ursula Bright and her daughter Esther and Colonel and Mrs Lauder. The rationale behind the selection of the group was afterwards described by Besant in a letter to Ursula Bright of 16 Nov. 1905: 'Poor old Faulding! The very simple reason for not asking him and his wife to Paris was that we only wanted 7, and I chose those who were available at the moment, the Arundales, you and Esther and myself, and for the remaining two the Lauders, who could easily afford it. Everybody can't do everything and go everywhere! The Meads were cross, and Mrs Oakley, because I had not asked them!', British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305. The trip to Paris was afterwards described in Bright 1936 83, who recalls that Besant and the Brights stayed with the Martins, and that the Englishwomen were horrified by the lack of a bath in the house. The visit to Paris also according to Bright included a number of grand banquets, suggesting that events had been carefully arranged beforehand.

⁶⁹ Besant's recollection of key events in her life was often conveniently confused: cf. her account of her first contact with Blavatsky: Nethercot 1961 295-301.

⁷⁰ *The Co-Mason* 16 (1924) 95-96.

⁷¹ For the following, see Prescott 2003b 15-64.

been initiated in England by the French body known as the *Grande Loge des Philadelphes*. French refugees coming to England after the coup of Louis Napoleon in 1851 included many freemasons who were horrified by the character of English Freemasonry. Instead of joining regular English lodges, they joined the Philadelphes, originally working the Rite of Memphis.⁷² They reformed the rituals so that the lodge effectively provided only craft working, and sought to introduce a form of Freemasonry in England which campaigned for social justice and was more attractive to working men. Proscribed by the English Grand Lodge, they nevertheless maintained close relations with regular lodges in France. Bradlaugh became the Orator of the Philadelphes and a member of a craft lodge in Paris. By virtue of his certificate from the Grand Orient of France, still at that time regarded as regular by the English Grand Lodge, Bradlaugh joined a lodge working under the English Grand Lodge and visited many lodges in America and elsewhere.

Bradlaugh used the pages of the *National Reformer* to denounce English Freemasonry and argue that Freemasonry should follow the French example. When the Prince of Wales became Grand Master of the English Grand Lodge in 1874, Bradlaugh resigned his membership of the English Grand Lodge and published in the *National Reformer* a withering denunciation of the new Grand Master, declaring that Freemasonry was work for democracy, freethought and human deliverance. Anxieties created by Bradlaugh's campaigning for a reform of English Freemasonry and by the activities of the Philadelphes contributed substantially to the tensions which eventually led to a rift between the United Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Orient of France over the admission of atheists in 1878. Bradlaugh used the *National Reformer* to criticise the English Grand Lodge for its resolutions against the Grand Orient of France, declaring that "the mission of Freemasonry is the redemption and elevation of humanity, or it has no right to exist".⁷³

⁷² Given the subsequent interest of Besant, Leadbeater and Wedgwood in Cagliostro's Egyptian rites, the fact that the Philadelphes originally worked the Rite of Memphis, another ritual whose origins lay in the Egyptomania of early nineteenth-century France, is very striking. However, the French refugees who joined the Philadelphes in London quickly dispensed with most of the higher degrees of the Rite of Memphis, and their 'Reformed Rite of Memphis' is closer to conventional craft masonry than Cagliostro's rites, Prescott 2003b 30-31.

⁷³ Prescott 2003b 48.

Besant as co-editor of the *National Reformer* would thus have been very familiar with Bradlaugh's attempts to reform English Freemasonry. When in 1884, the English Grand Lodge rebuffed French attempts at reconciliation and formed a French lodge in London apparently designed as a vehicle against the Grand Orient, Bradlaugh visited Paris and was asked to spearhead a campaign in England on behalf of the Grand Orient. He gave a report on his meeting in Paris to the executive committee of the National Secular Society at which Besant was present.⁷⁴ Besant actively assisted the short-lived campaign by printing in her journal *Our Corner* Bradlaugh's most extended commentary on Freemasonry, *What Freemasonry Is, What It Has Been, and What It Ought To Be*.⁷⁵ In this work, afterwards reprinted as a separate pamphlet by Bradlaugh and Besant,⁷⁶ Bradlaugh outlines his view that Freemasonry was an important means of affirming tolerance and combating religious bigotry. "Under the temple roof", he wrote, "the strife of creeds should be hushed, work should be the only worship: work for the redemption of long-suffering mankind."⁷⁷

Besant was, through Bradlaugh, aware that, while English Freemasonry might be seen as a charitable dining club, other freemasons, particularly in France, took a different view. Moreover, through Bradlaugh, Besant would have been aware of the engagement of earlier British radicals with Freemasonry. For example, Freemasonry had been a particularly significant theme for Richard Carlile, who is best known for his successful campaign against government attempts to prevent the publication of works by the English radical political writer and deist, Thomas Paine.⁷⁸ Carlile published in 1818 the first complete edition of Paine's *Essay on Free Masonry*, which argued that Freemasonry was a remnant of an ancient pre-Christian sun religion. Carlile's common-law wife had taken Bradlaugh in as a teenager when he was thrown out of his home because of his freethought views, and Bradlaugh frequently presented himself as the heir of Car-

⁷⁴ Prescott 2003b 49-51.

⁷⁵ Bradlaugh 1885a. Bradlaugh's title was itself an echo of the title of Besant's 1879 pamphlet, *Marriage As It Was, As It Is and As It Should Be*.

⁷⁶ Bradlaugh 1885b. A copy is in the British Library, pressmark 4783.cc.11(4).

⁷⁷ Prescott 2003b 53.

⁷⁸ On Carlile, see Wiener 1983; Prescott 2003b 28-30; Prescott 2000; Godwin 1994 55-9. The sense of 'apostolic succession' from Carlile to Bradlaugh and Besant is evident from the fact that the gavel used by Bradlaugh as President of the National Secular Society had belonged to Carlile, Tribe 1971 282.

life. Carlile's career in many ways prefigures Besant's. In his early life, he was a straightforward materialist critic of Christianity. In 1825, he published a celebrated exposé of masonic ritual as part of his denunciation of secrecy and what he considered unmanly mumbo-jumbo. However, rereading Thomas Paine's *Essay on Free Masonry*, Carlile came to the conclusion that Paine was right in thinking that Freemasonry preserved vestiges of the ancient religion supplanted by Christianity. Developing Paine's ideas, Carlile interpreted Freemasonry as an allegory which held the key to the understanding of all religion. For Carlile, each man would find true meaning of religion within himself, and Carlile considered himself the messiah of such understanding. He declared:

The advent of the Jewish Messiah, the advent of Christ, and the advent of a reasonable state of society, in which mystery and superstition shall yield to plain practical science, in the constitution of the human mind, are to be one and the same reality, the moral of the mystery of Judaism, Christianity and masonry.⁷⁹

At Carlile's instigation, his associate the renegade clergyman Robert Taylor gave sermons expounding the true meaning of Freemasonry, which were afterwards reprinted as part of a collection entitled *The Devil's Pulpit* by Bradlaugh and Besant's Freethought Publishing Company.⁸⁰

Carlile's later philosophy was profoundly influenced by the work of Godfrey Higgins, a Yorkshire squire who devoted the last years of his life to a great work of comparative religion, *Anacalypsis*.⁸¹ As Joscelyn Godwin has observed, Higgins's work bears more than a passing resemblance to that of Blavatsky. Higgins also considered Freemasonry a vestige of the ancient mysteries, and himself became a freemason to pursue his researches. Again, Besant was very familiar with Higgins's work, and would have appreciated the way in which it foreshadowed Theosophy.⁸² Higgins's influence on what Godwin has called the Theosophical Enlightenment was immense. The work was

⁷⁹ 1845 edition of Carlile's *Manual of Freemasonry*, cited by Godwin 1994 59.

⁸⁰ On Taylor, see Godwin 1994 61-64; McCalman 1992. The reprint of Taylor's *Devil's Pulpit* was advertised in the *National Reformer* (6 July 1879) 447. The copy of the Freethought Publishing Company's reprint of *The Devil's Pulpit* in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, Freemasons' Hall, London, is dated 1881.

⁸¹ On Higgins, see Godwin 1994 76-91; Prescott 2005; Shepard 1985.

⁸² For example, Besant 1914 127.

reprinted by George Kenning's masonic publishing company in the 1870s and by this means became known to masons involved in promoting what Ellic Howe described as fringe masonry, such as Kenneth Mackenzie and John Yarker. Yarker issued a certificate of the Adoptive Rite degrees to Blavatsky,⁸³ and was a key link in the transmission of occultist masonic traditions to Theosophy. Godwin suggests that one reason why Blavatsky was such a significant figure was that she drew together the threads of post-Enlightenment secularism with the late nineteenth-century interest in the spiritual and occult, but in another sense Blavatsky was also reintegrating the two different strands of Higgins's influence.

The Supreme Being

Besant's interest in Co-Masonry, and indeed in Theosophy itself, can be seen as reflecting a thread in the British radical tradition which stretched back, through Bradlaugh and Carlile to Higgins and beyond him Paine. Her hesitation in accepting Deraimes's invitation to become a co-mason in 1893 was probably because, informed by Bradlaugh's recent experience, she did not want to be seen as an emissary of French Freemasonry. She afterwards explained her doubts on precisely this point. She wrote that "Ever since I joined Co-Masonry I have had to battle against English suspicion and attacks on it because of its origin among French atheists, and I have never complained because I entered into the difficulties with open eyes".⁸⁴ She noted that "In addition to atheism there was the fact that the English public look upon the French Nation as specially immoral" (idem). In short, Besant was unwilling to fight once more Bradlaugh's battles as to the relationship between Freethought and Freemasonry, and only wanted to get involved if she could be sure that this would not be a distraction. She described how she "was shocked in the first sitting of the premier Lodge at Paris at the violent atheism shown in the questioning of non-atheist candidates, one of whom was reduced to tears by the brutality of the questions attacking her religious beliefs" (idem). Consequently, she wrote,

⁸³ Gilbert 2002 170; Buisine 1995 53-54. Blavatsky's diploma from Yarker was printed in De Graff 1929 66.

⁸⁴ Letter [to A. Bothwell-Gosse?], 7 June 1923: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

it was arranged in the presence of those who went over to Paris and were prepared to face the obloquy inseparable from our origin in a form of Masonry which ignored the great landmark of the existence of the Great Architect of the Universe ... that the complete conduct of affairs within the British Dominions should be left in my hands ... (idem).

