

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF FREEMASONRY IN THE NETHERLANDS: HISTORY, DESTRUCTION, CONSERVATION.

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Of all the different organizations that can be categorized as western esoteric, freemasonry has a particularly rich material culture, encompassing architecture; interior design and furniture; ritual, decorative and domestic objects; works of art; books and illustrated manuscripts. This material culture is characterized by the use of a particular symbolism in form and decoration: the use of a specific iconography, related to the myths and rituals of freemasonry. It is this combination of design, iconography and ritual elements, which makes the material culture of freemasonry so fascinating. The study of this complex heritage requires an interdisciplinary approach, combining perspectives from art history, anthropology, social and religious studies.

This paper will provide a short introduction into the history of lodge buildings in the Netherlands, their destruction during World War II, and the problems currently affecting the conservation of the remaining masonic monuments in the Netherlands. During the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries not one, but a number of different masonic organizations have been active. This paper focuses on the material heritage of the eldest (masculine) organization, the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands (Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootosten der Nederlanden), founded in 1735.¹

Masonic ritual and symbolism

Freemasonry crossed the Channel from Great Britain in an early stage in its development. Masonic activities were already recorded in Rotterdam in 1720-1721² and the first Grand Lodge in the Netherlands was formally established in The Hague in 1735. Freemasons were organized in local clubs, called lodges, each with a democratically chosen chairman (Master of the Lodge) and a national board of representatives. A candidate was initiated in the degrees (initiation levels) of Apprentice, Fellow of the Craft and Master Mason, usually over a period of several years. The initiation rituals took place in an enclosed space, which was called lodge or workplace ('werkplaats').³

Building symbolism is a central theme in the rituals of freemasonry. For instance, a candidate is symbolized by a rough stone, which needs to be shaped into a perfect cube, to be used in the symbolic building of Solomon's Temple. The ritual of the degree of Master Mason evolves around the myth of Hiram Abiff, who according to masonic legend was the overseer of the building works of Solomon's Temple and met a violent death. The Hira-

mic myth is probably inspired by the biblical figure of Hiram of Tyrus, the copper worker, who was sent to king Solomon by his namesake, king Hiram van Tyrus, to assist in the building works.⁴ The ritual of the degree of Master Mason is in fact a reenactment of the Hiramic myth, which involves the symbolic death and rebirth of the candidate.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the interior of the masonic lodge was decorated as a stage for the reenactment of this and other myths. The wall and ceiling decorations served as a decor, the furniture and ritual objects as props, and ritual clothing and regalia as costumes. To fully understand the decoration of a masonic lodge and the function of its furnishings, one needs to make a detailed study of the complex rituals and their symbolism.

The earliest images of lodge interiors

18th-century lodge archives show that the earliest Dutch lodges gathered in rented rooms in inns and club buildings, which provided the possibility to share a meal afterwards. A room was decorated and furnished before each meeting. After the ceremony the set and props had to be dismantled and put in storage, in order to maintain secrecy.

The earliest depiction of a Dutch lodge interior is believed to be a drawing by Jacob Maes Dirksz, made after a visit to the lodge *Le Veritable Zèle* in The Hague in 1735.⁵ It shows the Chair of the Master of the lodge and a cabinet. A similar chair is depicted on the famous print *Les Free Massons* (1736) by Louis Fabrice Dubourg (1693-1775)⁶, which may show part of the furniture of the Amsterdam lodge *De La Paix* (fig. 1).⁷ The carved back of these chairs depicted a sun, moon and globe. During the initiation ritual, the candidate would be in front of the Master of the Lodge at the moment his blindfold is taken away. He would then see the sun, the moon and the Master, in reference to the masonic text: 'As the Sun rules the day, & the Moon the night: so the Master governs the Lodge'.⁸ These chairs are similar to the commemorative and ceremonial chairs of guilds, clerics and royalty, traditionally used in Great Britain.⁹ It shows the influence of British freemasonry on the earliest developments in the Netherlands.

