

The History of the Unrecognized Grand Lodge of Denmark

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MANY PAPERS AND BOOKS IN MASONIC RESEARCH HAVE BEEN DEDICATED to the examination and study of irregular orders and bodies. One of these such bodies is the unrecognized Grand Lodge in Denmark, *Storlogen af Danmark*, and their three-degree Craft ritual, *Ritus Hauniensis*, also known as the Copenhagen Rite. What makes this body curious to researchers is not its irregular heritage but rather the unusual development of the Masonic body itself. The history of *Storlogen af Danmark* is a fascinating, intertwined story. It is the story of how this Grand Lodge started, grew, fought for acceptance, and eventually gained it by giving up its independence. It is a unique story, as few bodies have managed to remove the stamp of being irregular.

Little research has been done on this topic and the history of this Grand Lodge, and not much of it has been published in English. By filling in these gaps we can gain a better understanding of how Freemasonry has developed in Denmark specifically,

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but also highlight an interesting chapter in the history of unrecognized and irregular Freemasonry.

Recognized Freemasonry in Denmark

To understand irregular Freemasonry in Denmark we must first examine Freemasonry through the recognized Grand Lodge, *Den Danske Frimurer Orden*, hereafter DDFO, which obtained its first charter from the Grand Lodge of England in 1745. This began in Denmark when the first lodge, *St Martin*, was founded in Copenhagen on 11 November 1743.¹ The lodge split in two shortly after the founding, which led to the creation of a new lodge in June 1744 with court official Georg Nielsen as Worshipful Master. This lodge was named *Zorobabel*, after the chief architect of the second temple. This lodge obtained a charter from London on 25 October 1745, issued by James, 6th Lord Cranston, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England 1745–47.² The lodge is still in existence, and is today known as *Zorobabel og Frederik til det Kronede Haab* ('Zorobabel and Frederick to the Crowned Hope').

In 1749 the Grand Lodge of England created the office of Provincial Grand Master of Denmark and Norway and appointed Count C. C. Danneskiold-Laurvig, who had held the office of Worshipful Master of *St Martin*, to that position.

The early years of Masonry in the country were disorderly. The lodges used a German variant of the English rite, and in 1765 they switched to the Rite of Strict Observance.³

By adopting the Rite of Strict Observance the Provincial Grand Lodge of Denmark and Norway that had been established some sixteen years earlier was abolished, and Denmark was placed under the VIIth Masonic Province of the Strict Observance. The adherence to the Rite of Strict Observance lasted until 1785, when the Rectified Rite was adopted instead.

The next major change in the rituals came in 1851, when a group of brethren founded the lodge *Kosmos* in Elsinore. At that time brethren from the northern part of Zealand had been visiting lodges in Sweden, and had attended lodges working the Swedish Rite. Not long after *Kosmos* had been established they sent an official petition to the Grand Master asking for permission to adopt the Swedish Rite, as it was seen to be a more well-developed, deep, and impressive system than the Rectified Rite they had been using.⁴

The Grand Master at the time, King Frederik VII, approved the petition by decree on 12 April 1852 after having received the higher degrees in Sweden from Crown Prince

¹ K. L. Bugge, *Den Danske Frimureres Historie* (Copenhagen: Br. N. C. Rom 1910), 59.

² R. Macoy, *General History, Cyclopaedia and Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Masonic Publishing Company, 1872), 36.

³ H. H. Jacobsen, *Systemer, organisation og udbredelse in I guld og himmelblaad* (Copenhagen: Den Danske Frimurerorden, 1993), 60.

⁴ Jacobsen, *I guld og himmelblaad*, 66.

Carl of Sweden and Norway. The official change happened in *Kosmos* on 24 June 1853, after the rituals had been translated into Danish. Many of the King's closest advisors had received the degrees of the Swedish Rite during travels abroad, and with the rite being worked in Denmark it quickly found a popularity and foothold that led to it being instituted as the official rite on 5 January 1855. At this point the lodge structures were also adjusted to fit the Swedish Rite, and an official Grand Lodge was established, though one had been operating unofficially for years.

By this time the Grand Lodge of Denmark had been established in the system that we know today with clear lineage to UGLE, and territorial jurisdiction over Denmark.