The mainstay of this constitutional settlement would be that the British lodges would require a belief in the Great Architect of the Universe.

It is unlikely that such an agreement could have been made on the spot in Paris without some preliminary negotiation. The most likely explanation is that Besant had been interested for some time in the possibility of restoring to Freemasonry an awareness of its own spiritual significance but had been apprehensive about doing so in an order based in France. With the official proclamation of the Supreme Council in 1901, she saw an opportunity of arranging things so that she might set her own stamp on Co-Masonry in the English-speaking world. Through the good offices of Francesca Arundale, it was agreed that the British Empire might have considerable autonomy within the Supreme Council, and Besant got together her party of seven to travel to Paris. The fact that the founders of the British order, all enthusiastic theosophists, were personally chosen by Besant is made clear in subsequent correspondence.⁸⁵ On 26 September 1902, Georges Martin and his wife visited London and consecrated 'Human Duty' No. 6, the first British lodge of *Le Droit Humain*, in the drawing room of the house of the Bright family in Albemarle Street.⁸⁶ While membership of the order was open to all who accepted that Masonry was an expression of the ancient mysteries, Besant's determination to keep close control of the order from its earliest days and to use it as an instrument to hasten the arrival of a new society is evident from a series of letters between her and Ursula Bright, who as Treasurer was largely responsible for the day-to-day management of British Co-Masonry in its early days.⁸⁷ "Co-Masonry is not democratic", Besant reminded

⁸⁵ See note 68.

⁸⁶ Besant 1927 104; Buisine 1995 80-82.

⁸⁷ Ursula Mellor Bright (1835-1915) was the husband of the Liberal MP Jacob Bright, a brother of the Corn Law campaigner and one of the earliest parliamentary supporters of women's suffrage, and supported her husband in early campaigns to give women the vote. Illness prevented her from taking a part in later suffragette campaigns, Crawford 2004.

Bright, "And if it is to be an instrument hereafter for the M[aster] Rágoczy, in the Seventh Ray time, it can't be. It must be a hierarchy, through which the guidance comes from above to below, and not from below to above".⁸⁸ Or again : "Co-masonry is to be a real instrument in the future; the iron has to be heated in the fire before it can be wrought. I daresay it does not like it".⁸⁹ Besant kept the membership of the Areopagus, the governing body of the British Jurisdiction of Co-Masonry, closely under her control. She urged Bright to "maintain its authority steadily, not giving unnecessary offence to the democrats".⁹⁰ Those who sought to make the organisation of British Co-Masonry more widely based, such as the clergyman William Geikie Cobb,⁹¹ received short shrift. In 1908, Besant writing to Bright about Cobb, declared that his whole policy was to make trouble: "Off with their heads", declared Besant using the words of the White Queen in *Alice in Wonderland*, "as soon as is quasi-constitutionally possible".⁹²

Besant accepted that she could not force Theosophy on all co-masons, and there were repeated injunctions to avoid excessive use of theosophical terminology in lodges. Besant was willing to allow lodges considerable latitude in the use of ritual. In 1908, she wrote to Bright that

we cannot deny to a Lodge, the liberty we ourselves enjoy, of modifying the ritual, nor force on them the recognition of the 'Head of all True Masons'. Ours is the Scottish Ritual with a few modifications, and in England and Scotland Lodges do modify rituals, e.g. "The Emulation Working".⁹³

⁸⁸ Letter to Ursula Bright, 16 Nov. 1905: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

⁸⁹ Letter to Ursula Bright, 2 Nov. 1906: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

⁹⁰ Letter to Ursula Bright, 25 Oct. 1906: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

⁹¹ Cobb (1857-1941) was the rector of St Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, in the city of London, a prominent supporter of women's suffrage, Secretary of the Marriage Law Reform League and active in other bodies such as the Modern Churchman's Conference and the Professional Classes Aid Council. In 1908, he was first Grand Master of the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry, see further his obituary in *The Times*, 15 Dec. 1941 6, and 23 Dec. 1941 7, and Pilcher-Dayton forthcoming.

⁹² Letter to Ursula Bright, 21 Jun. 1908: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

⁹³ Letter to Ursula Bright, 27 Feb. 1908: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

Despite this however a survey of lodges in 1922 showed that almost all lodges used the 1913 and 1916 rituals devised by Wedgwood and Leadbeater.⁹⁴ Only four had retained the older Dharma ritual, introduced in 1904, while another three used other rituals, including Emulation. The same survey also reveals that almost all co-masons at that time accepted the appropriateness of an invocation to the Head of All True Freemasons and thought that a picture of Prince Ragoczy should be displayed in the lodge. Other rituals devised by Leadbeater and Wedgwood, and issued with Besant's imprimatur, were enthusiastically taken up.

Besant's Masonic Legacy

Co-Masonry was thus conceived by Besant as an instrument of the Master of the Seventh Ray, a view afterwards worked out in detail by Leadbeater in his two studies of Freemasonry.⁹⁵ In her preface to Leadbeater's *Hidden Life in Freemasonry* of 1926, Besant enthusiastically declared that, in Leadbeater's interpretation of Freemasonry, "Instead of fragments of half-understood traditions, confused and uninterpreted, we find in our hands a splendid science and a reservoir of power which we can use for the uplifting of the world".⁹⁶ Significantly, given the controversy about the relationship between Besant and Leadbeater, such a view of Co-Masonry as a reservoir of occult power was evident from Besant's earliest involvement with the order, long before Leadbeater was initiated. The early history of Co-Masonry in Britain can only be understood in terms of its position as one of the range of organisations ancillary to the Theosophical Society by which Besant hoped to usher in a new age. The secession of William Geikie Cobb, Arthur Faulding and others in 1908 to form the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry was prompted by their conviction that Co-Masonry should not be bound too closely to the Theosophical Society and should seek as far as possible to emulate the ritual and governance of masculine Freemasonry in Britain as represented by the

⁹⁴ A copy of the survey is in British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10703.

⁹⁵ Leadbeater 1926a; Leadbeater 1926b.

⁹⁶ Leadbeater 1926a v.

United Grand Lodge of England.⁹⁷ The fact that this split occurred shortly after the rehabilitation of Leadbeater is striking and suggests that this may also have been another cause for concern. Likewise, the furore in the Theosophical Society and Liberal Catholic Church in 1922 caused by renewed allegations against Leadbeater and the accusations of homosexuality against Wedgwood also lead to an uproar within Co-Masonry, with a determined attempt to usurp Besant led by Amy Bothwell-Gosse, the publisher of the journal *The Co-Mason*. Besant stood by Leadbeater, saying that, while she disagreed with his views on the desirability of masturbation, she knew him to be a man of exceptionally pure and saintly life. She also declared her belief in Wedgwood's innocence, repeating the view of a lawyer friend who considered him "incredibly indiscreet but not guilty". In Besant's view, those who had made allegations against Wedgwood and Leadbeater were inspired by associates of the Jesuits who wanted to force her out of the Theosophical Society.⁹⁸

To Besant's fury, the Supreme Council without any consultation commissioned Bothwell-Gosse to produce a report into the organisation of Co-Masonry in Britain. As Grand Secretary, Besant's daughter energetically co-ordinated protests by lodges to the Supreme Council, complaining that it had breached the agreement whereby the British jurisdiction should be allowed to manage its own affairs and alleging that Bothwell-Gosse was not a suitable person to undertake such a

⁹⁷ Cobb was afterwards praised for his role in creating a form of mixed Masonry in Britain '*un-attached to any eclectic system of philosophy ... based upon age long principles and landmarks as enunciated through the rites and ceremonies of such a body as the United Grand Lodge of England*', Pilcher-Dayton forthcoming. Cobb himself explained his preference for Emulation ritual by declaring that 'No contemporary designed ritual could carry the deep experience that Masonry has acquired throughout the ages', Declaration of Aims and Purpose of the Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry, 1908, available at

http://www.brad.ac.uk/webofhiram/?section=order_women_freemasons&page=aims.html.

Despite Cobb's evident misgivings about the role of Theosophy in Co-Masonry, he was nevertheless interested in Theosophy himself, contributing two articles to the *Herald of the Star* after his breach with Besant: Cobb 1922; Cobb 1924. Faulding was both a keen theosophist and a member of the United Grand Lodge of England, and was afterwards forced by the United Grand Lodge to resign from the new order, Pilcher-Dayton forthcoming.

⁹⁸ Letter to Katharine Betts, Mabel Besant-Scott and Esther Bright, 26 Oct. 1922; letter [to A. Bothwell-Gosse?] 7 June 1923: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

review.⁹⁹ In the end, Besant prevailed over Bothwell-Gosse, who left to form the Order of Ancient and Accepted Masonry.¹⁰⁰ At the height of the 1922 controversy, Besant wrote to three of her supporters:

There is a well-arranged conspiracy to drive me out of Masonry and out of the Presidency. It rather amuses me. Don't worry. All I want to know about Masonry is if the Master the Prince wants us to separate, so as to be rid of the atheistic element. He calls us 'My Co-Masonry' and He may wish us to break away.¹⁰¹

This quotation sums up how for Besant her theosophic and masonic missions were inextricably intertwined. Moreover, these were in Besant's vision profoundly linked with her political and social concerns: for the position of women, for the independence of India and with the achievement of a society of universal brotherhood. Besant's masonic activities, far from being an exotic outcrop of her later spiritual activities, provide a major link between her later preoccupations and earlier British radical and freethought traditions, to Richard Carlile's fascination with freemasonry as a spiritual allegory and Charles Bradlaugh's campaign to remodel British Freemasonry on the materialist and positivist model being established in France. The anxiety in Britain in the 1870s and 1880s about the atheist threat, personified by Bradlaugh and Besant, can be seen at one level as a reaction to the implication of Charles Darwin's discoveries. For Bradlaugh, such scientific discoveries helped confirm that organised religion was a pernicious evil and made him yearn for a more secular order, which a new type of Freemasonry might help achieve in Britain. For Besant, however, the lesson of the theory of evolution was that mankind was not the end. There would be further evolution and eventually a new race with hitherto undreamt of powers. The development of spiritual powers might be the hallmark of this new science. Her mission, as she declared in a circular to British Co-Masonic lodges in 1919, was to be one of the "builders of the temple of a new civilisation".

Such a civilisation would have many pillars. The Theosophical Society, the Liberal Catholic Church and the Co-Masonic Order would all, Besant fervently believed, be among the keystones of this new

⁹⁹ Copies of these protests and correspondence between Annie and Mabel on the subject are in the British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10703.