18th-century manuscript rituals show that the placement of furniture and the decoration of the lodge developed into a fixed pattern. Every object had its own place and symbolic meaning during the initiation ceremony. As can be seen in a series of seven engravings *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la réception des Maîtres* (1745), the action centered around the tracing board (fig. 2). A tracing board is a depiction of the most important symbols of the particular masonic degree. It was supposed to be drawn on the floor and destroyed after each ceremony, but for convenience sake a permanent version was often used, such as a painting or tapestry. Other essential elements in the setting are the three candles around the tracing board, which symbolize the masonic triad Wisdom, Strength and Beauty. The chair of the



Fig 1. Detail of Louis Fabrice Dubourg (1693-1775), Les Free Massons, copper engraving, published in Cérémonies et coutumes (...) dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart, Vol. IV, 1736.

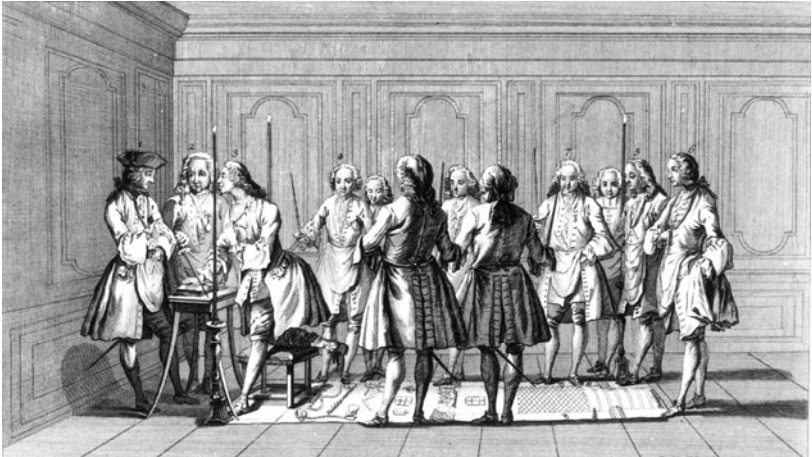


Fig. 2. A candidate taking the oath during his reception as a freemason, copper engraving from the series by Johann Martin Bernigeroth, Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la réception des Maîtres, 1745.

Master of the Lodge is located in the (symbolical) east of the lodge. In front of him is a small table with a Bible, square and compasses, which had the function of an altar. Later, an actual altar was placed between the table of the Master of the Lodge and the Tracing Board.

The chair of the Master of the Lodge was often decorated like a throne, with an elevation and a silk canopy, as can be seen on a design for the throne of the lodge La Vertu in Leiden, dating from 1769. A design for a new throne for the same lodge in 1775, shows a construction reminiscent of the facade of a temple. The walls are decorated with the personifications of Concord, Silence, Wisdom and Friendship. The scholar P.H. Pott pointed out that the throne was no longer a status symbol for the Master of the Lodge, but had developed a symbolism of its own. It now represented the entrance of the *Temple de la Sagesse et de la Vertu*, a concept depicted in masonic prints and decorations from c. 1770 onwards.¹⁰

From rented rooms to masonic halls

By the end of the 18th century the number of freemasons and lodges in Dutch cities had risen substantially. Lodges could now afford to rent or buy their own buildings. This meant that the lodge no longer risked exposure by innkeepers and secrecy could be maintained. The use of permanent accommodation also allowed for a more permanent decoration of the lodge.

The columns with the initials J and B, which had originally only been depicted on tracing boards, somehow materialized into real columns at the entrance of the lodge. These represented the columns in front of Solomon's Temple: *Jachin* on the right and *Boaz* on the left.¹¹ The draperies that previously had been used to decorate walls, were replaced with wall paintings. For instance, the Amsterdam lodge La Charité commissioned a new decoration for its lodge building on the Nieuwendijk in 1802 from a lodge member, the artist Jacques Kuijper (1761-1808).¹² His designs for six wall panels and a throne were executed by another lodge member, the painter Jan Kamphuijsen (1760-1841). His notes describe the design as:

[...] a temple of Solomon, supported by 28 Columns of Lapis Lazuli, decorated with golden bases and capitals; and allegorical designs of Wisdom, Strength and Beauty, the four points of the compass: South, West and North, with the throne in the East, and an Angel or Cherub on each side; the other four sections decorated with palm trees.¹³

He further describes allegorical decorations relating to the initiation rituals. Such paintings could be used to instruct new members in masonic symbolism. Ever present in the lodge, they served the brethren as a constant reminder of freemasonry's ideals.