The Founding of the Irregular Order

The start of the irregular order of Freemasonry in Denmark began with the idea of some members of the *Nordic Independent Order of Good Templars*, hereafter NIOGT, which was founded in 1892 as a Danish branch of the American organization. This order's aim was to promote temperance and abstinence and to combat desires and vices. The order was built on a degree system, and borrowed heavily from the old Templar legends and various fraternal orders. This order attracted members who sought esoteric content, but these men were often disappointed when they found out that no attention was paid to esoteric knowledge and the mysteries. In 1919 several members of NIOGT, including A. A. Jensen, Max Müllertz, Axel Meyer, and K. P. Knudsen, came together to form an independent group that examined the possibility of starting an order or lodge that worked with Freemasonry or rituals of a Masonic origin.⁵ Through A. A. Jensen the group managed to get in contact with A. H. Rosendal, who was the keeper and owner of a defunct order of Freemasonry called *Rosenkorsridderordenen* ('Order of the Knights of the Rose Croix').

The order had seemingly been started in 1893, and in 1897 moved to Copenhagen and formed a lodge called *Lyset til de Ni hjerter* ('The Light to the Nine Hearts'). The work of this lodge was short-lived, and it ceased in 1905–06. However, A. A. Jensen, who had been initiated in 1901, still had his old contacts. After some negotiation the group managed to buy the order and rituals from A. H. Rosendal for 500 kroner. Due to the lineage of the order, Rosendal could not provide any charters or patents as part of the purchase.⁶

What exactly these rituals consisted of is unclear. All source materials describe them as being the first eighteen degrees of the Scottish Rite system, which would fit with the name the order chose, since the 18th degree is called Knight of the Rose Croix. Where

⁵ S. Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet irregulære og bedrageriske frimurer-riter samt det Danske vinkelfrimureri's historie i nutiden* (Copenhagen: Stig Andersen, 1931), 94.

⁶ Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet*, 96.

the documents came from, or which version of the Scottish Rite degrees they were, we do not know, but they are referenced as being handed over from French Masons.⁷

Having obtained the rituals and the order, the group continued outside the realm of NIOGT and managed to recruit members. On 11 August 1919 the lodge once again resumed working with Bro. A. A. Jensen acting as Worshipful Master. The lodge's growth was rapid, and over the next six months a further forty men were initiated into the order. Over the following four years the order continued to grow, mainly through advertisements in many of the country's leading newspapers. The lodge in Copenhagen reached 200 initiations, and a further ten lodges were set to work all over the country, though most of these did not last many years.⁸ As the order grew, the debate about regularity and charters started to arise from 1921. As part of the original agreement A. H. Rosendal had promised that he would supply A. A. Jensen and the others with regular charters, if the order ever reached 300 members. This was a promise that he could not keep, as Rosendal did not have these patents and no real way of obtaining them. As the situation became increasingly tense, the Masons sought assistance from one of their influential members, Carl William Hansen, also known as Ben Kadosh, who would come to play a key role in the future of the order.

Ben Kadosh

Carl William Hansen was born 11 October 1872 in Copenhagen. In 1898 he was initiated into the Order of Martinists by Baron Alphonse Walleen and took the name Ben Kadosh, as he would come to be known in esoteric circles. Kadosh was an eccentric. A thin man with a strange beard, he performed ritualistic magic so loudly at the top floor of his little dairy shop that his wife complained it scared away the customers below.⁹ But despite his peculiar tendencies and looks, Kadosh was one of the foremost Danish esoteric scholars during his time. In 1917 Kadosh was named as the Danish Delegate of the Order of Martinists. This title essentially made him head of the group in Denmark, though no actual order yet existed. He progressed further, and in September 1921 Theodore Reuss made him Xth degree of the *Ordo Templis Orientis*, also known as the O.T.O., and bestowed on him charters and rituals to work the irregular Memphis and Misraim system of Freemasonry, the O.T.O., *Fraternitas and Fratres Lucis Hermetica*, and a number of other esoteric and alchemical orders.¹⁰ Reuss has been established as a well-known peddler of various irregular Masonic and esoteric systems, and is today gen-

⁷ Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet*, 94.

⁸ 'Storlogen af Danmark', *Frimureren 25 år, Frimureren*, special volume, November 15 1956, 11.

⁹ B. Salling, *Early Danish O.T.O. History*, 1999, 2.

¹⁰ Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet*, 121

erally considered to have been a charlatan.¹¹ So these charters were from the beginning very dubious in origin.