¹⁰⁰ Buisine 1995 129-34.

¹⁰¹ Letter to Katharine Betts, Mabel Besant-Scott and Esther Bright, 26 Oct. 1922: British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Deposit 10305.

order. Among these, Besant consistently stressed, Co-Masonry had a special place. On the occasion of a presentation by the Co-Masonic lodges to her of an address marking her 65th birthday in 1913, Besant again emphasised, as she had in her lectures in London four years previously, that Freemasonry was “the one movement outside the Theosophical belief which professed a belief in universal brotherhood”.¹⁰² She went on to add that “Co-Masonry had broken down the barrier of sex, and it had restored to Masonry its ancient form, thus giving it once more its place as a movement for the spread of a brotherhood which shall know no distinctions of race, sex or colour or creed” (idem). This brotherhood would be one hallmark of the new form of civilisation which evolution could be confidently expected to produce. The importance of the role of Co-Masonry in the evolution of the human race and the advent of universal brotherhood was again emphasised by Besant in another speech in 1925:

If [Masonry] is really anything, it is a presentiment by symbol and by legend of the great fundamental truths of human life and human evolution; and therefore, just as in the great Mysteries—of which its forms are really the vessels surviving—no distinction of sex is permitted: and because of that act in what we call Co-Masonry, it came into the position of being a possible instrument for helping in the evolution of mankind into the really Universal Brotherhood which it proclaims.¹⁰³

Another special contribution of Co-Masonry, in Besant’s view, was that it embodied the right form of government, which would be another hallmark of the new civilisation. In 1927, Besant declared that

More and more ... we shall be able to show that the Masonic Lodge is the pattern of Right Government. I have hoped from the beginning that the time would come when all democracies would realise that Wisdom should rule. When that point is gained very much will be gained in the government of many countries. And so let us cling fast to our Masonic traditions, and hold ourselves up to be examples of what Governments ought to be, and will be, when Wisdom rules, when Strength supports, and Beauty is the characteristic of all our activities.¹⁰⁴

Annie Besant’s masonic legacy remains a potent and controversial one. Ironically in view of her earlier career as an “Atheist Bible

¹⁰² *The Co-Mason* 5 (1913) 58.

¹⁰³ Speech quoted in Heaslewood 2002.

¹⁰⁴ Besant 1927 107.

smasher”, the most controversial aspect of Besant’s legacy revolved around God. In order to distance herself from her French masonic legacy and to ensure that Co-Masonry would be an instrument to help create a new civilisation, Besant insisted that English speaking co-masons should be required to believe in a supreme being. The constitutional authority for this was Rule 45 of *Le Droit Humain* which declares that national federations are sovereign in their territory within limits fixed by the national regulations and international constitution. This provision became known as the ‘Besant Concord’. Mabel Besant-Scott, succeeding her mother as head of the British Federation, quickly ran into disputes with the Supreme Grand Council in Paris over the precise interpretation of this rule. She resigned from the Order and with some of her supporters joined the Rosicrucian Order Crotona Fellowship which briefly flourished before the Second World War.

More recently, the ‘Besant Concord’ has again proved a flashpoint in British Co-Masonry. Following a dispute over the election and disciplining of officers in 2000, an unsuccessful attempt was made to confirm the interpretation of Rule 45. Doubts were felt by some British co-masons as to the Supreme Council’s commitment to this rule, and these prompted a lodge in Letchworth in Hertfordshire, one of the oldest lodges in British Co-Masonry, to decide to leave *Le Droit Humain*.¹⁰⁵ Eventually a group of about 60 co-masons, including a number of the most senior members of the British Federation, decided to form a new order, the Order of Freemasonry for Men and Women, inaugurated in February 2001.¹⁰⁶ These developments prompted further secessions, including the Eastern Federation, covering India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, and lodges in New Zealand, the United States, South Africa, the Netherlands, Argentine, Uruguay, Costa Rica and Brazil. In December 2002, at a conference held, significantly, in Adyar a new international order was established called ‘The Eastern Order of International Co-Freemasonry’, a name which in its invocation of the spiritual East harks back to the Order of the Star in the East.¹⁰⁷

The new Order claims to be the true heir to Besant’s masonic tradition. The fact that its headquarters is in Adyar gives powerful support to this claim. The British Order is in the process of establishing a

¹⁰⁵ Heaslewood 2002.

¹⁰⁶ The website of the new order is <http://www.grandlodge.org.uk>.

¹⁰⁷ The website of the Eastern Order of International Co-Freemasonry is <http://www.comasonic.net>.

lodge to be named after Besant. Despite these disputes, the British Federation of *Le Droit Humain* remains the larger of the two orders, and sees itself as the legitimate masonic successor of Besant. Besant heads the list of famous freemasons on its website,¹⁰⁸ and the British Federation continues proudly to display masonic memorabilia of Besant at its headquarters in the London suburbs. Thus, a hundred years after Besant established the first British Co-Masonic lodge, two groups wrangle over her masonic inheritance, like medieval monks arguing over a saint's relics. It is a situation that Annie Besant, with her love of tales of martyrdom and her passion for controversy, would have relished.

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¹⁰⁸ The website of the British Jurisdiction is <http://www.droit-humain.org/uk>.

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**DIVERSITY IN UNITY?
THE MASONIC TRADITIONS IN USE IN THE DUTCH
FEDERATION OF 'LE DROIT HUMAIN'**

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Introduction

The International Order of mixed freemasonry 'Le Droit Humain' (IO LDH) was founded in 1893 in France and still has its headquarters there. Today, it has about 27.000 members world-wide, in 60 countries. In most of these countries the activities of the IO LDH are organised by a national federation. Those federations are to a certain extent self-governing. It should be noted, however, that about 60% (16.630 in 2002) of the members of the IO LDH nowadays belong to the federations in France and Belgium. In both countries most masonic organisations, including the IO LDH, have a strong tendency to a sheer secular approach to freemasonry. The Dutch federation of the IO LDH is special, because its lodges do not all work with rituals from *one* masonic tradition, as is usually the custom within other federations. Here we see three traditions, as a result of history and—nowadays—by choice. This paper is about the relations between the three groups of members of this federation, working in these different masonic traditions.

Freemasonry in the Dutch federation developed in a rather different way than in France and Belgium. At first, only a theosophical inspired theistic set of Craft-rituals (i.e., rituals for the three degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason) was used here: the so-called 'English' tradition. Today there are also lodges working in the Dutch or the French tradition. The Dutch federation has at the moment of writing 326 members, working in 21 lodges, of which 15 work in the Dutch, 4 in the 'English', and 2 in the French tradition.

The Three Traditions

The first tradition used in The Netherlands—and from 1904 to 1915 the only one—was the ‘English’, theosophical¹ inspired, one. Today, however, only 19% of the members of the Dutch federation work in this tradition. Two of the four lodges working with these rituals are even struggling to survive, due to loss of members by death, and the lack of new recruits. Two of the ‘English’ lodges have made arrangements with lodges working in the Dutch tradition, to hold combined ritual meetings, which, however, are always held in the Dutch tradition. But both these lodges continue to have their own non-ritual meetings in the ‘English’ tradition.

Most lodges—representing 75% of the 244 members—are today using the rituals from the Dutch tradition. These are largely in accordance with those of the Craft-lodges of the Grand East of The Netherlands (the Dutch masculine Grand Lodge). They have their roots in the ‘*Rite Moderne*’ from 1786.²

In the period from 2002 to 2005 the first two lodges working in the French tradition were founded in The Netherlands. There is no sign, that there has ever before been any interest in the rituals of the French tradition in the Dutch federation. At a certain moment, however, the idea was born to give a demonstration of the original rituals of the French tradition as a homage to the founders of the Order, Maria De-raismes and George Martin. These secular rituals inspired several members so much, that they decided to found a lodge working with these rituals. The inauguration took place in January 2002 when the lodge received its official Charter.³ In February 2005 the second lodge working in the French tradition was officially opened in Terneuzen, a city situated in the province of Zeeland, near to the Belgian border. As a consequence this lodge has several Belgian members. Today, about 6% of the members of the Dutch federation work in the French tradition.

But the chronological order in which these traditions appeared in the Dutch federation does not reflect their appearance in the IO LDH as a whole. There, the French tradition is the oldest one, followed by the ‘English’ and the Dutch ones. Therefore, before analysing the

¹ For the notion of Theosophy in this respect, see Godwin 1994; Santucci 2005; Hammer 2004.

² Snoek 1998.

³ Engel 2004 102-103.

relations between the three groups of members of the three traditions within the Dutch federation in part IV of this chapter, first the historical background of the French (part II), and then that of the 'English' and Dutch (part III) ritual traditions will be highlighted.

The Development of the French Ritual Tradition

The development of the French ritual tradition of the Dutch federation had its roots in the history of French masculine freemasonry. In the 19th century there were, within the Grand Lodges in France,⁴ differences of opinion concerning the principle that the lodges should work "To The Glory Of The Great Architect Of The Universe". The majority of the Craft lodges wanted to abandon this rule, whereas the majority of the bodies working in the 'higher degrees' wanted to maintain it.⁵ In 1877 the *Grand Orient de France* abolished this principle for good, and was therefore at once declared irregular by the United Grand Lodge of England. From the *Grande Loge Centrale* emerged in 1880 the *Grande Loge Symbolique Ecosaise* (GLSE) (called from 1890 onwards *Grande Loge Symbolique de France*), working only in the Craft-degrees, but modified in a thoroughly secular fashion. It was probably the most progressive and socially engaged Grand Lodge that ever existed. In 1895, the *Grande Loge Centrale* changed its name into *Grande Loge de France*. Finally, the *Grande Loge Symbolique de France* and the *Grande Loge de France* merged on August 10th, 1896, and went under the name of *Grande Loge de France*.⁶

At the end of the 19th century, France went through a time of civil and international war. At the same time, it was in the process of becoming a democratic republic with women starting to claim an equal place and equal rights in society. The attitude of French masculine freemasonry—although individual members were often politically and socially engaged and in favour of the improvement of the situation of women—could best be described as ambiguous towards giving women access to its lodges.

Maria Deraismes (1828-1894) was unmarried, intelligent and well educated. She was an author of small theatre plays, a composer and a painter as well as a journalist, and from 1866 onwards an active re-

⁴ The *Grand Orient de France* and the *Grande Loge Centrale*.

⁵ Combes 1999 171 ff.