A series of undated *trompe l'oeuil* designs for the Rotterdam lodge De Eendragt were made by a yet unidentified artist (fig. 3).¹⁴ They are

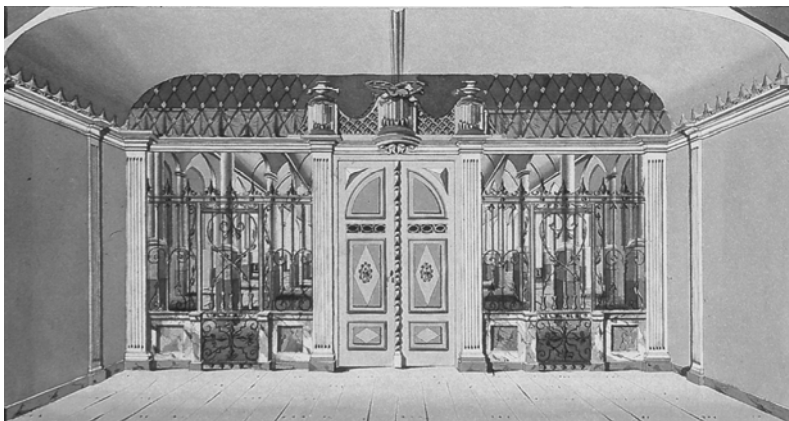


Fig. 3. Design for 'trompe l'oeuil' wall painting for lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, watercolor, early 19th century. Reproduced with kind permission of the Rotterdam Municipal Archive.

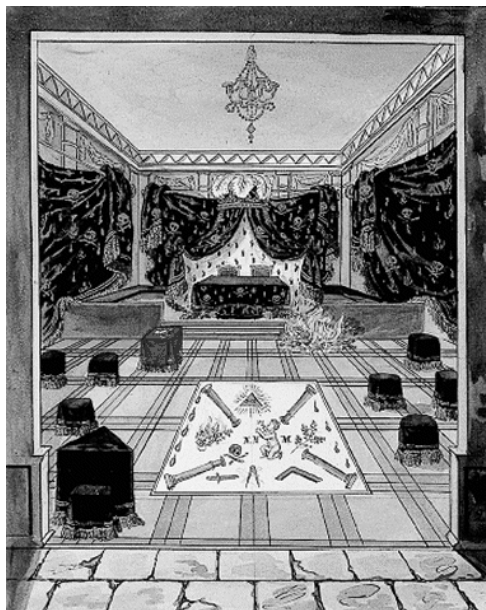


Fig. 4. Lodge decoration for the degree of Grand Maitre Architecte, watercolor in Rite Ecossais Ancien et Accepté, décorations et coutumes, c. 1815. Collection C.M.C. 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from a postcard.

cleverly designed to transform a small room in a lodge building into a hall, which is part of a huge temple or cathedral. We do not know if these designs were actually executed, the case deserves to be studied further.

During the 18th century several 'higher' masonic degrees were developed. Manuscript rituals in the collection of the Grand East, such as the 18th-century *Maçonnerie des Hommes* and the early 19th-century *Rite Ecosais Ancien et Accepté, décorations et coutumes*¹⁵, include illustrations of the ideal decoration of the lodge for each degree (fig. 4). Some of these designs depict grotto's, landscapes and fires that were meant to be built as scenery in the lodge room.

Around 1800 the material culture of freemasonry really came to flourish. Many objects in the domestic and private sphere, from fire screens to cigarette cases, were decorated with masonic symbols. It illustrates that membership of a lodge was rather fashionable at the time, something you were proud to show in private circles. This indicates that freemasonry was quite visible and accepted in society.

Geometrical symbolism

During the 19th century, lodge interiors were opulently decorated with brightly colored silk and velvet with gold and silver furnishings. An example is the interior of the building of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam [depicted on the cover of this publication, top right – eds.]. The building of lodge Sint Lodewijk in Nijmegen was even decorated in Egyptian style [see the article by Warmenbol elsewhere in the publication – eds.]. After 1900 these decorations became less elaborate, and by the 1920s and 1930s they followed the international Art Deco style and clean, geometrical lines of modern design. This style was used in the building of the lodge De Friesche Trouw in Leeuwarden, and that of the lodge De Nordstar in Alkmaar.¹⁶