Stor Orienten af Danmark og Norden is Formed

Whether legitimately or not, Ben Kadosh was a well-connected and well-documented brother, especially to people who knew little about Masonic lineage. The brethren turned to him in early 1921 to have their problems with legitimacy and charters solved. At that point Kadosh was working on obtaining other charters and rituals for himself, and he came to the aid of his brethren. He obtained a French Masonic charter issued by the *Grand Orient Pour La France*, who worked the Cernau system of Freemasonry, dated 17 June 1921. This gave the brethren the right to work, organize, and institute the Scottish Rite system up to the 18th degree. These charters were issued by the *Grand Orient's* Grand Master, Jean Bricaud, an associate of Theodore Reuss. This charter was followed by others, and by 21 July the same year, they had charters from the same *Grand Orient* for the remaining degrees up to the 33rd, and a charter naming sixteen brethren as a Supreme Council of 33rd degree Masons. With these charters the brethren officially created the Grand Lodge, *Stor-Orienten for Danmark og Norden* ('Grand Orient for Denmark and the Nordic countries'), hereafter SODN, which was officially constituted on 15 January 1922. Lastly, Bro. A. A. Jensen also received a charter granting him the right to form new lodges in the Nordic countries in his capacity as Grand Master.¹² For a while these steps and charters quelled the rumblings amongst the brethren, as it was most unlikely that they were aware that the papers held no merit and they still were not regular.

The order had been focusing on raising capital to secure a building for administration and for the individual lodges in Copenhagen. Accordingly they purchased a building at 33 Smallegade in 1922. Unfortunately the first Grand Master of the order, A. A. Jensen, never saw that come to fruition, as he had passed away earlier that year. Before his passing he named as his successor Charles Leisner, but he only served two short years until 1924, when one of the original brothers from NIOGT, Max Müllertz, took over as Grand Master.

Amidst all these changes the situation with the Grand Lodge's benefactor, Ben Kadosh, also deteriorated, as Grand Master Jensen and Kadosh did not get along very well. It eventually came to a break between Kadosh and SODN, who were allowed to keep their Cernau charter from the *Grand Orient Pour La France*, while Kadosh took all his other charters with him. Kadosh was not content just to sit idly by, and in 1923 he started invoking his authority as the head of the Order of Martinists in Denmark.

¹¹ E. Howe and H. Møller, 'Theodor Reuss: Irregular Freemasonry in Germany, 1900-23', *AQC* 91 (1978), 28-76.

¹² 'Storlogen af Danmark', *Frimureren* 25 år, 11

Through his old friend Jean Bricaud he founded an order called the *Grand Orient de la vrais et haute Maconnerie esoterique et gnostique du Danemark*, and started the lodge *Sphinxen*. The lodge presented itself as primarily a Martinist lodge, though its members were known to dabble in anything and everything from ancient Egyptian and Hermetic teachings to practical magic, horoscopes, and supposed Templar rites.¹³

The order did not gain many members, but did serve two purposes that would come to impact on the irregular Freemasonry in Denmark. Firstly, the lodge *Sphinxen* continued to meet at the Grand Lodge building at 33 Smallegade, keeping Kadosh close to the irregular Masonic lodges and their members. Secondly, it was where he met Grundal Sjalling, who would in time come to play an important part. Sjalling received his initial degrees in the co-Masonic order, *Le Droit Humain*, and later joined SODN at Smallegade as a member. But he quickly managed to fall out with the Grand Master, Max Müllertz, and ended up joining *Sphinxen* instead, where he became a close confidante to Kadosh.¹⁴

Den Danske Stor Orient

In 1924 Ben Kadosh realized that the members of *Sphinxen* were not interested in the Martinist and esoteric teachings he was offering, but that their primary interest lay with Freemasonry and Masonic teachings under a regular charter. This led Kadosh to follow his previous models, and he started working on acquiring yet another charter in an effort to practice regular Freemasonry. Once again he was successful, and on 26 May 1924 he obtained a charter from another irregular organization, the *Grande Oriente Italiano degli antichi ed accettati Liberi Muratori, Zenith di Roma*, issued by Eduardo Fronsini and his Chancellor Arnolfo de Michaelis.¹⁵ The charter gave Kadosh and *Sphinxen* the right to work the first three degrees, but was quickly followed up by another one on 3 June that authorized two things: the establishment of a new Grand Lodge to work the first three degrees and the Scottish Rite High Degrees, as well as the right to form new lodges and bodies within all these degrees. The members of *Sphinxen* were pleased, and at a meeting on 11 June 1924 the brethren decided to close down the old *Grand Orient de la vrais et haute Maconnerie esoterique et gnostique du Danemark* and use the Italian charter to open a new Masonic Grand lodge: *Den Danske Stor Orient* ('The Danish Grand Orient') hereafter DDSO. This new Grand Lodge was set to work on 1 September 1924 and at the same time all the property, roster, rituals, and members from

¹³ Lomholt, *Vinkeltrimureriet*, 116.

¹⁴ Lomholt, *Vinkeltrimureriet*, 108.