⁶ Snoek 1996 38-39.

publican propagandist with a special interest in the rights of women and children. She also fought against clerical intolerance. Through her speeches she came into contact with several members of the Grand Orient de France. With their help, she tried to take part in the conferences which were organised there. Despite some initial hesitation she was accepted in 1866 as a speaker and she gave a number of lectures. She campaigned strongly for the principles of democracy and the consolidation of the third Republic.⁷ Because of her interest in the improvement of the situation of women she founded in 1876 'La Société pour l'amélioration du sort de la femme'. Two years later she contributed together with Léon Richer⁸ to the first 'Congrès International du Droit des femmes'.

Georges Martin was the son of a pharmacist, educated by the Jesuits. After several changes in his study programme he decided to become a physician. From that time onwards he showed also an interest in politics. In 1866 he gave up his studies to join the freedom fighter and freemason Garibaldi in Italy. After returning to France he successfully completed his studies in 1870. He also participated in the Franco-German war as a medical officer.⁹ After the war he settled as a physician in Paris. Since he believed strongly in the values attributed to the third Republic (1870-1940), he was a very active politically and socially engaged republican. Equal rights for men and women, defence of the rights of women and children, and social justice were the goals he sought to achieve.¹⁰

Maria Deraismes and Georges Martin met in 1874, when he was first chosen as a local councillor in Paris.¹¹ They shared the same republican, democratic and feminist views. One might wonder to what extent Georges Martin's ideas with regard to the situation of women were in fact influenced especially by her. It was also through Maria Deraismes that he met the freemason Léon Richer. He decided to join the *Grande Loge Centrale*¹² in 1879. In the same year, Maria Deraismes tried to obtain permission to be initiated in the Lodge 'La Clé-

⁷ Beckers 2002 14-15.

⁸ Master of the Lodge 'Mars et les Arts' of the Grand Orient de France and one of the editors of the newspaper *Opinion Nationale* (Beckers 2002 14).

⁹ Beckers 2002 35.

¹⁰ Juette & Ramon 2002 34.

¹¹ George Martin was chosen as such four more times. In 1880 he stopped working as a physician and in 1885 he was appointed a senator—the youngest one in France.

¹² He was initiated on March 21st, 1879 in Lodge nr. 187 'Union et Bienfaisance', Paris (*Grande Loge Centrale*).

mente Amitié' of the *Grand Orient de France*, which was refused.¹³ On November 25th, 1881 the lodge 'Les Libres Penseurs' in Le Pecq (Seine et Oise), asked the *Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise* for permission to initiate Maria Deraismes. This request was rejected too, but the lodge was granted permission to leave the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. Having done so, it initiated Maria Deraismes—only in the first degree of Entered Apprentice. Georges Martin, that year 'Président' (Grand Master) of the GLSE,¹⁴ was present at her initiation and even gave an address. After her initiation, the Lodge 'Les Libres Penseurs' was in trouble. No other lodge wanted contact with it. Discord arose within the lodge. Some members left. After four months the lodge gave in: it requested permission to rejoin the GLSE, promising to initiate no more women, and Maria Deraismes was no longer allowed to attend their meetings.¹⁵ Georges Martin tried in vain to persuade the lodges of the GLSE to accept the initiation of women. Obviously, this would have made it easier for Deraismes to be accepted too. In 1891 he tried to found an experimental mixed lodge within the GLSE, named 'Le Droit Humain'. It just did not work. Very likely, from that time on George Martin and Maria Deraismes worked together secretly to establish a mixed order.¹⁶

On March 14th, 1893 thirteen women, Maria Deraismes and Georges Martin decided to constitute an independent mixed masonic order working in the Craft-degrees only. Of this order Maria Deraismes would be the leading lady. The women present were initiated that day in the first degree of Entered Apprentice. Ten days later seven of them were passed to the second degree. Eventually on April 1st one candidate was initiated in the first degree, five in the second and twelve in the third.¹⁷ Then, on April 4th, 1893, the *GLSE Mixte de France 'Le Droit Humain'* was officially founded. This Grand Lodge was open to anyone, irrespective of sex, religion or race. It consisted of sixteen women and one man (Georges Martin). The rituals it used were the secular ones from the GLSE. In the early days, most of the members were rather radical feminists.¹⁸ The new order kept a low profile during the months to come. Only in January 1894 were the other French

¹³ Juette & Ramon 2002 10-13.

¹⁴ Jupeau Réquillard 1998 238.

¹⁵ Beckers 2002 19.

¹⁶ Hivert-Messeca 1997 281-282.

¹⁷ Hivert-Messeca 1997 282.

¹⁸ Hivert-Messeca 1997 285-287.

masonic orders informed of the constitution of LDH. Obviously, it met with much hostility.

The order had a hesitant start. Sadly, Maria Deraismes died of breast cancer on February 6th 1894. Georges Martin continued his activities with the help of firstly, Maria's sister Anna Feresse-Deraismes from 1894 until 1899, and from then onwards with his wife Marie Georges Martin (1850-1914). Between 1893 and 1896 only four lodges were founded in France and one in Switzerland,¹⁹ mainly through the efforts of Marie Georges Martin. The development then stagnated until 1902, although the Paris lodge was expanding. After Maria Deraismes' death the order became gradually less radical. At the beginning of the 20th century the decision was taken to act more in accordance with the standards and values concerning society and family then generally accepted in France. As a result the Order presented itself as an organisation with respectable members, acting diplomatically and patiently in modesty and silence. This was done to protect the Order from the hostility which all masonic organisations had to deal with at that time²⁰ but which was directed more specifically at the two mixed Masonic orders in France.

The Ordre Maçonnique Mixte International 'Le Droit Humain'²¹

Around the beginning of the 20th century greater international interest in the mixed freemasonry of the *GLSE Mixte de France LDH* arose.²² In response to this some thought was given to the founding of an international masonic organisation with a structure comparable to that of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (AASR), working a system of 33 degrees. Georges Martin gave up his earlier strong conviction that a system with only the three Craft degrees, under the authority of a Grand Lodge, as adopted up until then in the *GLSE Mixte de France LDH*, was to the preferred option. Martin explained his change of opinion by bluntly stating that this development was inevitable. The new organisation had to be the "stone, prepared in advance" waiting to be used whenever needed to sustain the strength of the Temple of the

¹⁹ Paris (1893), Blois (1895), Lyon (1895), Rouen (1896), and Zürich (1895).

²⁰ Another mixed order—also with its roots in the GLSE—was established on November 19th, 1897: the *Grande Loge Symbolique Écossaise Mixte et Maintenu*.

²¹ International Order of Mixed Freemasonry 'Le Droit Humain' (IO LDH).

²² Especially, after Zürich, now also in the United States of America, the British Empire and The Netherlands.

'Franc-Maçonnerie Mixte' under construction.²³ In several editions of the *International Bulletin* he explained this turn around of the Order by stating that a masonic system of only three degrees would not be powerful enough to resist the attacks of its opponents and to be competitive with powerful orders with a system of 33 degrees under the authority of a Supreme Council. He tried to make it clear that there was in fact no other choice than to establish a '*Suprême Conseil Universel Mixte*'. Only in this way it would be possible to make inroads into freemasonry abroad, which was necessary, because in France, there was no support whatsoever from the two powerful masculine masonic orders. Another reason for installing a Supreme Council was that, without such an institution, the members of the order could not have access to the higher degrees.²⁴

But there were several problems to be solved before this step could be made. The solution started with the appointment of an Administrative Council which governed the *GLSE Mixte de France LDH* from April until May 7th, 1896.²⁵ The next step—as a matter of fact on the same day—was the creation by that Administrative Council of the '*Grand Conseil de la Franc-Maçonnerie Mixte*', an institution with the right and the power to revise the Constitution of the order.

Only three years later, at a meeting on May 11th, 1899, the decision was taken to install a Supreme Council with the authority to rule over the 33 degrees of the AASR.²⁶ The order had, however, a 'slight' problem: it did not have a single member in possession of the 33rd degree: Georges Martin had only the 30th. There are several versions²⁷ of how he tackled this problem, but all agree that it was Décembre-Alonnier (1836-1906)—a composer, journalist and novelist, who had been an adviser to the *Grand Orient de France* during the period

²³ "Comme les nouveaux promus ne l'avaient été ni par amour des cordons, ni par ambition, mais seulement avec le désir de server efficacement la cause de la maçonnerie mixte, ils décidèrent d'un commun accord que leur organisation demeurerait à l'état de la pierre taillée d'avance, qu'on utiliserait que lorsque cela deviendrait indispensable à la solidité du Temple en construction de la Franc-Maçonnerie Mixte, c'est à dire lorsque le développement international de l'Ordre l'exigerait" (original words of George Martin; Juette & Ramon 2002 38-39).

²⁴ Hivert-Messica 1997 301-302; Juette & Ramon 2002 50.

²⁵ Hivert-Messica 1997 301; Juette & Ramon 2002 38, 50.

²⁶ It should be noted that the rituals for the Craft-degrees for this AASR-system were those which were then in use in the GLSE and LDH. These were then already a secular variety of the older AASR rituals.

²⁷ Mellor 1973 202; Hivert-Messica 1997 302-303; Juette & Ramon 2002 38-39; Beckers 2002 38.

1871-1874, and a member of the ‘*Grand Collège des Rites*’ of that Order, and who had a soft spot for LDH—who supplied the missing details. He had been for some time an active participant in ceremonies in the lodges of LDH. Before complying with the request of Georges Martin, there would have been an extensive exchange of views between the two of them. After having been carefully instructed, the secrets of the degrees 4 to 32 of the AASR were revealed to several members of LDH. On May 11th, 1899²⁸ ten of these members were initiated in the 33rd degree by Décembre-Alonnier.²⁹ Immediately following this ceremony the ‘*Suprême Conseil Universel Mixte*’ was constituted. Its lay dormant and kept secret for two years, until June 12th, 1901. Décembre-Alonnier was its chairman from the beginning until January 1903.³⁰

New branches of the order were now founded in the British Empire, India, Brazil, Belgium, Finland, the United States and The Netherlands. This was largely due to Annie Besant (1847-1933),³¹ who joined the order in 1902, and her influence on the IO LDH. Annie Besant integrated her theosophical ideas into the Craft rituals for the new branches. They were based on rituals from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and were (after the name of her lodge in Benares) called the ‘Dharma Workings’. The Order had now two traditions with different rituals for the Craft degrees: the French rituals—of a humanistic and secular nature—and the Scottish, theosophically coloured, theistic Dharma Workings. In all lodges of the IO LDH, as opposed to those in most male orders, political issues were important items for discussion.