In 1931 the Stichting Ritus en Tempelbouw (Foundation for Rites and Temple Building) was formed. This masonic organization propagated the use of 'pure' form in the decoration of lodges. Amongst the board members were the well-known architects Jan Wils (1891-1972), H.A.J. Baanders (1876-1953) and A.H. Wegerif (1888-1963), whose ideas had a profound influence within the Order.¹⁷ Masonic symbolism was now often 'hidden', to be discovered in the proportions of the lodge room itself. Examples of this subtle symbolism are the designs for the buildings of the lodge Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt in Sneek by Baanders (fig. 5), the lodge Silentium in Delft by Wils, the lodge St. Lodewijk in Nijmegen by Willem Frederik Smits (1903-1990) and the joint lodges in Utrecht by Wegerif.¹⁸ These designs are all based on the *Sectio Divina* (Golden Section) and the masonic symbolism of a five-pointed star in a circle, reminiscent of Da Vinci's depiction of man in the cosmos. The lodge furniture was carefully positioned, so that lines drawn between each piece reveal a compass crossed with a square or other masonic symbols.

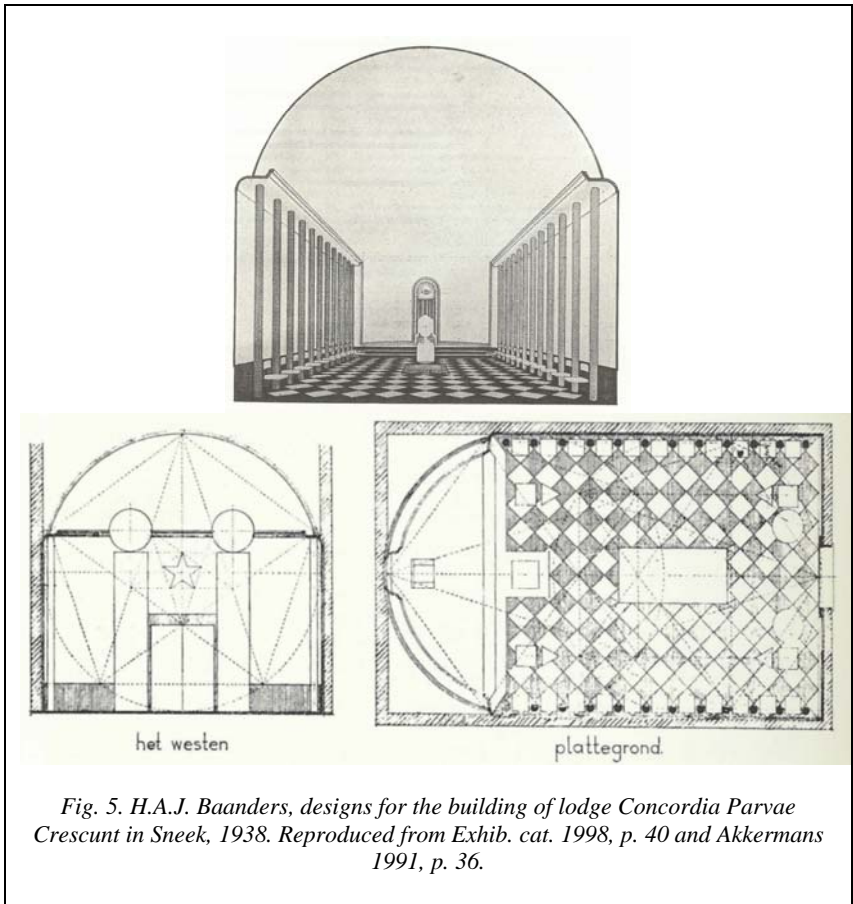


Fig. 5. H.A.J. Baanders, designs for the building of lodge Concordia Parvae Crescunt in Sneek, 1938. Reproduced from Exhib. cat. 1998, p. 40 and Akkermans 1991, p. 36.

We know that Wils, Baanders, Wegerif and many other architects have also designed private and public buildings, using such hidden symbolism. This subtle symbolism is difficult to recognize, even for freemasons, and it is often destroyed unknowingly, when a building is renovated.

