

P R O O F S
OF A
C O N S P I R A C Y
AGAINST ALL THE
RELIGIONS AND GOVERNMENTS
OF
E U R O P E,
CARRIED ON
IN THE SECRET MEETINGS
OF
FREE MASONS, ILLUMINATI,
AND
READING SOCIETIES.

COLLECTED FROM GOOD AUTHORITIES,

By J O H N R O B I S O N, A. M.

PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AND SECRETARY TO THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

The THIRD EDITION.

To which is added a Postscript.

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Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe : carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and reading societies

1. [Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe : carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and reading societies](#)

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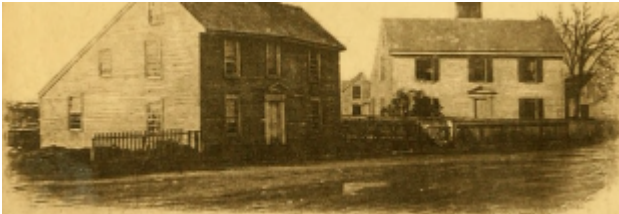


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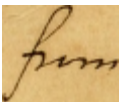


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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM W Y N D H A M,
SECRETARY AT WAR, Sec &c. &c.

S IRy

It was with great satisfaction that I learned from a Friend that you coincided with me in the opinion that the information contained in this Paper or manuscript would make a useful impression on the minds of my Countrymen.

I have presumed to inscribe it with your Name[^] that I may publicly express the pleasure which I felt [^] when I found that neither a separation for thirty years, nor the prejudice of the most important business[^] had effaced your kind remembrance of a College Acquaintance[^] or abated that obliging and polite attention with which you favoured me in these early days of life.

The friendship of the accomplished and the worthy is the highest honour ; and to him who is cut off[^] by want of health from almost every other enjoyment[^] it is an inestimable blessing. Accept[^] therefore[^] I pray[^] of my grateful acknowledgments, and of my earnest wishes for your Healthy Prosperity[^] and increasing Honour,

With sentiments of the greatest Esteem and Respect^{^1^}

I am, SIR[^]

Your most obedient[^] and most humble Servant,

JOHN ROBISON.

Edinburgh,

September 5, 1797.

UOD si quis vera vitam ratione gubernet,

Divites grandes homines vivere poterit

quod a'dimo: neque enim est unquam penuria parvi.

At dantes si homines voluerint atque potentes[^]

Ut fundamentum sit alicuiusque vita maneret[^]

Et placidam possident opulenti degere vitam:

Nequicquam — quoniam ad summum succedere hominem

Certantes[^] iter infestum se esse videri,

Et tamen effummo quasi fulmen dejecit in aëres

Invidia inter dum contenta in Tartara tetra,

Ergo Regibus cecidit, Jureverja jacebat Præfata majestas Juliorum,
et prætra juperha ; Et capitis Jumi præfclarum infigne, cruentum Sub
pedibus vulgi magnum lugebat honorum: Nam cupide conculcatur nimis
ante metutum. Res itaque ad jummam facta: cum turbata redibat,
Mperium tibi cum ac Jummatum qui/que petebat,

Lucretius, V. 1116.

Being at a friend's house in the country during the latter part of the summer
1795, I there saw a volume of a German periodical work, entitled Religions
Begebenheiten, i. e. Religious Occurrences: in which there was an account
of the various societies in the Fraternity of Free Masons, with frequent
allusions to the origin and history of that celebrated association. This
account interested me a good deal, because, in my early life, I had taken
some part in the occupations (which I call them) of Free Masonry; and,
having chiefly frequented the Lodges on the Continent, I had learned many
doctrines, and seen many ceremonies which have no place in the temple
of Free Masonry which obtains in this country. I had also remarked,
that the whole was much more the object of reflection and thought than I
could remember it to have been among my acquaintances at home. There,
I had seen a Mason Lodge considered merely as a pretext for passing an hour
or two in a sort of decent conviviality, not altogether void of some rational
occupation. I had sometimes heard of differences of doctrines or of
ceremonies, but in terms which marked them as mere frivolities. But, on
the Continent, I found them matters of serious concern and debate.

Such

Such too is the contagion of example, that I could not hinder myself from
thinking one opinion better founded, or one Ritual more appropriate and
significant than another. And I even felt something like an anxiety for its
being adopted, and a zeal for making it a general practice. I had been
initiated in a very splendid Lodge at Liege, of which the Prince Bishops, his
Treasurers, and the chief Nobles of the State were members. I visited the

French Lodges at Valenciennes, at Brussels, at Aix-la-Chapelle, at Berlin, and Koningiberg ; and I picked up some printed discourses delivered by the Brother-orators of the Lodges. At St. Peterburgh I connected myself with the English Lodge, and occasionally visited the German and Russian Lodges held there. I found myself received with particular respect as a Scotch Mason, and as an Elevé of the Lodge de la Parfait Intelligence at Liege. I was importuned by persons of the first rank to pursue my masonic career through many degrees unknown in this country. But all the splendor and elegance that I saw could not conceal a frivolity in every part. It appeared a baseless fabric, and I could not think of engaging in an occupation which would consume much time, cost me a good deal of money, and might perhaps excite in me some of that fanaticism, or at least, enthusiasm, that I saw in others, and perceived to be void of any rational support. I therefore remained in the English Lodge, contented with the rank of Scotch Master, which was in a manner forced on me in a private Lodge of French Masons, but is not given in the English Lodge. My masonic rank admitted me to a very elegant entertainment in the female lodge the Fidelite, where every ceremonial was conducted in the highest degree of elegance, and every thing conducted with the most delicate respect for our fair sisters, and the old song of brotherly love was chanted in the most refined strain of sentiment.

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sentiment. I do not suppose that the Parisian Free Masonry of forty-five degrees could give me more entertainment. I had profited so much by it, that I had the honour of being appointed the Brother-orator. In this office I gave such satisfaction, that a worthy Brother sent me at midnight a box, which he committed to my care, as a person far advanced in masonic science, zealously attached to the order, and therefore a fit depository of important writings. I learned next day that this gentleman had found it convenient to leave the empire in a hurry, but taking with him the funds of an establishment of which her Imperial Majesty had made him the manager. I was desired to keep these writings till he should see me again. I obeyed. About ten years afterward I saw the gentleman on the street in Edinburgh, conversing with a foreigner. As I passed by him, I saluted him softly in the

Ruffian language ; but without flopping, or looking him direedly in the face. He coloured, but made no return. I endeavoured, in vain, to meet with him, wiffing to make a proper return for much civility and kindncfs which I had received from him in his own country.

I now confidered the box as acceffible to myfelf, and opened it. I found it to contain all the degrees of the Parfait Macron Ecvjjois^ with the Rituals, Catechifms, and InftruAions, and alfo four other degrees of Free Mafonry, as cultivated in the Parifian Lodges. I have kept them with all care, and mean to give them tofome refpedlable Lodge. But asl am bound by no engagement of any kind, I hold myfelf at liberty to make fuch ufe of them as may be ferviceable to the public, without enabling any uninitiated perfon to enter the Lodges of thefe degrees.

This acquifition might have roufed my former reliffi for mafonry, had it been merely dormant; but, after fo long feparation from the Lodge de la Fidelite, the mafonic

nic rpirit had evaporated. Some curiofity however remained, and Ibme v/ilh to trace this plailic my fiery to the pit from which the clay had been dug, which has been moulded into fo rhany different Ihapes, ^^ fom.e to *' honour, and fome to diflionour." But my opportunities were now gone. I have given away (when in Rufia) my volumes of dirccurfes, and fome far-fetched and gratuitous hiilories, and nothing remained but the pitiful work of Andcrfon, and the Magonnerie Adonhiramique devoilee^ which are in every one's hands.

My curiofity was ftrongly roufed by the accounts given in the Religions Begebenheiten. There I faw quotadons v.nthout number, fyftems and fchifms of which I had never heard ; but what particularly flruck me wa- a zeal and a fanaticifm about what I thought trifles, which aftoniffied me. Men of rank and fortune, and engaged in fericus and honourable public employments, not only frequenng the Lodges of the cities where they refided, but journeying from one end of Germany or France to the other, to-vifit new Lodges, or to learn new fecrets or new do6lrines. I faw conventions held at WiQrnar, at WiPod, at Kohlo, at Brunfvvick, and at Wilk-mibad, confifting of fome hundreds of perfons of refpe^table fcations. I faw adventurers coming to a city, profefTing fome new fecret, and in a

few days forming new Lodges, and infruding in a troublesome and expensive manner hundreds of brethren.

German Masonry appeared a very serious concern, and to be implicated with other subjects with which I had never supposed it to have any connection. I saw it much connected with many occurrences and schisms in the Christian church; I saw that the Jesuits had several times interfered in it; and that most of the exceptionable innovations and dissentions had arisen about the time that the order of Loyola was suppressed, so that it should seem, that these intriguing brethren had

attempted

attempted to maintain their influence by the help of Free Masonry. I saw it much disturbed by the mystical whims of J. Behmen and Swedenborg—by the fanatical and knavish doctrines of the modern Rosicrucians—by Magicians—Magicians—Exorcists, &c. And I observed that these different sects reprobated each other, as not only maintaining erroneous opinions, but even inculcating opinions which were contrary to the established religions of Germany, and contrary to the principles of the civil establishments. At the same time they charged each other with mistakes and corruptions, both in doctrine and in practice; and particularly with falsification of the first principles of Free Masonry, and with ignorance of its origin and its history; and they supported these charges by authorities from many different books which were unknown to me.

My curiosity was now greatly excited. I got from a much respected friend many of the preceding volumes of the *Religiöses Begebenheiten* in hopes of much information from the patient industry of German erudition. This opened a new and very interesting scene; I was frequently sent back to England, from whence all agreed that Free Masonry had been imported into Germany. I was frequently led into France and into Italy. There, and more remarkably in France, I found that the Lodges had become the haunts of many projectors and fanatics, both in science, in religion, and in politics, who had availed themselves of the secrecy and the freedom of speech maintained in these meetings, to broach their particular whims or suspicious doctrines, which, if published to the world in the usual manner, would have exposed their authors to ridicule or to censure. These projectors had

contrived to tag their peculiar notions to the mummery of Masonry, and were even allowed to twin the Masonic emblems and ceremonies

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to their purpose; so that in their hands Free Masonry became a thing totally unlike, and almost in direct opposition to the system (if it may get such a name) imported from England and where Lodges had become schools of irreligion and licentiousness.

No nation in modern times has so particularly turned its attention to the cultivation of every thing that is refined or ornamental as France, and it has long been the resort of all who hunt after entertainment in its most refined form; the French have come to consider themselves as the instructors of the world in every thing that ornaments life, and feeling themselves received as such, they have formed their manners accordingly—full of the most condescending complaisance to all who acknowledge their superiority. Delighted, in a high degree, with this office, they have become zealous millionaires of refinement in every department of human pursuit, and have reduced their apostolic employment to a system, which they prosecute with ardour and delight. This is not groundless

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declamation, but sober historical truth. It was the professed aim (and it was a magnificent and wise aim) of the great Colbert, to make the court of Louis XIV. the fountain of human refinement, and Paris the Athens of Europe. We need only look, in the present day, at the plunder of Italy by the French army, to be convinced that their low-born generals and statesmen have in this respect the same notions with the Colberts and the Richelieus.

I know no society in which this aim at universal influence on the opinions of men, by holding themselves forth as the models of excellence and elegance, is more clearly seen than in the case that they have been pleased to take of Free Masonry. It seems indeed peculiarly suited to the talents and taste of that vain and ardent people. Baffled and frivolous, it admits of every

form

form that Gallic refinement can invent, to recommend it to the young, the gay, the luxurious; that class of society which alone deserves their care, because, in one way or another, it leads all other classes of society.

It has accordingly happened, that the homely Free Masonry imported from England has been totally changed in every country of Europe either by the impelling ascendancy of French brethren, who are to be found every where, ready to invade the world; or by the importation of the doctrines, and ceremonies, and ornaments of the Parisian Lodges. Even England, the birth-place of Masonry, has experienced the French innovations; and all the repeated injunctions, admonitions, and reproofs of the old Lodges, cannot prevent those in different parts of the kingdom from admitting the French novelties, full of taste and glitter, and high-sounding titles.

Were this all, the harm would not be great. But long before good opportunities had occurred for spreading the refinements on the simple Free Masonry of England, the Lodges in France had become places of very serious discussion, where opinions in morals, in religion, and in politics, had been promulgated and maintained with a freedom and a keenness, of which we in this favoured land have no adequate notion, because we are unacquainted with the restraints which, in other countries, are laid on ordinary conversation. In consequence of this, the French innovations in Free Masonry were quickly followed in all parts of Europe, by the admission of similar discussions, although in direct opposition to a standing rule, and a declaration made to every newly received Brother, "that nothing touching the religion or government shall ever be spoken of in the Lodge." But the Lodges in other countries followed the example of France, and have frequently become the rendezvous

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of innovators in religion and politics, and other disturbers of the public peace, in short, I have found that the covert of a Mason Lodge had been employed in every country for venting and propagating sentiments in religion and politics, that could not have circulated in public without exposing the author to great danger. I found, that this impunity had

gradually encouraged men of licentious principles to become more bold, and to teach doctrines subversive of all our notions of morality—of all our confidence in the moral government of the universe—of all our hopes of improvement in a future state of existence—and of all satisfaction and contentment with our present life, so long as we live in a state of civil subordination. I have been able to trace these attempts, made, through a course of fifty years, under the specious pretext of enlightening the world by the torch of philosophy, and of dispelling the clouds of civil and religious superstition which keep the nations of Europe in darkness and slavery. I have observed these doctrines gradually diffusing and mixing with all the different systems of Free Masonry; till, at last, an Association has BEEN FORMED for the express purpose of rooting out

ALL the religious ESTABLISHMENTS, AND OVERTURNING ALL THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTS OF

Europe. I have seen this Association exerting itself zealously and systematically, till it has become almost irresistible: And I have seen that the most active leaders in the French Revolution were members of this Association, and conducted their civil movements according to its principles, and by means of its instructions and assistance, formally requested and obtained: And, lastly, I have seen that this Association still exists, still works in secret, and that not only several appearances among ourselves show that its emissaries are endeavouring to propagate their detestable doctrines

trines among us, but that the Association has Lodges in Britain corresponding with the mother Lodge at Munich ever since 1784.

If all this were a matter of mere curiosity, and susceptible of no good use, it would have been better to have kept it to myself, than to disturb my neighbours with the knowledge of a state of things which they cannot amend. But if it shall appear that the minds of my countrymen are misled in the very same manner as were those of our continental neighbours—if I can show that the reasonings which make a very strong impression on some persons in this country are the same which actually produced the dangerous Association in Germany and that they had this unhappy influence solely because they were thought to be sincere, and the expressions of the sentiments of the speakers—if I can show that this was all a cheat, and that

the Leaders of this Association disbelieved every word that they uttered, and every doctrine that they taught; and that their real intention was to abolish religion, overturn every government, and make the world a general plunder and a wreck—if I can show, that the principles which the Founder and Leaders of this Association held forth as the perfection of human virtue, and the most powerful and efficacious for forming the minds of men, and making them good and happy, had no influence on the Founder and Leaders themselves, and that they were, almost without exception, the most insignificant, worthless, and profligate of men; I cannot but think, that such information will make my countrymen hesitate a little, and receive with caution, and even distrust, addresses and instructions which flatter our self-conceit, and which, by buoying us up with the gay prospect of what seems attainable by a change, may make us discontented with our present condition, and forget that there never was a government on earth

Where

where the people of a great and luxurious nation enjoyed so much freedom and security in the possession of every thing that is dear and valuable.

When we see that these boasted principles had not that effect on the Leaders which they affect to be their native, certain, and inevitable consequences, we shall distrust the fine descriptions of the happiness that should result from such a change. And when we see that the methods which were practised by this Association for the express purpose of breaking all the bands of society, were employed solely in order that the Leaders might rule the world with uncontrollable power, while all the rest, even of the associated, should be degraded in their own estimation, corrupted in their principles, and employed as mere tools of the ambition of their unknown superiors; surely a free-born Briton will not hesitate to reject at once, and without any farther examination, a plan so big with mischief, so disgraceful to its underling adherents, and so uncertain in its issue.

These hopes have induced me to lay before the public a short abstract of the information which I think I have received. It will be short, but I hope sufficient for establishing the fact, that this detestable Association exists, and its enemies are many among ourselves,

I was not contented with the quotations which I found in the Religions Begebenheiten, but procured from abroad some of the chief writings from which they are taken. This both gave me confidence in the quotations from books which I could not procure, and furnished me with more materials. Much, however, remains untold, richly deserving the attention of all those who/^^/themselves disposed to listen to the tales of a possible happiness that may be enjoyed in a society where all the magistrates are wise and just, and all the people are honest and kind.

I hope

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I hope that I am honest; and candid. I have been at all pains to give the true sense of the authors. My knowledge of the German language is but scanty, but I have had the assistance of friends whenever I was in doubt. In compressing into one paragraph what I have collected from many, I have, as much as I was able, stuck to the words of the author, and have been anxious to give his precise meaning. I doubt not but that I have sometimes failed, and will receive correction with deference. I entreat the reader not to expect a piece of good literary composition. I am very sensible that it is far from it — it is written during bad health, when I am not at ease — and I wish to conceal my name — but my motive is, without the smallest mixture of another, to do some good in the only way I am able, and I think that what I say will come with better grace, and be received with more confidence, than any anonymous publication. Of this I am now most heartily sick. I throw myself on my country with a free heart, and I bow with deference to its decision.

The Association of which I have been speaking is the Order of Illuminati, founded, in 1775, by Dr. Adam Weishaupt, professor of Canon law in the university of Ingolstadt, and abolished in 1786 by the Elector of Bavaria, but revived immediately after, under another name, and in a different form, all over Germany. It was again detected, and seemingly broken up; but it had by this time taken so deep root that it will subsist without being detected, and has spread into all the countries of Europe. It took its first rise among the Free Maibns, but is totally different from Free Masonry. It was not, however, the mere protection gained by the secrecy of the Lodges that gave

occasion to it, but it arose naturally from the corruptions that had gradually crept into that fraternity, the violence of the spirit which pervaded

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16 , INTRODUCTION.

it, and from the total uncertainty and darkness that hangs over the whole of that mysterious Association. It is necessary, therefore, to give some account of the innovations that have been introduced into Free Masonry from the time that it made its appearance on the continent of Europe as a mystical society, possessing secrets different from those of the mechanical employment whose name it assumed, and thus affording entertainment and occupation to persons of all ranks and professions. It is by no means intended to give a history of Free Masonry. This would lead to a very long dissertation. The patient industry of German erudition has been very industriously employed on this subject, and many performances have been published, of which some account is given in the different volumes of the Religions Begebenheiten, particularly in those for 1779, 1785, and 1786. It is evident, from the nature of the thing, that they cannot be very instructive to the public -y because the obligation of secrecy respecting the important matters which are the very subjects of debate, prevents the author from giving that full information that is required from an historian ; and the writers have not, in general, been persons qualified for the task. Scanty erudition, credulity, and enthusiasm, appear in almost all their writings; and they have neither attempted to remove the heap of rubbish with which Anderson has disgraced his Constitutions of Free Masonry^ (the basis of masonic history,) nor to avail themselves of informations which history really affords to a sober enquirer. Their Royal art must never forsooth appear in a state of infancy or childhood, like all other human acquirements ; and therefore, when they cannot give proofs of its existence in a (state of manhood, possessed of all its mysterious treasures, they suppose Vv^hat they do not see, and say that they are concealed by the oath of secrecy. Of such

Introduction 1 can make

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INTRODUCTION". ly

noufe, even if I were difpofed to write ahiftory of the Fraternity. I (hall content myielfwith an account of fuch particulars as are admitted by all the maibnic parties, and which illufirate or confirm my general propofition, making fuch ufeof the accounts of the higjier degrees in my polTeffion as I can without admitting the profane into their Lodges. Being under no tie offecrecy with regard to thefe, I am with-held by difcretion alone from putting the public in pofTeffion of all their jmyfteries.

PROOFS

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A CONSPIRACY, Sec.

CHAP, L

Schifms in Free Majonry.

X HERE is undoubtedly a dignity in the art of building, or in architerture, which no other art pofTeffes, and this, whether we confider it in its rudeft (late, occupied in raifing a hut, or as pradifed in a cultivated nation, in the erection of a magnificent and ornamented temple. As the arts in general improve in any nation, this muft always maintain its pre-eminence; for it employs them all, and no man can be eminent as an archited who docs not pofTefs a confiderable knowledge of almoft every fcience and art already cultivated in his nation. His great works are undertakings of the moft ferious concern, connect him with the public, or with the rulers of the ftate, and attach to him the praftitioners of other arts, who are occupied in executing his orders : His works are the obje6ls of public attention, and are not the tranfient fpectacles of the day, but hand down to pofterity his invention.

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vention, his knowledge, and his taste. No wonder then that he thinks highly of his profession, and that the public should acquiesce in his pretensions, even when in some degree extravagant.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the incorporated architects in all cultivated nations should arrogate to themselves a pre-eminence over the similar associations of other tradesmen. We find traces of this in the remotest antiquity. The Dionysiacs of Asia Minor were undoubtedly an association of architects and engineers, who had the exclusive privilege of building temples, Italia, and theatres, under the mysterious tutelage of Bacchus, and distinguished from the uninitiated or profane inhabitants by the science which they possessed, and by many private signs and tokens, by which they recognized each other. This association came into Ionia from Syria, into which country it had come from Persia, along with that style of architecture that we call Grecian. We are also certain that there was a similar trading association, during the dark ages, in Christian Europe, which monopolized the building of great churches and castles, working under the patronage and protection of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe, and possessing many privileges. Circumstances, which it would be tedious to enumerate and discuss, continued this association later in Britain than on the Continent.

But it is quite uncertain when and why persons who were not builders by profession first sought admission into this Fraternity. The first distinct and unequivocal instance that we have of this is the admission of Mr. Ashmole, the famous antiquary, in 1648, into a Lodge at Warrington, along with his father-in-law Colonel Mainwaring. It is not improbable that the covert of secrecy in those assemblies had made them courted by the Royalists, as occasions of meeting. Nay, the Ritual

of the Mailer's degree seems to have been formed, or perhaps twisted from its original institution, so as to give an opportunity of founding the political principles of the candidate, and of the whole Brethren present. For it bears so clearly an adaptation to the death of the King, to the overturning of the venerable constitution of the English government of three orders by a mean democracy, and its re-establishment by the efforts of the loyalists, that this would flatter into every person's mind during the ceremonial, and could

hardly fail to show, by the countenances and behaviour of the Brethren, how they were affected. I recommend this hint to the consideration of the Brethren. I have met with many particular facts, which convince me that this use had been made of the meetings of Masons, and that at this time the Jesuits interfered considerably, insinuating themselves into the Lodges, and contributing to increase that religious mysticism that is to be observed in all the ceremonies of the order. This society is well known to have put on every shape, and to have made use of every mean that could promote the power and influence of the order. And we know that at this time they were by no means without hopes of re-establishing the dominion of the Church of Rome in England. Their services were not scrupled at by the distressed royalists, even such as were Protestants, while they were highly prized by the Sovereign. We also know that Charles II. was made a Mason, and frequented the Lodges. It is not unlikely, that besides the amusement of a vacant hour, which was always agreeable to him, he had pleasure in the meeting with his loyal friends, and in the occupations of the Lodge, which recalled to his mind their attachment and services. His brother and successor James II. was of a more serious and manly cast of mind, and had little pleasure in the frivolous ceremonies

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monies of Masonry. He did not frequent the Lodges. But, by this time, they were the resort of many persons who were not of the profession, or members of the trading corporation. This circumstance, in all probability, produced the denominations of Free and Accepted. A person who has the privilege of working at any incorporated trade, is said to be a freeman of that trade. Others were accepted as Brethren, and admitted to a kind of honorary freedom, as is the case in many other trades and incorporations, without having (as far as we can learn for certain) a legal title to earn a livelihood by the exercise of it.

The Lodges being in this manner frequented by persons of various professions, and in various ranks of civil society, it cannot be supposed that the employment in those meetings related entirely to the ostensible profession of Masonry. We have no authentic information by which the public can form any opinion about it. It was not till some years after this

period that the Lodges made open profession of the cultivation of general benevolence, and that the grand aim of the Fraternity was to enforce the exercise of all the social virtues. It is not unlikely that this was an after-thought. The political purposes of the Association being once obtained, the conversation and occupations of the members must take some particular turn, in order to be generally acceptable. The establishment of a fund for the relief of unfortunate Brethren did not take place till the very end of last century ; and we may presume that it was brought about by the warm recommendations of some benevolent members, who would naturally enforce it by addresses to their assembled Brethren. This is the probable origin of those philanthropic discourses which were delivered in the Lodges by one of the Brethren as an official task. Brotherly love was the general topic, and this, with great propriety,

when we consider the objects aimed at in those addresses. Nor was this object altogether a novelty. For while the manners of society were yet but rude. Brother Masons, who were frequently led by their employment far from home and from their friends, found in need of such helps, and might be greatly benefited by such an institution, which gave them introduction and citizenship wherever they went, and a right to share in the charitable contributions of Brethren who were strangers to them. Other incorporated trades had similar provisions for their poor. But their poor were townsmen and neighbours, well known to them. There was more persuasion necessary in this Fraternity, where the objects of our immediate beneficence were not of our acquaintance. But when the Lodges consisted of many who were not Masons, and who had no particular claim to good offices from a stranger, and their number might be great, it is evident that stronger persuasions were now necessary, and that every topic of philanthropy must now be employed. When the funds became considerable the effects naturally took the public eye, and recommended the Society to notice and respect. And now the Brethren were induced to dwell on the same topic, to join in the commendations bestowed on the Society, and to say that universal beneficence was the great aim of the Order. And this is all that could be said in public, without infringing the obligation to secrecy. The inquisitive are always prying and teasing, and this is the only point on which a Brother is at liberty to speak. He will therefore do it with affectionate zeal, till perhaps he has heated his own fancy a little, and overlooks the inconsistency of this

universal beneficence and philanthropy with the exclusive and monopolizing spirit of an Association, which not only confines its benevolence to its own Members, (like any other charitable

^4 THE SCHISMS IN CHAP, 1.

ritable association,) but hoards up in its bosom ineffinable secrets, whose natural tendency, they say, is to form the heart to this generous and kind conduct, and inspire us with love to all mankind. The profane world cannot see the beneficence of concealing from public view a principle or a motive which so powerfully induces a Mason to be good and kind. The Brother says that publicity would rob it of its force, and we must take him at his word -, and our curiosity is so much the more excited to learn what are the secrets which have so singular a quality.

Thus did the Fraternity conduct themselves, and thus were they considered by the public, when it was carried over from England to the continent; and here it is to be particularly remarked that all our Brethren abroad profess to have received the Mystery of Free Masonry from Britain. This is surely a puzzle in the history and we must leave it to others to reconcile this with the repeated assertions in Anderson's book of Constitutions, " That the Fraternity existed all over the World," and the numerous examples which he adduces of its exertions in other countries; nay, with his repeated assertions, ' that it frequently was near perishing in *' Britain, and that our Princes were obliged to send ^' to France and other countries, for leading men, to ^' restore it to its former energy among us." We shall find by and by that it is not a point of mere historical curiosity, but that much hinges on it.

In the mean time, let us just remember, that the plain tale of Brotherly love had been polished up to pretensions of universal benevolence, and had taken place of loyalty and attachment to the unfortunate Family of Stuart, which was now totally forgotten in the English Lodges. The Revolution had taken place, and King James, with many of his most zealous adherents, had taken refuge in France.

But

CHAP. I, FREE MASONRY. 2^

But they took Free Masonry with them to the continent, where it was immediately received by the French, and was cultivated with great zeal in a manner suited to the taste and habits of that highly polished people. The Lodges in France naturally became the rendezvous of the adherents to the exiled King, and the means of carrying on a correspondence with their friends in England. At this time also the Jesuits took a more active hand in Free Masonry than ever. They infiltrated themselves into the English Lodges, where they were cared for by the Catholics, who panted after the re-establishment of their faith, and tolerated by the Protestant royalists, who thought no concession too great a compensation for their services. At this time changes were made in some of the Masonic symbols, particularly in the tracing of the Lodge, which bear evident marks of Jesuitical interference.

It was in the Lodge held at St. Germain's that the degree of Chevalier Maçon Ecoffois was added to the three SYMBOLICAL degrees of English Masonry. The constitution, as imported, appeared too coarse for the refined taste of our neighbours, and they must make Masonry more like the occupation of a gentleman. Therefore, the English degrees of Apprentice, Fellowcraft, and Master, were called ⁷2^c // c[^] /, and the whole contrivance was considered either as typical of something more elegant, or as a preparation for it. The degrees afterwards superadded to this leave us in doubt which of these views the French entertained of our Masonry. But at all events, this rank of Scotch Knight was called ¹2: frjl degree of the Maçon Parfait. There is a device belonging to this Lodge which deserves notice. A lion, wounded by an arrow, and escaped from the stake to which he had been bound, with the broken rope still about his neck, is represented lying at the mouth of a cave, and occupied with meditation

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tical instruments which are lying near him. A broken crown lies at the foot of the stake. There can be little doubt but that this emblem alludes to the dethronement, the captivity, the escape, and the asylum of James II. and his hopes of re-establishment by the help of the loyal Brethren. This emblem is worn as the gorget of the Scotch Knight. It is not very certain, however, when this degree was added, whether immediately after King James's Abdication, or about the time of the attempt to set his son on the British

Throne. But it is certain, that in 17:6, this and still higher degrees of Masonry were much in vogue in the Court of France. The refining genius of the French, and their love of show, made the humble denominations of the English Brethren disgusting; and their passion for military rank, the only character that connected them with the court of an absolute monarch, made them adapt Free Masonry to the same scale of public estimation, and invent ranks of Melons Chevaliers adorned with titles, and ribands, and stars. These were highly relished by that vain people; and the price of reception, which was very high, became a rich fund, that was generally applied to relieve the wants of the banished British and Irish adherents of the unfortunate Family who had taken refuge among them. Three new degrees, of Novice, Elder and Chevalier, were soon added, and the Perfect Master had now seven receptions to go through, for each of which a handsome contribution was made. Afterwards, when the first beneficent purpose of this contribution ceased to exist, the finery that now glittered in all the Lodges made a still more craving demand for reception-money, and it was set to work to invent new baits for the Perfect Master. More degrees of chivalry were added, interspersed with degrees of Phikjophe, PeUeriny Clairvoyant &c. &c. till some Parisian Lodges had forty

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ei-IAf*. I. FREE MASONRY. 27

five ranks of Masonry, having fifteen orders of chivalry. For a Knighthood, with a Riband and a Star, was a *bonne heuche*, given at every third step. For a long while these degrees of chivalry proceeded on some faint analogies with several orders of chivalry which had been erected in Europe. All of these had some reference to some mystical doctrines of the Christian church, and were, in fact, contrivances of the Church of Rome for securing and extending her influence on the laymen of rank and fortune, whom she retained in her service by these play-things. The Knights Templars of Jerusalem, and the Knights of the Deferr, whose office it was to protect pilgrims, and to defend the holy city, afforded very apt models for Masonic mimicry, because the Temple of Solomon, and the Holy Sepulchre, always shared the same fate. Many contested doctrines of the theologians had also their Chevaliers to defend them.