²⁸ Hivert-Messaca, 1997 302

²⁹ Beckers wonders whether Décembre-Alonnier had the right to initiate those members of LDH, though she is at the same time convinced that he had the power to do so, and that he did. She retains, however, her doubts—and here she quotes Alec Mellor—whether these higher degrees were passed on to LDH in a regular way (2002 38).

³⁰ Juette & Ramon 2002 14.

³¹ Annie Besant was an enthusiastic feminist and freethinker, writer of a book concerning birth control, member of the Social Democratic Society. From 1895 until her death she was president of the Theosophical Society. For more information on Annie Besant see: Bennett 1988, the article by Prescott in this volume and the literature quoted there.

The Development of the 'English' and Dutch Ritual Traditions

Eleven years after the foundation in 1893 of the '*GLSE Mixte de France LDH*' in Paris, ten Dutch candidates—four women and six men—were initiated into the first degree by Annie Besant in The Netherlands, with the help of some English members and a brother from the Grand East of the Netherlands, on June 18th, 1904. Two days later they were advanced to the second and the third degrees. The installation of the first Dutch LDH lodge, 'Cazotte' in Amsterdam, by the Grand Master of the IO LDH, Marie Georges Martin, took place on June 10th, 1905.³² In January 1911 a second lodge was founded in The Hague, soon to be followed by lodges in Laren, Rotterdam, Arnhem, Utrecht and many other places. In 1904, at the very start of the Dutch organisation of the IO LDH—H.J. van Ginkel, a theosophist, translated the 'Dharma Workings' into Dutch. As Jan Snoek has stated, the first rituals of Dutch mixed masonry were thus rooted in the 'English' masonic tradition.³³ These rituals, being heavily influenced by the theosophical ideas of Annie Besant, were especially attractive to theosophists. But they were nevertheless ratified by the Supreme Council in France.

Around 1911 some Dutch LDH-members openly claimed a connection between freemasonry and Theosophy. This provoked anger in the Grand East of The Netherlands. As a reaction, Annie Besant explicitly stated in 1912 that mixed freemasonry was *not* a part of Theosophy.³⁴ Still, not all Dutch LDH-members were happy with the influence of Theosophy on the rituals.³⁵ Therefore, other rituals, in the Dutch masonic tradition, were written in 1915 by H.J. van Ginkel.³⁶ They were based on the 'Dharma Workings', but stripped of most of their theosophical nature and largely brought into accordance with the rituals of the Craft lodges of the Grand East of The Netherlands. This

³² Engel 2004 27; Dutch federation, *Maçonniek Handboek Deel I*, 2002, 27; www.droit-humain.org/paysbas.

³³ Snoek 1996 41. He describes this tradition as 'English'—immediately after having stated that the Dharma Workings were probably partly based on the Scottish masculine masonic tradition—apparently because the English LDH lodges used the Dharma Workings as well, and it was members of Annie Besant's lodge in London who, using that ritual, initiated the first Dutch members.

³⁴ Beckers 2002 62-63.

³⁵ Engel 2004 27.

³⁶ At that time—incorrectly—called the 'Scottish' rituals, but since May 21st, 2005—correctly—known as the Dutch rituals of the Craft degrees.

resulted in a significant move from a British to a Continental approach.³⁷

In 1916, the Supreme Council in Paris announced that mixed masonic organisations in all countries were allowed to make changes to the rituals they used, provided that the essentials³⁸ of the AASR would be maintained. The objective of the Supreme Council—following the ideas of Annie Besant in this respect—was to make the rituals of mixed freemasonry in each country more or less in agreement with those of the main all-male Grand Lodge of that country. In The Netherlands this evoked serious resistance from those members who leaned towards the theosophical. At the request of Van Ginkel, at that time the representative of the Supreme Council for the Dutch branch of IO LDH, Annie Besant wrote from Adyar a warning letter to the Dutch members that “masonic obedience is the first duty and no other personal ties may obstruct this”.³⁹ As a reaction, three important lodges, among which the oldest one in The Netherlands, ‘Cazotte’, left the Order in 1919.⁴⁰

In the meantime Charles Webster Leadbeater⁴¹ had joined the IO LDH in 1915. Together with his friend James Ingall Wedgwood he revised the ‘Dharma Workings’. This resulted in the ‘Sydney-rituals’ of 1916. In 1925 Besant and Leadbeater made adjustments to these rituals in order to extend their impact, which became known as the ‘1916 Workings Revised’. In the Dutch federation two lodges wanted to use these theosophical rituals.⁴² In order to make this possible, these lodges obtained—after much turbulence—a special authorisation from the representative of the Supreme Council to use them, but they had to be adjusted in such a way that they could be used by everyone, irrespective of individual philosophical or religious points of view.⁴³

³⁷ The Senior and Junior Wardens are both placed in the West (were placed resp. mid West and mid South). The incense ceremony and the offering to the elements have been removed as “beautiful but not belonging to the ritual” (Snoek 1996 42-43).

³⁸ Implying such elements as the grips, words, and signs of the degrees.

³⁹ Beckers 2002 64.

⁴⁰ Engel 2004 29.

⁴¹ Leadbeater had been a clergyman of the Church of England before entering into Theosophy. Later he was Bishop of the theosophical Old Catholic Church. According to Godwin: “At heart he was a magician, and the Mass was his preferred rite of ceremonial magic” (Godwin 1994 367-368). For further information on Theosophy and The Theosophical Society, see Godwin 1994.

⁴² The still existing lodges ‘Serapis’ and ‘St. Germain’.

⁴³ Beckers 2002 65.

In the Dutch East Indies—a Dutch colony at the time—an independent federation of the IO LDH had been established in 1919. The lodges of this federation also used a Dutch translation of the ‘1916 Workings Revised’.⁴⁴ In the preface to the second edition of these rituals, from 1941, printed in Bandoeng (also in the Dutch East Indies), these rituals are referred to as the ‘English’ rituals.⁴⁵

In 1934 the decision was taken at the yearly International Convent to allow more than one ritual in every country and, in cases of differences of opinion which could not be resolved at a national level, the Supreme Council would have the last word.⁴⁶ Although most federations worked in only one masonic tradition, exceptions were now possible. The disagreement in the Dutch federation about the use of either one (the Dutch) or two (also the ‘English’) rituals, however, continued until 1940, when World War II temporarily halted all masonic activities.

Theosophist and non-theosophist members of the Dutch federation were reconciled after 1945. As a consequence of World War II and the war of independence in the Dutch Indies many members of the federation there were repatriated to The Netherlands. They were used to working with what they called the ‘English’ rituals and wished to continue to do so in The Netherlands. To meet their wishes, the ‘English’ as well as the ‘Dutch’ rituals were now accepted, and the first ones were also published in The Netherlands.⁴⁷ The French tradition apparently held no attraction for, or got no attention from Dutch LDH-members at that time.

Differences Between the Three Masonic Traditions

After the reconciliation within the Dutch federation, lodges could choose to use the ‘English’ Craft rituals—which were actually the ‘1916 Workings Revised’ of 1925, based on Scottish rituals—or the Dutch ones (then called ‘Scottish’), which were based on those of the Grand of East of the Netherlands. The rituals from both traditions

⁴⁴ Snoek 1996 43–44.

⁴⁵ Snoek 1996 45.

⁴⁶ Snoek 1996 44.

⁴⁷ Snoek 1996 45.

could be defined as 'esoteric',⁴⁸ but clearly emphasise that esotericism from different perspectives. In the Dutch tradition the masons work at the symbolic 'Temple of King Solomon' and this 'Temple' is situated in the spiritual world. The ritual concentrates on *awareness* of inner knowledge and power in order to re-establish the once lost holy spiritual 'beauty' or harmony in the material world. In the 'English' rituals the building of the 'Temple' begins in the material world, however,—enlightened from Above—with the intention of rising up into the spiritual world. The starting point is here 'material wisdom and skills'. *Active* spiritual participation of everyone is stimulated through the use of chants and incense.⁴⁹

While stonemason symbolism is present in the rituals of all three traditions, all theistic and nearly all Neo-Platonic and Hermetic aspects,⁵⁰ so clearly present in the Dutch and 'English' traditions, are absent in the French rituals as used today in the Dutch lodges 'Maria Deraismes' and 'Emergo'.⁵¹ Nevertheless, not all spiritual⁵² elements are eliminated, while at the same time a secular humanistic society seems to be pursued.⁵³ The Volume of the Sacred Law can be re-

⁴⁸ Faivre 1994 10-15 (Six characteristics: correspondences, living nature, imaginations and mediations, experience of transmutation, the praxis of concordance, and transmission). See also Hanegraaff 1996 396-401 and Dachez 2005 382-388.

⁴⁹ Poortman-Zey 1996 74-84.

⁵⁰ Hermetic in the sense of "the manifestation of a religious syncretism, based on the desire for a new cosmology that can assimilate the philosophical and scientific 'discovery of nature' without sacrificing the dimension of the sacred" (Hanegraaff 1996 388-389).

⁵¹ The French rituals used by these two lodges slightly differ from each other. These lodges have the option to make certain choices in respect to some specific parts of the ritual, e.g. whether or not to make use of the Declaration of Human Rights. As an example: Lodge 'Maria Deraismes' does not use any book at all.

⁵² Spiritual in the sense of making use of the symbolic meanings ascribed to the elements: the element 'earth', personified by Demeter/Isis (Goddess of Fertility) is seen as "Mother of us all" (the ritual for the first degree, 25); the element 'air' symbolises the struggle for life with the help of the fellow-man (*ibid.* 28-29); the element 'water' symbolises "keeping the right way while looking for justice" (*ibid.* 34-35); and the element 'fire' symbolises purification (*ibid.* 36-37). "To see the Light" is probably only meant in the sense of reason.