The destruction of masonic heritage during WW II

Most of the 18th- and 19th-century masonic heritage in the Netherlands was willfully destroyed during the Second World War. This is illustrated by the history of the lodge building in the Vondelstraat 41 in Amsterdam. The building was designed in 1873 by the renowned Dutch architect P.J.H. Cuypers (1827-1921) to accommodate the Beer- and Coffeehouse Vondel, owned by the famous brewer G.A. Heineken.¹⁹ In 1900 it was renovated in Art Nouveau style by his son, J.Th.J. Cuypers (1861-1949). It is suspected

that Cuypers jr. was a freemason, and that he incorporated masonic symbolism into the buildings design, but this theory requires further research.²⁰

The building was sold in 1904 to the Vrijmetselaars Stichting (Freemasons Foundation), which represented seven Amsterdam lodges, and was altered three times to suit their needs. In 1904 a lodge was added by the architect and freemason Willem Kromhout (1864-1940), who was also responsible for the famous Hotel Americain and the Tuchinski Theatre in Amsterdam.²¹ In 1910-1911 a large, circular stained glass window was incorporated in the façade, and a second lodge was added for the Chapter degrees by the architect and freemason Pieter Heyn (1856-1929). The lodge furnishings were designed by lodge member H.W. Luers (1863-1931) in both 1904 and 1911.²² In 1929 a third alteration was carried out by two freemasons, the architect Pieter J.Th. Schuhmacher (1899-1968) and the painter Martin (Max) Nauta (1896-1957), who made a series of symbolic wall paintings (fig. 6).²³

What happened to the building during the war was exemplary of the fate of all historical lodge buildings that - until 1940 - had remained intact.²⁴ In May 1940 the German troops entered the Netherlands, and in the autumn the occupying forces declared that the possessions of 'anti- German' organizations, including masonic and other esoteric lodges, would be confiscated.



Fig. 6. Interior of the lodge building in the Vondelstraat in Amsterdam c. 1929-1940 with wall paintings by Max Nauta (1896-1957). Collection Amsterdam Municipal Archive. Reproduced from: Rodermond [1985], p. 103.

A special Provincial Liquidator was assigned to supervise the thorough destruction of masonic property.

Lodge libraries were handed over to waste-dealers and shredded to pulp. Lodge archives were confiscated and researched to uncover presumed Jewish conspiracies, which of course were not found. Paintings were painted over to hide masonic symbols and then sold. Leather aprons, lodge banners and furniture textiles were assembled for industrial re-use (aprons were cut up to make shoes). Ritual objects, regalia, furniture and decorative objects which could not be stripped of masonic emblems were to be burned, broken or melted. Jewels and ritual objects made of precious metals and valuable stones were handed over to the Generalkommissar, whose office was now located in the Freemasons' Hall in The Hague.

The building in the Vondelstraat was confiscated, as were lodge buildings all over the country, and brutally stripped of its contents. The stained glass window was shattered and the walls were stripped of their paneling in an attempt to locate 'hidden treasures'. The building was then used to mount an anti-masonic exhibition, aimed at informing the public of the supposedly *Volksfeindliche* character of freemasonry. The vast amount of anti-masonic propaganda that was published at the time is still sold today in second-hand stores and still contributes to prejudice towards freemasonry.

During the war many historical lodge buildings in other parts of the country were destroyed by bombing raids. The confiscated membership lists were used by the Nazi's to locate potential members of the resistance, contributing to the persecution and death of hundreds of freemasons. After the capitulation in 1945 the restoration of damaged lodge buildings proved a heavy financial burden for the surviving brethren.

In the 1950s the interior of the Amsterdam lodge building was restored according to the clean, uncluttered interior design principles of *Ritus en Tempelbouw*, which were applied all over the country in the redecoration of surviving lodge buildings, and the building of new ones. The lodge room for the Chapter degrees in Amsterdam, however, was not modernized, but restored to its rich 19th century atmosphere. Today it is one of the few, if not the only example in our country of a masonic interior in this style.

Since the 1970s the Amsterdam lodge building is in need of renovation. The local lodges are still deliberating which changes will be made. One proposal included incorporating a Grand Café, open to the public. If any geometrical or spatial symbolism was incorporated in the building's design, displacing a single wall could destroy it. Since the lodge building is one of the most important surviving monuments of freemasonry in the Netherlands, its history and design should be carefully studied and documented, before any definite decisions are made.