In all this profane mummerly we see much of the hand of the jesuits, and it would seem that it was encouraged by the church. But a thing happened which might easily have been foreseen. The Lodges had become familiar with this kind of invention ; the professed object of many real Orders of Knighthood was often very whimsical, or very refined and far-fetched, and it required all the finelTe of the clergy to give to it some slight connexion with religion or morality. The Masons, protected by their secrecy, ventured to go farther. The declamations in the lodges by the Brother orator, might naturally resemble the compositions of the ancient sophists, and consist of wire-drawn dissertations on the social duties, where every thing is amplified and strained to hyperbole, in their far-fetched and fanciful explanations of the symbols of Masonry. Thus accustomed to allegory, to fiction, to finesse, and to a sort of innocent hypocrisy by which they cajoled themselves

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into a notion that this child's-play had at bottom a serious and important meaning, the zealous champions of Free Masonry found no inclination to check this inventive spirit or circumscribe its flights. Under the protection of Masonic secrecy, they planned schemes of a different kind, and instead of more Orders of Chivalry directed against the enemies of their faith, they formed associations in opposition to the ridiculous and oppressive ceremonies and superstitions of the church. There can be no doubt, that in those hidden assemblies, a free communication of sentiment was highly relished and much indulged. It was soon suspected that such use was made of the covert of a Mason Lodge; and the church dreaded the consequences, and endeavoured to suppress the Lodges. But in vain. And when it was found, that even auricular confession, and the spiritual threatenings of the church, could not make the Brethren break their oath of secrecy; a full confidence in their security made these free-thinking Brethren bring forward, with all the eagerness of a missionary, such sentiments as they were afraid to hazard in ordinary society. This was long suspected; but the rigours of the church only served to knit the Brethren more firmly together, and provoked them to a more eager exercise of their bold criticisms. The Lodges became schools of scepticism and infidelity, and the spirit of conversion or proselytism grew every day stronger. Cardinal Dubois had before this time laboured with all his might to corrupt the minds of the

courtiers, by patronizing, directly and indirectly, all sceptics who were otherwise men of talents. He gave the young courtiers to understand, that if he should obtain the reins of government, they should be entirely freed from the bis-otry of Louis XIV. and the oppression of the church, and should have the free indulgence of their inclinations. His own plans were

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CHAP. I. FREE MASONRY. fi^

disappointed by his deaths but the Regent Orleans was equally indulgent, and in a few years there was hardly a man in France who pretended knowledge and reflection, who did not laugh at all religion. Amidst the almost infinite number of publications from the French presses, there is hardly a dozen to be found where the author attempts to vindicate religion from the charges of universal superstition and falsehood. And it must be acknowledged that little else was to be seen in the established religion of the kingdom. The people found nothing in Christianity but a never-ceasing round of insignificant and troublesome ceremonies, which consumed their time, and furnished a fund for supporting a set of lordly and oppressive dignitaries, who declared in the plainest manner their own disbelief of their religion, by their total disregard of common decency, by their continual residence at court, and by absolute neglect, and even the most haughty and oppressive treatment of the only part of their order that took any concern about the religious sentiments of the nation, namely the Cures or parish-priests. The monks appeared only as lazy drones; but the parish-priests instructed the people, visited the sick, reconciled the offender and the offended, and were the great mediators between the landlords and their vassals, an office which endeared them more to the people than all the other circumstances of their profession. And it is remarkable, that in all the licentious writings and biting satirical tales of the philosophic freethinkers, such as Voltaire, who never fails to have a taunting hit at the clergy, the Cure is generally an amiable personage, a charitable man, a friend to the poor and unfortunate, a peace-maker, and a man of piety and worth. Yet these men were kept in a state of the most slavish and cruel subjection by the higher orders of the clergy, and all hopes of advancement cut off. Rarely,

hardly

hardly ever, does it happen, that a Cure becomes a Bishop. The Abbess steps into every step of preferment. When such procedure is observed by a whole nation, what opinion can be formed but- that the whole is a vile cheat ? This however was the case in France, and therefore infidelity was almost universal. Nor was this overtrained freedom or licentiousness confined to religious opinions. It was perhaps more naturally directed to the restraints arising from civil subordination. The familiar name of Brother could not but tickle the fancy of those of inferior rank, when they found themselves side by side with persons whom they cannot approach out of doors but with cautious respect; and while these men of rank have their pride lulled a little, and perhaps their hearts a little softened by the hackneyed cant of sentimental declamation on the topic of Brotherly love and Utopian felicity, the others begin to fancy the happy days arrived, and the light of philanthropy beaming from the east and illuminating the Lodge. The Garret Pamphleteer enjoys his fancied authority as Senior Warden, and conducts with affectionate solemnity the young nobleman, who pants for the honour of Membership, and he praises the trusty Brother who has guarded him in his perilous journeys round the room. What topic of declamation can be more agreeable than the equality of the worthy Brethren ? and how naturally will the Brother Orator in support of this favourite topic, Aids into all the common-place pictures of human society, freed from all the anxieties attending civil distinction, and passing their days in happy simplicity and equality. From this (state of the fancy, it is hardly a step to descant on the propriety, the expediency, and at last, the justice of such an arrangement of civil society \ and in doing this, one cannot avoid taking notice of the great obstructions to human felicity which we see in every

quarter.

CHAPTER I. TREE MASONRY. ^I

quarter, proceeding from the abuses of those distinctions of rank and fortune which have arisen in the world : and as the mischiefs and horrors of superstition are topics of continual declamation to those who wish to throw off the restraints of religion ; for the oppression of the rulers of this world, and the sufferings of talents and worth in inferior [stations, will be no less greedily listened to by all whose notions of morality are not very pure, and

who would be glad to have the enjoyments of the wealthy without the trouble of labouring for them. Free Masonry may be affirmed to have a natural tendency to foster such levelling wishes; and we cannot doubt but that great liberties are taken with those subjects in the Lodges, especially in countries where the distinctions of rank and fortune are strongly expressed and noticed.

But it is not a matter of mere probability that the Mason Lodges were the seminaries of these libertine instructions. We have direct proof of it, even in some of the French degrees. In the degree called the Chevalier des Sciences, the whole instruction is aimed against the established religion of the kingdom. The professed object is the emancipation from error and the discovery of truth. The inscription in the east is Sagittaire that in the north is L'hermine that in the south is Fermeté, and in the west it is Caution; terms which are very significant. The Tres Venerable is Adam; the Senior Warden is Truth, and all the Brethren are Children of Truth. The process of reception is very well contrived: the whole ritual is decent and circumspicious, and nothing occurs which can alarm the modest Brother Truth is asked. What is the hour? He informs Father Adam, that among men it is the hour of darkness, but that it is mid-day in the Lodge. The candidate is asked. Why he has knocked at the door, and what is become of his eight companions he is one of

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the Elus)? He says, that the world is in darkness, and his companions and he have lost each other; that Hejperus the star of Europe, is obscured by clouds of incense, offered up by superstition to despots. Who have made themselves gods, and have retired into the inmost recesses of their palaces, that they may not be recognized to be men, while their priests are deceiving the people, and causing them to worship these divinities. This and many similar sentiments are evident allusions to the pernicious doctrine of the book called Origine du Despotisme Oriental, where the religion of all countries is considered as a mere engine of state where it is declared that reason is the only light which nature has given to man: that our anxiety about futurity has made us imagine endless torments in a future world; and

that princes, taking advantage of our weakness, have taken the management of our hopes and fears, and directed them so as to suit their own purposes and emancipation from the fear of death is declared to be the greatest of all deliverances. Questions are put to the candidate, tending to discover whether and how far he may be trilled, and what sacrifices he is willing to make in search after truth.

This shape given to the plastic mysteries of Masonry was much relieved, and in a very short time this new path was completely explored, and a new series of degrees was added to the list, viz. the Novice, and the Elil de la Verite, and the Sublime Hierophyte. In the progress through these degrees, the Brethren must forget that they have formerly been Chevaliers de l'Orient, Chevaliers de l'Aigle when the symbols were all explained as typical of the life and immortality brought to light by the gospel. Indeed they are taught to class this among the other clouds which have been dispelled by the sun of reason. Even in the Chevalerie de l'Aigle there is a twofold explanation given of the symbols, by

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which a lively imagination may conceive the whole history and peculiar doctrines of the New Testament, as being typical of the final triumph of reason and philosophy over error. And perhaps this degree is the very first step in the plan of Illumination.

We are not to suppose that this was carried to extremity at once. But it is certain, that before 1743, it had become universal, and that the Lodges of Free Masons had become the places for making profcyces to every franchise and obnoxious doctrine. Theurgy. Cofincgny, Cabala and many whimsical and mythical doctrines which have been grafted on the distinguishing tenets and the pure morality of the Jews and Christians, were subjects of frequent discussion in the Lodges. The celebrated Chevalier Ramsay had a great share in all this business. Affectionately attached to the family of Stuart and to his native country, he had co-operated heartily with those who endeavoured to employ Masonry in the service of the Pretender, and, availing himself of the pre-eminence given (at least perhaps as a courtly compliment) to Scotch Masonry, he laboured to show that it existed, and indeed arose, during the Crusades, and that there really was either an order

of chivalry whose business it was to rebuild the Christian churches destroyed by the Saracens, or that a fraternity of Scotch Masons were thus employed in the East, under the protection of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He found some places which were thought sufficient grounds for such an opinion, such as the building of the college of these Knights in London, called the Temple, which was actually done by the public Fraternity of Masons who had been in the holy wars. It is chiefly to him that we are indebted for that rage of Masonic chivalry which distinguishes the French Free Masonry. Rainey was as eminent for his piety as he was for his enthusiasm, but his opinions

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14 THE SCHISMS IN CHAP. I

were singular. His eminent learning, his elegant talents, his amiable character, and particularly his estimation at court, gave great influence to every thing he said on a subject: which was merely a matter of fashion and amusement. Whoever has attended much to human affairs, knows the eagerness with which men propagate all singular opinions, and the delight which attends their favourable reception. None are more zealous than the apostles of infidelity and atheism. It is in human nature to catch with greediness any opportunity of doing what lies under general restraint. And if our apprehensions are not completely quieted, in a case where our wishes lead us strongly to some favourite but hazardous object, we are conscious of a kind of self-bullying. This naturally gets into our discourse, and in our eagerness to get the encouragement of joint adventurers, we enforce our tenets with an energy, and even a violence, that is very inconsistent with the subject in hand. If I am an Atheist, and my neighbour a Theist, there is surely nothing that should make me violent in my endeavours to rid him of his error. Yet how violent were the people of this party in France.

These facts and observations fully account for the zeal with which all this patch-work addition to the simple Free Masonry of England was profecuted in France. It surprises us Britons, who are accustomed to consider the whole as a matter of amusement for young men, who are glad of any pretext for indulging in conviviality. We generally consider a man advanced in life with his respect, if he shows any serious attachment to such things. But in

France, the civil and religious restraints in conversation made these secret assemblies very precious; and they were much frequented by men of letters, who there found an opportunity of expressing in fact their dissatisfaction

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with those restraints, and with that inferiority of rank and condition to which they were subjected and which appeared to themselves so inadequate to their own talents and merits. The Advocates at the Parliament, the unblessed Abbots, the young men of no fortune, and the Jansenist philosophers, formed a numerous band frequented the Lodges, and there discussed every topic of religion and politics. Specimens of this occupation appeared from time to time in Collections of Discourses delivered by the Freres Ordres. I once had in my possession two volumes of these discourses, which I now regret that I left in a Lodge on the continent, when my reliance for Free Masonry had forsaken me. One of these is a discourse by Brother Robinet, delivered in the Lodge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Sainte Cité at Lyons, at a visitation by the Grand Master the Duke de Chartres, afterwards Orleans and Egalité. In this discourse we have the germ and substance of his noted work. *La Nature, ou l'Homme Moral et Physique** In another discourse, delivered by Brother Condorcet in the Lodge des Philakthes at Strasbourg, we have the outlines of his posthumous work, *Le Progrès de l'Esprit humain*; and in another, delivered by Mirabeau in the Lodge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Paris, we have a great deal of the levelling principles, and cosmopolitanism, which he thundered from the tribunes of the National Assembly. But the most remarkable performances of this kind are, the *Archives Mystico-Hermetiques* and *l'Essai Des Erreurs et de la Verité*. The first is considered as an account, historical and dogmatical, of the procedure and system of the Lodge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants

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* And I may add the *Système de la Nature* of Diderot, who corrected the crude whims of Robinet by the more refined mechanism of Hartley.

of Citizenship of the World, from the Greek words *Cosmos*, world, and *Pollis* a city.

at Lyons. This was the most: zealous and systematic of all the cosmopolitical Lodges in France. It worked long under the patronage of its Grand Master the Due des Chartres^ afterwards Orleans^ and at last the Egalite. It sent out many affiliated Lodges, which were erected in various parts of the French dominions. The daughter Lodges at Paris, Strasbourg, Lille, Thoulouze, took the additional title of Philadelphes. There arose some schisms, as may be expedient, in an Association where every man is encouraged to broach and to propagate any the most singular opinion. These schisms were continued with some heat, but were in a great measure repaired in Lodges which took the name of *ymis reunis de la Verite* One of this denomination at Paris became very eminent. The mother Lodge at Lyons extended its correspondence into Germany, and other foreign countries, and sent constitutions or systems, by which the Lodges conducted their operations.

I have not been able to trace the steps by which this Lodge acquired such an ascendancy ; but I see, that in 1769 and 1770, all the refined or philosophical Lodges in Alsace and Lorraine united, and in a convention at Lyons, formally put themselves under the patronage of this Lodge, cultivated a continual correspondence, and considered themselves as professed; one of the Faith, sufficiently distinguished from that of other Lodges. What this was I do not very distinctly know. We can only infer it from some historical circumstances. One of its favourite daughters, the Lodge Theodor von der guten Rath by at Munich, became so remarkable for discourses dangerous to church and state, that the Elector of Bavaria, after repeated admonitions during a course of five or six years, was obliged to suppress it in 1786. Another of its sister Lodges at Regensburg became exceedingly obnoxious to the

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dare, and occasioned several commotions and insurrections. Another, at Paris, gradually refined into the Jacobin club—And in the year 1791, the Lodges in Alsace and Lorraine, with those of Spire and Worms, invited Custine into Germany, and delivered Mentz into his hands.

When we reflect on these historical facts, we get some key to the better understanding of the two performances which I mentioned as descriptive of

the opinions and occupations of this Sed; of Free-Mafons. The Archives Myfrico-Hermetiques exhibit a vei-y (Irange mixture of Myfticifm, Theofophy, Cabaliftic whim, real Science, Fanaticifm, and Freethinking, both in religion and politics. They mud not be confidered as an account of any fettled fyftem, but rather as annals of the proceedings of the Lodge, and abftra6ls of the llrange doctrines whichmade their fucefiiveappearance in it. But if an intelligent and cautious reader examine them, attentively, he will fee, that the book is the work of one hand, and that all the wonders and oddities are caricatured, 'lo as to engrofs the general attention, while they aifo are twifted a little, fo that in one way or another they accord with a general fpirit of licentioufnefs in morals, religion, and politics. Although every thing is exprelTed decently, and with fome caution and moderation, atheifm, materialifm, and difcontent vv^ith civil fubordination, pervade the whole. It is a work of great art. By keeping the ridicule and the danger of fuperftition and ignorance continually in view, the mind is captivated by the relief which free enquiry and communication of fentiment feems to fecure, and we are put off our guard againft the rifle of delufion, to which we are expofed when our judgment is warped by our paffTions.

The other book, " Des Erreurs et de la Verire," came tl-om the lame fchool, and is a fort of holy fcrip

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3\$ THE SCHISMS IN GHAP. I.

tnre, or at lead a Talmud among the Free Mafons of France. It is intended only for the initiated^ and is indeed a myftery to any other reader. But as the object of it was to fpread the favourite opinions of fome enthufiaftic Brethren, every thing is laid that does not diretdly betray the fcretsofthe Order. It contains a fyftefn of Theofophy that has often appeared in the writings of philofophers, both in ancienc and modern times. *' All the intelligence and moral fentiment *' that appears in the univerfe, either dire6lly, as in " the minds of men, or indiredly, as an inference ^^ from the marks of defign that we fee around us, fome " of which Ihow us that men have adted, and many " more that fome other intelligence has a6l:ed, are con*' fidered as parts or portions of a general mafs of in*' teliigence which exifts in the univerfe, in the fame *' manner as matter exifts in it. This

intelligence has ^{*}an inscrutable connexion with the material part of [<]the universe, perhaps resembling the connexion, ^{<<}equally unfathomable, that subsists between the mind ^{^^}and body of man ³ and it may be considered as the [<]Soul of the World. It is this subsistence, the natural [<]object of wonder and respect, that men have called [<]God, and have made the object of religious worship. In doing so they have fallen into gross mistakes, and have created for themselves numerous unfounded hopes and fears, which have been the source of superstition and fanaticism, the most destructive plagues that have ever afflicted the human ^{*}race. The Soul of Man is separated from the general mass of intelligence by some of the operations ^{**}of nature, which we shall never understand, just as ^{^^}water is raised from the ground by evaporation, or ["]taken up by the root of a plant. And as the water, ^{**}after an unfathomable train of changes, in which it ^{**}sometimes makes part of a flower, sometimes part

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^{*}of an animal ^{&c.} is at last reunited, in its original ["]form, to the great mass of waters, ready to run over ["]the same circle again ; so the Soul of Man, after ["]performing its office, and exhibiting all that train ["]of intellectual phenomena that we call human life, ^{*}is at last swallowed up in the great ocean of intellectual [^]intelligence." The author then may say

•^{*} Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,

" Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum

^{**} Subiecit pedibus, frepitumque Acherontis avari."

For he has now got to his asylum. This deity of his may be the object of wonder, like every thing great and incomprehensible, but not of worship, as the moral Governor of the universe. The hopes are at end, which rest on our notions of the immortality and individuality of the human soul, and on the encouragement which religion holds forth to believe, that improvement of the mind in the course of this life, by the exercise of wisdom and of virtuous dispositions, is but the beginning of an endless progress in all that can give delight to the rational and well-disposed mind. No relation now subsists between man and Deity that can vivify the heart. But, as this is contrary to

some natural propensity in the human mind, which in all ages and nations has panted after some connection with Deity, the author strives to avail himself of some cold principles of symmetry in the works of nature, some ill-supported notions of propriety, and other such considerations, to make this *anima mundi* an object of love and respect. This is done in greater detail in another work, *Tableau des rapports entre l'homme et Dieu, et l'homme et l'homme* which is undoubtedly by the same hand. But the intelligent reader will readily see, that such incongruous things cannot be reconciled, and that we can expect nothing here but sophistry. The author

proceeds.

proceeds, in the next place to consider man as related to man and to trace out the path to happiness in this life. Here we have the same overstrained morality as in the other work, the same universal Benevolence, the same lamentations over the miserable fate of mankind, resulting from the oppression of the powerful, the great ones of the earth, who have combined against the happiness of mankind, and have succeeded, by debasing their minds, so that they have become wretched slaves. This could not have been brought about without the assistance of superstition. But the princes of this world enlisted into their service the priests, who exerted themselves in darkening the understandings of men, and filled their minds with religious terrors. The altar became the chief pillar of the throne, and men were held in complete subjection. Nothing can recover them from this abject state but knowledge. While this dispels their fears, it will also show them their rights, and the way to attain them.

It deserves particularly to be remarked, that this system of opinions (if such an inconsistent mass of assertions can be called a system) bears a great resemblance to a performance of Toland's, published in 1720, called *Pantheismus seu Celestis Sceleris Secretum*. It is an account of the principles of a Fraternity which he calls *Socratica*, and the *Brothers of the Sun*. They are supposed to hold a Lodge, and the author gives a ritual of the procedure in this Lodge -, the ceremonies of opening and shutting of the Lodge, the admission of Members into its different degrees, &c. Reason is the Sun that illuminates the world, and Liberty and Equality are the objects of their occupations.

We shall see afterwards that this book was fondly pushed into Germany, translated, commended upon, and so misrepresented, as to call off the attention from

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the real spirit of the book, which is intentionally wrapped up in cabala and enigma. Mirabeau was at much pains to procure it notice ; and it must therefore be considered as a treatise of the confidential opinions of the Association of Chevaliers Bienfaisants[^] Philalthes[^] and Amis Reunis who were called the improved Lodges, working under the D. de Chartres— of these there were 266 in 1784. This will be found a very important remark. Let it also be recollected afterwards, that this Lodge of Lyons sent a deputy to a grand Convention in Germany in 1772, viz. Mr. Willermooz, and that the business was thought of such importance, that he remained there two years.

The book Des Erreurs et de la Verite[^] must therefore be considered as a classical book of these opinions. We know that it originated in the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Lyons. We know that this Lodge stood as it were at the head of French Free Masonry, and that the fictitious Order of Masonic Knights Templars was formed in this Lodge, and was considered as the model of all the rest of this mimic chivalry. They proceeded so far in this mummery, as even to have the clerical tonsure. The Duke of Orleans, his son, the Elector of Bavaria, and some other German Princes[^] did not scruple at this mummery in their own persons. In all the Lodges of reception, the Brother Orator never failed to exclaim on the topics of superstition, blind to the exhibition he was then making", or indifferent as to the vile hypocrisy of it. We have, in the lists of Orators and Office-bearers, many names of persons, who have had an opportunity at least of proclaiming their sentiments in public. The Abbe Sieyes was of the Lodge of Philalthes at Paris, and also at Lyons. Lequinio, author of the most profligate book that ever disgraced a press, the Prejuges vaincus par la Raison, was Warden in the Lodge CcmPrJJe Sociale,

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Dcpremenil, Baiily, Faucher, Maury, Mounier, were of the fame lyftem, though in cii(^ercnt Lodges. They were called Martinifts, from a St. Martin, who formed a fchifm in the fyftem of the Chevaliers Bienfaijants, of which we have not any very precife account. Mercier gives fome account of it in his Tableau de PariSy and in his Anne 2440. The breach alarmed the Brethren, and occafioned great heats. But it was healed, and the Fraternity took the name of Mija du Re7ns, which is an anagram oi'd:s Amis Reimis. The_Bifhop of Aiiun, the man fo bepraifed as the benevolent Citizen of the World, the friend of mankind and of o^ood order, was Senior Warden of another Lodo-e at Paris, efiablifhed in 1786, (I think chieiiy by Orleans and himfclf,) which afterv/ards became the Jacobin Club. In fhort, we may aflert with confidence, that the Mafon Lodges in France were the hot-beds, where the feeds were fown, and tenderly reared, of all the pernicious dodrines which foon after choaked every moral or religious cultivation, and have made the Society worie than a waile, have made it a noifome marfn of human corruption, filled with every rank and poilbnous weed.

Thefe Lodges were frequented by perfons of all ranks, and of every profefTion. The idle and the frivolous found amufement, and glittering things to tickle their fatiated fancies. There they becamic the dupes of the declamations of the crafty and licentious Abbes, and writers of every denomination. Mutual encouraoement in the induioence of hazardous thoughts and opinions which flatter our wifl-ies or propenfities is a lure which few minds can refill. I believe that moft men have felt this in fome period of their lives. I can find no other way of accounting for the company j that I havelbmetimes feen in a Mafon Lodge. The ' Lodge de la Farfaite Intelligcme at Liege, contained, in

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December 1770, the Prince Bifnop, and the greateft part of his Chapter, and all the Office-bearers were dignitaries of the church j yet a dircourfe given by the Brother Orator was as poignant a fatire on fuperftition and credulity, as if it had been written by Voltaire. It was under the aufpices of this Lodge that the collection of difcourfes, which I mentioned above, v/as publifhed, and there is no fault found with Brother Robiner, nor Brother Condorcet.

Indeed the Trefonciers of Liege were proverbial, even in Brabant, for their Epicurifm in the moft extenfive fenfe of the word.

Thus was corruption fpread over the kingdom under the mafk of moral in(tru)ction. For thefe difcourfes were full of the mod refined and drained morality, and florid paintings of Utopian felicity, in a ilate where all are Brothers and citizens of the world. But alas ! thefe wire-drawn principles feem to have had little influence on the hearts, even of thofe who could beft: difplay their beauties. Read the tragedies of Voltaire^ and fome of his grave performances in profe—What man is there who feems better to know his Mailer's will ? No man exprelles with more propriety, with more exa)tnefs, the feelings of a good mind. No man feems more fenfible of the immutable obligation of juftice and of truth. Yet this man, in his tranfactions with his bookfellers, with the very men to whom he was immediately indebted for his affluence and his fame, was repeatedly, nay inceiTantly, guilty of the meanef:, the vileft tricks. When he fold a work for an enormous price to one bookfeiler, (even to Cramer, whom he really refpe)led,) he took care that a furreptitious edition fhould appear in Holland, almoft at the fame moment. Proof-iliets have been traced from Ferney to Amfterdam. When a friend of Cramer's expoflulated with Vokaire on the injuftice of this condud, he fidd;, grinning, Oh le ton Crame'r—ch Men—//

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n'a que d' etre du parti—he may take a fliare—he vvill not give me a liv^re the lefs for the firft piece I offer him. Where iliall we fee more tendernefs, more honour^ more love of every thing that is good and fair, than in Diderot's Pere de Fa?nille?—Yet this man did not fcruple to fell to the Emprefs of Ruffia animmenfe library^ which he did not poiTefs, for an enormous price, having got her promife that it fhould remain in his poiTeffion in Paris during his life. When her ambaffador wanted to fee it, after a year or tvv^o's payments, and the vifitation could be no longer ftaved off^ Diderot was obliged to fet o^ in a hurry, and run through all the bookfellers fliops in Germany, to help him to fill his empty Iheives. He had the good fortune to fave appearances— but the trick took air, becaufe he had been niggardly in his attention to the ambafTador's fecretary. This, however, did not hinder him from honouring his Imperi?!. pupil with a vifit.

He expected adoration, as the light of the world, and was indeed received by the Ruffian courtiers with all the childish fondness that they feel for every Parisian mode. But they did not understand him, and as he did not like to lose money at play, they did not long court his company. He found his pupil too clear sighted. Ces philosophes, faibles, font beaux y vus de loin; mais de plus pres le diamant parait crystral. He had contrived a poor story, by which he hoped to get his daughter married in parade, and portioned by her Majesty—but it was seen through, and he was disappointed.

When we see the inefficacy of this refined humanity on these two apostles of philosophical virtue, we see ground for doubting of the propriety and expediency of trusting entirely to it for the peace and happiness of a (late, and we should be on our guard when we listen to the florid speeches of the Brother Orator, and his

congratulations on the emancipation from superstition and oppression, which will in a short time be effluated by the Chevaliers Bienfaisants^ the Philaethes, or any other set: of common-political Brethren.

I do not mean by all this to maintain, that the Mason Lodges were the sole corrupters of the public mind in France.--^No.—In all nations that have made much progress in cultivation^ there is a great tendency to corruption, and it requires all the vigilance and exertions of magistrates, and of moral instructors, to prevent the spreading of licentious principles and maxims of conduct. They arise naturally of themselves, as weeds in a rich soil; and, like weeds, they are pernicious, only because they are, w^here they should not be, in a cultivated field. Virtue is the cultivation of the human soul, and not the mere possession of good dispositions which all men have these in some degree, and occasionally exhibit them. But virtue supposes exertion; and, as the husbandman must be incited to his laborious task by some cogent motive, so must man be prompted to that exertion which is necessary on the part of every individual for the very existence of a great society: For man is indolent, and he is luxurious & he wishes for enjoyment, and this with little trouble. The less fortunate envy the enjoyments of others, and repine at their own inability to obtain the like. They see the idle in affluence. Few, even of good men, have the candour, nay, I may call it the wisdom, to think on the

activity and the labour which had procured those comforts to the rich or to their ancestors; and to believe that they are idle only because they are wealthy, but would be active if they were needy.— Such spontaneous reflexions cannot be expected in persons who are engaged in unceasing labour, to procure a very moderate share (in their elimination at least) of the comforts of life. Yet such reflexions would, in

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the main, be jud, and surely they would greatly tend to quiet the minds of the unsuccessful.

This excellent purpose may be greatly forwarded by a national establishment for moral instruction and admonition ; and if the public instructors should add all the motives to virtuous moderation which are fugr

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gelled by the considerations of genuine religion, every advice would have a tenfold influence. Religious and moral instructions are therefore, in their own nature, unequivocal supports to that moderate exertion of the authority arising from civil subordination, which the most refined philanthropist or common-polite acknowledges to be necessary for the very existence of a great and cultivated society. I have never known a scheme of Utopian happiness that did not contain some system of education, and I cannot conceive any system of education of which moral instruction is not a principal part. Such establishments are dictates of nature, and obtrude themselves on the mind of every person who begins to form plans of civil union. And in all existing societies they have indeed been formed, and are considered as the greatest

corridor and footer of those difcontents that are unavoidable in the minds of the unfuccefsful and the unfortunate. The ma^iftrate, therefore, whose profciTional habits lead him frequently to exert himfelf for the maintenance of public peace, cannot but fee the advantages of fuch ftated remembrancers of our duty. He will therefore fupport and cherifh this public eRabiifhment, which fo evidently affifbs him in his beneficent and important labours.

But all the evils of fociety do not fpring from the difcontents and the vices of the poor. The rich come in for a large and a confpicuous Hiare. They frequently abufe their advantages. Pride and haughty behaviour on their part rankle in the breafrs, and affed the tempers of their inferiors, already fretted by

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the hardfhips of their own condition. The rich alfo are luxurious; and are often needy. Grafping at every mean of gratification, they are inattentive to the rights of inferiors whom they defpife, and, defpifmg, opprefs. Perhaps their own fuperiority has: been acquired by injutlice. Perhaps moft fovcreignries have been acquired by cpprcfTion. Princes and Rulers are but men -, as fuch, they abufe many of their greated blefings. Obferving that religious hopes make the good refigned under the hardfhips of the prefent fcene, and that its terrors frequently refrain the bad -, they avail themfelves of thefe obfervations, and fupport religion as an engine of fate, and a mean of their own fecurity. But they are not contented with its real advantages ; and they are much more afraid of the repentment and the crimes of the offended profligate, than of the murmurs of the fuiTering worthy. Therefore they encourage fuperftition, and call to their aid the vices of the priefthood. The priefts are men of like paffions as other men, and it is no ground of peculiar blame that they alfo frequently yield to the temptations of their fituation. They are encouraged to the indulgence of the love of influence natural to all men, and they heap terror upon terror, to lubdue the minds of men, and darken their underlandings. Thus the moft honourable of all employments, the moral infiruccion of thefcate, is degraded to a vile trade, and is pradifed v^ith ail the deceit and rapacity of any other trade; and religion, from being the honour and the fafeguard of nation, becomes its greateft: difgrace and curfe.