¹⁵ Lomholt, *Vinkeltrimureriet*, 132.

Sphinxen were transferred over to DDSO. Two weeks later the first lodge, *De Tre Søjler* ('The Three Pillars'), was set to labour working in the first three degree of Freemasonry.¹⁶

To a Masonic audience this situation is absurd. In the timespan of about five years a Grand Lodge had been set to work and then changed its charter. Another Grand Lodge in the Order of Martinists had been started, worked for a year, and then closed itself down before morphing into another new Grand Lodge, based on yet another dubious charter. As if the chaotic history of the lodges was not enough, all of these events took place under the same roof at 33 Smallegade, and were largely orchestrated by the same man, Ben Kadosh.

Despite the many changes the members asked few questions, and it is very plausible that they did not pay much attention to the authenticity of the various charters or where they came from, as long as everything appeared legitimate and they got to attend a Masonic lodge.

With the new lodge, *De Tre Søjler*, and their Grand Lodge in place Kadosh and Sjallung began their work. Over the next four years they started three more lodges in major Danish cities, and on 27 December 1927 the constitution of the Supreme Council of the 33rd degree for Denmark was established.¹⁷

Kadosh treated Sjallung as an apprentice, advancing him in the degrees. He quickly became 33rd degree in the Scottish Rite, 95th degree in the Memphis-Misraim system and IXth degree in the O.T.O., at least with the versions of them that Kadosh bestowed upon him. He was made a Grand Lodge officer of DDSO, and operated as Kadosh's second in command.¹⁸

Merger into *Storlogen af Danmark*

In spite of all the effort obtaining charters and returning to regular Freemasonry, two Grand Lodges under the same roof practising Freemasonry did not prove to be a viable and fertile situation.

In 1928 Sjallung began to work on uniting the two Grand Lodges under a common set of rituals and constitutions, which would fulfill the requirements of regularity around the world. On 14 April 1929 SODN and DDSO merged to form *Storlogen af Danmark* ('The Grand Lodge of Denmark'), hereafter SAD, with Sjallung as Grand Secretary and Max Müllertz as Grand Master. The constitution had been prepared by Sjallung and followed the model of the United Grand Lodge of England much closer than before. The rituals, which came to be known as *Ritus Hauniensis* or 'The Copenhagen Rite', had also largely been written by Sjallung. Though Sjallung had been careful in copying the con-

¹⁶ Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet*, 117–19.

¹⁷ Br. Neutralis, *Frimurerorganisationer i Danmark Frimurertidende*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1928, 11.

¹⁸ Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet*, 121.

stitution, the setting up of the Grand Lodge, and similar things from UGLE, in order to ensure that everything corresponded with how a regular Grand Lodge worked, he took another approach when it came to the rituals. Building upon the English Emulation rite as the foundation, Sjallung included ritualistic elements from several other rites, such as a candle lightning ceremony used by *Le Droit Humain*, elemental trials in the Entered Apprentice degree (which was taken from the Scottish Rite's first degree), and proclamations mainly seen in DDFO. Why he took this approach in a process that was aimed at streamlining things and emulating regularity seems strange. Sjallung clearly knew enough about Masonic rituals for this not to be a mistake, and it can only be seen as an attempt to create what he considered to be an improved Masonic ritual. In the introduction to the ritual itself Sjallung writes that he added '...the most valuable parts of other rituals...' to what he considered a '...very simple ritual...' ¹⁹ These choices have meant that the Copenhagen Rite is a unique Masonic ritual, as it is a true tapestry of what Sjallung considered best from various sources.

With the creation of SAD the goal was legitimacy; to quell any remaining rumblings that the lodge was unrecognized and irregular. It was clear that the brethren knew that it would be difficult to succeed with this endeavour, but they were determined to get their setup correct, and thereby gain official recognition from the Masonic community. The leadership in SAD were aware that their major stumbling block to legitimacy was the lack of charters and lineage that would tie them back to the Grand Lodge of England, but Sjallung had plans to address this issue as well.

Under this fourth attempt at a Grand Lodge setup, the internal strife and discussions died down, and the brethren finally gained traction. During a meeting of Grand Lodges in Germany, where Sjallung and Müllertz participated as the official representatives from SAD, they met representatives from the *Suprême Conseil de France*, the French version of the Scottish Rite, working under the *Grand Orient De France*, who introduced them to Jacques Maréchal, who was Grand Secretary of this Supreme Council, and would later go on to become their Grand Commander. It should be mentioned that the *Grand Orient De France* fell out with many Grand Lodges in 1877, due to their interpretation of the Masonic requirement for a belief in deity and a Volume of Sacred Law being required on the altar. This meant that in 1929 this Grand Lodge was considered irregular.