The demolition of the Freemasons' Hall in The Hague

The Dutch lodges are faced with the rising costs for the care of their historic buildings, archives and collections. Many lodges have decided to move to cheaper accommodations with modern facilities. Since lodge buildings are not recognized as part of our cultural heritage, they are at risk of demolition by city planners. Tragically, we have already lost the most important masonic monument in the Netherlands: the 19th century Freemasons' Hall in The Hague.

The building at Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague dates from 1745. It was bought in 1846 by Prince Frederik of the Netherlands (1797-1881). Frederik had been made Grand Master of the Order of Freemasons in 1816 and would hold this position for 65 years. In 1856 he donated the building to 'his' Order, which subsequently became the Dutch Freemasons' Hall and headquarter of the Grand East.²⁵ The building was expanded with several lodge rooms, which were used for both local and national lodge meetings for 145 years. One of the lodge rooms was decorated in Art Deco style in 1925 (fig. 7). Until its destruction in 1992, this was a rare surviving example of the use of this style within a ritual context.

In 1854 Prince Frederik bought the *Bibliotheca Klossiana*, a famous historical library of 9000 titles on freemasonry collected by Georg Burkhard Kloss (1757-1854), and in 1866 he donated it to the Order. When



Fig. 7. The Art Deco interior of the Freemasons' Hall at Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague, c. 1925-1940. Reproduced from: Twee Eeuwen 1934, p. 62.

Frederik died in 1881, his substantial masonic estate was also donated. Freemasons' Hall now housed the archives and membership records of the Order from the 1730s onwards, the Kloss library and a large collection of ritual and decorative objects. During World War II the collections were confiscated. Luckily, around 80 % of the archives and 95 % of the library were returned after the war.²⁶ But around 90 % of the looted *object* collection remains missing. Unbelievably, there has never been a structural effort to research its fate and retrieve it.

Beitj Croiset van Uchelen (1925-1997), curator between 1953 and 1990, made successful efforts to rebuild and expand these collections, which are today regarded as one of the most important in the field of study in the world. A substantial part of the archive, which was presumed lost in World War II, has recently returned from archive depots in Russia.

In 1992 the members of the Order were told that the Freemasons' Hall was about to be demolished in order to make room for the redevelopment of the area around the Central Station in The Hague. Without any significant protest from the Order and none whatsoever from heritage organizations, the building was vacated and sold to the Municipal Council. It is rumored that the building was then resold with a profit to a commercial property developer, who intended to demolish the building, but then learned that the historical façade was listed as a State Protected Townscape (Rijksbeschermd Stadsgezicht). This meant that the façade could not be altered, but unfortunately this did not protect the buildings historical interior. The lodge rooms were demolished, while the former offices of the Order were renovated into luxurious apartments. Later it was even rumored that involuntary demolition of the building might have been avoided, as gifts from a member of the royal family (in this case: Prince Frederik) are protected from confiscation.

A better understanding and a wider knowledge of the great importance of this building to the religious, social and cultural history of the Netherlands, as well as the history of its royal family, might have prevented these events. At the very least it could have ensured that the building would have been properly documented before it was lost. A positive note is that the Order received a subsidy in 1993 from the Mondrian Foundation and other funds, for the preservation and registration of the collection in its new home, the Cultural Masonic Centre. But this important collection was now separated from its original context. The collection had grown within the building's walls, it encompassed the legacies of the building's owners, and documented the use and architectural extension of the building in every detail. The library, archives and museum collection were inextricably connected with the demolished building.

In order to fit into their new, but smaller storage facilities, a number of duplicates and non-masonic books in the library collection were auctioned or donated to the National Library, while some 'redundant' items

were ground to pulp to prevent them reaching the commercial market. In recent years, the Order had to limit the collection's budget and staff, and there are ongoing discussions about indefinite plans for moving the collection to another location. There is now a growing call from experts to give the core collection a protected status, for instance by placing it on the list of the Law for Protection of Cultural Heritage (Wet Behoud Cultuurbezit).

The future of masonic heritage

After the regrettable destruction of the Freemasons' Hall in The Hague, the lodge buildings in Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Dordrecht, Leiden, Kampen and Sneek are probably the most important surviving masonic monuments in our country.²⁷ With their use of particular decorative styles within a ritual context, these buildings and their historical interiors are a unique expression of Dutch culture.