⁵³ It is doubtful whether these French rituals can be linked to 'Western Esotericism' (Faivre 1994 10-15). Of the six characteristics mentioned in his definition—correspondences, living nature, imaginations and mediations, experience of transmutation, the praxis of concordance, and transmission—there is no indication of existing *correspondences*, no sign of a belief in a *living nature* and, as a consequence, it is difficult to link the other characteristics to these rituals. Although these initiation

placed by the Declaration of Human Rights if so desired.⁵⁴ The ‘Temple’ became the ‘Lodge’ again⁵⁵ and—although not mentioned in the original Martin-Ritual—a big ‘Perfect Ashlar’ is situated in front of the seat of the Master of the Lodge.⁵⁶ The acclamation is not “Wisdom, Strength and Beauty” as in the present Dutch and ‘English’ tradition but “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”. The Sign of Fidelity is performed here with the right *fist* in stead of the right hand on the heart. This symbolic gesture was however not at all mentioned in the original Martin Ritual and has to be considered as a later change. The lodge has the option to celebrate the rituals ‘to the honour of Universal Freemasonry’, or ‘to the honour of the Great Architect of the Universe’, or ‘to the progress of humanity’.⁵⁷ Remarkable in the ceremonies of the second and third degree is the fact, that human beings,⁵⁸ rather than the Great Architect of the Universe, are more or less placed in the highest possible and most responsible position. This is a responsibility which includes fighting⁵⁹ for liberty, equality and fraternity⁶⁰ for the sake of the progress of humanity. Another particularity is the way King Solomon is described in the ritual for the third degree. Although in a sense ‘wise’, it is obviously the purpose of the ritual to

rituals seem to have the purpose to help people to grow as a human being, it is not clear whether transmutation is their purpose. See also Hanegraaff 1996 396-401.

⁵⁴ In the Martin Ritual of December 23rd, 1895, the Volume of the Sacred Law was replaced by the Constitution of the Order. In the Dutch Lodge ‘Maria Deraismes’ nothing is laid on the Perfect Ashlar: everyone can make his/her own choice.

⁵⁵ During the 19th century the original ‘Lodge’, meaning the room in which the rituals are performed, was changed into ‘Temple’ in The Netherlands. The French AASR-Rituals in Rosen ca. 1885 state: “La Loge, ou mieux le Temple” (65), so that this was probably the custom around that time in France in theistic lodges as well, but it may have been reversed in the secular lodges which founded the GLSE, on the praxis of which Martin based his Rituals.

⁵⁶ In the original Martin Ritual neither an altar nor an ashlar is mentioned, although the term ‘altar’ was the custom in probably all Belgian and French rituals, including those by Rosen (“un ... autel cylindrique ou carré dit l’autel des serments” (66)). The symbolism of the ‘ashlar’ was used in The Netherlands from a much later date onwards. This could be an indication that this is a rather recent change in this ritual.

⁵⁷ The Dutch Lodge ‘Maria Deraismes’ uses: “on the progress of humanity”. As in the original Martin Rituals, the rituals for the three degrees each had different celebration formulas, this part of the rituals used by the Lodge ‘Maria Deraismes’ is also an alteration of the original ones.

⁵⁸ With ‘human beings’ I mean here: ‘workmen’ (most likely representing initiated freemasons).

⁵⁹ Most probably meaning the intellectual struggle for freedom

⁶⁰ Against the oppression within political systems, specifically of women, children, minorities, and against warfare, poverty etc.

present him as a superficial and—although on the height of his power—‘weak’ king with his retinue of vain courtiers and fanatical priests. This as opposed to the 300.000 powerful workmen of *Master Hiram-Abiff*,⁶¹ coming from everywhere in the world, who symbolise perfect humanity devoted to the work at hand: the search for truth, global tolerance, and social justice.⁶²

Analysis of the Current Situation in the Dutch Federation

I will now describe the nature of the relations between the groups of members, working in the three masonic traditions, practised in the Dutch Federation. The question is whether these three groups have in the daily routine been able to work together as a unity. In order to get a better understanding of the relationships between these three groups and their attitudes towards their different roots, I will use the figurative sociological civilisation theory of Norbert Elias (1897-1990).⁶³

According to this theory, societies, organisations, and other groups (here called ‘players’)⁶⁴ are situated in a complex reality with stress and conflict. Between different ‘players’ there is a fluctuating power and interdependency balance, moving on a scale, as a result of actions intended or even not intended by parties concerned, or movements in the outer world not under their control. Whether they like it or not, all parties are subject to interdependency, but at a certain moment, one more than the other. The most powerful player is called the ‘established’ party. It represents the establishment, the current standard. The other players concerned are labelled as ‘outsiders’.⁶⁵ They have their own standards that highlight their ‘otherness’, which are rejected or ignored, completely or partly, by the establishment. When they are at the weakest position on the power balance, the ‘outside’ players will often look at themselves through the eyes of the establishment, as a result of a low self esteem. However, when ‘outsiders’ are able to raise their voice, that is already a sign that the balance of power is—maybe only temporarily and slightly, but nevertheless—shifting to

⁶¹ Called ‘Master’ by everybody because his craftsmanship, his friendliness and his his own demeanour give him authority.

⁶² French ritual third degree, Dutch federation, 2003 36.

⁶³ See: Elias & Scotson 1965; Elias 1972; Elias 1976.

⁶⁴ Elias 1972 79-87.

⁶⁵ Elias & Scotson 1976 7-47.

their advantage.⁶⁶ The gap between them is considerably diminished when acceptance of the 'outsiders' by the 'establishment' occurs. In that case it could even happen that the 'establishment' will make a shift *in* the power and interdependency balance in favour of other players. The balance between interdependency and power, which parties are able to maintain, is decisive in determining the chances that they will be able to act in unity. Therefore, my research tried to find out what can be said about this balance with regard to the three groups within the Dutch federation.⁶⁷

In terms of this theory, the three groups of Dutch LDH-members, working in the three different traditions, represent the three players in the power structure. Because the group working in the Dutch tradition represents 75% of the total population of the Dutch federation, it is seen as the establishment. The group working in the 'English' tradition represents 19% of the population and the French one 6%. Both are thus seen as 'outsiders'. In order to investigate whether the power and the interdependency are more or less in balance between the three groups, I began by a careful study of 10 years of the national magazine of the Dutch federation (1995-2004) and 9 years of the *International Bulletin* of the IO LDH (1996-2004). In order to test the impressions I thus got, I then decided to make a standardised questionnaire, which should make clear to what extent the three different groups felt to be 'one' despite their differences. I therefore asked the members whether the tradition to which it belonged had influenced their decision as to which lodge to join. Were they aware at that time of the existence of the other traditions within the Dutch federation, and if so, had they been aware of the different roots of these traditions? Are they *now* aware of that fact, and if so, what do they think of their own and the other traditions (how do the members working in the different traditions perceive each other)? Do they have an idea why there are three traditions worked within the Dutch federation?

⁶⁶ Elias 1976 7-47.

⁶⁷ See also Goudsblom 1995; Goudsblom et al. 1995; Soeters et al., 1997; Ter Borg 1995.

The Results of the Research

The Contents of the Magazines of the Dutch Federation from 1995 to 2005

From before 1995 until 2001, the name of the national magazine was *Dialog en Perspectief* (Dialogue and Perspective). Since 2002 it is called *Nieuw Perspectief* (New Perspective), the change of name expressing a change of editors and approach.

The French secular roots of the IO LDH did not get much attention during this period, but were mentioned from time to time. A member of the Dutch federation stated after she had visited the Belgian lodge 'De Meiboom' in Antwerp:

The ritual this lodge uses is very different from those we have in our Federation. In Belgium each Lodge has its own ritual.⁶⁸

This surprised her, obviously, but she enjoyed the ceremony very much. In 1997, the try-out of the French ritual, meant as a homage to the founders of the Order, was mentioned. A comment made afterwards was:

The most striking difference with the ritual of the Scottish Rite⁶⁹ used in The Netherlands is the absence of religious aspects, e.g. The Volume of Sacred Law and the Great Architect of the Universe.⁷⁰

This was the first time that a group of members openly showed in the magazine awareness of the fact that the international roots of the IO LDH are different from what is the custom at the moment in the Dutch federation. The author continues:

Reactions to the performance of the ritual were mainly positive. Some regarded the absence of religious aspects, however, a loss. This must be respected ...

⁶⁸ Anon. 1996a 71. That each lodge would have its own ritual is a practice, if true at all for the Belgian federation, which is unknown and even impossible in the Dutch one.

⁶⁹ What is meant here *is* the Dutch ritual, at that time still referred to as 'Scottish'. All ritual books used in the Dutch federation are officially part of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

⁷⁰ Anon 1997 111.

The author also made it clear that she was in favour of this non-religious ritual. And there were more members who thought that way. Some members in influential positions openly expressed their preference for the French tradition.

During these years not many 'dialogues' took place in the magazine. However, some differences of opinion were expressed such as the following extract:

Belief in magic cannot go together with the a-dogmatic character of freemasonry and it diminishes for everybody an acceptable and comprehensible fact.⁷¹ It strikes me that we usually want to add something unnecessary extra to things already valuable of their own. This is strengthening the idea that freemasonry is a secret society. Or at least a society with secrets, disclosed only to members through initiations.⁷²

That article⁷³ is dealing with magical power, gods of nature, and occultism, and thus it has nothing to do with freemasonry.⁷⁴

The execution of the present ritual⁷⁵ is defined by deep seated habits and contains several religious⁷⁶ elements.⁷⁷ (The author did not like that.)

As far as I have been able to determine these differences of opinion were not sorted out in the magazine. Symbolic interpretative explanations of important aspects of the Dutch rituals were in the past, and are today, found frequently in the magazine. All kinds of masonic subject—and subjects more or less loosely connected with freemasonry—have been presented.⁷⁸ Sometimes real information about the rituals has been given.

The 'English' ritual got much attention in 1995 and 1996, but from 1996 to 2005 it was not often mentioned. Most recently, however, there is a considerable contribution again from the members of this tradition, though two of their four lodges were forced to postpone their ritual meetings for the time being, due to a shortage of members. Since 2004 their contributions are accompanied by explanations in

⁷¹ 'fact' meaning here: core principle, being for this member 'equality'.

⁷² Anon. 1995.

⁷³ Referring to a theosophically coloured article.

⁷⁴ Anon. 1996b.

⁷⁵ In this case referring to the Dutch rituals.

⁷⁶ 'Religious' seen here, obviously, as wrong and dogmatic.

⁷⁷ Anon. 1997.

⁷⁸ For example of fraternity, equality, liberty, magic, mysticism, and such belief systems as Taoism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrism.

order to avoid misunderstandings by members from the other traditions.