Sjallung and Müllertz became friendly with the French representatives, and shortly thereafter invited them to Denmark for a thorough investigation of SAD's constitution, rituals, and workings. During their visit the French Masons concluded that the setup of SAD was in accordance with the Ancient Landmarks, which were required for a regular

¹⁹ 'Storlogen af Danmark', *Ritus Hauniensis* (Copenhagen: Storlogen af Danmark, 1929) IX.

Craft Masonry Grand Lodge. With this decision the French brethren agreed to sponsor a reconstitution.

The idea was to admit nine Danish brethren under the *Suprême Conseil de France* as 33rd degree members, and thereby have them become regular Masons, but also 33rd degree members. As such these brethren would be able to constitute lodges and claim sovereignty under the ancient custom that if no Grand Lodge was present in an area, one could be constituted by several lodges coming together.

On 2 October 1930 the plan was presented to all Craft and High Degree lodges in SAD, and accepted by all. During 1931 the brethren went to France to obtain the degrees, and the internal lodge structures were established, reconstituted, and amended to fit the new structure.²⁰

Though the lodges managed to gain members, within Denmark the attitude remained that all these organizations were irregular. In Masonic circles the debate about SAD reigned throughout the 1920s. There were regular debates and articles in various Danish newspapers regarding the group. Many of the articles accused Sjallung and the leadership of being swindlers and con artists, only creating the organizations to benefit themselves financially, though there is little evidence of this. The allegations were of such a nature that SAD in 1929 sued the newspaper *Morgenbladet* for libel and defamation of character.²¹

Interestingly enough, the one organization that seemed to say very little about these lodges was the recognized Grand Lodge, *Den Danske Frimurer Orden*. Throughout the years nothing was ever written about the various versions of the irregular Grand Lodges in their membership magazines and publications. DDFO upheld fraternal relations with regular Grand Lodges and handled international inquiries about the clandestine bodies in this way, but they never seemed to have concerned themselves directly with the debates. It is however hard to believe that this is not a subject that was discussed rigorously inside DDFO, and was likely to have been a cause of frustration.

The motivations that drove these men to continue their efforts is something we can only speculate on, as no written material has been left explaining it further. Examining what we have, it is clear that a certain level of ego and righteousness drove Sjallung, Kadosh, and other of the Grand Lodge officers, but it is also very likely that they truly believed that they were just in their endeavours, and that it was DDFO that had broken with regular Freemasonry by the adoption of the Swedish Rite. In all the debates Sjallung and others claimed that since DDFO practised the Swedish Rite of Freemasonry, and did not adhere to the Ancient Landmarks regarding inclusion of members of all faiths, the territory of Denmark was open to be claimed by a Grand Lodge working normal

²⁰ Storlogen af Danmark, *Frimureren* 25 år, 12–14.

²¹ Lomholt, *Vinkelfrimureriet*, 169.

Craft Masonry. This formed a cornerstone in their arguments for regularity, and in the late 1920s in almost every issue of their membership publication, *Frimureren*, Sjallung had an article arguing for their regularity, though he published under the pseudonym 'Br. Neutralis'.²² However this argument was never accepted, and in no other instance has the use or choice of ritual opened up for a territory to have two Grand Lodges established. The nuances of Swedish Rite Freemasonry versus Craft Masonry were of little interest to other Grand Lodges when considering recognition. Grand lodges as a whole were unwilling to listen to the arguments of what they considered an upstart group.

The Second Version of *Storlogen af Danmark*

15 November 1931 was the day the Grand Lodge itself was reconstituted. At the meeting S. Neumann, the delegate for foreign affairs and fraternal relations from the *Suprême Conseil de France*, was present. The conclave proceed to proclaim and S. Neumann agreed that:

All delegates at the meeting were regular and correctly accepted Freemasons.
All lodges were correctly constituted based on the Ancient Landmarks in general and the Scottish Rite Constitution in particular.
All representatives had a valid authorization from their lodges to join in creating a new Grand Lodge.

The convention and the representatives thereafter declared that since there was no other Grand Lodge in Denmark which adhered to the Ancient Landmarks, and worked Ancient Craft Masonry as required by the United Grand Lodge of England's principles, and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Lausanne declaration, they were free to (re)constitute themselves as a Grand Lodge. They took the name *Storlogen af Danmark af Gamle Frie og Antagne Murere* ('Grand Lodge of Denmark of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons') hereafter SAD GF&AM.²³

On behalf of the *Suprême Conseil de France* the French representative declared that the action was regular and correct. He further stated that that the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite also considered it acceptable to start new lodges and Grand Lodges in a territory where no body working under these rites existed, so the reconstitution was considered legitimate.