Masonic buildings were gathering places, not just for freemasons. The lodge building in Amsterdam, for instance, was used by the lodges of the Grand East and the mixed masonic order 'Le Droit Humain', but also by the Sufi Movement, the Theosophical Society, the Rosicrucian Society, the Order of Odd Fellows, the Spiritist Movement, as well as local Christian organizations. Lodges often rented their buildings out to non-masonic organizations for meetings, performances or fundraisers. As such, a lodge building was the center of local community life. Its history reflects the social, cultural and religious history of the Dutch population. Furthermore, the study of lodge buildings can provide an important insight into the work of well known Dutch architects, who were members of, or commissioned by, the Order, and who introduced a complex and often 'hidden' masonic symbolism into their architectural designs for other, public and private, commissions.

But at this point in time, we do not have an overview of how many 18th-, 19th- or early 20th-century lodge buildings and interiors have been preserved on a local or national level. We do not know if these are still in the possession of local lodges, if they are now privately owned or perhaps are about to be demolished by Municipal Councils. Nor do we know how many lodge buildings survive in the former Dutch trading posts in the West and East Indies, where freemasonry flourished from the middle of the 18th century and mixed with local culture and beliefs.

Art and heritage organizations have based their policies for the protection of Dutch cultural heritage on traditional art historical approaches, which in turn are based on predominantly Christian iconography. This approach does not reflect the much wider religious and social diversity that has been characteristic of Dutch society since the Renaissance. If we do not incorporate the care for the remaining examples of masonic and esoteric heritage into our research and conservation policies, heritage laws and subsidy schemes, these will not reflect the rich historical differentiation of

Dutch culture. Action, and interdisciplinary cooperation between art historians, heritage organizations and experts on western esotericism, are needed to prevent the loss of an important part of our collective cultural heritage. Both masonic orders and cultural organizations have a shared responsibility here, and a challenging task ahead of them.

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Notes

¹ By the end of the 19th century, the changing role of women in society prompted the establishment of the International Order of Mixed Freemasonry 'Le Droit Humain' in France, which accepted both men and women as members. The first lodge of the Dutch Federation of 'Le Droit Humain' was established in 1904-1905. Since then several other masonic orders have been founded, including the Nederlands Verbond van Vrijmetselaren in 1919 and the Nederlandse Grootloge der Gemengde Vrijmetselarij in 1969. Several independent lodges were founded, which are not associated to any Grand Lodge, as well as lodges belonging to foreign Grand Lodges. The establishment of the feminine Orde der Weefsters 'Vita Feminea Textura' in 1947 should also be mentioned.

² Snoek 2000.

³ The term 'lodge' is used to name a local organization of freemasons, as well as their building and the room within the building, where rituals take place. In the 19th century, the lodge room was also called 'temple', which is in fact an incorrect use of the term (because it suggests a consecration of this space, which is not the case).

⁴ 1 Kings 7:13-45; 2 Chron. 2-4.

⁵ The drawing was published in Kroon 2000, p. 19.

⁶ The print was published in Picart 1736. About Picart, see: Jacob 2005.

⁷ Kroon 2000, p. 20. The background depicts a fictional frame with the list of lodges by John Pine from 1735.

⁸ 'Comme le Soleil préside au jour, & la Lune à la nuit: ainsi le Maître gouverne la Loge', *Le Sceau Rompu* 1745, pp. 49-50. An earlier, English version is found in Prichard 1730: 'A Sun to rule the Day, Moon the Night, and Master-Mason his lodge', here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1975, p. 163.

⁹ Graham 1994, see for instance the cover design and figs. 14, 92-95, 97, 107 and 135.

¹⁰ Pott 1991, pp. 147-156. The article includes reproductions of both designs for the throne.

¹¹ 1 Kings 7:21.

¹² The designs are described and illustrated in Gout 1991. A more poetic explanation of the designs was provided in H[eimbach] s.a.