When a nation has fallen into this lamentable state, it is extremely difficult to reform. Although nothing would so immediately and so completely remove all ground of complaint, as the re-establishing private virtue, this is of all others the least likely to be adopted. The really worthy, who see the mischief where it

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is, but who view this life as the school of improvement, and know that man is to be made perfect: through suffering, are the last persons to complain. The worthless are the most discontented, the most noisy in their complaints, and the least scrupulous about the means of redress. Not to improve the nation, but to advance themselves, they turn the attention to the abuses of power and influence. And they begin their attack where they think the place most defenceless, and where perhaps they expect assistance from a discontented garrison. They attack superstition, and are not at all solicitous that true religion (shall not suffer along with it. It is not perhaps, with any direct intention to ruin the state, but merely to obtain indulgence for themselves and the co-operation of the wealthy. They expect to be joined to by many who wish for the same indulgence; and thus it is that religious free-thinking is generally the first step of anarchy and revolution. For in a corrupted state, persons of all ranks have the same licentious wishes, and if superstitious fear be really an ingredient of the human mind, it requires some struggle to shake it off. Nothing is so effectual as mutual encouragement, and therefore all join against priest-craft; even the rulers forget their interest, which should lead them to support it. In such a state, the pure morality of true religion vanishes from the sight. There is commonly no remains of it in the religion of the nation, and therefore all go together.

Perhaps there never was a nation where all these cooperating causes had acquired greater strength than in France. Oppressions of all kinds were at a height. The luxuries of life were enjoyed exclusively by the upper classes, and this in the highest degree of refinement, so that the desires of the rest were whetted to the utmost. Religion appeared in its worst form, and seemed calculated

Ciliated folcly for procuring eilablifhments for the yoiinorer fons of the infolenc and ufciefs noblelfe. The morals of the higher orders of the clergy and of the laity were equally corrnpted. Thoufands of literary men were excluded by their ilation from all hopes of advancement ro the more ref]::)e6]:able offices in the church. Thefe vented their difconrents as far as there was fafety, and were encouraged by many of the upper clalTes, who joined them in their fatires on the priefthood. The clergy oppofed them, it is true, but feebly, becaufe they could not fupport their oppofition by examples of their ovvn virtuous behaviour, but were always obliged to have recourfe to the power of the church, the very objecl of hatred and difguil. The whole nation becam.e inficiel ; and when in a few inftances a worthy Cure uttered the fmall dill voice of true religion, it was not heard amidft the general noife of fatire and reproach. The mdfconducl of adminiftration, and the abufe of the public treafures, were every day growing mxore impudent and glaring, and expofed the ofovernment to continual criticifm. But it was ilill too powerful to fuller this to proceed to extremities ; while therefore infidelity and loofe fentiments of morality paiTed unpunihed, it was fill very hazardous to publifh any thing againft the fLare. It vv'as in this refpeft, chiefly, that the Mafon Lodges contributed to the difTemination of dangerous opinions, and they were employed for this purpofe all over the kingdom. This is not an affertion hazarded merely on account of its probability. Abundant proof will appear by and by, that the mod turbulent char:ici:ers in the nrition f^'cquented the Lodges. We cannot doubt, but that under'this covert they indulged their fadious difpoiitions ; ray, we fhall find the greateft part of the Lodges of France, converted, in the courfe of a vcrf few weeks, into correpondino: political focieries..

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But it is now time to turn our eyes to the progrefs of Free Malbnry in Germany and the north of Europe ; there it took a more ferious turn. Free Mafonry was imported into Germany fomewhat later than into France. The firft German Lodge that we have any account of is that at Cologne, erected in 1716, but very foon fuppreifed. Before the year 17C15 there were many, both in Proteiiant and CathoUc Germany. Thofe of Wetziar, Frankfort on the Mayne, Brunfwick, and Hamburg, are the oldell, and their priority is doubtful All of them received their inftitution from England, and had

patents from a mother Lodge in London. All seem to have got the mystery through the same channel, the banished friends of the Stuart family. Many of these were Catholics, and entered into the service of Austria and the Catholic princes.

The true hospitality, that is no where more conspicuous than in the character of the Germans, made this institution a most agreeable and useful passport to these gentlemen; and as many of them were in military stations, and in garrisons, they found it a very easy matter to set up Lodges in all parts of Germany. These afforded a very agreeable pastime to the officers, who had little to occupy them, and were already accustomed to a subordination which did not offend their vanity on account of family distinctions. As the Ensign and the General were equally gentlemen, the allegory or play of universal Brotherhood was neither novel nor ridiculous. Free Masonry was then of the simple form, confiding of the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master. It is remarkable, that the Germans had been long accustomed to the word, the do-n, and the phrase of the Masons, and some other handicraft trades. In many parts of Germany there was a distinction of operative Masons into Wort

Maurers

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Masters and Schrift-Maurers. The Wort-Maurers had no other proof to satisfy of their having been regularly brought up to the trade of builders, but the word and signs -, the Schrift-Maurers had written indentures to shew. There are extant and in force, boroughlaws, enjoining the Masters of Masons to give employment to journeymen who had the proper words and sign. In particular it appears, that some cities had more extensive privileges in this respect than others. The word given at Wetzlar, the seat of the great council of revision for the empire, entitled the possessor to work over the whole empire. We may infer from the processes and decisions in some of those municipal courts, that a master gave a word and token for each year's progress of his apprentice. He gave the word of the incorporated Imperial city or borough on which he depended, and also a word peculiar to himself, by which all his own pupils could recognize each other. This mode of recognition was probably the only document of education in old times,

while writing was confined to a very small part of the community. When we reflect: on the nature of the German empire, a confederation of small independent states, we see that this profession cannot keep pace with the other mechanic arts, unless its practitioners are invested with greater privileges than others. Their great works exceed the strength of the immediate neighbourhood, and the workmen must be brought together from a distance. Their association must therefore be more cared for by the public*

When English Free Masonry was carried into Germany, it was hospitably received. It required little

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* Note. The Wort or Grubs-Maurer were abolished by an Imperial Edict: in 1731, and none were intitled to the privileges of the corporation but such as could show written indentures.

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effort to give it respectability, and to make it the occupation of a gentleman, and its secrets and mysteries were not such novelties as in France. It spread rapidly, and the simple topic of Brotherly love was sufficient for recommending it to the honest and hospitable Germans. But it soon took a very different turn. The German character is the very opposite of frivolity. It tends to seriousness, and requires serious occupation. The Germans are eminent for their turn for investigation; and perhaps they indulge this to excess. We call them plodding and dull, because we have little reason for enquiry for its own sake. But this is surely the occupation of a rational nature, and deserves any name but stupidity. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that the spirit of enquiry requires regulation as much as any propensity of the human mind. But it appears that the Germans are not nice in their choice of their objects; it appears that singularity, and wonder, and difficulty of research, are to them irresistible recommendations and incitements. They have always exhibited a strong predilection for every thing that is wonderful, or solemn, or terrible; and in spite of the great progress which men have made in the course of these two last centuries, in the knowledge of nature, a progress too in which we should be very unjust if

we did not acknowledge that the Germans have been generally in the foremost ranks, the gross absurdities of magic, exorcism, witchcraft, fortune-telling; transmutation of metals, and universal medicine, have always had their zealous partisans, who have listened with greedy ears to the nonsense and jargon of fanatics and cheats; and though they every day saw examples of many who had been ruined or rendered ridiculous by their credulity, every new pretender to secrets found numbers ready to listen to him, and to run over the same course.

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Free Masonry, professing mysteries, instantly roused all these people, and the Lodges appeared to the adventurers who wanted to profit by the enthusiasm or the avarice of their dupes, the licit places in the world for the scene of their operations. The Rosicrucians were the first: who availed themselves of the opportunity. This was not the Society which had appeared formerly under that name, and was now extinct, but a set of Alchemists, pretenders to the transmutation of metals and the universal medicine, who, the better to inveigle their votaries, had mixed with their own tricks a good deal of the absurd superstitious of that sect, in order to give a greater air of mystery to the whole, to protract the time of insurrection, and to afford more room for evasions, by making so many difficult conditions necessary for perfecting the grand work, that the unfortunate gull, who had thrown away his time and his money, might believe that the failure was owing to his own incapacity or unfitness for being the possessor of the grand secret. These cheats found it convenient to make Masonry one of their conditions, and by a small degree of art, persuaded their pupils that they were the only true Masons. These Rosicrucian Lodges were soon multiplied, and became numerous, because their mysteries were addressed, both to the curiosity, the knavery, and the avarice of men. They became a very formidable band, adopting the constitution of the Jesuits, dividing the Fraternity into circles, each under the management of its own superior, known to the president, but unknown to the individuals of the Lodges. These superiors were connected with each other in a way known only to themselves, and the whole was under one General. At least this is the account which they will

to be believed. If it be just, nothing but the absurdity of the often-fible motives of their occupations could have prevented

vented this combination from carrying on; on the other hand, with hazard to the peace of the world. But the Rosicrucian Lodges have always been considered by other Free Masons as bad Societies, and as grossly schismatical. This did not hinder, however, their alchemical and medical secrets from being frequently introduced into the Lodges of simple Free Masonry -, and in like manner, exorcism, or ghost-raising, magic, and other gross superstitious, were often held out in their meetings as attainable mysteries, which would be immense acquisitions to the Fraternity, without any necessity of admitting along with them the religious deliriums of the Rosicrucians.

In 1743, Baron Hume, a gentleman of honourable character and independent fortune, was in Paris, where he said he had not acquainted with the Earl of Kilmarnock and some other gentlemen who were about the

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Pretender, and learned from them that they had some wonderful secrets in their Lodges. He was admitted, through the medium of that nobleman, and of a Lord Clifford, and his Masonic patent was signed George (said to be the signature of Kilmarnock). Hume had attached himself to the fortunes of the Pretender, in hopes (as he says himself) of rising in the world under his protection. The mighty secret was this. When the Order of Knights Templars was abolished by Philip the Fair, and cruelly persecuted, some worthy persons escaped, and took refuge in the Highlands of Scotland, where they concealed themselves in caves. These persons possessed the true secrets of Masonry, which had always been in that Order, having been acquired by the Knights, during their travels in the East, from the pilgrims whom they occasionally protected or delivered. The Chevaliers de la Rose-Croix continued to have the same duties as formerly, though robbed of their

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^^ emoluments. In fine, every true Mafon is a Knight " Temiplar.*' It is very true that a clever fancy can accommodate the ritual of reception of the Chevalier de rEfee, &c. to fomething like the infitution of the Knights Templars, and perhaps this explanation of young Zerobabel's pilgrimage, and of the rebuilding of the Temple by Ezra, is the mofh (igr.ificant explanation that has been given of the meagre fymbols of Free Mafonry.'

AVhen Baron Hunde returned to Germany, he exhibited to feme friends his extenfve powers for propagating this fyftem of Mafonry, and made a few Knights. But he was not very a(flive. Probably the failure of the Pretender's attempt to recover the throne of his anceilors had put an end to Hunde's hopes of making a figure. In the mean time Free Mafonry was cultivated with zeal in Germany, and many adventurers found their advantage in fupporting particular fchifms.

But in 1756, or 1757, a complete revolution took place. The French officers v/ho were prifoners at large in Berlin, undertook, with the aflurance peculiar to their nation, to infrudl the fimple Germans in every thing that embellifhes fociety. They faid, that the honiefpun Free Mafonry, which had been imported from England, was fit only for the unpolifhed minds of the Britiuh; but that in France it had grown into an elegant fyftem, fit for the profcfion of Gentlemen. Nay, they (aid, that the Englilh v/ere ignorant of true Mafonry, and pofTeited nothing but the introduction to it; and even this was not underilood by them. When the ribbands and ftars, with which the French had ornamented the Order, were frown to the Germans, they could not refill the enchantment. A Mr. Rofa, a French commifary, brought from Paris a com[Jcte v/aggon load of Mafonic Qrnaments, which

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were all dliliibuted before It had reached Berlin, and he was obliged to order another, to furnlfli the Lodges of that city. It became for a while a moft profitable bufinefs to many French ofncers and commifaries difperfed over Germany, having little elfe to do. Every body gaped for inftru'flion, and thofe kind teachers were alv/ays ready to befrow it. Iti half a year Free Mafonry underwent a complete revolution all over Germany, and

Chevaliers multiplied without number. The Rofaic fyftern was a gofpel to the Mafons, and the poor Britifh fyftem was defpifed. But the new Lodges of Berlin, as they had been the teachers of the W'hole empire, wanted alfo to be the governors, and infilled on complete fubje6lion from all the others. This ftartled the Free Malbns at a diftance, and awakened them from their golden dreams. Now began a flruggle for dominion and for independency. This made the old Lodges think a little about the whole affair. The refuk of this was a counter revolution. Though no man could pretend that he underftood the true meaning of Free Mafonry, its origin, its hiftory, or its real aim, all faw that the interpretations of their hieroglyphics, and the rituals of the new degrees imported from France, were quite gratuitous. It appeared, therefore, that the fafeft thing for them was an appeal to the birth-place of Mafonry. They went to London for Inftru6tions. There they learned, that nothing was acknowledged for genuine unfophifticated Mafonry but the three degrees -, and that the mother Lodge of London alone could, by her inftru6tions, prevent the moft dangerous fchifms and innovations. Many Lodges, therefore, applied for patents and inftruc^tions. Patents were eafily made out, and moft willingly went to the zealous Brethren -, and thefe were thankfully received and paid for. But inftru6tion v/as not fo eafy a matter. At that time we had nothing

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but the book of conftitutionSj drawn up about 1720, by Anderfon and Defaguilliers, two perfons of little education, and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting. This, however, was received with refpe6l. We are apt to fmile at grave men's being fatistied with fuch coarfe and fcanty fare. But it was of ufe, merely becaufe it gave an oftenfible reafon for refitting thedefpotifm of the Lodges of Berlin. Several refpedtable Lodges, particularly that of Frankfort on the Mayne, that of Brunfwick, that of Wetzlar, and the Royal York of Berlin, refolutely adhered to the Englifh fyilem, and denied themfelves all the enjoyment of the French degrees, rather than acknowledge the fupremacy of the Rofaic Lodges of Berlin.

About the year 1764 a new revolution took place. An adventurer, who called himself Johnson, and passed himself for an Englishman, but who was really a German or Bohemian named Leucht, said that he was ambassador from the Chapter of Knights Templars at Old Aberdeen in Scotland, sent to teach the Germans what was true Masonry. He pretended to transmute metals, and some of the Brethren declared that they had seen him do it repeatedly. This reached Baron Hunsdorf, and brought back all his former enthusiasm. There is something very dark in this part of the history; for in a little Johnson told his partisans that the only point he had to inform them of was, that Baron Hunsdorf was the Grand Master of the 7th province of Masonry, which included the whole of Germany, and the royal dominions of Prussia. He showed them a map of the Masonic Empire arranged into provinces, each of which had distinguishing emblems. These are all taken from an old forgotten and insignificant book, Typologia Symbolica Divina et Humana, published in 1601. There is not the least trace in this book either of Masonry of Templars.

Johnson and the emblems are taken out without the smallest ground of foundation. Some inconsistency with the former magnificent promises of Johnson startled them at first, but they acquiesced and submitted to Baron Hunsdorf as Grand Master of Germany. Soon after Johnson turned out to be a cheat, escaped, was taken, and put in prison, where he died. Yet this seems not to have ruined the credit of Baron Hunsdorf. He erected Lodges, gave a few simple instructions, all in the system of English Masonry, and promised, that when they had approved themselves as good Masons, he would then impart the mighty secret. After two or three years of novitiate, a convention was held at Altenberg; and he told them that his whole secret was, that every true Mason was a Knight Templar. They were astonished, and disappointed; for they expected in general that he would teach them the philosopher's stone, or ghost-raising, or magic. After much discontent, falling out, and dispute, many Lodges united in this system, made somewhat moderate and palatable, under the name of the Strict Observances, Stricten Observanz. It was acceptable to many, because they imagined that they were really Knights, properly consecrated, though without temporalities and they anxiously sought themselves about forming a fund which should secure the Order in a landed property and revenue, which would give them a respectable civil existence. Hunsdorf declared that his

whole estate should devolve on the Order. But the vexations which he afterwards met with, and his falling in love with a lady who prevailed on him to become Roman Catholic, made him alter his intention. The Order went on, however, and acquired considerable credit by the serious regularity of their proceedings ; and, although in the mean time a new apostrophe of Myfteries, a Dr. Zinzendorff, one of the Strick-Observanz, introduced a new system.

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system, which he said was from Sweden, distinguished by some of the mystical doctrines of the Swedeborough sect; and though the system obtained the Royal patronage, and a National Lodge was established at Berlin by patent, still the Templar Order, or Orden des Stricken Observanz, continued to be very respectable. The German gentry were better pleased with a Grand Master of their own choosing, than with any imposed on them by authority.

During this (late of thirteenth, one Stark, a Protestant divine, well known in Germany by his writings, made another trial of public faith. One Guglielmo, (a private gentleman, but who would pass for son to a King of Cyprus), and one Schropfer, keeper of a coffeehouse at Nuremberg, drew crowds of Free Masons around them, to learn ghost-raising, exorcism, and alchemy. Numbers came from a great distance to Weisbad to attend and learn these mysteries, and Free Masonry was on the point of another revolution. Dr. Stark was an adept in all these things, and had contended with Cagliostro in Courland for the palm of Ibpriority. He saw that this deception could not long stand its ground. He therefore came forward, at a convention at Braunshweig in 1772, and said to the Superstitious or Templars, That he was of their Order, but of the spiritual department, and was deputed by the Chapter of Kilmartin in Scotland, where he was Chancellor of the Confraternity, and had the name of Archidemides, Equus ab Aquila fusa: That this Chapter had the superintendance of the Order: That they alone could consecrate the Knights, or their unknown superiors ; and that he was deputed to instruct them in the real principles of the Order, and impart his inestimable secrets, which could not be known to Baron Hume, as he would readily acknowledge whatever he should converse with him. Johnson, he said, had been

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a cheat, and probably a murderer. He had got some knowledge from papers which he must have stolen from a missionary, who had disappeared, and was probably killed. Gugomos and Schropfer must have had some similar information and Schropfer had even deceived him for a time. He was ready to execute his commission, upon their coming under the necessary obligations of secrecy and of submission. Hunde (whose name in the Order was the Equies ah Enje) acquiesced at once, and proposed a convention, with full powers to decide and accept. But a Schubart, a gentleman of character, who was treasurer to the Templar Masons, and had an employment which gave him considerable influence in the Order, strongly dissuaded them from such a measure. The most unqualified submission to unknown superiors, and to conditions equally unknown, was required previous to the smallest communication, or any knowledge of the powers which Archimedes had to treat with them. Many meetings were held, and many attempts were made to learn something of this spiritual court, and of what they might expect from them. Dr. Stark, Baron Weggenhak, Baron von Raven, and some others of his coadjutors in the Lodges at Koningberg in Prussia, and at Wismar, were received into the Order. But in vain—nothing was obtained from these ghostly Knights but some insignificant ceremonials of receptions and consecrations. Of this kind of novelties they were already heartily sick; and though they all panted after the expedited wonders, they were so much frightened by the unconditional submission, that they could come to no agreement, and the secrets of the Scotch Cononeration of K—m—d—t still remain with Dr. Stark. They did, however, a sensible thing, they sent a deputation to Old Aberdeen, to enquire after the caves where their venerable mystic's were known, and their treasures were hid. They

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had, as they thought, merited some more confidence; for they had remitted annual contributions to these unknown superiors, to the amount of some thousands of rix dollars. But alas ! their ambassadors found the Free Masons of Old Aberdeen ignorant of all this, and as eager to learn from the

ambassadors what was the true origin and meaning of Free Masonry, of which they knew nothing but the fabled tale of Old Hiram. This broke Stark's credit; but he still insisted on the reality of his commission, and laid that the Brethren at Aberdeen were indeed ignorant, but that he had never failed otherwise^ their expectations from that quarter had rested on the scraps purloined by Johnlon. He reminded them of a thing well known to themselves; that one of them had been sent for by a dying nobleman to receive papers on this subject, and that his visit having been delayed a few hours by an unavoidable accident, he found all burnt but a fragment of a capitulary, and a thing in cypher, part of which he (Dr. Stark) had explained to them. They had employed another gentleman, a H. Wachter, to make familiar enquiries in Italy, where Schropfer and others (even Hunde) had told them great secrets were to be obtained from the Pretender's secretary Appofi, and others. Wachter told them, that all this was a fiction, but that he had seen at Florence some Brethren from the Holy Land, who really possessed wonderful secrets, which he was willing to impart, on proper conditions. They, however, could not accede to -, but they were cruelly tortured by seeing Wachter, who had left Germany in peculiar circumstances, now a man of great wealth and expense. He would not acknowledge that he had got the secret of gold-making from the Asiatic Brethren; but said that no man had any right to ask him how^ he had come by his fortune. It was enough that he behaved honorably.

rably, and owed no man any thing. He broke off all connexions with them, and left them in great distress about their Order, and panting after his secrets. *Rifum taieatis amici*]

Stark, in revenge for the opposition he had met with from Schubart, left no stone unturned to hurt him with his Brethren, and succeeded, so that he left them in disgust. Hunde died about this time. A book appeared, called *The Stumbling Block and Rock of Offence*^ which betrayed (by their own confession) the whole secrets of the Order of Templars, and soon made an end of it, as far as it went beyond the simple English Masonry.

Thus was the faith of Free Masons quite unhinged in Germany. But the rage for mysteries and wonder was not in the least abated ; and the habits of these secret Assemblies were becoming every day more craving. Dissension and

schism was multiplying in every quarter; and the Institution, instead of being an incitement to mutual complaisance and Brotherly love, had become a source of contention, and of bitter enmity. Not satisfied with defending the propriety of its own Institutions, each System of Free Masonry was busy in enticing away the partisans of other Systems, fought their Lodges against each other, and proceeded even to vilify and persecute the adherents of every System but their own.

These animosities arose chiefly from the quarrels about precedence, and the arrogance (as it was thought) of the patent Lodge of Berlin, in pretending to have any authority in the other parts of the empire. But these pretensions were not the result of mere vanity. The French importers of the new degrees, always true to the glory of their nation, hoped by this means to secure the dependence even of this frivolous society; perhaps they might foresee political uses and benefits

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which might arise from it. One thing is worth notice : The French Lodges had all emanated from the great Confederation under the Duke de Chartres; and, even if we had no other proof, we might presume that they would cultivate the same principles that characterized that Set. But we are certain that infidelity and laxity of moral principles were prevalent in the Rofaic Lodges, and that the observation of this corruption had offended many of the former old-fashioned Lodges, and was one great cause of any check that was given to the brilliant Masonry of France. It is the observation of this circumstance, in which they all resembled, and which soon ceased to be a distinction, because it pervaded the other Lodges, that has induced me to expatiate more on this history of Free Masonry in Germany, than may appear to my readers to be adequate to the importance of Free Masonry in the general subject-matter of these pages. But I hope that it will appear in the course of my narration that I have not given it a greater value than it deserves.

About this very time there was a great revolution of the public mind in Germany, and scepticism, infidelity, and irreligion, not only were prevalent in the minds and manners of the wealthy and luxurious, and of the profligate of lower ranks, but began to appear in the productions of the

preis. Some circumstances, peculiar to Germany, occasioned these declensions from the former acquiescence in the faith of their forefathers to become more uniform and remarkable than they would otherwise have been. The confessions of Germany are the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran[^], (which they call Protestant,) and the Calvinist, (which they call Reformed). These are professed in many small contiguous principalities, and there is hardly one of them in which all the three have not free exercise. The desire of making professions is natural to all serious pre

scribers

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factors of a rational faith, and was frequently exercised. The Roman Catholics are supposed by us to be particularly zealous, and the Protestants (Lutherans and Calvinists) were careful to oppose them by every kind of argument, among which those of ridicule and reproach were not spared. The Catholics accused them of infidelity respecting the fundamental doctrines of Christianity which they professed to believe, and even with respect to the doctrines of natural religion. This accusation was long very highly supported - , but, of late, by better proofs. The spirit of free enquiry was the great boast of the Protestants, and the only support against the Catholics, securing them both in their religious and civil rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments. It is not to be wondered at that it should be indulged to excess, or improperly, even by serious men, liable to error, in their disputes with the Catholics. In the progress of this contest, even their own Confessions did not escape criticism, and it was ascertained that the Reformation which those Confessions express was not complete. Further Reforms were proposed. The Scriptures, the foundation of our faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views, till by explaining, correcting, allegorizing, and otherwise twisting the Bible, men's minds had hardly any thing left to rest on as a doctrine of revealed religion. This encouraged others to go farther, and to say that revelation was a fiction, as plainly appeared by the irreconcilable differences among those Enlighteners (so they were called) of the public, and that man had no thing to trust to but the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as a point already settled,

proscribed all religion whatever, and openly taught the doctrines of materialism and atheism. Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant

divines

divines, from the causes that I have mentioned. Teller, Semler, Eberhardt, Lessing, Bahrdt, Riem, and Shultz, had the chief hand in all these innovations. But no man contributed more than Nicolai, an eminent and learned bookeller in Berlin. He has been for many years the publisher of a periodical work, called the General German Library, (*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*;) consisting of original dissertations, and reviews of the writings of others. The great merit of this work, on account of many learned dissertations which appear in it, has procured it much influence on that class of readers whose leisure or capacity did not allow them a more profound kind of reading. This is the bulk of readers in every country. Nicolai gives a decided preference to the writings of the Enlighteners, and in his reviews treats them with particular notice, makes the public fully acquainted with their works, and makes the most favourable comments; whereas the performances of their opponents, or more properly speaking, the defenders of the National Creeds, are neglected, omitted, or barely mentioned, or they are criticized with every severity of ridicule and reproach. He fell upon a very sure method of rendering the orthodox writers disagreeable to the public, by representing them as the abettors of superstition, and as secret Jesuits. He asserted, that the abolition of the Order of Loyola is only apparent. The Brethren still retained their connexion, and most part of their property, under the secret patronage of Catholic Princes. They are, therefore, in every corner, in every habit and character, working with unwearied zeal for the reformation of their empire. He raised a general alarm, and made a journey through Germany, hunting for Jesuits, and for this purpose, became Free Mason and Rosicrucian, being introduced by his friends Gedicke and Biefler,

1 clergymen.

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clergymen, publishers of the Berlin Monatjchrift^ and moll zealous promoters of the new do6lriiies. This favour he has repaid at his return, by betraying the myfteries of the Lodges, and by much bitter fatire. His journey was publihed in feveral volumes, and is full of frightful Jefuitilms. This man, as I have faid, found the greateft fuccefs in his method of flandering the defenders of Bible-Chriltianicy, by reprefenting them as concealed Jefuits. But, not contented v;ith open difcufiion, he long ago publifhed a fort of romance, called Sehaldus 'Nothanker^ in which thef^ divines are introduced under feigned names, and made as ridiculous and deteftable as poftibie. All this was a good trading job3 for fceptical and free-thinking writings have every where a good market; and Nicholai was not only reviewer, but publilher, having preffes in different cities of the Empire. The immenfe literary manufa6lure of Germany, far exceeding that of any nation of Europe, is carried on in a very particular v/ay. The books go in fleets to the great fairs of Leipfic and Frankfort, twice a-year. The bookfellers meet there, and fee at one glance the ftate of literature j and having fpeculated and made their bargains, the books are infantly difperfed through every part of the Empire, and appear at once in all quarters. Although every Principality has an officer for licenfmg, it is impoTtible to prevent the currency of a performance, although it may be prohibited] for it is to be had by the carrier at three or four miles diftance in another ftate. By this mode of traffic, a plot m.ay be formed, and actually has been formed, for giving any particular turn to the literature of the country. There is an excellent work printed at Bern by the author Heinzmann, a bookfrller, called. Appeal to my Country concerning a Combination cf JWriterSy and Bookfellersi to rule the Literature of Germany^ and form

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the Puhlk Mind into a Centempt for the Religcn and Civil EftabliJJments of the Empire. It contains a hiilorical account of the publications in every branch of literature for about thirty years. The author flows, in the mod convincing naanner, that the prodigious change from the former fatifadion of the Germans on thofe fubjeds to their prefent difcontent and attacks from every quarter, is neither a fair pi^Uire of the prevailing fentiments, nor has been the iimple operation of things, but the refih of a combination of trading Infidels.

I have here somewhat anticipated, (for I hope to point out the sources of this combination,) because it helps to explain or illustrate the progress of infidelity and irreligion that I was speaking; of It was much accelerated by another circumstance. One Bafedow, a man of talents and learning, set up, in the Principality of Anhalt-DefTau, a Philanthropine, or academy of general education, on a plan extremely different from those of the Universities and Academies. By this appellation, the founder hoped to make parents expect that much attention would be paid to the morals of the pupils', and indeed the programs or advertisements by which Bafedow announced his institution to the public, described it as the professed seminary of practical Ethics. Languages, sciences, and the ornamental exercises, were here considered as mere accessories, and the great aim was to form the young mind to the love of mankind and of virtue, by a plan of moral education which was very precious and unexceptionable. But there was a circumstance which greatly obstructed the wide prospects of the founder. How were the religious opinions of the youth to be cared for? Catholic:, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were almost equally numerous in the adjoining Principalities; and the exclusion of any two of these communions would prodigiously limit the proposed usefulness

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of the institution. Bafedow was a man of talents, a good scholar, and a persuasive writer. He framed a set of rules, by which the education should be conducted, and which, he thought, should make every parent easy -, and the plan is very judicious and manly. But none came but Lutherans. His zeal and interest in the thing made him endeavour to interest others; and he found this no hard matter. The people of condition, and all sensible men, saw that it would be a very great advantage to the place, could they induce men to send their children from all the neighbouring states. What we wish, we readily believe to be the truth; and Bafedow's plan and reasonings appeared complete, and had the support of all classes of men. The moderate Calvinists, after some time, were not averse from them, and the literary manufacture of Germany was soon very busy in making pamphlets,

defending, improving, attacking, and reprobating the plans. Innumerable were the projects for moderating the differences between the three Christian communions of Germany, and making it possible for the members of them all, not only to live amicably among each other, and to worship God in the same church, but even to communicate together. This attempt naturally gave rise to much speculation and refinement and the proposals for amendment of the formulas and the intrusions from the pulpit were prosecuted with so much keenness, that the ground-work, Christianity, was refined and refined, till it vanished altogether, leaving Deism, or Natural, or, as it was called, Philosophical Religion, in its place. I am not much mistaken as to historical fact, when I say, that the astonishing change in religious doctrine which has taken place in Protestant Germany within these last thirty years was chiefly occasioned by this scheme of Bayle's. The predisposing causes existed, indeed, and

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were general and powerful, and the disorder had already broken out. But this specious and enticing object first gave a title to Protestant clergymen to put to their hand without risk of being censured.