After this the convention voted to accept the laws, rituals, coat of arms, and officers of the new Grand Lodge, and followed with an official installation of them in their offices.²⁴

²² Br. Neutralis, *Regularitet. Er den Danske stor-orient reguler? Frimurertidende*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1929, 45.

²³ Storlogeraadet, *Storlogens Konvent og Installationsmøde, Latomia Daniae*, Vol. 1, No 1, 1931, 5.

²⁴ *Storlogen af Danmark, Frimureren*, 15.

When examining this reconstitution for merit, it should be noted as earlier mentioned that the *Grand Orient De France* was in 1930 considered irregular by most Grand Lodges in the world. Though SAD GF&AM did follow the Ancient Landmarks, Masonic protocol still does not allow irregular Grand Lodges to charter a regular lodge or Grand Lodge. It was also clear that the various versions of their Scottish Rite Supreme Council were never accepted as regular. The Transactions of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite reported in both 1925 and 1931 that SAD GF&AM was considered irregular, and that they only recognized DDFO in the country.²⁵ Even if all other requirements had been met, there was still the issue of lack of territorial sovereignty. With *Den Danske Frimurer Orden* (DDFO) established long before any of these organizations saw the light of day, Denmark was not available as a territory to be claimed. An argument could be made that with the reconstitution in 1931 SAD GF&AM gained a correct lineage, as the *Grand Orient De France* technically had proper lineage. However they were still to be considered unrecognized owing to their territorial infringement in Denmark.

The 1930s and 1940s were difficult years for Masonry in Denmark in general and also for SAD GF&AM. The Great Depression spread from the United States to Europe, which meant that fewer members joined the lodges, and the growth was stifled. Nevertheless the active lodges in SAD GF&AM carried on and efforts were spent on trying to build relationships with Grand Lodges abroad. With the coming of the Second World War and the occupation the lodges went dark in 1943. This lasted until late in 1945 when the work was resumed.²⁶

Significant changes in the lodges did not occur again until 1954, when the work on reconstituting the Supreme Council of Denmark resumed. A process similar to how the blue lodges and the associated Grand Lodge had gained supposed lineage and regularity needed to be carried out for the High Degrees, in order to make them regular. At the reconstitution by the *Suprême Conseil de France* the Danish brethren managed to set up a Chapter of the Rose Croix and a Consistory, but an actual Supreme Council of the 33rd degree was not set to work. In 1954 only six of the original brethren who had received the 33rd degree remained. The relationship with the *Suprême Conseil de France* had deteriorated, so it was no longer feasible to get their assistance with the setting up of the Supreme Council of the 33rd degree. Instead SAD GF&AM sought assistance from Germany and their Scottish Rite bodies, who agreed to assist. The reconstitution took more time than expected, as it involved having enough brethren obtain degrees up to the 33rd through several visits to Germany. After four years it was complete, and on

²⁵ Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, *Transactions* (Supreme Council of 33rd degree, 1925 & 1931), 80 & 133.

²⁶ L. T. Jørgensen, *Det Danske Frimurerlaugs historie* (Copenhagen: Sit Lux), 38.

21 July 1958 the Supreme Council of the 33rd degree of Denmark was created. As part of the final setup the Supreme Council also relinquished their control over the first three degrees, and gave them completely over to SAD GF&AM and their independent Grand Lodge structure, though that was how the lodges had been operating for years. This was again a clear attempt to mimic the structures seen around the world from regular bodies.²⁷

After so many years of work the initial plan the brethren had started back in 1919 came to fruition; they now had a fully-functioning blue lodge system conferring the first three degrees within a Grand Lodge structure, and a High Degree system working the Scottish Rite degrees up to the 33rd. Their constitutions were as close as possible to the ones used in the Grand Lodge of England and Scottish Rite Supreme Councils around the world. Their blue lodge ritual was based on Emulation work from UGLE, the Scottish Rite degrees being copied from France and Germany. The brethren believed their mission was accomplished and a prosperous future lay ahead. Unfortunately for them problems lay waiting over the horizon.

In spite of the appearance of regularity none of the structure was in accordance with Masonic regulations and tradition, and both UGLE and DDFO considered them to be unrecognized and irregular. However, Sjallung in his role as Grand Secretary continued to portray the illusion of regularity through active communication with various Grand Lodges. At the 25th anniversary in 1956 SAD GF&AM had fraternal relations with many Grand Lodges around the world, especially in the United States of America, who knew nothing of their history.