¹³ '[...] Een geheel nieuwe Loge volgens de ordonnantie en tekeningen van den Br[oeder] Bou[w]meester J. Kuiper, voorstellende een tempel van de Salomonische order door 28 Colommen van Lapislazurus ondersteund[,] versierd met goude Capitelen en basementen & verdere zinnebeeldige tussenvlakken als Wijsheid Schoonheid Sterkte [= Kracht,] de Streken[:] 't Zuyden Westen en Noorden Het Oosten d[e] Son of troon[,] een Engel of cherubin aan weerszijden[,] de overige 4 vakken met palmbomen en d[e] poort of ingang, met de Levantie van doek, verven & 't monument in 't Voorportaal [met] piedestallen [en] vasen (...)', here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 26.

¹⁴ These drawings are kept in the Rotterdam Municipal Archive.

¹⁵ Collection C.M.C. 'Prins Frederik' in The Hague, the Netherlands, catalogue numbers 240 B 54 and 195 A 13 (1233).

¹⁶ In 1893 the lodge De Nordstar bought the building on Gedempte Nieuwesloot 153 in Alkmaar. In 1924 this building was enlarged and modernized by the local architects Laurens Groen (1879-1952) and Dirk Saal (1884-1945, initiated in the lodge West Friesland in 1912, and a member of lodge De Nordstar in 1920),

according to the typical style of the famous Amsterdam School of architecture. Another surviving building in this style is the lodge building in Veendam, dating from 1926.

¹⁷ Wils was initiated in the lodge l'Union Frédérique in Rotterdam in 1929. Baanders was initiated into the lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam in 1901. Wegerif was initiated in the lodge De Veluwe in Apeldoorn in 1909. He was the author, amongst others, of 'Troon and Troonhemel', *Studieblad Ritus en Tempelbouw* (1949) no. 12.

¹⁸ The designs for the lodge Concordia Res Parvea Crescunt, the lodge building in Utrecht and the lodge St Lodewijk are depicted in Akkermans 1991, pp. 36, 38 and 40 (see also: <http://www.vrijmetselarij.nl/sneek/tempel>, with excerpts from Baanders' diary on the lodge design). The history of the lodge Silentium and its building is described in Sark 1976. Smits was initiated into the lodge Le Préjugé Vaincu in Deventer in 1938.

¹⁹ The history of the building is described in Rodermond [1985] and Beekes 1996.

²⁰ Cuypers jr. name was not found in the membership records of the Grand East, which does not mean he was not a mason, as these records are incomplete. There were more masonic organizations active at the time, of which he may have been a member, but their membership records have not been made available for research. The design for the building in the Vondelstraat carries Cuypers' stamp, consisting of a square and compass, which can be interpreted both as a architectural emblem and a masonic emblem. The suggestion that Cuypers jr. was a member of a masonic organization is supported by information kindly provided by dr. Jan Snoek (University of Heidelberg). His father, the actor and theatrical designer Jacob Snoek (1901-1989), was employed as a designer by Cuypers' architectural office in 1920-1921, whilst studying drama. Snoek sr. conformed that the firm frequently incorporated esoteric symbolism into its building designs. In order to do so, Cuypers jr. must have had intimate knowledge of this symbolism through membership of, or close association with, a lodge or Order.

²¹ He was a member of the lodge Willem Frederik in Amsterdam.

²² Heyn was initiated in the lodge Louisa Augusta in Purmerend in 1864, and became a member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam in 1903. Luers was initiated in the Amstrdam lodges La Persévérance in 1915, and De Eendracht in 1916. He is registered in the membership records of the Order as both H.W. and C. Luers.

²³ Schuhmacher was initiated in the lodge Post Nubila Lux in Amsterdam in 1928. Nauta was initiated in the lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam in 1920.

²⁴ These events are described in Beekes 1996 and De Haan/Van Keulen 2000.

²⁵ The building's history is described in Dielemans 1995.

²⁶ The looting and return of the collections are described in Hoogwoud e.a. 1997 and Kwaadgras 2000. The latter provides the first, concise overview of events. Kwaadgras concludes that there has never been a structural effort to trace the fate of the object collection, or to try and retrieve it.

²⁷ The lodge in Kampen is decorated in the style of the 1820s, corresponding with the Ritual 1820. The building in Dordrecht dates from 1837 and its interior decoration has hardly been changed. The lodge in Alkmaar is mentioned in note 16 above. The lodge in Leiden was decorated after WW II by the city architect (stads-architect) Johan Neysing (1882-1926), who was initiated in the lodge Het Zuiderkruis in Den Haag and a member of the lodge La Vertu in Leiden since 1946.

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