Bayle corrected, and corrected again, but not one Catholic came to the Philanthropine. He seems to have thought that the best plan would be, to banish all positive religion whatever, and that he would then be sure of Catholic scholars. Cardinal Dubois was so far right with respect to the first Catholic pupil of the church. He had recommended a man of his own stamp to Louis XIV. to fill some important office. The monarch was astonished, and told the Cardinal, that "that would never do, for the man was a Janse"nist; Eh! que n'en. Sire!" said the Cardinal, "il n'est qu' Athee;" all was safe, and the man got the priory. But though all was in vain, Bayle's Philanthropine at Delft got a high character. He published many volumes on education that have much merit.

It were well had this been all. But most unfortunately, though most naturally, writers of loose moral principles and of wicked hearts were encouraged by the impunity which the sceptical writers experienced, and ventured to publish things of the vilest tendency, inflaming the passions and justifying licentious manners. These maxims are congenial with irreligion

and Atheism, and the books found a quick market. It was chiefly in the Prussian States that this went on. The late King was, to say the best of him, a naturalist, and, holding this life for his all, gave full liberty to his subjects to write what they pleased, provided they did not touch on state matters. He declared, however, to a minister of his court, long before his death, that "he" was extremely sorry that his indifference had produced such effects in that he was sensible it had greatly

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"contributed to hurt the peace and mutual good treatment of his subjects;" and he felt, "that he would willingly give up the glory of his bed-fought battle, to have the satisfaction of leaving his people in the same state of peace and satisfaction with their religious establishments, that he found them in at his accession to the throne." His successor Frederick William found that things had gone much too far, and determined to support the church-establishment in the most peremptory manner; but at the same time to allow perfect freedom of thinking and conforming to the professions of every Christian faith, provided it was enjoyed without disturbing the general peace, or any encroachment on the rights of those already supported by law. He published an edict to this effect, which is really a model worthy of imitation in every country. This was the epoch of a strange revolution. It was attacked from all hands, and criticisms, satires, flanders, threatenings, poured in from every quarter. The independency of the neighbouring states, and the monarch's not being a great favourite among several of his neighbours, permitted the publication of those pieces in the adjoining principalities, and it was impossible to prevent their circulation even in the Prussian States. His edict was called an unjustifiable tyranny over the consciences of men - , the dogmas supported by it were termed absurd superstitions; the King's private character, and his opinions in religious matters, were treated with little reverence, nay, were ridiculed and scandalously abused. This field of discussion being thus thrown open, the writers did not confine themselves to religious matters. After flatly denying that the prince of any country had the smallest right to prescribe, or even

directed the faith of his subjects, they extended their discussions to the rights of princes in general; and now they fairly opened their

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trenches, and made an attack in form on the constitutions of the German confederacy, and, after the usual approaches, they set up the standard of universal citizenship on the very ridge of the glacis, and summoned the fort to surrender. The motif of these attacks was a collection of anonymous letters on the constitution of the Prussian States. It was printed (or said to be so) at Utrecht; but by comparing the faults of some types with some books printed in Berlin, it was supposed by all to be the production of one of Nicolai's pretenses. It was thought to be the composition of Mirabeau. It is certain that he wrote a French translation, with a preface and notes, more impudent than the work itself. The monarch is declared to be a tyrant; the people are addressed as a parcel of tame wretches crouching under oppression. The people of Siberia are represented as still in a worse condition, and are repeatedly called to rouse themselves, and to rise up and assert their rights. The King is told, that there is a combination of philosophers (a conjuration) who are leagued together in defence of truth and reason, and which no power can withstand; that they are to be found in every country, and are connected by mutual and solemn engagement, and will put in practice every mean of attack. Enlightening, instruction, was the general cry among the writers. The triumph of reason over error, the overthrow of superstition and slavish fear, freedom from religious and political prejudices, and the establishment of liberty and equality, the natural and unalienable rights of man, were the topics of general declamation; and it was openly maintained, that secret societies, where the communication of sentiment (should be free from every restraint, was the most effectual means for instructing and enlightening the world»

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And thus it appears, that Germany has experienced the same gradual progress, from Religion to Atheism, from decency to dissoluteness, and from loyalty to rebellion, which has had its course in France. And I must

now add, that this progress has been effected in the same manner, and by the same means; and that one of the chief means of seduction has been the Lodges of the Free Masons. The French, along with their numerous chivaleries, and orders, and ribands, had brought in the custom of haranguing in the Lodges, and as human nature has a considerable uniformity every where, the same topics became favourite subjects of declamation that had tickled the ear in France; there were the same corruptions of sentiments and manners among the luxurious or profligate, and the same incitements to the utterance of these sentiments, wherever it could be done with safety; and I may say, that the zealots in all these trails of freethinking were more ferocious, more grave, and fanatical. These are not assertions a priori, I can produce proofs. There was a Baron Knigge residing at that time in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, of whom I shall afterwards have occasion frequently to speak. This man was an enthusiast in Masonry from his youth, and had run through every possible degree of it. He was dissatisfied with them all, and particularly with the frivolity of the French chivalry; but he still believed that Masonry contained invaluable secrets. He imagined that he saw glimpses of them in the cosmopolitical and sceptical discourses in their Lodges; he sat down to meditate on these, and soon collected his thoughts, and found that those French orators were right without knowing it; and that Masonry was pure natural religion and universal citizenship, and that this was also true Christianity. In this faith he immediately began his career of Brotherly love, and published three volumes of sermons;

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the first and third published at Frankfort, and the second at Heidelberg, but without his name. He published also a popular system of religion. In all these publications, of which there are extracts in the *Religions Begebenheiten*^ Christianity is considered as a mere allegory, or a Masonic type of natural religion; the moral duties are spun into the common-place declamations of universal benevolence; and the attention is continually directed to the absurdities and horrors of superstition, the sufferings of the poor, the tyranny and oppression of the great, the tricks of the priests, and the indolent simplicity and patience of the laity and of the common people.

The happiness of the patriarchal life, and sweets of universal equality and freedom, are the burden of every paragraph ; and the general tenor of the whole is to make men discontented with their condition of civil subordination, and the restraints of revealed religion.

All the proceedings of Knigge in the Masonic schisms show that he was a zealous apostle of democracy, and that he was continually dealing with people in the Lodges who were associated with him in propagating those notions among the Brethren; so that we are certain that such conversations were common in the German Lodges.

When the reader considers all these circumstances, he will abate of that surprise which naturally affords a Briton, when he reads accounts of conventions for discussing and fixing the dogmatic tenets of Free Masonry. The perfect freedom, civil and religious, which we enjoy in this happy country, being familiar to every man, we indulge it with calmness and moderation, and secret ailments hardly differ from the common meetings of friends and neighbours. We do not forget the expediency of civil subordination, and of those distinctions which arise from secure possession

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of our rights, and the gradual accumulation of the comforts of life in the families of the sober and industrious. They have, by prudence and a respectable economy, preserved the acquisitions of their ancestors. Every man feels in his own breast the strong call of nature to procure for himself and his children, by every honest and commendable exertion, the means of public consideration and respect. No man is so totally without spirit, as not to think the better of his condition when he is come of creditable parents, and has creditable connections; and without thinking that he is in any respect generous, he presumes that others have the same sentiments, and therefore allows the moderate expression of them, without thinking it insolence or haughtiness. All these things are familiar, are not thought of, and we enjoy them as we enjoy ordinary health, without perceiving it. But in the same manner as a young man who has been long confined by sickness, exults in returning health, and is apt to riot in the

enjoyment of what he so distinctly feels; so those who are under continual check in open society, feel this emancipation in those hidden assemblies, and indulge with eagerness in the expression of sentiments which in public they must smother within their own breast. Such meetings, therefore, have a zest that is very alluring, and they are frequented with avidity. There is no country in Europe where this kind of enjoyment is so poignant as in Germany. Very insignificant principalities have the same rank in the General Federation with very extensive dominions. The internal constitution of each petty state being modelled in nearly the same manner, the official honours of their little courts become ludicrous and even farcical. The Geheim Rath, the Hofmarschal, and all the Kammerherren of a Prince, whose dominions do not equal the estates

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of many English Squires, cause the whole to appear like the play of children, and must give frequent occasion for discontent and ridicule, Masonic Lodges even keep this alive. The fraternal equality professed in them is very flattering to those who have not succeeded in the scramble for civil distinctions. Such persons become the most zealous Masons, and generally obtain the active offices in the Lodges, and have an opportunity of treating with authority persons whom in public society they must look up to with some respect.

These considerations account, in some measure, for the importance which Free Masonry has acquired in Germany. For a long while the hopes of learning some wonderful secret made a German Baron think nothing of long and expensive journeys in quest of some new degree. Of late, the cosmopolitical doctrines encouraged and propagated in the Lodges, and some hopes of producing a Revolution in society, by which men of talents should obtain the management of public affairs, seem to be the cause of all the zeal with which the order is still cherished and promoted. In a periodical work, published at Neuwied, called *Allgemein Zeitung der Freymaurerey* have the list of the Lodges in 1782, with the names of the Office-bearers. Four-fifths of these are clergymen, professors, persons having offices in the common law-courts, men of letters by trade, such as reviewers and journalists, and other pamphleteers; a class of men, who generally think

that they have not attained that rank in society to which their talents entitle them, and imagine that they could discharge the important offices of the state with reputation to themselves and advantage to the public.

The miserable uncertainty and instability of the Masonic faith, which I described above, was not altogether the effect of mere chance, but had been greatly accelerated by the machinations of Baron Knickerbocker, and

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some other conformable political Brethren whom he had called to his assistance. Knickerbocker had now formed a scheme for uniting the whole Fraternity, for the purpose of promoting his Utopian plan of universal benevolence in a state of liberty and equality. He hoped to do this more readily by completing their embarrassment, and (knowing each system how very infirm its foundation was, and how little chance it had of obtaining a general adherence. The Stricken Observer had now completely lost its credit, by which it had hoped to get the better of all the rest. Knickerbocker therefore proposed a plan to the Lodges of Frankfurt and Wetzlar, by which all the systems might, in some measure, be united, or at least be brought to a state of mutual forbearance and intercourse. He proposed that the English system should be taken for the ground-work, and to receive all and only those who had taken the three symbolical degrees, as they were now generally called. After thus guarding this general point of faith, he proposed to allow the validity of every degree or rank which should be received in any Lodge, or be made the charader of any particular system. These Lodges having secured the adherence of several others, brought about a general convention at Willmbad in Hainault, where every different system should communicate its peculiar tenets. It was then hoped, that after an examination of them all, a constitution might be formed, which should comprehend every thing that was most worthy of emulation, and therefore be far better than the accommodating system already described. By this he hoped to get his favourite scheme introduced into the whole Order, and Free Masons made zealous Citizens of the World. I believe he was sincere in these intentions, and did not wish to disturb the public peace. The convention was accordingly held, and lasted a

long

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long while, the deputies confulting about the frivolities of Mafonry, with all the ferioufnefs of ftate ambafladors. But there was great iliynefs in their communications i and Knigge was making but fmall progrefs in his plan, when he met with another Mafon, the Marquis of Conftanza, who in an infant converted him, and changed all his meafures, by fhowing him that he (Knigge) V7as only doing by halves what was already accomplifhed by another Society, which had carried it to its full extent. They immediately fee about undoing what he had been occupied with, and heightened as much as they could the dilfentions already fufficiently great, and, in the mean time, got the Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar, and feveral others, to unite, and pick out the bed of the things they had obtained by the communications from the other fyftems, and they formed a plan of what they called, the Edecfic or i>y?!critic Mafonry of the United Ledges o(GtrrViZny. They compofed a coniiitution, ritual, and catechifm, which has merit, and is indeed the completed body of Free Mafonry that we have.

Such was the flate of this celebrated and myfterious Fraternity in Germ.any in 1776. The fpiric of innovation had fcized ail the Brethren. No man could give a tolerable account of the origin, hidory, or objedl of the Order, and it appeared to all as a led or forgotten mydery. The fymbols feemed to be equally fufccptible of every interpretation, and none of thefe feemed entitled to any decided preference.

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G H A P. II.

The IUuminati,

I HAVE now arrived at what I fhould call the great epoch of Cofmopolitifm, the fcheme communicated to Baron Knigge by the Marcheje di Conftanza. This obliges me to mention a rcm.arkable Lodge of the Eclectic

Mafonry, ered^d at Munich in Bavaria in 1775, under the woriliipful Mafter, ProfeiTor Baader. It was called The Lodge Theodore of Good Ccunjel. It had its conftitutional patent from the Royal York at Berlin, but had formed a particular fyftem of its own, by in{lrub6lions from the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfajants at Lyons, vv[^]ith which it kept up a correpondence. This refpedt to the Lodge at Lyons had arifen from the preponderance acquired in general by the French party in the convention at Willemfbad. The deputies of the Rofaic Lodges, as well as the remains of the Templars, and Stril[^]en Ohjervanz[^] all looking up to this as the mother Lodge of what they called the Grand Orient de la France J confiding in (in 1782) of iG(y improved Lodges united under the D. de Chartres, Accordingly the Lodge at Lyons fent Mr. Wiiermooz as deputy to this convention at Wiiiemfoad. Refining gradually on the fmiple Britifh Mafonry, the Lodge had formed a fyflem of pra6l"ical moralicy, which it alicrted to be the aim of genuine Mafonry,

faying,

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faying, that a true mafon, and a man of upright heart and a6live virtue, are fynonymous chara6lers, and that the great aim of Free Mafonry is to promote the happincfs of mankind by every mean in our power, in purfuance of thefe principles, the Lodge Theodore profefledly occupied itfelf with oeconomical, flatifical, and political matters, and not only publifhed from time to time difcourfes on fuch fubjecfts by the Brother Orator, bun the Members confidered themfelves as in duty bound to propagate and inculcate the fame doftrines out of doors.

Of the zealous members of the Lodge Theodore the moil confpicuous was Dr. Adam Weifhaupt, Profeifor of Canon Lav/ in the Univerfuy of Ingolftadt. This perfon had been educated among the Jefuits ; but the abolition of their order made him change his views, and from being their pupil, he became their moft bitter enemy. He had acquired a high reputation in his profefTion, and was attended not only by thofe intended for the practice in the law-courts, but aifo by young gentlemen at large in their courfe of general education] and he brought numbers from the neighbouring Hates to this univerfity, and gave a ten to the ftudies of the

place. He embraced with great keenness this opportunity of spreading the favorite doctrines of the Lodge, and his auditory became the seminary of Cofmo-politism. The engaging pictures of the possible felicity of a society where every office is held by a man of talents and virtue, and where every talent is set in a place fitted for its exertion, forcibly catches the generous and unsuspecting minds of youth, and in a Roman Catholic (late, far advanced in the habits of gross superstition (a character given to Bavaria by its neighbours) and abounding in monks and idle dignitaries, the opportunities must be frequent for observing the inconsiderate dominion of the clergy,

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and the abject and indolent submission of the laity. Accordingly Professor Weillaupt lays, in his Apology for Liberalism, that Deism, Infidelity, and Atheism are more prevalent in Bavaria than in any country he was acquainted with. Discourses, therefore, in which the absurdity and horrors of superstition and spiritual tyranny were strongly painted, could not fail of making a deep impression. And during this state of the minds of the auditory the transition to general infidelity and irreligion is so easy, and so inviting to sanguine youth, prompted perhaps by a latent wish that the restraints which religion imposes on the expectants of a future state might be found, on enquiry, to be nothing but groundless terrors, that I imagine it requires the most anxious care of the public teacher to keep the minds of his audience impressed with the reality and importance of the great truths of religion, while he frees them from the shackles of blind and absurd superstition. I fear that this celebrated instructor had none of this anxiety, but was satisfied with his great success in the last part of this task; the emancipation of his young hearers from the terrors of superstition, I suppose also that this was the more agreeable to him, as it procured him the triumph over the Jesuits, with whom he had long struggled for the direction of the university.

This was in 1777. Weillaupt had long been scheming the establishment of an Association or Order, which, in time, should govern the world. In his first fervour and high expectations, he hinted to several Ex-Jesuits the probability of their recovering, under a new name, the influence which they

formerly possessed, and of being again of great service to society, by directing the education of youth of distinction, now emancipated from all civil and religious prejudices. He prevailed on some to join him[^] but they all retracted

ted but two. After this disappointment Welfhaupt became the implacable enemy of the Jesuits -, and his sanguine temper made him frequently lay himself open to their piercing eye, and drew on him their keenest repentment, and at last made him the victim of their enmity.

The Lodge Theodore was the place where the above-mentioned doctrines were most zealously propagated. But Weilliaupt's emulations had already procured the adherence of many other Lodges [^] and the Eclectic Masonry had been brought into vogue chiefly by their exertions at the Willemabad convention. The Lodge Theodore was perhaps less guarded in its proceedings, for it became remarkable for the very bold sentiments in politics and religion which were frequently uttered in their harangues [^] and its members were noted for their zeal in making proselytes. Many bitter pamphlets, satires, and other offensive pamphlets were in great circulation, and even larger works of very dangerous tendency, and several of them were traced to that Lodge. The Elector often expressed his disapprobation of such proceedings, and sent them kind messages, desiring them to be careful not to disturb the peace of the country, and particularly to recollect the solemn declaration^{*i} made to every entrant into the Fraternity of Free Masons, ^{^^} That no subject " of religion or politics shall ever be touched on in ' / the Lodge ;" a declaration which alone could have procured his permission of any secret assembly whatever, and on the sincerity and honour of which he had reckoned when he gave his sanction to their establishment[^]. But repeated accounts of the same kind increased the alarms, and the Elector ordered a judicial enquiry into the proceedings of the Lodge Theodore.

It was then discovered that this and several associated Lodges were the nursery or preparation school for an

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Other Order of Masons, who called themselves the Illuminated, and that the express aim of this Order was to abolish Christianity, and overturn all civil government. But the result of the enquiry was very imperfect and unsatisfactory. No illuminati were to be found. They were unknown in the Lodge. Some of the members occasionally heard of certain candidates for illumination called Minervals, who were sometimes seen among them. But whether these had been admitted, or who received them, was known only to themselves. Some of these were examined in private by the Eledlor himself. They said that they were bound by honour to secrecy: But they allured the Eledlor, on their honour, that the aim of the Order was in the highest degree praise-worthy, and useful both to church and state. But this could not allay the anxiety of the profane public and it was repeatedly stated to the Eledlor, that members of the Lodge Theodore had unguardedly spoken of this Order as one that in time must rule the world. He therefore issued an order forbidding, during his pleasure, all secret assemblies, and shutting up the Mason Lodges. It was not meant to be rigorously enforced, but was intended as a trial of the deference of these Associations for civil authority. The Lodge Theodore distinguished itself by pointed opposition, continuing its meetings; and the members, out of doors, openly reprobated the prohibition as an absurd and unjustifiable tyranny.

In the beginning of 1783, four professors of the Mariane Academy, founded by the widow of the late Eledlor, viz. Utschneider, Coltandey, Renner, and Grunberger, with two others, were summoned before the Court of Enquiry, and questioned, on their allegiance, respecting the Order of the Illuminati. They acknowledged that they belonged to it, and when

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more closely examined, they related several circumstances of its constitution and principles. Their declarations were immediately published, and were very favourable. The Order was said to abjure Christianity, and to refuse admission into the higher degrees to all who adhered to any of the three confessions. Senual pleasures were restored to the rank they held in the Epicurean philosophy. Self-murder was justified on Stoical principles. In the Lodges death was declared an eternal sleep and patriotism and loyalty were called narrow-minded prejudices, and incompatible with universal

benevolence; continual declamations were made on liberty and equality as the unalienable rights of man. The baneful influence of accumulated property was declared an insurmountable obstacle to the happiness of any nation whose chief laws were framed for its protection and increase. Nothing was so frequently disapproved of as the propriety of employing, for a good purpose, the means which the wicked employed for evil purposes; and it was taught, that the preponderancy of good in the ultimate result consecrated every mean employed; and that wisdom and virtue consisted in properly determining this balance. This appeared big with danger, because it seemed evident that nothing would be scrupled at, if it could be made appear that the Order would derive advantage from it, because the great object of the Order was held as superior to every consideration. They concluded by saying that the method of education made them all spies on each other and on all around them. But all this was denied by the Illuminati. Some of these tenets were said to be absolutely false; and the rest were said to be mistakes. The apostate professors had acknowledged their ignorance of many things. Two of them were only Minervals, another was an Illuminatus of the lowest class, and the fourth was but one ten

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farther advanced. Pamphlets appeared on both sides, with very little effect. The Elector called before him one of the superiors, a young nobleman, who denied those injurious charges, and laid that they were ready to lay before his Highness their whole archives and all constitutional papers.

Notwithstanding all this, the government had received such an impression of the dangerous tendency of the Order, that the Elector issued another edict, forbidding all hidden assemblies; and a third, expressly abolishing the Order of Illuminati. It was followed by a search after their papers. The Lodge Theodore was immediately searched, but none were to be found. They said now that they burnt them all, as of no use, since that Order was at an end.

It was now discovered, that Weisliaupt was the head and founder of the Order. He was deprived of his Professor's chair, and banished from the Bavarian States; but with a pension of 800 florins, which he refused. He

went to Regensburg, on the confines of Switzerland. Two Italians, the Marquis Conflanza and Marquis Savioli, were also banished, with equal pensions, (about L. 40,) which they accepted. One Zwack, a counsellor, holding some law-office, was also banished. Others were imprisoned for some time. Weisshaupt went afterwards into the service of the D. of Saxe Gotha, a person of a romantic turn of mind, and whom we shall again meet with. Zwack went into the service of the Pr. of Salms, who soon after had to correct a hand in the disturbances in Holland.

By destroying the papers, all opportunity was lost for authenticating the innocence and usefulness of the Order. After much altercation and paper war, Weisshaupt, now safe in Regensburg, published an account of the Order, namely, the account which was given to every Novice in a discourse read at his reception.

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To this were added the statutes and the rules of proceeding, as far as the degree of Illuminati Minor, included. This account he affirmed to be conformable to the real practice of the Order. But this publication did by no means satisfy the public mind. It differed exceedingly from the accounts given by the four professors. It made no mention of the higher degrees, which had been most blamed by them. Besides, it was alleged, that it was all a fiction, written in order to lull the suspicions which had been raised (and this was found to be the case, except in respect of the very lowest degree).- The real constitution was brought to light by degrees, and finally laid before the reader, in the order in which it was gradually discovered, that we may the better judge of things not fully known by the conduct of the leaders during the detection. The first account given by Weisshaupt is corrected, as far as I shall make use of it, and flows clearly the methods that were taken to recommend the Order to stran-

gers.

The Order of Illuminati appears as an accessary to Free Masonry. It is in the Lodges of Free Masons that the Minervals are found, and there they are

prepared for Illumination. They must have previously obtained the three English degrees. The founder says more. He says that his doctrines are the only true Free Masonry. He was the chief promoter of the Ecclesiastical System. This has been urged as the best method for the dissemination of all

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the explanations which have been given of the Masonic Mysteries. He was also a Strict Observer, and an adept Rosicrucian. The result of all his knowledge is worthy of particular remark, and finally therefore be given at large.

"I declare," says he, "and I challenge all mankind to contradict my declaration, that no man can

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give any account of the Order of Free Masonry, of its origin, of its history, of its objects, nor any explanation of its mysteries and symbols, which does not leave the mind in total uncertainty on all these points. Every man is entitled, therefore, to give any explanation of the symbols, and any denial of the doctrines, that he can render palatable. Hence have sprung up that variety of systems which for twenty years have divided the Order. The simple tale of the English, and the fifty degrees of the French, and the Knights of Baron Hume, are equally authentic, and have equally had the support of intelligent and zealous Brethren. These systems are in fact but one. They have all sprung from the Blue Lodge of Three degrees which take these for their standard, and found on these all the improvements by which each system is afterwards suited to the particular object which it keeps in view. There is no man, nor system, in the world, which can boast by undoubted succession that it stands at the head of the Order. Our ignorance in this particular frets me. Do but consider our short history of 120

years. — Who will know me the Mother Lodge ? Those of London we have discovered to be feigned in 1716. Asks: for their archives. They tell you they were burnt. They have nothing but the wretched fopifications of the Englishman Anderson, and the Frenchman Defaguiers. Where is the Lodge of York, which pretends to the priority, with their King Bouden, and the archives that he brought from the East ? These too are all burnt. What is the Chapter of Old Aberdeen, and its Holy Clericats ? Did we not find it unknown, and the Mason Lodges there the most ignorant of all the ignorant, gaping for instruction from our deputies ? Did we not find the same; thing at London I and have not their

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'^ missionaries been among us, prying into our mysteries, and eager to learn from us what is true Free *' Masonry ? It is in vain, therefore, to appeal to judges; they are no where to be found; all claim for themselves the sceptre of the Order in all indeed are on an equal footing. They obtained followers, ^ not from their authenticity, but from their conduct and civilities to the end which they proposed, and from " the importance of that end. It is by this scale that " we must measure the mad and wicked explanations *^ of the Rosicrucians, the Exorcists, and Cabalists. ^^ These are rejected by all good Masons, because in " compatible with social happiness. Only such systems " as promote this are retained. But alas, they are all sadly deficient, because they leave us under the dominion of political and religious prejudices ; and they are as inefficient as the deep doctrine of an ordinary sermon,

* But I have contrived an explanation which has every advantage -, is inviting to Christians of every communion -, gradually frees them from all religious prejudices ; cultivates the social virtues ; and animates them by a great, attainable, and very prospect of universal happiness, in a state of liberty and moral equality, freed from the obstacles which subordination,

rank, and riches, continually throw in our way. My explanation is accurate, and complete, . ' ^ my means are cife61:ual5 and irrefifrible. Our iccret " i^iTociation works in a way that nothing can withfcand, (ind man JIj all Jo en he free and haffy, ' ^ This is i?he great obiedt held out by this AITociation, and the ineans of attaining it is Illumination, enlightening the undcriianding by the fun of reafon, which v^^ill difpel the clouds of fuperftition and ofprejudice. The proficients in this Order are therefore juPtly named the Illuminated, And of all Illumina

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8S <^^HE ILLUMIN ATI. CHAP. 11.

tion which human reafon can give, none is comparable to the difcovery of what we arc, our nature, our obligations, what happinefs we are capable of, and what are the means of" attaining it. In comparifon with this, the moil brilliant fcience are but amufements for the idle and luxurious. To fit man by Illumination for a6tive virtue, to engage him to it by the ilrongeff: motives, to render the attainment of it eafy and certain, by finding employment for every talent, and by placing every talent in its proper fpere of adlion, lb that all, without feeling any extraordinary effort, and in conjundlion with and completion of ordinary bufinefs, (hail urge forward, with united powers, the general tafk. This indeed will be an employment, fuited to noble naturcs> grand in its views, and delightful in its exercife. *' And v/hatis this general obie6L ? the happiness OF THE HUMAN RACE. Is it uot ditlrcffing to a generous mind, afcer comtemplating what human nature is capable of, to fee how little we enjoy ? When we look at tliis goodly v/orld, and fee that every man 'may be happy, but that the happinefs

of one depends on the conduct of another \ when we see the wicked fo
pov/erful and the good {o v/eak ; and that it is in vain x.o drive fin,o;}y and
alone, ao-ainft the general current of vice and opprelTion : the will
naturally ariles in the mind, thai" it werepoffible to form a durable
combinati(5n of the moil worthv perfons, who lliould work together in
removing the obllacies to human happinefs, beccine terrible to the wicked,
and give their aid to all the good without diftindlion, and flould, by tlie
moil pov^'crful means, firil fetter, and by fettering, leffen vice \ means
which at the fame time ihouki promote virtue, by rendering the inclination
to redtitude hitherto lb

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" feeble, more powerful and engaging. Would not *^ fuch an alTociation be
a bleffing to the world ?

" But where are the proper perfons, the good, the ^^ generous, and the
accomplifned, to be found -, and *^ how, and by what ftrong motives, are
they to be «^ induced to engage in a tafk fo vaft, fo inceffant, fo ^^ difficult,
and fo laborious ? This AiTociation muft *^ be gradual. There are fome
fuch perfons to be *^ found in every fociety. Such noble minds will be ^^
engaged by the heart-warming obje6t. The firft tafk *^ of the AiTociation
mull therefore be to form the young members. As thefe mxultiply and
advance, they become the apoflks of beneficence, and the work is now on
foot, and advances with a fpeed encreafing every day. The flighteft
obfervation fhows ^ that nothing will fo much contribute to increafe the '^
zeal of the members as fecret union. We fee with *^ what keennefs and zeal
the frivolous bufinefs of *^ Free Mafonry is conduded, by perfons knit
togethe*' ther by the fecrecy of their union. It is needlefs to ** enquire into the
caufes of this zeal which fecrecy " produces. It is an univerfal (dd:,
confirm.ed by the " hiftory of every age. Let this circumftance of our ^^
conftitution therefore be dire6Led to this noble purpofe, and then all the
objedions urged againft it by jealous tyranny and affrighted fupcrftition
wilivanifn. The order will thus work filently, and fecurely ^ and though the

generous benefactors of the human race are thus deprived of the applause of the world, they have the noble pleasure of seeing their work prosper in their hands." Such is the aim, and such are the hopes of the Order of the Illuminated. Let us now see how these were to be accomplished. We cannot judge with perfect certainty of this, because the account given of the constitution of the Order by its founder includes only the

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lowest degree, and even this is liable to great suspicion. The accounts given by the four Profectors, even of this part of the Order, make a very different impression on the mind although they differ only in a few particulars.

The only objectionable members of the Order were the Minervais. They were to be found only in the Lodges of Free Masons. A candidate for admission must make his name known to some Minerval -, he reports it to a Superior, who, by a channel to be explained presently, intimates it to the Council. No notice is farther taken of it for some time. The candidate is carefully observed in silence, and if thought unfit for the Order, no notice is taken of his solicitation. But if otherwise, the candidate receives privately an invitation to a conference. Here he meets with a person unknown to him, and, previous to all further conference, he is required to profess and to sign the following oath :

"* I, N. N. hereby bind myself, by mine honour * and good name, forswearing all mental reservation, never to reveal, by hint, word, writing, or in any manner whatever, even to my most trusted friend, any thing that shall now be said or done to me respecting my wished-for reception, and this whether my reception shall follow or not, I being previously assured that it shall contain nothing contrary to religion, the laws, or good manners. I promise, that I shall make no intelligible extract from any papers which shall be shown me now or during my nomination. All this I swear, as I am, and as I hope to continue, a Man of Honour."

The urbanity of this prostration mud agreeably impresses the mind of a person who recollects the dreadful imprecations which he made at his reception into the different ranks of Free Masonry. The candidate is then introduced to an Illuminatus DirigenSy whom

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perhaps he knows, and is told that this ptribn is to be his future inLLru61:or. There is now presented to the candidate, what they call a table, in which he writes his name, place of birth, age, rank, place of residence, profession, and favourite studies. He is then made to read several articles of this table. It contains, ijly a very concise account of the Order, its connection with Free Masonry, and its great object, the promoting the happiness of mankind by means of instruction and confirmation in virtuous principles. 2^/, Several questions relative to the Order. Among these are, *^ What advantages he hopes to derive from being a " member ? What he most particularly wishes to *^ learn ? What delicate questions relative to the life, '^ the prospects, the duties of man, as an individual, ^^ and as a citizen, he wishes to have particularly dif** cussed to him ? In what respects he thinks he can " be of use to the Order? Who are his ancillors, re'^ lations, friends, correspondents, or enemies ? Whom '^ he thinks proper persons to be received into the " Order, or whom he thinks unfit for it, and the rea*^ sons for both opinions ?" To each of these questions he must Q^ive some answer in writing;.