The Questionnaire

In September 2005 the Dutch federation had 328 members: 256 women and 70 men.⁷⁹ Each member of the Dutch federation received a questionnaire, of which 105 were returned, which is a response of 31%. Of these, 80% came from women and 20% from men⁸⁰, whereas 75% came from members working in the Dutch tradition, 19% from the 'English', and 6% from the French one. This means that the responses to the questionnaire reflected precisely the population of the Dutch federation with regard to the three traditions, and almost exactly with regard to gender. Respondents could make some comments and/or remarks in the questionnaire. Where I deem it appropriate, I will mention these. In the presentation of the responses which now follows, percentages of 'all respondents' are based on total response (= 105) minus non response (differing per question). Percentages of respondents, working in the Dutch, 'English' and French tradition respectively, are based on the total number of respondents per tradition minus their own non response in relation to the number of respondents per tradition answering a specific question.

The 'English' Tradition

The respondents of the 'English' tradition—19% of all respondents—made the most deliberate choice for the tradition the lodge they wanted to become a member of was working in, and were best informed with respect to the different traditions, when joining the Dutch federation. Two of the respondents wrote:

I just wanted to work in a lodge with this 'English' ritual because that ritual is most in line with my theosophical way of life.

I have chosen for the 'English' tradition because I feel connected to the English rituals, probably because of my religious background.

Still, 30% of the respondents from this tradition who answered this question were even now not aware of the different traditions and about

⁷⁹ In 2000 it had still 413 members—about 300 female and about 100 male (*International Bulletin* 19 (2001) 48).

⁸⁰ With regard to gender there is a slight difference between the questionnaire sample and the federation as a whole, where 73% are women and 27% men.

20% were not sure about it. (The last percentage is in line with the score of the population as a whole (22%)). One comment was:

Originally one had no choice: only the 'English' tradition existed.

More than half of the respondents from the 'English' tradition are now aware of, if not all, at least some of the reasons why there are several traditions and 73% had given serious thought to this phenomenon. There was a significant awareness of the existence of differences between the traditions and of the make-up of these differences (94%). Only 6% of the respondents labelled these differences as 'enriching', yet, more than 39% thought them interesting. Most similarities were observed by the respondents from this tradition (a score of 89%) and these were generally appreciated (69%). One third of the respondents of this tradition—which is in line with the score of the population as a whole (33%)—supposed there is a kind of animosity between the traditions, but most of the respondents from this tradition do not see it that way (59%). One of them commented as follows:

There is misunderstanding between people owing to ignorance, not animosity ...

Of this tradition, only 12%—the lowest score of the three traditions—is of the opinion that they have nothing in common with one or either of the other traditions. As one of them remarked:

I cannot imagine anyone carrying out masonic rituals without recognising the Great Architect of the Universe. Freemasonry is in my opinion in essence something quite different from sheer humanism ...

Concerning the impact the rituals have on the individual participants, the score for togetherness as well as for sacredness/spirituality is here the highest of all three traditions: both 84%, producing comments such as:

It is 'white magic' in favour of humanity and in favour of everyone present.

The seriousness of the experienced members of our lodge resulted in a feeling of belonging and co-operation ...

In summary, it is clear that, since the 'English' tradition is the oldest one within the Dutch federation, there is a proud and clearly visible

'otherness', which is evinced among other things by the fact that most of them made a deliberate choice to become a member of a lodge which is working in this tradition. It is also expressed by using now and then, the federal magazine to make statements obviously originating from their tradition. They seem to be inclined to see the other traditions as interesting, but they qualify the members of those traditions as rather ignorant. Also there is an awareness of differences and similarities in the traditions. They score high on cohesion within their own tradition, but at the same time they have the lowest score for rejecting other traditions. They even co-operate closely with some lodges of the Dutch tradition in shared ritual meetings in order to survive. This looks like a very tactical approach to the given situation by a party with a high self-esteem and an openness to other parties.

The French Tradition

Although the number of respondents working in this tradition exactly matched its fraction of the total population of the Dutch federation (6%), it was so small (6) that it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions. Nevertheless, the responses are interesting in that they sometimes clearly deviate from those from the other two traditions. Some remarks from three respondents working in this tradition:

I have now deliberately chosen for the French ritual. Originally there was no French ritual in the Dutch federation. I was referred to this lodge by another lodge where I knocked on the door [= asked to be initiated]. According to them the French ritual would suit me better.

I worked originally in the Dutch tradition. My present lodge, however, is working in the French one. This is really what I want ...

My present lodge is working in the French tradition. This has been a deliberate choice for the rituals used there and their background.

Nearly all of them know why there are three traditions and they are able to see the differences and the similarities. But only half of them is interested enough to think about these differences. A respondent originally working in the Dutch tradition, who had made the choice to move to a lodge working in the French tradition:

I did not know at the time [when I was initiated] what options there were ...

It is interesting, that none of the respondents from the French tradition expresses any animosity, and yet 60% think that they have 'nothing'

in common with one or both of the other traditions. As four of them stated:

The 'English' ritual doesn't appeal to me ...
 The Dutch and the 'English' traditions are much too Christian ...
 The 'English' ritual is not my cup of tea ...
 I prefer secularity. I am against churches in general.

None of the respondents had a feeling of 'sacredness' during the performance of the rituals, but some of them experienced a feeling of spirituality. Also resistance when performing the rituals could be noted as far as some new members were concerned. One member did not call it resistance but yet remarked:

A feeling of alienation. It does not have any added value with respect to my spirituality ...

In this tradition too, then, there is a very deliberate and desired 'otherness'. It is, therefore, not surprising that the respondents are in a position to observe the differences and the similarities but are, in general, not interested in them. Results of the questionnaire confirm this: most respondents were of the opinion that their tradition has nothing in common with the other ones, so they turned away from them. They were motivated to do so from the moment they realised that they wanted to revive the original starting points of the founders of the Order in which social change, secularity, humanism, feminism and also republican feelings played an important role. Whether those issues are of importance for the French tradition within the Dutch federation is not clear at the moment, and the responses to the questionnaire suggest that some new members were not made effectively aware of the existence of the other traditions and the comparatively irregular content of the French one. Still, the French tradition is an obvious 'outsider' with a very clear and dissident agenda, probably waiting to get more followers, and possibly anticipating support from the French headquarters of the Order.

The Dutch Tradition

The majority, 75% (78), of all respondents work in the Dutch tradition. They score lowest for having made a deliberate decision for a particular tradition when choosing a lodge of which to become a member (26%). It was more or less merely a coincidence where most

of them ended up. Often their choice was made out of practical reasons. Two of the most important reasons for Dutch-working respondents to join a particular lodge were the distance from home (36%) and information given by a lodge on an information day or evening (33%), but also ignorance. As one respondent wrote:

I had not the slightest idea that there existed something as mixed freemasonry, let alone that there were more masonic traditions within it ...

Also the Grand East of the Netherlands proved to be a source of information for new members. For example:

In an article about freemasonry in my daily newspaper somewhere also mixed freemasonry was mentioned. I contacted the Grand East and they introduced me to a member of the Dutch federation.

I asked the curator of the Cultural Masonic Centre (of the Grand East of the Netherlands) in The Hague which lodge would suit me best, and he suggested to me the Dutch federation of LDH.

A remarkable 52%—the highest score of the three traditions—did not even know that there were three traditions when becoming a member of the Dutch federation, and they had the lowest score on the question if they knew why there are three traditions (45%).

At that time nobody told me there were other rituals too. It took a long time before I found out ...

I hadn't the slightest idea as to rituals. I lived in Amsterdam. I just picked up the phone and dialled the number of this lodge.

But nevertheless, some did:

By talking to several people from different traditions ('English' and Dutch) I could make my choice.

I considered my choice for the Dutch tradition very carefully. I don't like the 'English' ritual at all. It gives me too much a feeling of the Catholic Church, especially because of the use of incense. The introduction of the French ritual was not necessary in my opinion.

More than 75% of them were able to observe differences as well as similarities between the three traditions, which score is more or less in

line with that of the population as a whole (83%). Still, there were some others:

I am not able to compare the differences ...

I have no need to bother about differences. In my opinion the three traditions are aiming at the same goal: self development.

The members of the Dutch tradition scored highest (50%) on looking at the differences as an 'enrichment'. As a respondent noted:

I think the different traditions do complement each other in a beautiful way.

They were, however, also the only tradition of which some of the respondents (5%) saw the differences as a loss. Less than half of the respondents from this tradition who noticed similarities found these 'enriching' and 'interesting':

Enriching for the Dutch Federation as a whole, but not exactly for myself.

As far as the similarities are concerned: exciting, and with respect to the differences: fuller, more complete, many-sided, three-dimensional ... I am so glad we have this ...

About one third of the respondents from this tradition supposed there is a kind of animosity, one third supposed there is no animosity and one third had no opinion. Nearly 30% does not see anything in one or both of the other traditions. Some remarks:

There is nothing wrong with the Dutch ritual. I don't like atheistic humanism just as I don't like Theosophy ...

The French ritual has nothing to do with esotericism.

The so called French tradition is humanistic and socially oriented. In this way this tradition is missing the real secret of freemasonry.

When there is no Volume of the Sacred Law in the Temple the ritual is damaged in my opinion. Mysticism is lost in that case.

Also the 'English' tradition is not always appreciated:

The 'English' ritual has too many religious aspects in my opinion ...

I just don't like the singing in the Temple.

In my opinion, the 'English' as well as the French ritual are a restriction of masonic universality.

The Dutch tradition scored more than 70% for experiencing a feeling of togetherness and sacredness / spirituality during ceremonies.

A feeling of togetherness, and even stronger: a feeling of unity ...
A feeling of spirituality that causes togetherness ...

To sum up, this tradition, representing 'the establishment', could be described from an organisational point of view as a party with a 'laisser faire' attitude. They give the impression that they let everything just happen and are particularly focused on their own tradition. Most of them entered freemasonry without any knowledge at all about traditions. As a general rule they felt just attracted to mixed freemasonry. A number of them stated that they had the impression that there existed only one masonic tradition, both within and outside the Dutch federation. A difference in rituals had often been noted but this phenomenon was not seen as having anything to do with different masonic traditions. Some of them do not realise even now that there are more traditions with different backgrounds in use within the Dutch federation. A number of the respondents had not the slightest idea why there are three traditions. However, in general they liked both the differences and similarities between the three traditions when they were able to observe them, but why they do so is not really explained. They are divided about the question whether or not there is a feeling of animosity between the traditions. It was interesting to see that a number of statements were made which could be labelled as expressing a feeling of animosity, while those respondents did not specifically acknowledge that feeling when answering the explicit question. Reactions in the federal magazine confirm this impression: articles originating from especially the 'English' tradition met with resistance, as these were obviously seen as attacks on the standards and values of the Dutch tradition. In short, this 'established' party seems to feel in power and to have no awareness of anything threatening. In other words: from their point of view there is no need to protect their position. They do however object when other traditions set out their standards and values. They show little interest in the other traditions and they are surprisingly ignorant about the French roots of the IO LDH.