But as international travel and communication increased amongst brethren, it became increasingly clear to many Grand Lodges around the world, as well as to SAD GF&AM's own members, that their legitimacy was not in order. Brethren were being denied entrance to lodges abroad, and the unrest that SAD and Sjallung had tried to silence for over twenty years, and through different reorganizations, would not go away.

The Merger with *Den Danske Frimurer Orden*

Behind the scenes forces inside SAD GF&AM and DDFO had been in contact with each other since 1952, and soft discussions had taken place about a possible solution to this difficult and unresolved situation.²⁸ SAD GF&AM had the desire of keeping Craft Masonry, as well as their independence, whilst at the same time gaining legitimacy. DDFO wished to remove a decades-long source of frustration. These talks continued, and in 1957 a committee of three Masons was formed in SAD GF&AM to explore a potential merger with DDFO and start negotiations. In November 1958, only five

²⁷ Jørgensen, *Det Danske Frimurerlaugs historie*, 41.

²⁸ P. Nielsen, *Storlogen af Danmark og dens tilblivelse* (Copenhagen: Transactions Sit Lux, 2013), 43.

months after the restructure of the Supreme Council was complete, the first draft for an agreement was ready to be discussed within the organizations.

This naturally caused a lot of concern with the brethren of SAD GF&AM, and particularly the members of their Scottish Rite. The Supreme Council was outraged, most members fearing that there would be no room for the Scottish Rite degrees, should a merger take place, as DDFO already had their own High Degree system through the Swedish Rite. However the Supreme Council and their members had no power within the structures of SAD GF&AM, and could not stop the negotiations from continuing.

At the Grand Lodge meeting in April 1959 a draft proposal for a merger was presented to the representatives from the lodges, and Past Grand Master Rahbeck Østergaard read and commented on the twenty-four paragraphs that would outline the relationship between DDFO and the SAD GF&AM. In part the document stated that SAD GF&AM would cease their work as an independent Grand Lodge and instead become subject to the Grand Lodge of Denmark as an independent St John's Lodge Union called *Frimurerlauget af Gamle, Frie og Antagne Murere* ('The Masonic Guild of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons') led by their own Union Council with a Union Master, not unlike what we see in a Provincial Grand Lodge.

The essence of the agreement was that in exchange for joining under DDFO and giving up their independence and self proclaimed Grand Lodge title, SAD GF&AM would retain the individual lodges' independence, run their own finances, select a (Grand) Union Master and Council to run the Union and retain the present rituals for the first three degrees, for Grand Lodge ceremonies, installation of officers and so forth. Additionally the lodges would cease their affiliation with the Supreme Council and any other High Degree systems outside of DDFO and the Swedish rite. The members would gain access to the DDFO High Degrees, if they fulfilled membership requirements. The new association would also stop any international correspondence with any Grand Lodge or foreign body, unless this had been approved by DDFO.

After the meeting the internal debate in SAD GF&AM continued with several meetings in the local lodges and Grand Lodge meetings, as well as meetings with DDFO. The mood was split within the lodges, but the majority saw the agreement as favourable, and the prospect of finally gaining regularity was appealing to many brethren.

On 8 October 1960 the final Grand Lodge meeting was set to debate and vote on the possible affiliation, which in the end resulted in 52 for affiliation and 16 against. On 14 October SAD GF&AM officially announced to DDFO that the proposed agreement had been ratified.²⁹ The final agreement was signed on 3 December 1960, and the affiliation officially came into effect on 1 January 1961, when SAD GF&AM ceased to exist,

²⁹ Jørgensen, *Det Danske Frimurerlaugs historie*, 44.

and instead *Frimurerlauget af Gamle, Frie og Antagne Murere* began.³⁰ Of course a small number of brethren and lodges did not accept the vote. Led by Grundal Sjalling and other members of the Supreme Council, a number of lodges and members broke away and continued in a very reduced version of the previous bodies that still retained the original names.

Despite the initial concerns the union between the lodges worked, and instantly removed a multitude of problems that had lingered for over half a century. Many good Masons and lodges gained lineage, regularity, and recognition. DDFO resolved a tenuous situation and affirmed their place, as well as the Swedish rite, as the only Grand Lodge and High Degree system in Denmark.