The Novice and his Mentor are known only to each other; perhaps nothing more follows upon this; if otherwise, the Mentor appoints another conference, and begins his instructions, by giving him in detail certain portions of the constitution, and of the fundamental rules of the Order, Of these the Novice must give a weekly account in writing. He must also read,

in the Mentor's house, a book containing more of the instructions of the Order; but he must make no extracts. Yet from this reading he must derive all his knowledge; and he must give an account in writing of his progress. All writings received from his Superiors must be returned with a stated punctuality.—

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These writings consist chiefly of important and delicate questions, suited, either to the particular inclination, or to the peculiar taste which the candidate had discovered in his subscriptions of the articles of the table, and in his former recitals/ or to the direction which the Mentor wishes to give to his thoughts.

Enlightening the understanding, and the rooting out of prejudices[^] are pointed out to him as the principal tasks of his noviciate. The knowledge of himself is considered as preparatory to all other knowledge. To disclose to him, by means of the calm and unbiased observation of his instructor, what is his own character, his most vulnerable side, either in respect of temper, passions, or prejudices, is therefore the most essential service that can be done him. For this purpose there is required of him some account of his own conduct on occasions where he doubted of its propriety; some account of his friendships, of his differences of opinion, and of his conduct on such occasions. From such relations the Superior learns his manner of thinking and judging, and those propensities which require his chief attention.

Having made the candidate acquainted with himself, he is apprised that the Order is not a speculative, but an active association, engaged in doing good to others. The knowledge of human character is therefore of all others the most important. This is acquired only by observation, assisted by the instructions of his teacher. Characters in history are proposed to him for observation, and his opinion is required. After this he is directed to look around him, and to notice the conduct of other men; and part of his weekly recitals must consist of accounts of all interesting occurrences in his neighbourhood, whether of a public or private nature. Coadjutor, one of the four Prefects, gives a particular account of the instructions relating to this kind

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of science. " The Novice must be attentive to trifles : For in frivolous occurrences a man is indolent, and makes no effort to act a part, so that his real character is then acting alone. Nothing will have such influence with the Superiors in promoting the advancement of a candidate as very copious narrations of this kind, because the candidate, if proposed is to be employed in an active station, and it is from this kind of information only that the Superiors can judge of his fitness. These characteristical anecdotes are not for the instruction of the Superiors, who are men of long experience, and familiar with such occupation. But they inform the Order concerning the talents and proficiency of the young member. Scientific instruction, being conveyed by system, is soon communicated, and may in general be very completely obtained from the books which are recommended to the Novice, and acquired in the public seminaries of instruction. But knowledge of character is more multifarious and more delicate. For this there is no college, and it must therefore require longer time for its attainment. Besides, this assiduous and long continued study of men, enables the possessor of such knowledge to act with men, and by his knowledge of their character, to influence their conduct. For such reasons this study is continued, and these records are required, during the whole progress through the Order, and attention to them is recommended as the only means of advancement. Remarks on Physiognomy in these narrations are accounted of considerable value." So far Mr. Coffandey.

During all this trial, which may last: one, two, or three years, the Novice knows no person of the Order but his own instructor, with whom he has frequent meetings, along with other Minervals. In these con

versations

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versations he learns the importance of the Order, and the opportunities he afterwards has of acquiring much hidden science. The employment of his unknown Superiors naturally causes him to entertain very high notions of their abilities and worth. He is counselled to aim at a resemblance

to them by getting rid by degrees of all those prejudices or prepossessions which checked his own former progress, and he is assisted in this endeavour by an invitation to a correspondence with them. He may address his Provincial Superior, by directing his letter Soli, or the General by PrimOj or the Superiors in general by [^]ibus licet. In these letters he may mention whatever he thinks conducive to the advancement of the Order; he may inform the Superiors how his instructor behaves to him ; if alTiduous or rem/ifs, indulgent or severe. The Superiors are enjoined by the strongest motives to convey these letters wherever addressed. None but the General and Council know the result of all this; and all are enjoined to keep themselves and their proceedings unknown to all the world.

If three years of this Noviciate have elapsed without further notice, the Ministerial must look for no further advancement; he is found unfit, and remains a Free Mason of the highest class. This is called a *Stata bene*.

But should his Superiors judge more favourably of him, he is drawn out of the general mass of Free Masons, and becomes an Illuminated Minor. When called to a conference for this purpose, he is told in a very serious manner, that " it is vain for him to hope [^] to acquire wisdom by mere speculative instruction; for such instruction the Superiors have no leisure. " Their duty is not to form speculators, but to live [^] men, whom they must immediately employ in the [^] service of the Order. He must therefore, grow ^v [^]wise

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^{*} [^] and able entirely by the unfolding and exertion of ^{*} his own talents. His Superiors have already discovered what these are, and know what service he may [^] be capable of rendering the Order, provided he " now heartily acquiesces in being thus honourably " employed. They will assist him in bringing his talents into action, and will place him in the situations most favourable for their exertion, so that he ^{*} [^] may be assured of success. Hitherto he has been a [^] mere scholar, but his first step farther carries him [^] into action \ he must therefore now consider himself [^] as an instrument in the hands of his Superiors, to " be used for the noblest purposes." The aim of the order is now more fully told him. It is, in one sentence, " to make of the human race, without any distinction of nation, condition, or profession,

one good and happy family." To this aim, demonstrably attainable, every smaller consideration must give way. This may sometimes require sacrifices which no man standing alone has fortitude to make ; but which become light, and a source of the pure enjoyment, when supported and encouraged by the countenance and co-operation of the united wife and good, such as are the Superiors of the Order. If the candidate, warmed by the alluring picture of the possible happiness of a virtuous Society, says that he is sensible of the propriety of this procedure, and desires to be of the Order, he is required to sign the following obligation.

" I, N. N. stood before you, the worthy Plenipotentiary of the venerable Order into which I wish to be admitted, that I acknowledge my natural weakness and inability, and that I, with all my power, rank, honours, and titles which I hold in political society, am, at bottom, only a man who can enjoy these things only through my fellow-men,

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and through them also I may love them. The approbation and consideration of my fellow-men are indispensably necessary, and I must try to maintain them by all my talents. These I will never use to the prejudice of universal good, but will oppose, with all my might, the enemies of the human race, and of political society. I will embrace every opportunity of favouring mankind, by improving my understanding and my affections, and by imparting all important knowledge, as the good and statutes of this Order require of me. I bind myself to perpetual fidelity and unshaken loyalty and submission to the Order, in the persons of my Superiors here making a faithful and complete surrender of my private judgment, my own will, and every narrow minded employment of my power and influence. I pledge myself to account the good of the Order as my own, and am ready to serve it with my fortune, my honour, and my blood. Should I, through commission, neglect, passion, or wickedness, behave contrary to this good of the Order, I submit myself to what reproof or punishment my Superiors shall enjoin. The friends and enemies of the Order shall be my friends and enemies ; and with respect to both I will conduct myself as directed by the Order, and am ready, in every lawful way, to devote myself to its increase and promotion, and thereinto

*^ employ all my ability. All this I promise, and promise to do, without secret reservation, according to the intention of the Society which require from me this engagement. This I do as I am, and as I hope to continue, a Man of Honour."

A drawn sword is then pointed at his breast, and he is asked. Will you be obedient to the commands of your Superiors ? He is threatened with unavoidable vengeance, from which no potentate can defend him,

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if he should ever betray the Order. He is then asked, I. What aim does he will the Order to have ? 2. What means he would choose to advance this aim ? 3. Whom he wishes to keep out of the Order ? 4. What subjects he wishes not to be discussed in it ?

Our candidate is now Illuminatus Minor. It is needless to narrate the mummery of reception, and it is enough to say, that it nearly resembles that of the Masonic Chevalier du Soleil, known to every one much conversant in Masonry. Weishaupt's preparatory discourse of reception is a piece of good composition, whether considered as argumentative, (from topics indeed, that are very gratuitous and fanciful,) or as a specimen of that declamation which was so much practised by Libanius and the other Sophists, and it gives a distinct and captivating account of the professed aim of the Order.

The Illuminatus Minor learns a good deal more of the Order, but by very sparing means, under the name of initiation. The task has now become more delicate and difficult. The chief part of it is the rooting out of prejudices in politics and religion ; and Weishaupt has followed much address in the method which he has employed. Not the most hurtful, but the most easily refuted were the first subjects of discussion, so that the pupil gets into the habits of victory -, and his reverence for the systems of either kind is diminished when they are found to have harboured such untenable opinions. The proceedings in the Eclectic Lodges of Masonry, and the harangues of the Brother Orators, teamed with the bold sentiments both in politics and religion. Enlightening, and the triumph of reason, had been the tone of the country for some time past, and every institution, civil and

religious, had been the subject of the most free criticism. Above all, the Complotism, imported from France, where it had been

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the favourite topic of the enthusiastic economists, was now become a general theme of discussion in all societies that had any pretensions to cultivation. It was a subject of easy and agreeable declamation; and the Literati found in it a subject admirably fitted for showing their talents, and ingratiating themselves with the young men of fortune, whose minds, unsuspecting as yet and generous, were filled with the fair prospects set before them of universal and attainable happiness. And the pupils of the Illuminati were still more warmed by the thought that they were to be the happy instruments of accomplishing all this. And though the doctrines of universal liberty and equality, as imprescriptible rights of man, might sometimes startle those who possessed the advantage of fortune, there were thousands of younger sons, and of men of talents without fortune, to whom these were agreeable sounds. And we must particularly observe, that those who were now the pupils were a set of picked subjects, whose characters and peculiar biases were well known by their conduct during their novitiate as Minervals. They were therefore such as, in all probability, would not boggle at very free sentiments. We might rather expect a partiality to doctrines which removed some restraints which formerly checked them in the indulgence of youthful passions. Their instructors, who have thus relieved their minds from several anxious thoughts, may appear men of superior minds. This was a notion most carefully inculcated; and they could see nothing to contradict it; for, except their own Mentor, they knew none; they heard of Superiors of different ranks, but never saw them; and the same mode of instruction that was practised during their novitiate was still retained. More particulars of the Order were slowly unfolded to them, and they were taught that their Superiors were men of distinguished

talents,

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talents, and were Superiors for this reason alone. They were taught, that the great opportunities which the Superiors had for observation, and their habits of continually occupying their thoughts with the great objects of this Order, had enlarged their views, even far beyond the narrow limits of nations and kingdoms, which they hoped would one day coalesce into one great Society, where consideration would attach to talents and worth alone, and that pre-eminence in these would be invariably attended with all the enjoyments of influence and power. And they were told that they would gradually become acquainted with their great and venerable Characters, as they advanced in the Order. In earnest of this, they were made acquainted with one or two Superiors, and with several Illuminati of their own rank. Also, to whet their zeal, they are now made instructors of one or two Minervals, and report their progress to their Superiors. They are given to understand that nothing can so much recommend them as the success with which they perform this task. It is declared to be the best evidence of their usefulness in the great designs of the Order.

The baleful effects of general superstition, and even of any peculiar religious prepossession, are now strongly inculcated, and the discernment of the pupils in these matters is learned by questions which are given them from time to time to discuss. These are managed with delicacy and circumspection, that the mind may not be alarmed. In like manner, the political doctrines of the Order are inculcated with the utmost caution. After the mind of the pupil has been warmed by the pictures of universal happiness, and convinced that it is a possible thing to unite all the inhabitants of the earth in one great society; and since it has been made out, in some measure to the satisfaction

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of the pupil, that a great addition of happiness would be trained by the abolition of national distinctions and animosities; it may frequently be no hard task to make him think that patriotism is a narrow-minded monopolizing sentiment, and even incompatible with the more enlarged views of the Order; namely, the uniting the whole human race into one great and happy society. Princes are a chief feature of national distinction.

Princes, therefore, may now be safely represented as unnecessary. If so, loyalty to Princes loses much of its sacred character; and the so frequent enforcing of it in our common political discussions may now be easily made to appear a selfish maxim of rulers, by which they may more easily enslave the people and thus, it may at last appear, that religion, the love of our particular country, and loyalty to our Prince, should be rejected, if, by these partial or narrow views, we prevent the accomplishment of that common-political happiness which is continually held forth as the great object of the Order. It is in this point of view that the terms of devotion to the Order, which are inserted in the oath of admission, are now explained. The authority of the ruling powers is therefore represented as of inferior moral weight to that of the Order. These powers are despots, when they do not conduct themselves by its principles; and it is therefore our duty to surround them with its members, so that the profane may have no access to them. Thus we are able most powerfully to promote its interests. If any person is more disposed to listen to Princes than to the Order, he is not fit for it, and must rise no higher. We must do our utmost to procure the advancement of illuminati into all important civil offices."

Accordingly the Order laboured in this with great zeal and success. A correspondence was discovered,

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in which it is plain, that by their influence, one of the greatest ecclesiastical dignities was filled up in opposition to the right and authority of the Archbishop of Spire, who is there represented as a tyrannical and bigoted priest. They contrived to place their Members as tutors to the youth of

diffusion. One of them, Baron Leuchtfeining, took the charge of a young prince without any salary. They insinuated themselves into all public offices, and particularly into courts of justice. In like manner, the chairs in the University of Ino-olstadt were (with only two exceptions) occupied by Illuminati. *^ Rulers who are members must be " promoted through the ranks of the Order only in proportion as they acknowledge the goodness of its great object, and manner of procedure. Its object may be said to be the checking the tyranny of princes, nobles, and priests, and establishing an *^ universal equality of condition and of religion." The pupil is now informed, ** that such a religion is ' ^ contained in the Order, is the perfection of Christianity, and will be imparted to him in due time."

These and other principles and maxims of the Order are partly communicated by the verbal instruction of the Mentor, partly by writings, which must be punctually returned, and partly read by the pupil at the Mentor's house, (but without taking extracts,) in such portions as he shall direct. The transcripts by the pupil must contain discussions on these subjects, and anecdotes and descriptions of living characters; and these must be zealously continued, as the chief means of advancement. All this while the pupil knows only his Mentor, the Minervals, and a few others of his own rank. All mention of degrees, or other business of the Order, must be carefully avoided, even in the meetings with other members: " For the Order wishes to be secret, and to work in silence; for

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" thus it is better secured from the oppression of the *^ ruling powers, and because this secrecy gives a " greater zeal to the whole."

This short account of the Noviciate, and of the lower classes of illuminati, is all we can get from the authority of Mr. Weisshaupt. The higher degrees were not published by him. Many circumstances appear suspicious, are certainly susceptible of different turns, and may easily be pushed to very dangerous extremes. The accounts given by the four professors ^ confirm these suspicions. They declare upon oath, that they make all these

accusations in consequence of what they heard in the meetings, and of what they knew of the Higher Orders.

But fmce the time of the fuppreffion by the Eledlor, difcoveries have been made which throw great light on the fubje(51. A coile6lion of original papers and correffondence was found by learching the houfe of one Zwack (a Member) in 1786. The following year a much larger colle6tion v/as found at the houfe of Baron BaiRis; and fmce that time Baron Knigge, the mod active Member next to Weifhaupt, publiilled an account of fome of the higher degrees, which had been formed by himfelf A long while ader this were publifhed, Neufte Arheitung des Spcirtacus und Philo in der Illuminaten Orderly and Hchere Grciden das Ilium. Ordens. Thefe two works give an account of the whole fecret conditution of the Order, its various degrees, the manner of conferring them., the indrudtions to the intrants, and an explanation of the conn6i:ion of the Order with Free Mafonry, and a critical hidory. We fhall give fome extracts from fuch of thefe as have been publidied.

Weifhaupt was the founder in 1776. In 1778 the number of Members was confiderably increafed, and the O.'-der was fully edablifhed. The Members took

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antique names. Thus Weidiaupt took the name of Spartacus, the man Vv^ho headed the infurredlion of flaves, which in Pompey's time kept Rome in terror and uproar for three years. Zvvack was called Cato. Knio-cxe was Philo. Baifus was Hannibal. Hertel

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was Marius. Marquis Conftanza was Diomedes.— Nicolai, an eminent and learned bookfeller in Berlin, and author of feveral works of reputation, took the name of Lucian, the great icoffer at all religion. Another was Mahomet, &c. It is remarkable, that except Cato and Socrates, we have not a name of anyancient who was eminent as a teacher and pra6cifer of virtue. On the

contrary, they seem to have affected the characters of the free-thinkers and turbulent spirits of antiquity. In the same manner they gave ancient names to the cities and countries of Europe. Munich was Athens, Vienna was Rome, &c.

Sparta CMS to CatOy Feb, 6, 1778.

*^ Men must endeavour to gain security to " ourselves, a backing in case of misfortunes, and assist^{ance} from v^{ithout}. I must therefore press the *^ cultivation of science, especially such sciences as *^ may have an influence on our reception in the world, <^ and may serve to remove obstacles out of the way. *^ We have to struggle with pedantry, with intolerance, with divines and statesmen, and above all, ^ princes and priests are in our way. Men are unfit ** as they are, and must be formed; each class must ^^ be the school of trial for the next. This will be tedious, because it is hazardous. In the last classes I ^ propose academies under the direction of the Order. ^* This will secure us the adherence of the Literati.

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" Science shall here be the lure. Only those v^{ho} are alledgedly proper subjects shall be picked out from among the inferior classes for the higher mysteries, which contain the first principles and means of promoting a happy life. No religionist must^ on any *^ account, be admitted into these : For here we work *^ at the discovery and extirpation of superstition and " prejudices. The intruders shall be so conducted " that each shall disclose what he thinks he conceals *^ within his own breast, what are his ruling

propensities and passions, and how far he has advanced in the command of himself This will answer all the purposes of auricular confession. And, in particular, every person shall be made a spy on another and on all around him. Nothing can escape our sight by these means we shall readily discover who are contented, and receive with relief the peculiar fashions and religious opinions that are laid before them; and, at last, the true-worthy alone will be admitted to a participation of the whole maxims and political constitution of the Order. In a council composed of such members we shall labour at the contrivance of means to drive by degrees the enemies of reason and of humanity out of the world, and to establish a peculiar morality and religion fitted for the great Society of Mankind. But this is a ticklish project, and requires the utmost circumspection. The squeamish will start at the sight of religious or political novelties; and they must be prepared for them. We must be particularly careful about the books which we recommend I shall confine them at first to moralists and reasoning historians. This will prepare for a patient reception, in the higher classes, of works of a bolder flight, such as Robinet's *Système de la Nature*—Fdu " tique Naliirelle—Philosophie de la Nature—Système So

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cial—The writings of Mirabaiid, &c. Helvetius is fit only for the iron-gut stomachs. If any one has a copy already, neither praise nor find fault with him. Say nothing on such subjects to intrants, for we don't know how they will be received—-talks are not yet prepared. Viarius, an excellent man, must be dealt with. His stomach, which cannot yet digest such strong food, must acquire a better tone. The allegory on which I am to

found the myfteries ' of the Higher Orders is the fire-wor/Jjlp of the Magi. ' We muft: have fome worfnip, and none is lb appofite. " Let there be light, and tpiere shall be ' LIGHT. This is m.y motto, and is my fundamental ' principle. The degrees will be Fener Orderly Parfen *' Orden* ; all very practicable. In the courfc through " thefe there will be no *sta bene* (this is t\-\t anfwer " given to one v/ho folicits preferment, and is refufed). ' For I eno;ap;e that none fhall enter this clafs who has *^ not laid afide his prejudices. No man is fit for our " Order who is not a Erutus or a Catiline, and is noc" ready to go every length.—Tell me how you like " thisV^

Spartacus to Cato^ March 1778.

" To colle6t unpublifned works, and information ' from the archives of States, will be a mod uieful fcr*' vice. We lliall be able to iliow in a very ridiculous light the claimis of our defpots. Marius (keeper of the archives of the Eledtorate) has ferreted out a noble document, which we have got. He makes it, forfooth, a cafe of confcience—how fiiiy that—fmce

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* This Is evidently the Myjiere da Mithrus mentioned by Barruel, in his Hillory of Jacobiniim, and had been cairied into France by Bede and Bufche.

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*' only that x^fin which is ultimately produ6live of mifchief. In this cafe, where the advantap-e far exceeds the hurt> it is meritorious virtue. It v/ill do more " good in our hands than by remaining for icoo years " on the dufty fhelf."

There was found in the hand-writing of Zwack a prujed: for a Sifterhood, in fubferviency to the defigns of the likjminati. In it are the following pailages :

" It will be of great service, and procure us both *' much information and mo. xey^ and will fuit charm" ingly the tafte of many of our trueft members, who *5 arc lovers of the fex. It fhould confift of two claffes, the virtuous and the freer hearted (i. e. thofe who fly out of the common track of prudifn manners) ; they raufi; not know of each other, and mull be iin" der the diredition of men, but without knowing ir. '•" Proper books muft: be put into their hands, and fuch " (but fecretly) as are flattering to their pafilons.*

There are, in the fame hand-writing, Defcription of a ftrong box, which, if forced open, fhall blow up and deilroy its contents— Several receipts for procuring abortion— A compofition which blinds or kills when fpurtd in the face— A fliect, containing a receipt for fympathetic ink— Tea for procuring abortion— Herb^ quae haheyit qualitate?n deleieream— A method for filling a bed-chamber withpeftilential vapours— How to take cfr impreilions of feals, fo as to ufe them afterwards as feals— -A collection of fome hundreds of luch imprelfions, with a lift of their owners, princes, nobles, clergymen, merchants, &c.— K receipt ad excitandum firer'eryi uterinum^— Amanufcript intituled, " Better than Horus." It was afterwards printed and diftributed at Leipzig fair, and is an attack and bitter fatire on all religion. This is in the hand-writing of Ajax. As alfo a difertation onfuicicie.— N. B. His filter-in-law threw herfelffrom the top of a tower. There was alfo a fc t of

portraits.

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portraits, or chara6lers of eighty-five ladles in Munich; with recommendations of fome of them for members of a Lodge of Sifter Illuminatss ; alfo injunclions to all the Superiors to learn to Vv^rite with both hands ; and that they (hould ufe more than one cypher.

Immediately after the publication of thefe writings, many defences appeared. It was faid that the dreadful medical apparatus were with propriety in the hands of Counfellor Zwack, who was a judge of a criminal court, and whofe duty it was therefore to know fuch things. The fame excufe was offered for the collection of feals; but how came thele things to be put up. with papers of the liluminati, and to be in the handv/ritingof one

of that Order? Weilhaupt says, *' These " things were not carried into effect—only spoken of, ^^ and are justifiable when taken in proper connection/ This however he has not pointed out but he appeals to the account of the Order, which he had published at Regensburg, and in which neither these things are to be found, nor any possibility of a connexion by which they may be justified. *' All men," says he, '^ are subject to errors, and the best man is he " who best conceals them. I have never been guilty '^ of any such vices or follies : for proof, I appeal to " the whole tenor of my life, which my reputation, *' and my struggles with hostile cabals, had brought " completely into public view/long before the institution of this Order, without abating any thing of that '^ flattering regard which was paid to me by the first " persons of my country and its neighbourhood; a regard well evinced by their confidence in me as the '^ best instructor of their children." In some of his private letters, we learn the means which he employed to acquire this influence among the youth, and they are such as could not fail. But we must not anticipate. *' It is well known that I have made the chair which I

•^^ occupied

IOS THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

^ occupied in the university of Ingoldstadt, the reformer ^ of the first class of the German youths whereas formerly it had only brought round it the low-born ^ practitioners in the courts of law. I have gone ^ through the whole circle of human enquiry. I have ^ exorcised spirits—raised ghosts—discovered treasures—interrogated the Cabala—battered Lactogepielt—I ' have never transmuted metals."—(A very pretty and respectable circle indeed, and what vulgar spirits would scarcely have included within the pale of their curiosity.)—" ^ The Tenor of my life has been the opposite of every thing that is vile; and no man can ^ lay any such thing to my charge. I have reason to ^ rejoice that these writings have appeared ; they are a ' vindication of the Order and of its conduct. I can ^ and must declare to God, and I do it now in the ^ most solemn manner, that in my whole life I never ^ saw or heard of the so much condemned secret writings; and in particular, respecting these abominable means, such as poisoning, abortion, &c. was it *" ever known to me in any case, that any of my friends ^ or acquaintances ever even

thought of them, advised them, or made any use of them. I was indeed always a schemer and projector, but never could engage much in detail. My general plan is good, though in the detail there may be faults. I had myself to form. In another situation, and in an active station in life, I should have been keenly occupied, and the founding an Order would never have come

- into my head. But I would have executed much

- greater things, had not government always opposed my exertion, and placed others in the situations which frustrated my talents. It was the full conviction of things and of what could be done, if every man were placed in his office for which he was fitted by nature and a proper education, which were suggested to me.

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"the plan of Illumination." Surely Mr. Welfnaupt had a very serious charge, the education of youth ; and his encouragement in that charge was the most flattering that an illuminatus could wish for because he had brought round him the youth whose influence in society was the greatest, and who would most of all contribute to the diffusion of good principles, and exciting to good conduct through the whole state. " I did not," says he, " bring deism into Bavaria more than into Rome. I found it here, in great vigour, more abundant than in any of the neighbouring Protestant states. I am proud to be known to the world as the founder of the Order of Illuminati and I repeat my wish to have for my epitaph.

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Hic situs est Phœthen, currus auriga-patrem ! quem si non tennit, wagriis tamen excidit aiffisy

The second discovery of secret correspondence at Sanderford, the feat of Baron Batz, (Hannibal,) contains Hill more interflins; fad:s.

Spartacus to Cato.

^^ What shall I do ? I am deprived of all help. Socrates, who would infit on being a man of confe*^ quence among us, and is really a man of talents, '• and of a right zway cf thinkings is eternally befatted. *^ Aup-ufius is in the worll eiliination imaorinable. Al'^ cibiades fits the day long widi the vintner's pretty " wife, and there he fghs and pines. A few days " ago, at Corinrh, Tioerius attempted to ravilh the '^ wire or Dcmocides, and her hulhand came in upon " therh. Good heavens! vwhat Areopagit^ I have got. ^^ When the worthy man Marcus Aurelius comes to '^ Athens, (Munich/) what will he think ? What a

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no THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

' meeting of diiTolutej immoral wretches, whoremaf^ ters, iiars, bankrupts, braggarts, and vain fools ! '^ When he fees all this, what will he think ? He will *' be alliamed to enter into an Afibciation," (obferve Reader, that Spartacus writes this in Augufl 1783, in the very time that he would have murdered Cato's iifter, as we fiiall fee,) '^ where the chiefs raife the *' highefi expectations, and exhibit fuch wretched ex'^ amples; and all this from felf-will, from fenfuality. *' Am I not in the right—that this man—that any fuch worthy man—whofe name alone would give us the feledion of all Gernany, will declare that the whole province of Grecia, (Bavaria,) innocent and guilty, mud be excluded. I tell you, we may ftu^^ dy, and write, and toil till death. We may facri*^ hce to the Order, our health, our

fortune, and our " reputation, (alas, the lofs !) and thefe Lords, fol' ^ lowing their own pleafures, will vv^hore, cheat, ' ^ and drive on like flamelefs ralcals j and yet muft < ^ be Arecfagit^e, and interfere in every thing. In" ^ deed, my dearefc friend, we have only enflaved " ourfcelves."

In another part of this fine correpondence, Diomedes has had the good fortune to intercept a Q^L. (^ibus Licet,) in which it is laid, and fupported by proofs, that Cato had received 250 florins as a bribe for his fentence in his capacity of a judge in a criminal court (the end had furely fandified the micans.) In another, a Minerval complains of his Mentor for having by lies occafioned the difmiffion of a phyfician from a family, by which the Mentor obtained, in the iame capacity, the cuftom of the houfe and free accefs, which favour he repaid by debauching the wifci and he prays to be informed whether he may not get another Mentor, faying that although that man had always given him the mod excellent inftrudcions, and he

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doubted not would continue them, yet he fek a difguft at the hypocnfy which would certainly diminifh the imprcltion of the mod faitary truths, (Is it not diitreffing to think, that this promifing youth will by and by laugh at his former fimlicity, and follow the fleps and not the inftru6tions of his phyfician.) In another place, Spartacus vvrites to Marius, (in confidence,) that another v/orthy Brother, an Jrecpcigiti^ . ^ had ilolen a gold and a filver watch, and a ring, from Brutus, (SavioliyJ and begs Marius, in anuthcr letter, to try, while it was yet poffibie, to get the things reftored, becaufe the culprit was a moff excellent rnan^ (Vortreffich^) and of vail ufe to the Order, havinoc the direction of an eminent feminary of youno ?entlemen-, and becaufe SavioH was much in good company, and did not much care for the Order, except in fo far as it gave him an opportunity of knowing and leading fome of them, and of fceering his v/ay at court.

I cannot help inferting here, though not the mod proper place, a part of a provincial report from Knigo-e, the man of the whole Aeropagit^ who lliows any rhinolike urbanity or gentlenefs ot mind.

*' Of my whole colony, (Wefcphalia,) the moft bril" liant isClaudiopolis (Iseuwled), There they work, " and direct, and do wonders."

If there ever was a fpot upon earth where men may be happy in a frate of cultivated fociety, it was the little principality of Ncuwied. I faw it in* 1770. The town was neat, and the palace handfome and in pood tafte. But the country was beyond conception delightful j not a cottage that was out of repair, not a hedge out of order j it had been the hobby (pardon me the word) of the Prince, who made it his ^W/)'emipioymenc to go through his principality regularly, and aiTiit every houfholder, of whatever condition, with his advice,

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and with his purfe j and, when a freeholder could not of himfelf put things into a thriving condition, the Prince fent his workmen and did it for him. He endowed fchools for the comimon people, and two academies for the gentry and the people of bufinefs. He gave little portions to the daughters, and prizes to the well-behaving fons of t!ie labouring people. His own houfhold was a pattern of elegance and economy 3 his fons were fent to Paris to learn elegance, and to England to learn fcience and agriculture. In fhort, the whole was like a romance (and was indeed romantic). I heard it fpoken of with a fmiie at the table of the Biihop of Treves, at Ehrenbretlein, and was induced to fee it next day as a curiofity : And yet even here, the fanaticifm of Knigge would diilribure his poifon, and tell the blinded people, that tlicy were in a ftate of fm and mifery, that their Prince was a defpot, and that they v/ould never be hapov till he was miade to fjy, and till they were all made equal.

They got their wiili; the fwarm of French locufis fat down on Neuwied's beautiful Melds in 1793, and entrenched themfelvcs; and in three months, Prince and farmers houfes, and cottages, and fchools, and academies—all had vanillied 3 and all the fubje6ls were made equal. But when they complained co the French General (Rene le Grand) of being plundered by his folditrs, he anfwered, with a contemptuous and cutting; Ij.ug-h, '* All is

ours—we have left you your eyes " to cry" — {Report to the Convention
vi^thjune 1795. J

Dicite iustitiam muniti^ et non temnere divos !