An Interpretation of the Results

I now come to an interpretation of the results of this study in relation to the history of the Dutch federation and the historical sociological figurative civilisation theory of Norbert Elias. This theory is rooted in the history of the processes of civilisation of societies in Western Europe. It is a theory of how power relations and interdependency processes in societies are influencing the way in which their members are inclined to adapt themselves to the standards and values of the most powerful party. Through the centuries the interrelatedness and the interdependency of societies and their members has become more and more complicated.

I investigated the interrelatedness and interdependency of the three groups, working in the three traditions practised in the Dutch federation as it appeared in 2005, on the basis of measurable facts (the results of the questionnaire) and their interpretation, in addition to what history has taught us in this respect (in terms of the theory of Elias: in relation to what we know about history). Because of the need to include the history of the parties involved, we cannot completely ignore the role of the French Mother branch of the IO LDH. It is not my intention, however, to go deeper into the situation in France than is strictly necessary, as that is not the subject of this study.

Seen from the perspective of the theory of Elias, the masonic organisation LDH was an 'outsider' in the arena of freemasonry in France. It struggled to survive and it did so by going abroad, but at a cost. It had to abandon—at least abroad—to a large extent its secular standards and values, because it was mainly the Theosophist Annie Besant who was responsible for this expansion outside France. The then 'established' party within LDH, the French branch, had too little power to enforce its standards and values on the organisation as a whole. For the time being it returned to its heartland, France, where it would remain, at least for the time being, an 'outside' party in relation to the much bigger masculine masonic orders.

Although the French Mother organisation was formally the 'established' party within LDH, the 'alien' but out of necessity accepted influence from abroad by Annie Besant was considerable. Outside France Besant and Leadbeater made the rules and the Supreme Council in France ratified them. It is difficult to decide now which party was really the most powerful at that time, who really made the rules. So, what we see is that the 'established' party was manipulated by the

party in the 'outsiders' role. The interdependency between both parties was finely balanced at that time. Without Besant the IO LDH would have had a problem and Besant would at that time not easily have had access to another mixed masonic organisation, suitable for her purposes. History tells us that that was enough for the two parties to act as a unity.

The Netherlands was one of those countries where the IO LDH succeeded in setting up a federation. The rituals of LDH in The Netherlands were heavily influenced by the theosophical ideas of Annie Besant and therefore particularly attractive to theosophists. In terms of the theory of Elias: those members of the Dutch branch of the IO LDH who felt attracted to theosophical ideas, represented the 'establishment' there. Within the national arena of the Dutch branch, there were of course also 'outsiders': the non theosophists.

The position of the theosophists was attacked openly around 1911. Statements made by theosophical oriented members of the Dutch branch claiming a deep rooted connection between freemasonry and Theosophy provoked anger from the Grand East of The Netherlands. As a result, Annie Besant made it clear in 1912 that mixed freemasonry was not a part of Theosophy.⁸¹ From the point of view of the theory of Elias, this statement was of influence both at an international as well as a national level, since it meant a weakening of the position of the theosophical influence on the standards and values of the IO LDH as a whole. Seen from the perspective of the international arena the 'established' party (the French Mother branch) thus gained in power. In other words the interdependency balance had been altered in their favour. We do not know for sure why Besant gave in. Possibly she did so because at that time she hoped that the IO LDH would one day be accepted by the *United Grand Lodge of England*, and to reach that goal she needed the support from the *Grand East of The Netherlands*. Her hopes, if indeed she had any, were in vain.

At the international level, the 'establishment' in Paris could have used this decision by Besant to gain even more power, by eradicating as much theosophy from the rituals as possible and moving closer to the secular standards and values of the dominant French Grand Lodges. Indeed, they tried to do so in 1916, when the Supreme Council decided to make the rituals in use in the federations outside France more or less in accordance with the French ones. In The Netherlands,

⁸¹ Beckers 2002 62-63.

however, this met with serious resistance. Mr. H.J. van Ginkel, a fervent supporter of Theosophy, made a request to Besant to resolve this matter. And she did. But in favour of the wish of the Supreme Council. As a result, three lodges left the Dutch federation, and the others accepted the Dutch rituals which Mr. Van Ginkel had created, which were more in accordance with the French rituals than the 'English' ones. This development continued through the years to come, until 1925. Yet, even today, theosophical remnants can be found in the Dutch rituals. We may say, then, that from 1916 onwards, the 'established' party in the Dutch federation was mainly oriented towards the standards and values of the Grand East of the Netherlands, but there were still many theosophists among the Dutch members. These represented from that moment on 'the outsiders' within the Dutch federation. They were officially not a player in the field any more, but their sheer presence meant a certain amount of counter power within the national arena.

After Besant and Leadbeater had, in 1925 altered their rituals, now called the '1916 Workings revised', two lodges within the Dutch federation were able to gain sufficient power to get permission to use these rituals, although in an amended version. And so did the federation in the Dutch Indies. This meant that from 1925 onwards, there were again two parties active in the power play within mixed freemasonry in The Netherlands and her colonies, a Dutch one, and one based upon the 'English', theosophical oriented rituals of Besant and Leadbeater. From then on, there were many conflicts between theosophists and non-theosophists. When, in 1934 the Supreme Council decided formally that more than one masonic tradition could be used within the same federation, this meant yet another small shift in the balance of power in favour of the theosophical oriented tradition. After the war, parties became reconciled with each other. This was probably due to the fact that many members had been repatriated from the Dutch Indies. They were accustomed to using the 'English' rituals. The resulting, more or less balanced, interdependency made parties more willing to accept each other.

Over the years, however, the balance of power shifted to the advantage of the Dutch tradition. Not only because of the death of theosophist members, but probably also because of cultural changes in the importance of belief systems in The Netherlands. At the moment I cannot verify how large that influence has been, since right now, important parts of the archives of the Dutch federation are not accessible.

Theosophy has, however, not been a hot issue in the Dutch society any more since the end World War II. This is reflected in the fact that there are only a few lodges left that are still working in the 'English' tradition. However, some of the most influential members at the top of the organisation are still very attached to this tradition. On the other hand, all traditions are represented in the highest hierarchical structure of the Dutch federation.

Then, all of a sudden, there arrived a new player in the field: the French tradition. Not as a result of any action of the Supreme Council in Paris. It came from within the Dutch federation itself.

What is the situation now? According to Mintzberg⁸² an organisation like the Dutch federation is to be seen as a missionary⁸³ organisation. The greatest power in such organisations are shared values and/or a charismatic leader. At first sight, the members of the Dutch federation seem to have a common mission, but that is not the case when one takes a closer look. The aim which members of all traditions approve of, is 'to try to erect the Temple of King Solomon' symbolically within the lodges, and everyone in his own way in the outside world. So far there is no problem. They do, however, not agree about how this goal should be realised in the Dutch federation. Each party gives the impression that it thinks of itself as working with the true form of freemasonry. The Dutch federation as a whole, therefore, differs from missionary organisations in general as defined by Mintzberg. He predicts that in such a situation, every tradition will be inclined to resist any attempt to change, or to interfere with, its standards and values. The presence of several such groups within an organisation having different not common aims, is a problem. Because there is no shared way to achieve their goal, it is to be expected that there will be no, or only little, 'we'-feeling among the members. In such a situation, there must be a strong hierarchical authority that takes care of all matters important to the organisation as a whole in order to hold everything together. This authority need not be charismatic but bureaucratic. And this is exactly what we can observe in the situation of the Dutch federation. It is strictly ruled by a Consistory and a National Council. The bureaucracy is of a kind that clashes with the wishes of at least some its members. The loss of several lodges at

⁸² Mintzberg 1983 377-388.

⁸³ Missionary power configurations show loyalty as their chief ingredient, with the intention to improve (some) aspects of society, for its own sake, rather than for private advantage. Usually members join for reasons other than material gain.

the beginning of the 21st century is an indication of the difficulties of the federation in this respect. Declining membership is another one.

Mastenbroek⁸⁴ uses the theory of Elias in respect to relations within organisations. According to him, when parties do realise their interdependency, they will be inclined to negotiate their interests in such a way that the balance of power is more or less evenly shared. When the power balance is not equal however, the parties will probably go on the offensive, be coercive, or disinterested, or the other way round: dependent on their position within the power balance and the character of their interdependency. When this happens, parts of organisations develop their own identity. This identity is sometimes at odds with the identity of the organisation as a whole. This again, is exactly what we see in the Dutch federation. Some organisations do succeed in developing a strong 'we' feeling in spite of such a problematic structure. Well chosen targets for the organisation as a whole are needed then, where coalition parties have to co-operate and to rely on each other. This is, however, not easy.

Summarising, according to the theory of Elias, the Dutch tradition—the 'established' party—has the tendency to turn inside and act as a strong closed system, not interested in its environment, feeling in control and not dependent on that environment.

Although the 'English' tradition is an 'outsider', it has an obvious aim that it would probably like to share with others. That is maybe the reason why its members set out their differing beliefs so openly next to those of the Dutch tradition in the federal magazine. They are aware of the fact that they represent the very roots of mixed freemasonry in The Netherlands. At the same time they are aware of their dependency on the others and they behave accordingly: co-operative and interested.

The French tradition—the other outsider—could be seen from an international point of view as an insider, though it is not seen and accepted as such in the national arena. Its members relate especially to Belgian lodges. They do not give the impression that they are aware of their dependency on the other traditions.

⁸⁴ Mastenbroek 1992 45-56.

Conclusion

I asked myself the question: have these traditions within the Dutch Federation been able in the daily routine to form a unity together? How is the balance between their interdependency and power? They are a unity in the sense that they represent a coalition of three different traditions taken under the wings of the Dutch federation. They are, however, not united by cohesion, arising from fully shared standards and values, but as the result of coincidence in history and the need to survive as a mixed masonic order. They live for the greater part alongside each other, not with each other. They give the impression that—except for the ‘English’ tradition—they do not fully realise their interdependency and the way power structures manipulate them. Time will show us whether or not the French ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’ will have a greater appeal in the future than the Dutch ‘wisdom, strength and beauty’ or the ‘English’ ‘faith, hope and charity’.

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