The Irregular Grand Lodges' Claim to Regularity

The irregular Grand Lodges established during the period were:

- 1919 – Taking over the demised *Rosenkorsridderorden*
- 1922 – *Stor-Orienten for Danmark og Norden* (SODN)
- 1923 – *Grand Orient de la vrais et haute Maconnerie esoterique et gnostique du Danemark*
- 1924 – *Den Danske Stor Orient* (DDSO)
- 1929 – *Storlogen af Danmark* (SAD)
- 1931 – *Storlogen af Danmark af Gamle Frie og Antagne Murere* (SAD GF&AM)
- 1961 – Merged with DDFO as *Frimurerlauget af Gamle, Frie og Antagne Murere*

Looking at the requirements, it is obvious that the many early attempts at setting up a Grand Lodge did not conform to the requirements of regularity. The legitimacy of origin not only requires the Masons themselves to be regular, but also requires the lodges they form to be regular, in order to come together to make a regular Grand Lodge. Neither of the charters obtained by Kadosh for SODN and DDSO had any merit and were clearly clandestine in origin, being supplied by Masonic swindlers, Theodore Reuss and Eduardo Frosini. The 1923 organization was a Martinist and Masonic mixture of an organization and died out quickly, so it is of little consequence. It could possibly have been regular as a Martinist order, but not as Masonic one.

SAD is where we see the first glimmer of hope of regularity, and a possible stop to the unsatisfactory lineage. Formed by the merger of SODN with DDSO, it initially had no lineage or claim to legitimacy from any required body. It may have been a situation of several lodges coming together, but, with all of them being clandestine, their merger could not right the wrong. However the later version of SAD GF&AM took serious steps to ensure that they complied with the customs of regularity. By first (re)

³⁰ O. Kjeldsen, *Den Danske Store Landsloge 1858-1983* (Copenhagen: Den Danske Frimurerorden, 1983), 24.

initiating the members into the *Grand Orient De France* they felt they had removed the mark of being clandestine and now had proper lineage. Further, by invoking the rules from United Grand Lodge of England and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite's Lausanne declaration they believed they had fulfilled the customs on how a Grand Lodge could be formed. It could be argued that they were correct. The members had spent over ten years becoming familiar with the requirements and regulations of regularity. They had taken the necessary steps in the drafting of constitutions, rituals and so forth, to ensure that the procedures were correct and thereby no longer irregular. This again to a certain extent is true.

Nevertheless the major issue of territorial sovereignty still existed with DDFO being in place, and no debate regarding the choice of ritual could remove that fact. The organization might have stopped being clandestine, but it could not be considered regular.

The real debate about regularity must lie in the question of whether the merger with DDFO made SAD GF&AM regular and gave them lineage. One could claim that clandestine Masons raised in a clandestine lodge could not suddenly become regular just by the stroke of a signature, but the issue is not that simple. Essentially, the core question comes down to the old custom that a Grand Lodge and especially a Grand Master is sovereign and autonomous within his jurisdiction to a very large extent. He owes allegiance only to the Ancient Landmarks and the Law of the Grand Lodge. If a Grand Master declared that SAD GF&AM being included into DDFO as a subsidiary body was regular (which in the end happened), then his word was law. As SAD GF&AM fulfilled the necessary requirements besides lineage, joining in under DDFO solved that problem. It was also not least due to the fact that they also gave up their claim to be a Grand Lodge, which had been the largest point of contention throughout the years.

The Danish Lodges Today

In 2017, over fifty years after the union between the two bodies, it is evident that the union was a success. Both bodies achieved their desired goals. The irregular body managed to maintain its independence, rituals and autonomous working. The joint agreement has been updated several times throughout the years. In 1984 SAD changed their name to *Det Danske Frimurerlaug af Gamle, Frie og antagne Murere*, hereafter DDFL, as it is called today.

The choice of ritual, *Ritus Hauniensis*, was reviewed within DDFL, as it was found to be too exotic a mixture of various Masonic rites. And in 1991 the Danish Ritual for Craft Freemasonry was instituted in all the lodges under DDFL replacing *Ritus Hauniensis*.³¹

³¹ A. P. Tage, *Danske Laugsritualer efter 1929* (Copenhagen: Transactions Sit Lux, 2014) 34.

DDFL has grown as an organization both in members and the number of lodges. In addition to joining the Swedish Rite High degrees under DDFO, brethren also gained access to the Royal Arch degree through DDFL. The union was equally successful for DDFO. They have remained the sole recognized Grand Lodge in Denmark, and have a path for members of all religions to become Freemasons in the country, either through the Swedish Rite with its Christian requirement, or through normal Craft Masonry in DDFL, which accepts all religions.

Both bodies of Freemasonry have clearly gained benefit from the union and a focus on the Masonic tenets, instead of strife regarding irregularity. The wisdom and foresight which prevailed in 1960 has carried through, and there is little reason to suspect that this should not continue for a long time in the future.