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. IIj

To proceed:

Spartacus to Cato.

'* By this plan we finally directed all mankind. \x\ this '*' manner, and by the
simplicity means, we shall {t all '*' in motion and in flames. The occupations
must be '^ allotted and contrived, that v/c may, in secretj " influence all
political transactions." N. B. This alludes to a part that is with-held from the
public, because it contained the allotment of the most rebellious and
profligate occupations to several persons whose common names could not
be traced. " I have considered," says Spartacus, " every thing, and so
prepared it, that if the Order should this day go to ruin, ' I shall in a year re-
establish it more brilliant than ever." Accordingly it got up again in about
this space of time, under the name of the German Union, appearing in the
form of Reading Societies. One of these was set up in Zwack's house j and
this raising a suspicion, a visitation was made at Landshut, and the first set
of the private papers were found. The scheme was, however, zealously
persecuted in other parts of Germany, as we shall see by and by. " Nor,"
continues Spartacus, " will it signify though all should be *^ betrayed and
printed. I am so certain of success, in '*' spite of all obstacles, (for the springs
are in every '*' heart,) that I am indifferent, though it should involve my life
and my liberty. What! have thousands thrown away their lives about ho?
honours and emoluments '*' and (shall not this cause warm even the heart of a "
coward ? But I have the art to draw advantage even ^- from misfortune -,
and when you would think me sunk to the bottom, I shall rise with new
vigour. ' Who would have thought, that a professor at Ingol

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*' ftadt was to become the teacher of the profefibrs of *' Gottingen, and of the greatefl men in Germany?"

Spartacus to Catc,

'^ Send me back my degree of Illuminatus Miner; " it is the wonder of all men here (I may perhaps find *' time to give a trandation of the difcourfe of rcecp" tion, which contains all that can be faid of this Af" fociation to the public) ; as alfo the two lad fliets *' of my degree, which is in the keeping of Marius, *' and Celfus, under loo locks, which contains my ^^ hiftory of the lives of the Patriarchs." N. B. Nothing very particular has been difcovered of thefe lives of the Patriarchs. He fays, that there were above fixty fliets of it. To judge by the care taken of it, it muft be a favourite work, very hazardous, and very catching.

In another letter to Cato, we have fome hints of the higher degrees, and concerning a peculiar morality, and a popular religion, which the Order was one day to give the world. He fays, ^' There muft (a la Je*^ Jiiite) not a fmgle purpofe ever come in fight that is ^^ ambiguous, and that may betray our aims againft ^^ religion and the ftate. One miUil fpeak fbmctimes " one way and fometimes another, but fo as never to " contradi6l ourfelves, and {o that, with refped to *' our true way of thinking, we may be impenetrable. " When our firongeil thino-s chance to o-ive offence, " they muft be explained as attempts to draw anfwers ^* which difcover to us the fentiments of the perfon " we converfe with." N. B. This did not always fucceed with him.

Spartacus fays, fpeaking of the priefts degree, ^^ One " would almoft imagine, that this degree, as I have ma

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. II5

" sacred is, is genuine Christianity, and that its end *' was to free the Jews from slavery. I say, that Free Masonry is concealed Christianity. My explanation of the hieroglyphics, at least, proceeds on this supposition ; and as I explain things, no man need be ^^ ashamed of being a Christian. Indeed I afterwards " throw away this name, and substitute Reason. But " I assure you this is no small affair; a new religion, " and a new (late-government, which so happily explains one and all of these symbols, and combine them in one degree. You may think that this is my chief work; but I have three other degrees, ^^ all different, for my classes of higher mysteries, in " comparison with which this is but child's play; but '^ these I keep for myself as General, to be bestowed '- by me only on the BenemeritJJimiy' (surely such as Cato, his dearest friend, and the possessor of such pretty secrets, as abortives, poisons, pedicular vapours &c.). " The promoted may be Areopagites or not, " Were you here I should give you this degree without hesitation. But it is too important to be intrusted to paper, or to be bestowed otherwise than from my own hand. It is the key to history, to religion, and to every late-government in the world."* " Spartacus proceeds, " There shall be but three *' copies for all Germany. You can't imagine what I *^ respect and curiosity my priest-degree has raised ; " and, which is wonderful, a famous Protestant divine, who is now of the Order, is persuaded that

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* I observe, in other parts of his correspondence where he speaks of this, several singular phrases, which are to be found in two books ; Aniquete clevoilee par ses Usages, and Origine du Despotisme Oriental. These contain indeed much of the maxims inculcated in the reception discourse of the degree Ilhananitus Minor. Indeed I have found, that Weisshaupt is much less an inventor than he is generally thought.

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" the religion contained in it is the true sense of Christianity. O man, man ! to what may'st thou '^ NOT BE PERSUADED. Who would imagine that; I " was to be the founder of a new religion ?"

In this scheme of Masonic Christianity, Spartacus and Philo laboured feriously together. Spartacus sent him the materials, and Philo worked them up. It will therefore illustrate this capital point of the constitution of the Order, if we take Philo's account of it.

Philo to Cato,

^^ We must consider the ruling propensities of every age of the world. At present the cheats and tricks of the priests have roused all men against them, and against Christianity. But, at the same time, superstition and fanaticism rule with unlimited dominion, and the understanding of man really seems to be going backwards. Our task, therefore, is doubled. We must give such an account of things, that fanatics should not be alarmed, and that shall, notwithstanding, excite a spirit of free enquiry. We must not throw away the good with the bad, the child with the dirty water; but we must make the secret doctrines of Christianity be received as the secrets of genuine Free Masonry. But farther, we have to deal with the despotism of Princes. This increases every day. But then, the spirit of freedom breathes and fights in every corner; and, by the assistance of hidden schools of wisdom, Liberty and Equality, the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, warm and glow in every breast. We must therefore unite these extremes. We proceed in this manner.

* Jesus Christ established no new Religion; he would only set Religion and Reason in their ancient

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. II7.

*^ rif^hts. For this piirpofe he would uniLe men in a " common bond. He would fie them for this by «f fpreading a juft morality, by enlightening the un<^^ deiTranding, and by affifting the mind to iliake off ^^ all prejudices. He would teach all men, in tiie firfb place, to govern themfelves. Rulers would then be needlefs, and equality and liberty would take place without any revolution, by the natural and " gentle operation of reafon and expediency. This ^^ threat Teacher allows himfelf to explain every part *^ of the Bible in conformity to thefe purpofes; and ^' he forbids all wrangling among his fcholars, becaufe every man m>ay there find a reafonable application to his peculiar doblrines. Let this be true or fldfe, it " does not figlify. This was a fimple Religion, and *^ it w^as fo fcW infpired; but the minds of his hearers " were not fitted for receiving thefe doctrines. I told ^' you, fays he, but you could not bear it. Many '^ therefore Vv'ere called, but few were chofen. To ^^ this eie6l were entruRed the moff important fecrets; " and even among them there were degrees of infbr" mation. There v.'as a feventy, and a twelve. All '^ this was in the natural order of things, and acccrd'^ ino: to the habits of the Tews, and indeed of all antiquicy. The Jewifh Theofophy was a myftery; like the Eleufinian, or the Pythagorean, unfit for ^ the vulgar. And thus the doctrines of Chrifbianity were committed to the Adepti, in a BijcipUna Arcani, By thefe they were maintained like the Veffal Fire.— They were kept up only in hidden focieties, v^ho handed them dovvn to pofterity ; and they are nov/ pofil-jred by the genuine Free Maioris." N. B. This explains the origin of many anonymous pamphlets which appeared about this time in Germany,- fliov/ing that Free Mafonry was Chridianity.— They have doubtlefs been the works of Spartacus and

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his partisans among the Eclectic Masons. Nicholaj, the great apostle of infidelity, had given very favourable reviews of these performances, and having always been himself an advocate of such writers as depreciated Christianity, it was natural for him to take this opportunity of bringing it still lower in the opinion of the people. Spartacus therefore conceived a high opinion of the importance of gaining Nicholaj to the Order. He had before this gained Leuchtfering, a hotheaded fanatic, who had pursued Jesuits in every corner, and set Nicholaj on his journey through Germany, to hunt them out. This man finding them equally hated by the Illuminati, was easily gained, and was most zealous in their cause. He engaged Nicholaj, and Spartacus exulted exceedingly in the acquisition, saying, "that he was an unwearied champion, et quidem contentissimus Of this man Philo says, -^ that he had spread this Christianity into every corner of Germany. I have put meaning," says Philo, "to all these dark symbols, and have prepared both de* grecs, introducing beautiful ceremonies, which I * have selected from among those of the ancient communities, combined with those of the Rofaic Ma* masonry; and now," says he, "it will appear that we ^ are the only true Christians. We shall now be in a ^ condition to say a few words to Priests and Princes. ^ I have so contrived things, that I would admit even *^ Popes and Kings, after the trials which I have pre" fixed, and they would be glad to be of the Order." But how is all this to be reconciled with the plan of Illumination, which is to banish Christianity altogether? Philo himself in many places says, *^ that it is "only a cloak, to prevent squeamish people from ^ starting back." This is done pretty much in the same way that was practised in the French Masonry. In one of their Rituals the Master's degree is made

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CHAP. II.

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typical of the death of Jesus Christ, the preacher of Brotherly love. But, in the next step, the Chevalier du Soleil it is Reason that has been destroyed and entombed, and the Master in this degree, the Sublime Philosopher occasions the discovery of the place where the body is hid -, Reason rises again, and superstition and tyranny disappear, and all becomes clear y man becomes free and happy.

Let us hear Spartacus again.

Spartacus in another place,

" We must, indeed, gradually explain away all our preparatory pious frauds. And when persons of discernment find fault, we must desire them to consider the end of all our labour. This sanctifies our means, which at any rate are harmless, and have been useful, even in this case, because they procured us a patient hearing, when otherwise men would have turned away from us like petted children. This will convince them of our sentiments in all the intervening points and our ambiguous expressions will then be interpreted into an endeavour to draw answers of any kind, which may show us the minds of our pupils, and we must unfold, from history and other writings, the origin and fabrication of all religious lies whatever; and then, we give a critical history of the Order. But I cannot but laugh, when I think of the ready reception which all this has met with from the grave and learned divines of Germany and of England; and I wonder how their William failed when he attempted to establish a Deistical Worship in London, (what can this mean?) for, I am certain, that it must have been most acceptable to that learned and free people. But

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*' they had not the enlightening of our days." I may here remark, that Weilhaupt is prefuming too much on the jofnorance of his friend, for there was a orreat deal of this enlightening in England at the time he fpeaks of, and if I am not miftaken, even this celebrated Profellor of Irreligion has borrowed mod of his fchtme from this kingdom. This to be fure is nothing in our praife. But the Pantheifticon of Toland refembles Weifliaupt's Illumination in every thing but its rebellion and its villainy. Toland's Socratic Lodge is an elegant pattern for Weifliaupt, and his Triumph of Reafon, his Philofophic Happinefs, his God, or Anhna Mundi^ are all lb like the harili fydem of Spartacus, that I am convinced that he has copied them, {lamping them vvith the roughnefs of his own character. But to go on j Spartacus fays of the Englifli : " Their poet Pope made his ElTay on Man a fyftem '^ of pure naturalifm, without knowino- it, as Brother " Chryfippus did with my PrieiVs Degree, and was equally aftonidied when this was pointed out to him. Cliryfippus is religious, but not fupcrftitious. Brother Lucian (Nicolai, of whom I have already faid *' fo much) fays, that the grave Zolikofer now allows " that it v/ould be a very proper thing to eflablifli a *' Deiffical Worfhip at Berlin. I am nor afraid but " things will go on very well. But Philo, who was *• entrufted with framing tlie Prieft's Degree, has de^' fcroyed it witiout any necelTity j it would, forfooth, *' ftartie thofe who have a hankering for Religion. But *' I always told you that Philo is fanatical and prudifli. " I gave him fine materials, and he has fcuffed it full *^ of ceremonies and child's play, and as Minos fays, **^

c'eft jciier la religion. But all th.is may be corrc6led ^' in the revifion by the Areopagita:.'" "

N. B. I have already mentioned Baron Knigge's Gonverfion to Illuminatifm by the M. de Co ifcanza,

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whofe name in the Order was Diomedes. Knigge (henceforth Philo) was, next to Spartacus, the moil: ferviceable man in the Order, and procured the greateft number of members. It was chiefly by his exertions among the Mafons in the Proteilant countries, that the EccleElic Syfteni was introduced, and afterwards brought under the dircd^tion of the Illuminati. This conquest was owing entirely to his very extenfive connections among the Mafons. He travelled like a philofopher from city to city, from Lodge to Lodge, and even from houfe to houfe, before his Illumination, trying to unite the Mafons, and he now went over the fame ground to extend the Eccle5lic Syftem^ and to get the Lodges put under the direction of the Illuminati, by their choice of the Mafter and Wardens. By this the Order had an opportunity of noticing the conduct of individuals 3 and when they had found out their ' manner of thinking, and that they Vv^ere fit for their purpofe, they never quitted them till they had gained them over to their party. We have feen, that he was by no means void of religious impreffions, and we often find him offended wnth the acheiiln of Spartacus. Knigge was at the fame time a man of the world, and had kept good company.

Weifhaupt had paiTcd his life in the habits of a college: therefore he knew Knigge's value, and communicated to him all his projeds, to be dreffed up by him for the tafte of Ibciety. Philo was of a much more affedionate difpofition, with fomewhat of a devotional turn, and v/as fhocked at the hard indifference of Spartacus. After labouring four years with great zeal, he v^as provoked with the difingenuous tricks of Spartacus, and he broke off all connexion v/ith the Society in 1784, and fome rime, after publifhed a declaration of all that he had done in it. This is a moft excellent account of the plan and principles of the Order, (at leaft as he conceived it,

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for Spartacus liaci much deeper views,) and shows that the aim of it was to abolish Christianity, and all the fiat-governments in Europe, and to establish a great republic. But it is full of romantic notions and enthusiastic declamation, on the hackneyed topics of universal citizenship, and liberty and equality. Spartacus gave him line, and allowed him to work on, knowing that he could discard him when he chose. I finally after this give some extracts from Philo's letters, from which the reader will see the vile behaviour of Spartacus, and the nature of his ultimate views. In the meantime we may proceed with the account of the principles of the system.

Spartacus to Cato,

Nothing would be more profitable to us than a rigid history of mankind. Despotism has robbed them of their liberty. How can the weak obtain protection? Only by union; but this is rare. Nothing can bring this about but hidden societies. Hidden schools of wisdom are the means which will one day free men from their bonds. These have in all ages been the archives of nature, and of the rights of men; and by them shall human nature be raised from her fallen state. Princes and nations shall vanish from the earth. The human race will then become one family, and the world will be the dwelling of rational men.

Morality alone can do this. The head of every family will be what Abraham was, the patriarch, the priest, and the unlettered lord of his family, and Reason will be the code of laws to all mankind. This, says Spartacus, is our great secret. True, there may be some disturbance, but by

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^^ by the Aineqial will become equal; and after z\e '^\ form all wlil be calm. Can the unhappy confe^* quencs remain w'len the grounds of dilicnfion are *^ removed ? Roufe yourfelves therefore, O men ! af^ fert your rights, and then will Reafon rule with un" perceived fway j and all shall be happy.*

" Morality will perform all this; and morality is ^^ the fruit of lilumiiiatiion ; duties and rights are rcci" procal. V/here Odavius has no right, Caco owes ^^ him no duty. lilumdnadon fhews us our rights, and " Morality follows ; that Morality which teaches us '^\ to be cfdge, to be out of vmrdnfrnf^ loh^ full grown^ *' and to walk without the leading ftrhigs of prlefts and '^\ princes."

" Jcfus of Nazareth, the Grand Mafter of our Or«^\ der, appeared at a time when the world was in the '^\ utmofc diforder, and among a people who f^or ages '^\ had groaned under the yoke of bondage. He taught ^^ them the lefjbns of Reafon. To be n^ore eitective, «^\ he took in the aid of Religion— of opinions which '^\ were current— and, in a very clever mannerist com<^\ bined his fecret doclrines with the popular religion, <^\ and with the ciillonis which lay co his haiid. la ^^ thefe he wrapped up his lelibn!.—he taught by para*^ bles. Never did any prophet lead men fo eafily and «' fo fccurely along the road of liberty. He concealed <' the precious meaning and confequences of hisdoc^' trines; but fully difciofed them t® a chofen fev/. Pie *' fpeaks of a kingdom of the upright and faithful j his ^^ Father's kingdom, whofe children we alfo are. Let " us only take Liberty and Equality as the great aim

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* Happy France ! Cradle of Illumination, where the morning of Reason has dawned, dispelling the clouds of Monarchy and Christianity, where the babe has sucked the blood of the unenlightened, and Murder! Fire ! Help ! has been the lullaby to bring it to sleep.

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" of his doctrines[^] and Morality as the way to attain it, " and every thing; in the New Testament will be com[^]prehensible ; and Jesus will appear as the Redeemer[^] of slaves. Man is fallen from the condition of Liberty and Equality, the state of pure nature. He is under subordination and civil bondage, arising from the vices of man. This is the fall, and

" ORIGINAL SIN. The KINGDOM OF GRACE is that

restoration which may be brought about by Illumination and a just Morality. This is the new birth. When man lives under government, he is fallen, his worth is gone, and his nature tarnished. By (liberating our passions, or limiting their cravings, we may recover a great deal of our original worth, and live ** in a state of grace. This is the redemption of men[^] — this is accomplished by Morality ; and when this[^] is spread over the world, we have the kingdom

[^] CF THE JUST.

[^] But, alas! that task of self-formation was too hard for the subjects of the Roman empire, corrupted by every species of profligacy. A chosen few received the doctrines in secret, and they have been handed down to us (but

frequently almost; buried under rubbish of man's invention) by the Free
Masons. These three conditions of human society are expressed by the
rough, the split, and the polished stone. The rough stone, and the one that is
split, express our condition under civil government \ rough by twofold fretting
inequality of condition ; and split, since we

*^ are no longer one family; and are farther divided by differences of
government, rank property, and religion ; but when reunited in one family,
we are represented by the polished stone. G. is Grace -,

^ the Flaming Star is the Torch of Reason. Those

^ who possess this knowledge are indeed illuminati.

* Hiram is our fictitious Grand Master, slain for the

* redemption

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CHAP. II. title: illuminati. 125

^ PVEDEEMPTION OF SLAVES ; the Nine Masters are " the Founders of
the Order. Free Masonry is a ^ Royal Arc, inasmuch as it teaches us to walk
with^ out trammels, and to govern ourselves."

Reader, are you not curious to learn something of this all-powerful morality,
so operative on the heart of the truly illuminated—0^ i\\s> disciplina
^rc^/?", entrusted only to the chosen few, and handed down to Professor
Weishaupt, to Spartacus, and his associates, who have cleared it of the
rubbish heaped on it by the dim-sighted Masons, and now beaming- in its
native lustre on the minds of the /Ireopagit^ ? The teachers of ordinary
Christianity have been labouring for almost 2000 years, with the New
Testament in their hands ; many of them with great address, and many, I
believe, with honest zeal. But alas ! they cannot produce such wonderful
and certain effects, (for observe, that Weishaupt repeatedly assures us that

his means are certain,) probably for want of his diploma of whose efficacy so much is said. Most fortunately, Spartacus has given us a brilliant specimen of the ethics which illuminated himself on a trying occasion, where an ordinary Christian would have been much perplexed, or would have taken a road widely different from that of this illustrious apostle of light. And seeing that several of the Areopagites were present in the transaction, and that it was carefully concealed from the profane and dim-lighted world, we can have no doubt but that it was conducted according to the discipline of Illumination. I shall give it in his own words.

Spartacus to Marius[^] September 1783.

" I am now in the most embarrassing situation ; it robs me of all red, and makes me unfit for every

thing. I am in danger of losing at once my honour and my reputation, by which I have long had such influence. What think you — my father-in-law is such a wicked child. I have sent her to Euriphon, and am endeavouring to procure a marriage-licence from Rome. How much depends on this uncertainty — and there is not a moment to lose. Should I fail, what is to be done ? What a return do I make by this to a person to whom I am so much obliged ! (We shall see the probable meaning of this exclamation by and by). We have tried every method in our power to destroy the child ; and I hope (he is determined on every thing — even death,) (Can this mean death ?) But alas ! Euriphon is, I fear, too timid," (alas ! poor woman, thou art now under the discipline of Illumination) and I see no other expedient, " Couki I be but allured of the filence of Celfus, (a physician at Ingoiltadt,) he can relieve me, and he promptly fed me as much three years ago. Do speak to him, if you think he will be successful. I would not let Cuto" (his dearest friend, and his chief or only confidant in the scheme of Illumination) know it yet, because the affair in other respects requires his whole friendship." (Cato had all the pretty receipts.) Could you but help me out of this distress, you would give me life, honour, and strength to work again in the great cause. If you cannot, be assured I will venture on the most desperate stroke, for it is fixed. — I will not lose my honour. I cannot conceive what devil has made me go astray — men who have always been so careful on such occasions. As yet all is quiet,

and none know of it but " you and Euriphon. Wvre it but time to undertake " any thing—but alas ! it is the fourth month. Thofe *' damned pritfts too—for the adlion is fo criminally " accounted by them, and fcandaiifes the blood. This

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. 12^

*^' makes the utmoft efforts and the inoR" defperate " nieafures abfolutely neceffary-yl'

It will throw {bme light on this tranfaction if we read a letter from Spartacus to Cato about this time.

" One thing more, my deareft friend—\Ÿould it be «' agreeable to you to have me for a l>rother-in-law ? " If this fhould be agreeable, and if it can be bro'oug' about without prejudice to my honour, as I hope it ^^ may, I am not without hopes that the connection " may take place. But in the mean time keep it a '* feeret, and only give me permiffion to enter into '^ correſpondence on the fubjed vv^ith the good lady, *^ to whom I beg you will offer my reſpedful compli^^ ments, and I will explain myſelf more fully to you " by word of mouth, and tell you my whole (ituation. '^ But I repeat it—the thing mud be gone about with " addrefs and caution. I would not for all the world '^ deceive a perſon who certainly has not deferved fo <' of me."

What interpretation can be put on this ? Cato feems to be brother to the poor woman—he was unwittingly to furniſh the drugs, and he v/as to be dealt with about confentini}: to a marriage, which could not be alto^ether agreeable to him, ſince it required a difpenſation, he being already the fiRer-in-law of Weifiaupt, either the filter of his former v/ife, or the widow of a deceafed brother. Or perhaps Spartacus really wifhes to marry Cato's fiRer, a different perſon from the poor v/oman in the draw; and he conceals

this adventure from his trusty friend Cato, till he finds what becomes of it. The child may perhaps be got rid of, and then Spartacus is a free man. There is a letter to Cato, thanking him for his friendship in the affair of the child— but it gives no light. I met with another Picture, that the sister of Zwack threw herself from the top of a tower, and beat out her brains. But it is not said

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that it was an only child; if it was, the probability is, that Spartacus had paid his addresses to her, and succeeded, and that the frequent affair of his marriage with his sister-in-law, or something worse, broke her heart. This seems the best account of the matter. For Hertel (Marius) writes to Zwack in November 1782 : "Spartacus is this day gone home, but has left his sister-in-law pregnant behind (this is from Baius HofF). About the new year he hopes to be made merry by a — — , who will be before all kings and princes—a young Spartacus. The Pope also will respect him, and legitimate him before the time."*

Now, vulgar Christian, compare this with the former declaration of Weisshaupt, where he appeals to the tenor of his former life, which had been severely crucified, without diminishing his high reputation and great influence, and his ignorance and abhorrence of all those things found in Cato's repositories. You see this was a surprize—he had formerly proceeded cautiously—"He is the best man," says Spartacus, "who best conceals his fault?"—He was disappointed by Celfus, who had promised him his assistance ten years ago, during all which time he had been busy in forming himself." How far he has advanced, the reader may judge.

One is curious to know what became of the poor woman : she was afterwards taken to the house of Baron Baifus but here the foolish woman, for want of that courage which Illumination and the bright prospect of eternal sleep should have produced, took fright at the disciplines arcani, left the house, and in the hidden society of a midwife and nurse brought forth a young Spartacus, who now lives to thank his father for his endeavours to murder him. A "damned priest" the good Bishop of Freylingen, knowing the cogent reasons, procured the dispensation, and Spartacus was

obliged,

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obliged, like another dim-fighted mortal, to marry her.*^ The fcandal was huffed, and would not have been difcovered had it not been for thefe private writings.

But Spartacus fays " that when you think " him funk to the bottom, he will fpring up with " double vigour." In a fubfequent work, called Short Amendment of my Plan, he fays, '^ If men were " not habituated to wicked manners, his letters would " be their own juftification/" He does not fay that he is without fault; " but they are faults of the under" (landing—not of the heart. He had, firft of all, to *' form himfelf; and this is a work of time." In the affair of his fifter-in-law he admits the fads, and the attempts to deftroy the child; " but this is far from ^^ proving any depravity of heart. In his condition, " his honour at flake, what elfe was left him to do ? *^ His greateft enemies, the Jefuits, have taught that *^ in fuch a cafe it is lawful to miake away with the *^ child," and he quotes authorities from their books.* " In the introdu6lory fault he has the example of the *^ bed of men. The fecond was its natural confe" quence, it was altogether involuntary, and, in the " eye of a philofophical judge" (I prefume of the Gallic School) " who does not fquarc himfelf by the harfh *' letters of ^ blood-thirfty lawgiver,, he has but a very trifling account to fettle. He had become a public teacher, and was greatly followed; this example might have ruined many young ? nen. The eyes of the '^ Order alfo were fixed on him. The edifice refted " on his credit; had he fallen, hs could no longer have

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* This is flatly contradi6led in a pamphlet by F. Stattler, a Catholic clergyman of moft rerpe6lable charai^ler, who here expofes, in the moft incontrovertible manner, the impious plots of Weiihaupt, his total difregard to truth, his counterfeit antiques, and all his lies againll the Jefuits.

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i'^^;^ in a cGndition to treat the matters of virtue Jo as to make a liiling imprej/icn. It was chiefly his anxiety to Ibpport the credit of the Order v;hich determined him to take this ftep. It makes/^/r him, but by no means againft him ; and the per ions who are moft in fault are the llavilh inquifitors, who hav^e publiifhed the tranfa^tion, in order to make his charac^* ter more remarkable, and to hurt the Order through his perfon; and they have not fcrupled, for rhis hellidi purpofe, to ftir up a chiki againft his father ! 1!" I make no reflections on this very remarkable, and highly ufeful ftory, but content myfelf with faying, that this juftification by Weifhaupt (which I have been careful to give in his own words) is the greateft instance of eff^rontery and infult on the fentimenrs of mankind that I have ever met with. We are all fuppofcd as completely corrupted as if we had lived under the full blaze of Illumination.

In other places of this curious correpondence we learn that Minos, and others of the /Ireopagit^r^ v/anted to introduce Atheifm at once, and not go hedging in the manner they did ; affirming it was eafier to iliew at once that Atheifm was friendly to fociety, than to explain all their Mafonic Chriftianity, which they were afterwards to fliew to be a bundle of lies. Indeed this purpofe, of not only abolifhing Chriftianity, but ail pofitive religion whatever, was Weiftiaupt's favourite icheme from the beginning. Before he canvailed for his Order, in 1774, he publifhed a fiblitious antique, which he called Sidonii ApcLlinarus Fragmenta^ to prepare (as he exprefsly fays in another place) mens minds for the dodtrines of Reafon, which contains ail the deteftable dodlrines of Robinet's book Dela Nature. The publication of the fecond part was ftopped. Weifhaupt lays in his Apology for the Illuminati, that before 1780 he had rctiated his opinions about Material ifm.

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alifm, and about the inexpediency of Princes. But this is falfe: Philo fays exprefslyj that every thing remained on its original footing in the whole pradicc and dogmas of the Order when he quitted it in July 1784. Ail this was concealed, and even the abominable Mafonry, in the account of the Order which Weifliaupt publiihed at Regensburg ; and it required the conftant efforts of Philo to prevent bare or flat Atheifm from being uniformly taught in their degrees. He had told the council that Zeno w^{ould} not be under a roof with a man who denied the immortality of the foul. He complains of Minus's cramming irreligion down their throats in every meeting, and fays, that he frightened many from entering the Order. '^ Truth," fays Philo, " is a clever, but a modeft girl, who muft " be led by the hand like a gentlewoman, but not " kicked about like a whore. '* Spartacus complain[^] much of the fqueamifhnefs of Philo 3 yet Philo is not a great deal behind him in irreligion. When defcribing to Cato the Chriftianity of the Priefli-degree, as he had manufa(5lured it, he fays, " It is all one whc" ther it be true or falfe, we mud have it, that we " may tickle thole who have a hankering for religion/* All the odds fecms to be, that he was of a gentler difpofition, and had more deference even for the abfurd prejudices of others. In one of his angry letters to Cato he fays: '^ The vanity and felf-conceit of Spar*' tacus would have got the better of all prudence, had I not checked him, and prevailed on the Areopagitte but to defer the developement of the bold principles till we had firmly fccured the man. I even wilhed to entice the candidate the more by giving him back *^ ail his former bonds of fecrecy, and leaving him at *^ liberty to walk out without fear; and I am certain " that they were, by this time, fo engaged that we " lliould not have loft one man. Br.t Spartacus had *' compofed an exhibition of his laft principles, for a

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IJi THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. 11.

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difcourfe of reception, in which he painted his three favourite myfterious degrees, which were to be conferred by him alone, in colours which had

fascinated his own fancy. But they were the colours of hell, and would have feared the most intrepid ; and *^ because I represented the danger of this, and by force obtained the omission of this picture, he became my implacable enemy. I abhor treachery and profligacy, and leave him to blow himself and " his Order into the air.*

Accordingly this happened. It was this which terrified one of the four professors, and made him impart his doubts to the rest. Yet Spartacus seems to have profited by the apprehensions of Philo -, for in the last reception, he, for the first time, exacts a bond from the intrant, engaging himself for ever to the Order, and swearing that he will never draw back. Thus admitted, he becomes a sure card. The course of his life is in the hands of the Order, and his thoughts on a thousand dangerous points; his reports concerning his neighbours and friends; in short, his honour and his neck. The Deist, thus led on, has not far to go before he becomes a Naturalist or Atheist; and then the eternal Deep of death crowns all his humble hopes. Before giving an account of the higher degrees, I {hall just extraS: from one letter more on a singular subject.

Minos to Seajlian^ 1782.

^ The proposal of Hercules to establish a Minerval *' school for girls is excellent, but requires much circumfpection. Philo and I have long conversed on ^ this subject. We cannot improve the world without improving women, who have such a mighty influence on the men. But how shall we get hold of

" them ?

" them ? How will their relations particularly their " mothers, immersed in prejudices, consent that others *' shall influence their education ? We must begin with *^ grown girls. Hercules proposes the wife of Ptolemy *^ my Magus. I have no objection ; and I have four *' step-daughters, fine girls. The oldest in particular ^ is excellent. She is twenty-four, has read much, is above all prejudices, and in religion she thinks as she pleases. They have much acquaintance among the young ladies their relations. (N. B. We don't know the rank **^ of Minos, but as he does not use the word Damen, ^ but Frauenzimmer it is probable that it is not high.) ^ It may immediately be a

very pretty Society, under *^ the management of Ptolemy's wife, but really un'^ der bis management. You muft contrive pretty de" grees, and drefles, and ornaments, and elegant and " decent rituals. No man mud be admitted. This '^ Vv'ill make them become more keen, and they will '^ go much farther than if we were prefent, or than if *^ they thought that we knew of their proceedings. *^ Leave them to the fcope of their ov/n fancies, and '^ they Vv'ill foon invent myfteries which will put us to " the blufh, and create an enthufiafm which we can never equal. They will be our great apoftles. Refle6l on the refpect, nay the awe and terror infpired by the female miydics of antiquity. (Think of the '^ Daniads — ^think of the Thcban Bacchantes.^ Ptole'^ my's wife muft dire6l: them, and fhe will be inilrudb'^ ed by Ptomlemy, and mgy dep daughters will con*' fult with me. We muft aiv/ays be at hand to pre*' vent the introduction of any improper quediion. Vv'c " mud prepare themes for their difcufTion — thus we '^ fhall confefs them, and infpire them with our ftnti^^ ments. No m^an however mud come near them. " This will fire their roving fancies, and we may ex" pe(5t: rare myderies. But I am doubtful whether

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^ this AiTociatlr.n will be durable. Yv'omen are fickle <^ and impatient. No:hing vviil pleafe them but hiir" iVing from degree to degree, through a heap of in'^lio-niricant ceremonies, which will foon lofe their '^ novelty and influence. To red fcrioufly in one '^ rank, and to be lliii and filent when they have found ' out that the whole is a cheat, (hear the words of an '^ experienced Mafon,) is a tafk of which they are in^^ capable. They have not our motives to perfevere *' for years, allowing themfelvcs to be led about, and *' even then to hold their tongues when they find that " they have been deceived. Nay there is a rifk that ** they may take it into their heads to give things an *' oppofite turn, and then, by voluptuous allurements, " heightened by alTeded modcfty and decency, which *' give them an irrcfiftible empire over the beft men, " they may turn our Order upfide down, and in their '^ turn will lead the new one."

Such is the information which may be got from the private correspondence. It is needless to make more extracts of every kind of vice and trick. I have taken such as show a little of the plan of the Order, as far as the degree of Illuminatus Minor^e and the vile purposes which are concealed under all their specious declamation. A very minute account is given of the plan, the ritual, ceremonies, &c. and even the instructions and discourses, in a book called the Achte Illuminaty published at Edinburg (Frankfurt) in 1787. Philo says, *' that this is quite accurate, but that he does *' not know the author." I proceed to give an account of their higher degrees, as they are to be seen in the book called Die Arbeitung des Spartacus mit Philo. And the authenticity of the accounts is attested by Grollman, a private gentleman of independent fortune, who read them, signed and sealed by Spartacus and the Areopagit^e,

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The series of ranks and progress of the pupil were arranged as follows:

Preparation,

Novice

1st - Minor,

2nd - Minor.

3rd - Apprentice,

4th - Fellow Crafty

5th - Master,

6th - Illuminatus, Mr. Jar, Scotch Novice

7th - Illuminatus, Scotch Knight.

C Leffer SP; ^%^^-r Pricfr, Mysteries, < > , ^ o ^

i Greater ^ - ' ^ V. (_ Kex.

The reader mufi: be almoft fick of fo much villany, and would be difgusted with the minute detail, in which the cane of the Order is ringing continually in his ears. I fhall therefore only give fuch a fhort extraifb as may fix our notions of the obje6i: of the Order, and the morality of the means employed for attaining it. We need not go back to the lower degrees, and ihall begin with the Illuminatus dir Igens, or Scotc?i Knight.

After a fhort introduc^cion, teaching: us how the holy ferret Chapter of Scotch Knights is alTembled, we have, J. Fuller accounts and inlirucfiions relating to ihc Vv'i.ole. II. Infcrucfiions for the lower cianes of Mafonry. III. Infrudfiions relating to Mafjn Lodo:es in c^eneral. IV. Account of a reception into this de?:>ree, wiith the bond wlncli each fubfcribes before he can be admitted. V. Concernincr die Solemn Chai^ter for reception. VI. Openinp; of tiie Chapter. VIh R ieual ot Reception,

and the Oath. VIII. Shutting of the Chapter. IX.

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AgapCy or Love-Feaft. X. Ceremonies of the confecratioQ of the Chapter. Appendix A, Explanation of the Symbols of Free Mafonry. B, Catechifm for the Scotch Knight. C, Secret Cypher.

In N^ I. it is faid that the ' ^ chief ftudy of the '* Scotch Knight is to work on all men in fuch a way as is moil inftuating. II. He mull endeavour to acquire the pofTeffion of confiderable property. III. In all Mafon Lodges we mud try fecretly to get the upper hand. The Mafons do not know what

FreeMafonry is, their high objects, nor their hiofhed Superiors, and should be direfted by thofe who will lead them along the right road. In preparing a can" dldace for the degree of Scotch Knighthood, we *^ iiiull bring him into dilemmas by enfning queftions. — We mud endeavour to get the difpofal of the money of the Lodges of the Free Mafons, or at lead take care that it be applied to purpofes favourable to our Order—but this mud be done in a way that " fnall not be remarked. Above all, we mud pufh " forward v/ith all our fi;iiil, the plan ofEclei5tic Ma'^ fonry, and for this purpofe follow up the circular " letter already fent to all the Lodges v;ith every *' tiling that can increafe theirprcftntembarraffment." In :hc bond of N"" IV. the candidate binds himftlf to *^ confider and treat the liluminaii as the Superiors of " Free Mafonry, and endeavour in all iht Mafon " Lodges which he frequents, to have the Mafonry of *' the illuminated, and particularly the Scotch Novi'^ tiare, introduced into the Lodge." (This is not very different from the Mafonry of the Chevalier de VAigle of the Rofaic Mafonry, making the Mader's ciegrce a fort of commemxoration of the paffion, but v/ithout giving that character to Chridianity which is peculiar to liJuminatim.) Jefus Chriil is reprefted as the enemy of fuperftitious obfervances, and the af

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. iJJ

ferter of xhe Empire of Reafon and of Brotherly love, and his death and memory as dear to mankind. This evidently paves the way for Weifhaupt's

Christianity. The Scotch Knight [^]ilfo engages ^{^^} to consider the " Superiors of the Order as the unknown Superiors of ^{^^} Free Mafonry, and to contribute all he can to their " gradual union." In the Oath, N[^] VII. the candidate fays, ^{^^} I will never more bea flatterer of the greac[^] I will never be a lowly fcrvant of princes; but I v[^]ill drive with fpirit, and Vv[^]ith addrels, for virtue, wifdom, and liberty. I will powerfully oppofe fuperftition, {lander, and defpotifm ; fo that, like a true fon of the Order[^] I may ferve the world, I 'will never facrifice the general good, and the happincfs of the world, to my private intereft. I will boldly [^] defend my brother againft fiander, will follow ouc [^] the traces of the pure and true Religion pointed out [^] to me in my inPcructions, and in the dobi:rines of " Mafonry ; and will faithfully report to my Su^{^^} periors the progrefs I make therein."

When he gets the ftroke which dubs him a Knight, the Prefcs fays to him, [^] Now prove thyfclf, by thy [^] ability, equal to Kings, and never from this time [^] forward bow thy knee to one who is, like thyfelf buc [^] a man."

N[^] IX. is an account of the Love-Feaft: . jft, There is a Table Lodge, opened as ufual, but in virtue of the ancient Mafter-word. Then it is faid, [^] Let moderation, fortitude, morality, and genuine [^] love of the Brethren, with the overflowing of inno[^] cent and carelefs mirth reign here." (This is almoft: verbatim from Toland.)

od[^] In the middle of a bye-table is a chalice, a pot of wine, an empty plate, and a plate of unleavened bread—All is covered with a green cloth.

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IJS THE ILLUMINATIv GHAP. H.

3[^], When the Table Lodgre is ended, and the Prc[^] fed fees no obitacle, he ftrikes on this bye-table the frokc of Scotch Mafter, and his fignal is repT[^]ated by the Senior Warden. All are frill and filent. The Prefed lifts off the cloth.

4/Z?, The Prefcd alks, whether the Knights are in the difpofition to partake of the Love-Feaft in earneft, peace, and contentment. If none hefitates or offers to retire, he takes the plate with the bread and fays,

J. of N. our Grand-Mafter, in the night in which he was betrayed by his friends, perfecuted for his love for truth, imprifoncd, and condemned to die, afTembled his trufty Brethren, to celebrate his lall: Love-Feaft—which is fignified to us in many ways. He took bread (taking it) and broke it (breaking it) and bleifed it, and gave it to his difciples, &c. — This ihall be the mark of our Holy Union, &c. Let each of you examine his heart, whether love *' reigns in it, and whether he, in full imitation of our *^ Grand-Mafter, is ready to lay down his life for his *' Brethren.

Thanks be to our Grand-Mafter, who has appointed this feaft as a memorial of his kindnefs, for the uniting of the hearts of thofe who love him.— Go in peace, and blefled be this new Aftbciation which we have formed.— Blefled be ye who remain loyal and ft rive for the good caufe." ^thy The Prefed immediately clofes the Chapter -with the ufual ceremonies of the Lege de Table.

6th, It is to be obferved, that no prieft of the Order muft be prefent at this Love-Feaft, and that even the Brother Servitor quits the Lodge.

I muft obferve here, that Philo, the manufadlurer of this ritual, has done it very injudicioufly ; it has no refemblance whatever to the Love-Feaft of the primitive Chriftians, and is merely a copy of a fmiilar thing

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in one of the fleps of French Miifoniy, Philo's reading in church-hiftory was probably very fcanty, or he trulled that the candidates would not be very nice in their examination of it, and he imagined chat it would do well enoughj and " tickle fuch as had a religious " hankering." Spartacus dilliked it exceedingly — it did not accord with his ferious conceptions, and he juilly call.'^ . it J oner la Religion,

The difcourfe of reception is to be found alfo in the fecret correffpondence (NachtragIL Abtheilung, p. 44.)But it is needlefts to infcrt it here. I have given the fubfbance of this and of all the Cofmo-political declamations already in the panegeric introdudlion to the account of the procefs of education- And in Spartacus's letter, and in Philo's, I have given an abftcraft of the introdudion to the explanation given in this degree of the fymbols of Free Mafonry. With refped to the explanation itfelf, it is as flovenly and wretched as can be imagined, and Ihews that Spartacus trusted to much more operative principles in the human heart for the reception of his nonfenfe than the didtates of unbialTed reafon. None but promifing fubjccls were admitted thus fat' — fuch as would not boggle ; and their principles were already fufficicntly apparent to afTure him that they would be contented with any thing that made o^ame of religion, and w^ould be diverted by the ferioufnefs which a chance devotee might exhibit during thefe filly caricatures of Chriftianity and Free Mafonry. But there is confidcrable addrefs in the way that Spartacus prepares his pupils for having all this mummery fhewn in its true colours, and oveicurned.

'* Examine, read, think on thtfe fymbols. There " are many things which one cannot find out without ** a oruide, nor even learn without infl;ru(Stion. They '* require ftudy and zeal. Should you in any future •*' period think that you have conceived a clearer no

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^' tion of them, that you have found a paved road, ** declare your discoveries to your Superiors -, it is *^ thus that you improve your mind; they expect this of you ; they know the true path—but will not point it out—enough if they assist you in every approach to it, and warn you Vv'hen you recede from it. They have even put things in your way to try your powers of leading yourself through the difficult track of discovery. In this process the weak head finds only child's play—the initiated finds objects of thought *^ which language cannot express, and the thinking ^' mind finds food for his faculties." By such forewarnings as these Weifhaupt leaves room for any deviation, for any sentiment or opinion of the individual that he may afterwards choose to encourage, and ^' to *' whisper in their ear (as he expresses it) many things ^•^ which he did not find it prudent to insert in a printed compend."

But all the principles and aim of Spartacus and of his Order are modelled in the third or Myftery Clafs. I proceed therefore to give some account of it. By the Table it appears to have two degrees, the Lesser and the Greater Myfteries, each of which have two departments, one relating chiefly to Religion and the other to Politics.

The First's degree contains, i. an Introduction.

2. Further Accounts of the Reception into this degree.

3. What is called Instruction in the Third Chamber, v^hich the candidate must read over. 4. The Ritual of Reception. 5. Instruction for the First Degree of the First's Clafs, called Instruction in Scientijuis. 6. Account of the Consecration of a Dean, the Superior of this Tower Order of Priests.

The Regent degree contains, 1. Directions to the Provincial concerning the dispensation of this degree. 2. Ritual of Reception. 3. System of Direction h;r

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the whole Order. 4. InRru6lion for the whole Regent degree. 5. In(tru6tion for the Prefeds or Local Superiors. 6. InilrucStion for the Provincials.

The moll remarkable thing in the Priell's degree is the I:iftru(Stion in the Third Chamber. It is to be found in the private correpondence (Nachtrage Original Schrif ten 1787, 20. Abtheilnngy page 44.). There it has the title Bijcotirje to the Illiiminati DirigenteSy or Scotch Knights. In the critical hiftory, which is annexed to the Neuejie Arbeitimg, there is an account mvtn of the reafon for this denomination; and notice is taken of fomc differences between the infrudlions here contained and that difcourfe.

This infrui5lion begins with fore complaints of the low condition ol the human race; and the caufes are deduced from religion and ftate-government. '^ Men "'^ originally led a patriarchal life, in which every fa^ ther of a family was the fole lord of his houfe and his property, while he himfelf poUeiTed general freedom and equality. But they fuitered themfeives to be opprelfed — gave themfeives up to civil foeieties, and formed ilaccs. Kven by this they fell; and this '^ is the fall of man, by which they were thruft into ^^ unfpca'kable mifery. To get out of this Hate, to *' be freed and born again, there is no other mean than the ufe of pure Reafon, by v/hich a general morality may be eitablifhied, which will put man in ^^ a condition to ofovern himfelf, reo:ain his orig-inal *' worth, and difpcnfe with ail political fupports, and ^^ and particularly Vv^ith rulers. This can be done in ** no 'Other Vv'ay but by fecret affbciations, which will ^' by degrees, and in filence, poiTrfs themifelves of the t' government of the States, and make ufe of thofe means for this purpoitr^which the wicked ufe for atattaining their bafe end?>. Princes and Priefts are '* in particular, an i kiT exochen the wicked, whofe

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hands we mud tie up by means of thefc aiTociacions, if wc cannot root them out altogether.

Kings are parents. The paternal power ceales with the incapacity of the child ^ and the father injures his child, if he pretends to retain his right beyond this period. When a nation comes of ao-e, ^^ their flate of wardlliip is at an end.^'

Here follows a long declamation againfl: patriotifm, as a narrow-minded principle when compared with true Cofrao-polirifm. Nobles are reprefted as '^ a race of men that ferve not the nation but the Prince, v/hom a hint from the Sovereign ilirs up againft the '^ nation, who are retained fcrvants and minifters of defpotifm, and the mean for opprefTmg national liberty. Kings are accused of a tacit convention, under the flattering appellation of the balance of pov/er, to keep nations in fubjedion. '^ The means to regain Reafon her rights— to raife ^^ liberty from its adies— to reftore to man his original ** rights— to produce the previous revolution in the *^ mind of man— to obtain an eternal victory over oppreffbrs— and to work the redemption of mankind, are fcret fchools of vv'ifdom. When the worthy have ilrengthened their affociation by numbers, they are fcure, and ^hen they begin to become powerful, and terrible to the wicked, of whom many will, for fafety, amend themfelves— many will come over to our party, and we fhall bind the hands of the red, and finally conquer them. Whoever fpreads gene^ ral Illumination, augments mutual fecurity^ Illumination and fecurity make princes unneceffary; Illumination performs this by creating an eftedcive '^ Morahty, and Morality makes a nation of full age ^' fit to govern itfelf; and fince it is not impofTible to *^ produce ajull Morality, ip is pofTible to regain free-r >^ dom for the world.*'

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©HAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. J4^

" VVc mufl therefore flrengtben our band, and efba*' blifh a legion, which I hall reftore the rights of man, *^ original liberty and independence.

*' Jcfus Chrifft'^—but I am fick of all this. The following quedions are put to the candidate :

I. " Are our civil conditions in the world the defti" nations that feem to be the end of our nature, or the *^ purpofes for which man was placed on this earth, *^ or are they not ? Do ftates, civil obligations, popu'^ lar religion, fulfil the intentions of men who eflablifhed them ? Do fecret afTociations promote infruction and true human happinefs, or are they the children of neceffity, of the multifarious wants, of unnatural conditions, or the inventions of vain and *^ cunningT men r"

1. ^' What civil afTociation, what fcience do you think to the purpofe, and what are not V

3. " Has there ever been any other in the world, is there no other more fimple condition, and what do you think of it ?"

4. " Does it appear poffible, after having gone " through all the nonentities of our civil conftructions, ^' to recover for once our firft fimplicity, and get ^ back to this honourable uniformity ?*'

5. "Hov/ can one begin this noble attempt 3 by means of open support, by forcible revolution, or by what other way ?"

6. "Does Christianity give us any hint to this pur*¹ pose ? Does it not recos[^]nise such a bleffed condition ** as once the lot of m[^]an, and as still recoverable ?*¹

7. *¹ But is this holy religion the religion that is " now profit^Ted by any feet on earth, or is it a bet*¹ ter ?"

8. " Can we learn this religion—can the world, as it is, bear the hght ? Do you think that it would be of service, before numerous obflacts are removed,

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if we taught men this purified religionij lublime phi

lofophy, and the art of governing themselves ? Or

would not this hurt, by roufing the interefted pafTi-[^]

ons of men habituated to prejudices, who would op

pose this as wicked r"

cf, *[^] May it not be more advifable to do away thefe

" corruptions by little and little, in silence, and for

*' this purpose to propagate these salutary and heart

'^ confounding doctrines in secret ?"

lo. " Do we not perceive traces of such a secret ^' doctrine in the ancient schools of philosophy, in the *^ doctrines and influences of the Bible, which Christ, " the Redeemer and Deliverer of the human race, *' gave to his truly disciples ?—Do you not observe " an education, proceeding by steps of this kind, handed down to us from his time till the present ?"

In the ceremonial of Reception, crowns and sceptres are represented as tokens of human degradation. "The ^^ plan of operation, by which our higher degrees administered, " must work powerfully on the world, and must give '^ another turn to all our present constitutions."

Many other questions are put to the pupil during his preparation, and his answers are given in writing. Some of these receipts are to be found in the secret correspondence. Thus, '^ How far is the position true, *' that all those means may be used for a good purpose '^ which the wicked have employed for a bad ?" And along with this question there is an injunction to take counsel from the opinions and conduct of the learned and worthy out of the society. In one of the answers, the example of a great philosopher and Cosmopolite is adduced, who betrayed a private correspondence entrusted to him, for the service of freedom : the case was Doctor Franklin's. In another, the power of the Order was extended to the putting the individual to death ; and the reason given was, that " this power was allowed

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. 145

^ to all Sovereignities, for the good of the State, and J ^ therefore belonged to the Order, which was to go

"vern the world." 'N. B. Vv'e muj^ acquire thf*

*^ direction of education—of church-nianaf?emertr—of the profeflorial chair, and of the milpit. We mud bring our opinions into falhion by every art—fspread them among the people by the help of youn^i; writers. We muft preach the warmcfl concern for hu^' rnanityj and make people indi^erent to all other relations, " We mud take care that our writers be well puffed, *^ and that the Reviewers do not depreciate them • *^ therefore we mud endeavour by every mean to gain *^ over the Reviewers and Journalids; and we mud *' aifo try to gain the bookfellers, who in time will fee ^' that it is their intered to fide wirh us."

I conclude this account of the degree of Prefbyter with remarking, that there were two copies of it Cinployed occasionally. In one of them all the mod offenlive things in refpe61; of church and dare were left out. The fame thing was done in the degree of Chevalier du Soleil of the French Mafonry. ■ I have feea three different forms.

In the Regent degree, the proceedings and indructions arc conducted in the fame manner. Here, it is faid, 'We mud as much as podible fele6t for this de'^ gree perfons who are free, independent of all princes; *^ particularly fuch as have frequently declared them^^ felves difcontented with the ufual inditucions, and *' their widies to fee a better government eilablifhed." Catching quedions are put to the candidace for this degree; fuch as,

I. " Would the fociety be objectionable which " fhould (till the greater revolution of nature diould '^ be ripe) put monarchs and rulers out of the condi" tion to do harm ; which ihould in hlence j^revent " the abufe of power, by furrounding the great with

T *'" its

*' its members, and thus not only prevent their doing " milchiefj but even make them do good ?"

1. '^ Is not the objection unjuft. That fuch a Soci^^ ciety may abufe its power ? Do not our rulers fre^^ quently abufe their power, though we are filent ? " This power is not fo fecurc as in the hands of our *^ Members,

whom we train up with so much care, *' and place about princes after mature deliberation " and choice. If any government can be harmless " which is erected by man, surely it must be ours^ " which is founded on morality, foresight, talents, liberty, and virtue," &c.

The candidate is presented for reception in the character of a slave ; and it is demanded of him what has brought him into this miserable of all conditions. He answers — Society — the State — Submissiveness — False Religion. A skeleton is pointed out to him, at the feet of which are laid a Crown and a Sword. He is asked, whether that is the skeleton of a King, a Nobleman, or a Beggar? As he cannot decide, the President of the meeting says to him, '^ the character of *^ being a Man is the only one that is of importance." In a long declamation on the hackneyed topics, we have here and there some thoughts which have not yet come before us.

" We must allow the underlings to imagine, (but ^^ without telling them the truth,) these vile dirty ailments *' the Free Mason Lodges, and even all other Orders, *^ and that the greatest monarchs are under our guidance^ ance, which indeed is here and there the case.

There is no way of influencing men so powerfully as by means of the women. These should therefore be our chief study; we should insinuate our^ selves into their good opinion, give them hints of " emancipation from the tyranny of public opinion, " and of standing up for themselves it will be an im

^ means

*^ means relief to their enslaved minds to be freed from ^^ any one bond of restraint, and it will fire them the " more, and cause them to work for us with zeal> *^ without knowing that they do so ; for they will only *^ be indulging their own desire of personal admira

" tion.

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*^ We must win the common people in every corner. This will be obtained chiefly by means of the " schools, and by open, hearty behaviour, mow, con' defension, popularity, and toleration of their prejudices, which we shall at leisure root out and dispel. If a writer publishes any thing that attracts notice, " and is in itself just, but does not accord with our " plan, we must endeavour to win him over, or decry <^ him.

'* Chief object of our care must be to keep down *' that {lavili veneration C&r princes which so much *' disgraces all nations. Even in ill\Joi-difa?it free En'^ gland, the silly Monarch says. We are graciously pleased, and the more simple people say, Amen. These men, commonly very weak heads, are only the far" ther corrupted by this fervile flattery. But let us ac " once give an example of our spirit by our behaviour " with Princes; we must; avoid all familiarity—never " entrust: ourselves to them—behave with precision, " but with civility, as to other men—speak of them " on an equal footing—this will in time teach them ^^ that they are by nature men, if they have sense and " spirit, and that only by convention they are Lords, ^^ We must affiduously collect anecdotes, and the honourable and mean actions, both of the last: and " the greatest and when their names occur in any records which are read in our meetings, let them ^^ ever be accompanied by these marks of their real " worth.

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" The great strength of our Order lies in its concealment j let it never appear in anyplace in its own

** name, but always covered by another name, and

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another occupation At; <? is fitter than the three lower

degrees of Free Masonry; the public is accustomed to it; '^ excites little from it, and therefore take^ little notice of it, '* Next to this the form of a learned or literary society *' is best suited to our purpose, and had Freemasonry ^'

not existed^ this cover would have been employed i '*' and it may be much more than a cover, it may be a " powerful engine in our hands. By establishing reading " Societies, and circulating libraries:, and taking these under " our direction, and supplying them through our labours, we <"^ may turn the public mind which way we will,

" In like manner we must try to obtain an influence " in the military academies, (this may be of mighty ** consequence,) the printing-houses, bookellers shops, ** churches, and in short in all offices which have any influence, either in forming, or in managing, or even *' in directing the mind of man: painting and engraving are highly worth our care*."

" Could our Prefect" (observe it is to the Illuminati Regentes he is speaking, whose officers are Prefect) " fill the judicatories of a state with our worthy members, he does all that man can do for the Order. It

is better than to gain the Prince himself. Princes

never get beyond the Scotch knighthood.

They either never persecute any thing, or they twist *^ every thing to their own advantage.

" A Literary Society is the most proper form for «' the introduction of our Order into any (state where " we are yet strangers.* (Mark this!)

" The

* (They were wrongly supposed of having published some scandalous caricatures, and some very immoral prints.) They scrupled at no mean, however base, for corrupting the nation. Mirabeau had done the same thing at Berlin. By political caricatures and seditious print?, they would not even touch as cannot read.

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CHAP. 11. THE ILLUMINATI. J^g

" The power of the Order must surely be turned to " the advantage of its Members. All must be assisted. " They must be preferred to all persons otherwise of equal merit. Money, services, honour, goods, and blood, must be expended for the fully proved Brethren, and the unfortunate must be relieved by the " funds of the Society."

As evidence that this was not only their intrusion but also their affiduous practice, take the following report from the overfeer of Greece (Bavaria),

In Cato's hand-writing,

* The number (about 600) of Members relates to

of Bavaria alone.

" In Munich there is a well-constituted meeting of

" Illuminati Major and a meeting of excellent Minors, a respectable Grand Lodge, and two Minerval Assemblies. There is a Minerval Assembly at Freyding, at Landberg, at Burghaufen, at Straßburg, at Ingollstadt, and at last at Regensburg*. * At Munich we have bought a house, and by clever measures have brought things so far, that the citizens take no notice of it, and even speak of us with esteem. We can openly go to the house every day, and carry on the business of the Lodge. This is a great deal for this city. In the house is a good museum of natural history, and apparatus for experiments: also a library which daily increases. The garden is well occupied by botanic specimens, and the whole has the appearance of a society of zealous naturalists.

" We get all the literary journals. We take care, " by well-timed pieces, to make the citizens and the

Princes

* In this small turbulent city there were eleven secret societies of Masons, Kofvcrucians, Clair-vovants, &c.

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I^O tHE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

. *^ Princes a little more noticed for certain little flips. " We oppofe the monks with all our might, and with *' great iliccefs.

" The Lodge is conftituted entirely according to our *^ fyftem, and has broken oft entirely from Berlin, and *^ we have nearly finifhed our tranfadions with the *^ Lodges of Poland, and fiiali have them under our* " direction.

*f By the adtivity of our Brethren, the Jefuits have *^ been kept out of all the profeiTorial chairs at Ingol *^ ftadt, and our friends prevail.*

" The widow Duchefs has fet up her academy en** tirely according to our plan, and we have all the '^ ProfclTors in the Order. Five of them are excellent, " and the pupils will be prepared for us.

" We have got Pylades put at the head of the Fife, «* and he has the church-money at his difpofal. By «' properly ufing this money, we have been enabled

" to put our brother 's houfehold in good order;

" which he had deftroyed by going to the Jews. We " have fupported more Brethren under fimilar misfor*^ tunes.

*' Our Ghofly Brethren have been very fortunate «^ this lail year, for we have procured for them feveral " good benefices, parifhes, tutorfhips, &c.

" Through our means Arminius and Cortes have " gotten Profefbrfhips, and many of our younger <' Brethren have obtained Burfaries by our help.

" We have been very fuccefsful againft the Jefuits, " and brought things to fuch a bearing, that their re" venues, fuch as the MifTion, the Golden Alms, the " Exercifes, and the Converfion Box, are now under *' themanagementofourfricnds. So arc alfo their con*f cernsin theuniverfityand the German fchool founda** tions. The application of all will be determined " prefently, and we have fix members and faur friends

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. ' I^t

'^ in the Court. This has coft our fenate fome nights want of Deep. m

'^ Two of our befl youths have got journies from the Courts and they will go to Vienna, where they will do us great fervice. " All the German Schools, and the Benevolent So^^ ciety, are at laft under our direction.

" We have e:ot feveral zealous members in the courts " of juftice, and we arc able to afford them pay, and '■^ other good additions.

'^ Lately, we have got pofTefTionof the Bartholomew " Inftitution for young clergymen, having fecured ali *^ its fupporters. Through this we fhail be able to " fupply Bavaria with fit priefts.

" By a letter from Phiio we learn, that one of the *^ higheft dignities in the church was obtained for a " zealous IUuminatus, in oppofition even to the au" thority and right of the Bilhop of Spire, who is re^' prefented as a bigoted and tyrannical prieft."

Such were the leffer myteries of the Illuminati. But there remain the higher myteries. The fyftem of thefe has not been printed, and the degrees were conferred only by Spartacus himfelf, from papers which he never entrusted to any peribn. They were only read to the candidate, but no copy was taken. The publifher of the Neuefte Arheltung fays that he has read them (lb fays Grollman). He fays, *' that in the firft degree of *^ Magus or Philofophus, the doctrines are the fame with thofe of Spinoza, where all is material, God and the world are the fame thing, and all religion whatever is v/ithout foundation, and, the con*' ■ trivance of ambitious micn." The fecond degree/ or Rex, teaches, '^ that every peafant, citizen, and *^ houfeholder is a fovereign, as in the Patriarchal ^^ Hate, and that nations muil be brought back to that *^ ftate, by v/hatever means are conducive—peaceably.

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CHAP. II.

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ably, if It can be done; but, if not, then by force " —for all fubordination mult vanilh from the face of " the earth."

The author says further, that the German Union was, to his certain knowledge, the work of the Illuminati.

The private correspondence that has been published is by no means the whole of what was discovered at Landshut and BafTus Hoff, and government got a great deal of useful information, which was concealed, both out of regard to the families of the persons concerned, and also that the rest might not know the utmost extent of the discovery, and be left on their guard. A third collection was found under the foundation of the house in which the Lodge Theodor vom guteyi Rath had been held. But none of this has appeared. Enough surely has been discovered to give the public a very just idea of the designs of the Society and its connections.

Lodges were discovered, and are mentioned in the private papers already published, in the following places.

Munich

Ing'olftadt

Frankfort

Echftadt

Hanover

Brunswick

Calbe

Magde burgh

CaiTel

Osnabruck

Weimar

Upper Saxony (several)

Auftria (14)

Weftphalia (feveral)

Heidelbero:

Manheim

Strafourgh (5)

Spire

Worms

Dufleldorff

Cologne

Bonn (4)

Livonia (many)

Courland (many)

Frankendahl

Alface (many)

Vienna

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Vienna (4) HciTe (many) Buchenwerter Mompcliard Stutgard (3) Carifruhc
Anfpach Neuwied (2) Mentz (2) Poland (many) Turin

England (8) Scotland (2) WaiTaw (2) America (feveral.)

Deiixpnts Coufel Treves (2) Aix-la-Chapelle (2) Bartfchicd Hah re n berg
Switzerland (many) Rome Naples Ancona Florence France

Holland (many) Drefden (4) N. B. This was before 1786.

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I have picked up the names of the following mem

ben

Spartacus^ Philo,

Araelius, Bayard, Diomedes, ' Gato,

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Weiliaupt, Profeflbr. Knigge, Freyherr, i. e.

Gentleman. Bode, F. H. Bufche, F. H. Conflanza, Mara. Zwack, Lawyer.
Torrin^, Count. Khreitmaier, Prince. Utfchneider, ProfefTor. ColTandey,
ProfefTor. Renner, Profeilbr. Grunberger, ProfefTor. Balderbufch, F. FI.
Lippert, Counfelior. Kundl, ditto. Bart, ditto.

Leiberhauer,

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CHAP. 11^

Pythagoras,

Hannibal,

Brutus,

Lucian,

Zoroaster, Confucius, Hermes Trismegistus,

Sulla,

Pythagoras, (2cl,) Marius,

Saladin,

Leiberhauer, Priest. Kundler, Professor. Lowling, Professor. Vachency,
Counsellor. Moraufl^y, Count. Hoffftetter, Surveyor of

Roads. Strobl, Bookfeller. Weffenrieder, Professor, Babo, Professor. Baader,
Professor. Burzes, Priest. Pfruntz, Priest. BafTus, Baron. Savioli, Count.
Nicholai, Bookfeller. Bahrtd, Clergyman. Baierhamer.

Socher, School Inspector. Dillis, Abbe. MeggenhofT, Paymaster. Danzer,
Canon. Braun, ditto. Fifcher, Magistrate. Frauenberger, Baron. Kaltner,
Lieutenant. Drexl, Librarian. Hertel, Canon. Dachfel.

Billing, Counsellor. Seefeld, Count. Gunfleim, ditto. Morgellan, ditto.
Ecker, ditto. Ow, Major. Werner, Counsellor.

Cornelius,

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Cornelius Scipio,

Tycho Brahe,

Thales,

Actila,

Ludovicus BavarnSj

Shafteibury,

Coriolaniis^

Timon,

Tamerlane,

Liviiiis,

Cicero,

Ajax,

Berser, Coimfellow.

Worc, Apothecary.

Mauvillon, Colonel,

Mirabeau, Count.

Orleans, Duke.

Hochinaer.

Gafpar, Merchant.

Kapfinger.

Sauer.

Lofi.

Steger.

Tropponera, Zufchvvartz,

Michel.

Lange.

BadorfFer.

Pfeffr.

MafTenhaufen, Count.

I have not been able to find who perforatcd Minos, Euriphon, Celfius, Mahomet, Hercules, Socrates, Philippo Strozzi, Euclides, and fome others who have been uncommonly adive in carrying forward the great eaufe.

The chief publications for giving us regular accounts of the whole, (befides the original writings,) are,

1. Groffe Alyficht des Illuminaten Or dens.
2. Nachtrages (3.) an denfelben.
3. IVEiJhaupfs improved Syftem.
4. Syftem des Ilium. Or dens aus dem Original-fchriften gezcgen.

I may now be permitted to make a few reflections on the accounts already given of this Order, which has fo diftindly concentrated the cafual and fcattered efforts of its prompters, the Chevaliers Bienfajants^ the Philalethes^ and Amis Reunis of France, and carried on the fyflem of enlightening and reforming the world.

The

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The great aim profelTed by the Order is to make men happy; and the means profelTed to be employed, as ' the only and furely effective, is making them good; and this is to be brought about by enlightening the mind, and freeing it from the dominion of fuperjiition and prejudices. This purpofe is eite61:ed by its producing ajuft andfteady TiiGrality. This done, and becoming univerlal, there can be little doubt but that the peace of fociety

will be the consequence,—that government, subordination, and all the disagreeable coercions of civil governments will be unnecessary—and that society may go on peaceably in a state of perfect liberty and equality.

But surely it requires no angel from heaven to tell us that if every man is virtuous, there will be no vice; and that there will be peace on earth, and good-will between man and man, whatever be the differences of rank and fortune \ so that Liberty and Equality seem not to be the necessary consequences of this just MoralitVi nor necessary requisites for this national happiness. We may question, therefore, whether the Illumination which makes this a necessary condition is a clear and a pure light. It may be a false glare showing the object only on one side, tinged with partial colours thrown on it by neighbouring objects. We see so much wisdom in the general plans of nature, that we are apt to think that there is the same in what relates to the human mind, and that the God of nature accomplishes his plans in this as well as in other instances. We are even disposed to think that human nature would suffer by it. The rational nature of man is not contented with meat and drink, and raiment, and shelter, but is also pleased with exerting many powers and faculties, and with gratifying many tastes, which could hardly have existence in a society where all are equal. We say that there can be no doubt but that the pleasure arising from the contemplation of the works of art—

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CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. ' 157

the pleasure of intellectual cultivation, the pleasure of mere ornament^ are rational, distinguish man from a brute, and are so general, that there is hardly a mind so rude as not to feel them. Of all these, and of all the difficult sciences, all most rational, and in themselves most innocent, and most delightful to a cultivated mind, we should be deprived in a society where all are equal. No individual could give employment to the talents necessary for creating and improving these ornamental comforts of life. We are absolutely certain that, even in the most favourable situations on the face of the earth, the most untainted virtue in every breast could not raise man to that degree of cultivation that is possessed by citizens very low in any of the States of Europe and in the situation of most countries we are acquainted with, the

itiate of man w^hould be much lower: for, at our very setting out, we must grant that the Liberty and equality here spoken of must be complete; for there must not be such a thing as a farmer and his cottager. This would be as unjust: as much the cause of discontent, as the gentleman and the farmer.

This scheme therefore seems contrary to the designs of our Creator, who has every where placed us in those situations of inequality that are here so much reprobated, and has given us strong propensities by which we receive those enjoyments. We also find that they may be enjoyed in peace and innocence. And lastly, we imagine that the villain, who, in the situation of a professor, would plunder a prince, would also plunder the farmer if he were his cottager. The Illumination therefore that appears to have the best chance of making mankind happy is that which will teach us the Morality which will restore the comforts of cultivated Society, and teach us to protect the poor in the innocent enjoyment of them; that will enable us to perceive and admire the taste and

elegance

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elegance of Architecture and Gardening, without any will to sweep the palaces, the gardens, and their owner, from off the earth, merely because he is their owner.

We are therefore suspicious of this Illumination, and apt to ascribe this violent antipathy to Princes and subordination to the very cause that makes true Illumination, and just Morality proceeding from it, so necessary to public happiness, namely, the vice and injustice of those who cannot innocently have the command of those offensive elegancies of human life. Lux^urious taste, keen desires, and unbridled passions, would prompt to all this; and this Illumination is, as we see, equivalent to them in effect. The aim of the Order is not to enlighten the mind of man, and (show him his moral obligations, and by the practice of his duties to make society peaceable[^] position secure and coercion unnecessary, so that all may be at rest and happy, even though all were equal; but to get rid of the coercion which must be employed in the place of Morality, that the innocent rich may be robbed with impunity by the idle and profligate poor. But to do this,

an unjust authority must be employed instead of a just Morality; and this must be defended or fugged, by misrepresenting the true state of man, and of his relation to the universe, and by removing the restrictions of religion, and giving a superlative value to all those constituents of human enjoyment, which true Illumination shows us to be but very small concerns of a rational and virtuous mind. The more closely we examine the principles and practice of the Illuminati, the more clearly do we perceive that this is the case. Their first and immediate aim is to get the possession of riches, power, and influence, without industry; and to accomplish this, they want to abolish Christianity; and then dissolute manners and universal profligacy will procure them the adherence of all the wicked, and enable them

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to overturn all the civil governments of Europe; after which they will think of farther conquests, and extend their operations to the other quarters of the globe, till they have reduced mankind to the state of one undistinguishable chaotic mass.

But this is too chimerical to be thought their real aim. Their Founder, I dare say, never entertained such hopes, nor troubled himself with the fate of distant lands. But it comes in his way when he puts on the mask of humanity and benevolence: it must embrace all mankind, only because it must be longer than patriotism and loyalty, which stand in his way. Observe that Weisshaupt took a name expressive of his principles. Spartacus was a gladiator, who headed an insurrection of Roman slaves, and for three years kept the city in terror. Weisshaupt says in one of his letters, " I never was fond of empty titles; but surely " that man has a childish soul who would not as readily choose the name of Spartacus as that of Orestes." The names which he gives to several of his gang express their differences of sentiments. Philo, Lucian, and others, are very significantly given to Knigge, Nicholai, &c. He was vain of the name Spartacus, because he considered himself as employed somewhat in the same way, leading slaves to freedom. Princes and Priests are mentioned by him on all occasions in terms of abhorrence.

Spartacus employs powerful means. The style of the Jesuits, (as he says,) he considers every means as consecrated by the end for which it is employed^

and he says with great truth,

" Fk^ireftneqieeJuperoSy Acheronta movelo,^^

To save his reputation, he scruples not to murder his innocent child, and the woman whom he had held in his arms with emotions of fondness and affection.

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But lest this should appear too feeble a motive, he says, " Had I fallen, my precious Order would have fallen " with me y the Order which is to bless mankind. I *' should not again have been able to speak of virtue fo " as to make any lasting impression. My example " might have ruined many young men." This he thinks will excuse, nay justify any thing. '^ My " letters are my greatest vindication.* He employs the Christian Religion, which he thinks a falsehood, and which he is afterwards to explode, as the mean for inviting Christians of every denomination, and gradually cajoling them, by clearing up their Christian doubts in succession, till he lands them in Deism -, or if he finds them unfit, and too religious, he gives them a StahenCy and then laughs at the fears, or perhaps madness, in which he leaves them. Having got them the length of Deism, they are declared to be fit, and he receives them into the higher mysteries. But lest they should still shrink back, dazzled by the Pandemonian glare of Illumination which will now burst upon them, he exacts from them, for the first time, a bond of perseverance. But, as Phiio says, there is little chance of tergiversation. The life and honour of most of the candidates are by this time in his hand. They have been long occupied in the vile and corrupting office of spies on all around them, and they are found fit for their present honours, because they have discharged this office to his satisfaction, by the reports which they have given in, containing stories of their neighbours, nay even of their own gang. They may be ruined in the world by disclosing these, either privately or publicly. A man who had once brought himself into this perilous situation durst not go back. He might have been left indeed in any degree of

Illumination ; and/ if Religion has not been quite eradicated from his mind, he must be in that condition of painful anxiety and

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doubt that makes him desperate, fit for the full operation of fanaticism, and he may be engaged, in the cause of God " to commit all kind of wickedness and greedy "ness." In this (state of mind, a man shuts his eyes, and rushes on. Had Spartacus supposed that he was dealing with good men, his conduct would have been the reverse of all this. There is no occasion for this bond from a person convinced of the excellency of the Order. But he knew them to be unprincipled, and that the higher mysteries were so daring, that even some of such men would start at them. But they must not blab.

Having thus got rid of Religion, Spartacus could with more safety bring into view/the great aim of all his efforts—to rule the world by means of his Order. As the immediate means for attaining this, he holds out the prospect of freedom from civil subordination. Perfect Liberty and Equality are interwoven with every thing ; and the flattering thought is continually kept up, that " by the wise contrivance of this Order, the " most complete knowledge is obtained of the real " worth of every person ; the Order will, for its own sake, and therefore certainly, place every man in " that situation in which he can be most effective. The " pupils are convinced that the Order will rule the " world. Every member therefore becomes a ruler." We all think ourselves qualified to rule. The difficult task is to obey with propriety ; but we are honestly generous in our prospects of future command. It is therefore an alluring thought, both to good and bad men. By this lure the Order is spread. If they are able to influence their members into offices, and in keeping out others, (which the private correspondence seems to have been the case,) they may have had frequent experience of their success in gaining an influence on the world. This must whet their zeal. If

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It2 THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II,

Weirnaupc was a Hncere Cofrno-polit?, he had the pleaiure of Teeing " his work, prolpering in his hands."

It furely needs little argument now to prove, that the Order of Illimiinaii had for its immediate objedl the aboliQiing of Chrifciany, (at leaft this was the intention of the Founder,) with the f)le view of overturning the civil government, by introducing univerfal dilTolutends andprofig^{^^}cyof mannejs, and then getting tlie affidance of the corrupted lubjedLS to overi'et the throne. The whole condu(ft in the preparation and infrudlion of the Prefoyter and Regens is diredted to this point. Philo lays, " I have been at unwearied *^ pains to remove the fears of fome who imagine that " our Superiors want to abolifh Chrifciany j but by ** and by their prejudices will wear off, and they will *' be more at their eafe. Were I to let them know '^ that our General holds all Religion to be a lie, and '^ ufes even Deifm, only to lead m.en by the nofe— «f Were I to connedl myfelf again with the Free Ma*^ ions, and tell them our defigns to ruin their F'ra^^ ternity by this circular letter (a letter to the Lodge " in Courland)—Were I but to give the leaft hint to " any of the Princes of Greece (Bavaria)—No, my ^^ anger fl:all not carry me lo far.—An Order, forfooth, *^ which in this manner abufes human nature—which ^^ will fubjedt men to a bondage more intolerable than '^ Jrfuirifm—I could put it on a refpe(5table footing, '^ and the world would be ours. Should I mention *^ our fundamental principles, (even after all the pains *^ I have been at to mitigate them,) lo unqueftionably *' dangerous to the world, who would remain ? What '^ fignifies the innccf^nt ceremonies of the Prieft's degree, r-s I have compofed it, in comparifon with your m.5xim., that we m<3y ufe for agood end thofe .means winch t-ie wicked employ for a bafe purpofe ?'•

Brutus

Brutus writes, *' Numenius now acquiefces in the " mortality of* the foul; but, I fear we fhall lofe Lu*^ dovicus Bavarus. He told Spartacus, that he was *^ miftaken when he thougiu that he had fwallowcd ** his ftupid Mafonry. No, he law the trick, and did *' not admire the end that required it. I don't know " what to do; a Sta bem would make him mad, and ^^ he will blow us all up.

" The Order must possess the power of life and " death in consequence of our Oath ; and with pro^{^^} priety, for the same reason, and by the same right, *' that any government in the world possesses it: for " the Order comes in their place, making them unⁿ necessary. When things cannot be otherwise, and ^{^^} ruin would ensue if the x[^]stitution did not employ *[^] this means, the Order must, as well as public rulers, '[^] employ it for the good of mankind; therefore for *[^] its own preservation." (N. B. Observe here vice causality.) " Nor will the political constitutions suffer by this, for there are always thousands equally " ready and able to supply the place."

We need not wonder that Diomedes told the Professors, ^{^^} that death, inevitable death, from which no *' potentate could protect them, awaited every traitor " of the Order;" nor that the French Convention proposed to take off the German Princes and Generals by sword or poison, &c.

Spartacus might tickle the fancy of his Order with the notion of ruling the world ; but I imagine that his own immediate object was ruling the Order. The happiness of mankind was, like Weisshaupt's Christianity, a mere tool, a tool which the Regentes made a joke of. But Spartacus would rule the Regentes; this he could not so easily accomplish. His despotism was insupportable to most of them, and finally brought all to light. When he could not persuade them by his

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own firmness and indeed by his superior talents and disinterestedness in other respects and his unwearied activity, he employed political tricks, causing them to fall out with each other, setting them as spies on each other, and separating any ^{tv} that he saw attached to each other, by making the one a Master of the other; and, in short, he left nothing undone that could secure his uncontrolled command. This caused Philo to quit the Order, and made Bajfus[^] Ton Torring[^] Kreitmaier[^] and several other gentlemen, cease attending the meetings; and it was their mutual dissensions which made them speak too freely in public, and call on themselves too much notice. At the time of the discovery, the party of Weisshaupt consisted chiefly of very mean people, devoted to him, and willing to execute his orders, that by being his servants, they might have the pleasure of commanding others.

The objects, the undoubted objects of this Association, are purely dangerous and detestable; namely, to overturn the present constitutions of the European States, in order to introduce a chimera which the history of mankind shews to be contrary to the nature of man. '

Naturayn expellas furc, tamen ufque recurret.

Suppose it possible, and done in peace, the new system could not stand unless every principle of activity in the human mind be enthralled, all incitement to exertion and industry removed, and man brought into a condition incapable of improvement; and this at the expence of every thing that is valued by the best of men.—by misery and devastation—by loosening all the bands of society. To talk of morality and virtue in conjunction with such schemes is an insult to common sense; dilatory tenets of manners alone can bring men to think of it.

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Is it not astonishing, therefore, to hear people in this country express any regard for this institution? Is it not most mortifying to think that there are Lodges of Illuminated among us? I think that nothing bids fairer for weaning our inconsiderate countrymen from having any connection with them, than the faithful account here given. I hope that there are few, very few of our countrymen, and none whom we call friend, who can think that an Order which held such doctrines, and which practised such things, can be any thing else than a ruinous Association, a gang of profligates. All their professions of the love of mankind are vain in their Illumination must be a bewildering blaze, and totally insufficient for its purpose, for it has had no such influence on the leaders of the band; yet it seems quite adequate to the effects it has produced—, for such are the characters of those who forget God.

If we in the next place attend to their mode of education, and examine it by those rules of common sense that we apply in other cases of conduct, we shall find it equally unpromising. The system of Illumination is one of the explanations of Free Masonry 3 and it has gained many partisans. These explanations rest their credit and their preference on their own merits. There is something in themselves, or in one of them as distinguished from another, which procures it the preference for its own sake. Therefore, to give this

Order any dependence on Free Masonry is to degrade the Order. To introduce a Masonic Ritual into a manly institution, is to degrade it to a frivolous amusement for great children. Men raised exerting themselves to reform the world, and qualified for the task, must have been disgusted with such occupations. They betray a frivolous conception of the task: in which they are really engaged. To imagine that men engaged in the struggle and rivalry of life, under the influence of

feign,

the illuminati. chap, ix,

selfish, or mean, or impetuous passions are to be wheedled into candid sentiments, or a generous conduct, as a forward child may sometimes be made gentle and tractable by a rattle or humming-top, betrays a great ignorance of human nature, and an arrogant self-conceit in those who can imagine that all but themselves are babies. The further we proceed, the more do we see of this want of wisdom. The whole procedure of their intrusion supposes such a complete surrender of freedom of thought, of common sense, and of common caution, that it seems impossible that it should not have alarmed every sensible mind. This indeed happened before the Order was seven years old. It was wise indeed to keep their Areopagus out of sight; but who can be so silly as to believe that their unknown Superiors were all and always faultless men? But had they been the men they were represented to be,—If I have any knowledge of my own heart, or any capacity of drawing just inferences from the conduct of others, I am persuaded that the knowing his Superiors would have animated the pupil to exertion, that he might exhibit a pleasing spectacle to such intelligent and worthy judges. Did not the Stoics profess themselves to be encouraged in the scheme of life, by the thought that the immortal Gods were looking on and passing their judgments on their manner of acting the part assigned them? But what abject spirit will be contented with working, zealously working, for years after a plan of which he is never to learn the full meaning? In short, the only knowledge that he can perceive is knowledge in its wonted form. Cunning. This must appear in the contrivances by which he will soon find that he is kept in complete subjection. If he is a true and zealous

Brother, he has put himself in the power of his Superiors by his reccripts, which they required of him on pretence of their learning his own

charader,

charader, and of his learning how to know the charaders of other men. In these reccripts they have got his thoughts on many delicate points, and on the conduct of others. His Directors may ruin him by betraying him; and this without being seen in it. I should think that wise men would know that none but weak or bad men would subject themselves to such a task. They exclude the good, the manly, the only fit persons for assisting them in their endeavours to inform and to rule the world. Indeed I may say that this exclusion is almost made already by connecting the Order with Free Masonry. Lodges are not the resorts of such men. They may sometimes be found there for an hour's relaxation. But these places are the haunts of the young, the thoughtless, the idle, the weak, the vain, or of designing Literati and accordingly this is the condition of three-fourths of the Illuminati whose names are known to the public. I own that the reasons given to the pupil for prescribing these tasks are artful, and well adapted to produce their effect. During the flurry of reception, and the glow of expectation, the danger may not be suspected; but I hardly imagine that it will remain unperceived when the pupil sits down to write his first Letter. Mason Lodges, however, were the most likely places for finding and enlisting members. Young men, warmed by declamations teeming with the fine moral cant of Cosmopolitism, are in the proper frame of mind for this Illumination. It now appears also, that the divisions in Free Masonry must have had great influence in promoting this scheme of Weisnaupt's, which was, in many particulars, so unpromising, because it presupposes such a degradation of the mind. But when the schismatics in Masonry disputed with warmth, trifles came to acquire unspeakable importance. The hardening after wonder was not in the least abated by

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all the tricks which had been detected, and the impossibility of the wished-for discovery had never been demonstrated to persons prepossessed in its favour. They liked to believe that the symbols contained some important secret; and happy will be the man who finds it out. The more frivolous the symbols, the more does the heart cling to the mystery and, to a mind in this anxious state, Weisshaupt's project was enticing. He laid before them a scheme which was for a while feasible, was magnificent, surpassed our conceptions, but at the same time such as permitted us to expatiate on the subject; and even to amplify it at pleasure in our imaginations without absurdity. It does not appear to me wonderful, therefore, that so many were fascinated till they became at last regardless of the absurdity and inconsequence of the means by which this splendid object was to be attained. Hear what Spartacus himself says of hidden mysteries. "Of all the means I know to lead men, the most effectual is a concealed mystery. The hankering of the mind is irresistible; and if once a man has taken it into his head that there is a mystery in a thing, it is impossible to get it out, either by argument or experience. And then, we can so change notions by merely changing a word. What more contemptible is the fanaticism; but call it enthusiasm; then add the little word noble and you may lead him over the world. Nor are we, in these bright days, a bit better than our fathers, who found the pardon of their sins mysteriously contained in a much greater sin, viz. leaving their family, and going barefooted to Rome."

Such being the employment, and such the disciples, should we expect the fruits to be very precious? No. The doctrines which were gradually unfolded were such as suited those who continued in the Curia Academicus.

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demicus. Those who did not because they did not like them, no. a State bene; they were not fit for advancement. The numbers however were great in Spartacus boasted of 600 in Bavaria alone in 1783. We don't know many of them; few of those we know were in the upper ranks of life; and I can see that it required much wheedling, and many letters of long worded German compliments from the proud Spartacus, to win even a young Baron or a

Graf juPc come'of age. Men in an eafy fituation in life could not brook the employment of a fpy, which is bafc, cowardly, and corrupting, and has in all ages and countries degraded the perfon who engages in it. Can the perfon be called wife v/ho thus enflaves himfelf ? Such perfons give up the right of private judgment, and rely on their unknown Superiors with the blindeft and moft abje6l: confidence. For their fakes, and to rivet ftill fafter their own fetters, they engage in the moft corrupting of all em.ployments—and for what ?—To learn fomething more of an Order, of which every degree explodes the doctrine of a former one. Would it have hurt the young Illuminatiis to have it explained to him all at once ? Would not this fire his miind—when he fees with the fame glance the great object, and the firnefs of the means for attaining it ? Would not ^{\^ exalted characters of the Superiors, fo much excelling himfelf in talents, and virtue, and happinefs, (otherwife the Order is good for nothing,) warm his heart, and fijl him with emulation, fince he fees in them, that what is {o ftongly preached to him is an attainable thing ? No^ no—it is all a trick j he miuft be kept like a child, amufed with rattles;, and ftars, and ribands—and all the fatisfa-flion he obtains is, like the Mafons, the div^x{\on of feeing others running the fame gauntlet.

Weiliaupt acknowledges than the Q;reat influence of the Order may be abufed. Surelv, in no v/av fo eafily

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or fo fatally as by corrupting or fediKftive kflbns in the beginning. The miltake or error of the pupil is undifcoverable by himfelf, (according to the genuine principles of Illumination,) for the pupil n-,ull believe his Mentor to be infallible—with him alone he is conne6Led—his leffons only muil he learn. Who can teli him that he has p-one wrong—or who can fct him right ?

HerCj therefore, there is confufion and deficiency. There muft be fome ftandard to which appeal can be made ; but this is inacceffible to all within the pale of the Order; it is therefore without this pale, and independent of the Order—^and it is attainable only by abandoning the Order. The Qui bus

Licet, the Primo, the Soli, can procure no light to the person who does not know that he has been led out of the right road to virtue and happiness. The Superiors indeed draw much useful information from these reports, though they affect to stand in no need of it, and they make a cruel return.

All this is so much out of the natural road of instruction, that, on this account alone, we may presume that it is wrong. We are generally safe when we follow nature's plans. A child learns in his father's house, by seeing, and by imitating, and in common domestic education, he gets much useful knowledge, and the chief habits which are afterwards to regulate his conduct. Example does almost every thing and, with respect to what may be called living, as distinguishable from profession, speculation and argumentative intrusion are seldom employed, or of any use. The indispensableness of mutual forbearance and obedience, for domestic peace and happiness, forms most of these habits - , and the child, under good parents, is kept in a situation that makes virtue easier than vice,

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and he becomes wise and good without any express illud about the matter.

But this Illumination plan is darkness over all—it is too artificial—and the topics, from which counsel is to be drawn, cannot be taken from the peculiar views of the Order—for these are yet a secret for the pupil—and must ever be a secret for him while under tuition. They must therefore be drawn from common sources, and the Order is of no use; all that can naturally be effectuated by this Association is the forming, and assiduously fostering a narrow, selfish, corporation spirit, totally opposite to the benevolent pretensions of the Order. The pupil can see nothing but this, that there is a set of men, whom he does not know, who may acquire uncontrollable power, and may perhaps make life of him, but for what purpose, and in what way, he does not know; how can he know that his endeavours are to make man happier, any other way than as he might have known it without having put this collar round his own neck ?

These reflections address themselves to all men who profess to commiserate themselves by the principles and dictates of common sense and prudence, and who have the ordinary fluore of candour and good-will to others. It

requires no singular sensibility of heart, nor great generosity, to make such people think the doctrines and views of the Illuminati false, absurd, foolish, and ruinous. But I hope that I address them to thousands of my countrymen and friends, who have much higher notions of human nature, and who cherish with care the affections and the hopes that are suited to a rational, a benevolent, and a high-minded being, capable of endless improvement.

To those who enjoy the cheering confidence in the superintendance and providence of God, who consider themselves as creatures whom he has made, and whom

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he cares for, as the subjects of his moral government, this Order must appear with every charadler of falsehood and absurdity on its countenance. What can BE MORE IMPROBABLE than this, that He, whom we look up to as the contriver, the maker, and director of this goodly frame of things, should have so far mistaken his own plans, that this world of rational creatures should have subsisted for thousands of years, before a way could be found out, by which his intention of making men good and happy could be accomplished and that this method did not occur to the great Architect himself, nor even to the wisest, and happiest, and best men upon earth ; but to a few insignificant persons at Munich in Bavaria, who had been trying to raise ghosts, to change lead into gold, to tell fortunes, or discover treasures, but had failed in all their attempts ^ men who had been engaged for years in every whim which characterises a weak, a greedy, or a gloomy mind ? Finding all these beyond their reach, they combined their powers, and, at once, found out this infinitely more important secret — for secret it must still be, otherwise not only the Deity, but even these philosophers, will still be disappointed.

Yet this is the doctrine that must be swallowed by the Ministers and the Illuminati Minor es ^ to whom it is not yet safe to disclose the grand secret, that there is no such Superintendance of Deity. At last, however, when the pupil has conceived such exalted notions of the knowledge of his teachers, and such low notions of the blundering projector of this world, it may be no

difficult matter to persuade him that all his former notions were only old wives tales. By this time he must have heard much about superstition, and how men's minds have been dazzled by this splendid picture of a Providence and a moral government of the universe. It now appears incompatible with the great object of

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the Order, the principles of universal liberty and equality—it is therefore rejected without farther examination, for this reason alone. This was precisely the argument used in France for rejecting revealed religion. It was incompatible with their Rights of Man.

It is richly worth observing how this principle can warp the judgment, and give quite another appearance to the same object. The reader will not be displeas'd with a more remarkable instance of it, which I beg leave to give at length.

Our immortal Newton, whom the philosophers of Europe look up to as the honour of our species, whom even Mr. Bailly, the President of the National Assembly of France, and Mayor of Paris, cannot find words sufficiently energetic to praise this patient, sagacious/ and successful observer of nature, after having exhibited to the wondering world the characteristic property of that principle of material nature by which all the bodies of the solar system are made to form a connected and permanent universe -, and after having shown that this law of action alone was adapted to this end, and that if gravity had deviated but one thousandth part from the inverse duplicate ratio of the distances, the system must, in the course of a very few revolutions, have gone into confusion and ruin—he sits down, and views this goodly scene,—and then closes his Principles of Natural Philosophy with this reflection (Schelling generate): ,

^^ This most elegant frame of things could not have arisen, unless by the contrivance and the direction of a wise and powerful Being; and if the fixed stars are the centres of systems, these systems must be similar; " and all these, contrived according: to the same plan, are subject to the government of one Being. All these he governs, not as the soul of the world, '* but as the Lord of all ; therefore, on account of his

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government; he is called the Lord God—Pevitkra" tor ; for God is a relative term, and refers to subjects. ^^ Deity is God's government, not of his own body, as " those think who consider him as the ruler of the *^ world, but of his servants. The supreme God is a *' Being eternal, infinite, absolutely perfect: . But a being, however perfect, without government, is not God; for we i^a.y, my God, your God, the God of '^ Israel. We cannot say f, (?)'eternal, ; ;7y infinite. We " may have some notions indeed of his attributes, but *^ can have none of his nature. With respect to bodies, *' we see only shapes and colour—hear only sounds—^ " touch only surfaces. These are attributes of bodies ; ^' but of their essence we know nothing. As a blind '^ man can form no notion of colours, we can form ^^ none of the manner in which God perceives, and *^ understands, and influences every thing.

^* Therefore we know God only by his attributes. ^^ What are these ? The wise and excellent contri*' vance^, structure, and final aim of all things. In these his perfections we admire him, and we wonder. In his direction or government, we venerate and worship him—we worship him as his servants, and God, without dominion, without providence, and final aims, is Fate—not the object either of reverence, of hope, of love, or of fear. But mark the emotions which affected the mind of another excellent observer of Nature, the admirer of Newton, and the person who has put the finishing stroke to the Newtonian philosophy, by showing that the acceleration of the moon's mean motion, is the genuine result of a gravitation decreasing in the precise duplicate ratio of the distance inversely ; I mean Mr. Deiaplace, one of the most brilliant ornaments of the French academy of sciences. He has lately published the Sytème da Monde^ a most beautiful compend of

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astronomy and of the Newtonian philosophy. Having finished his work with the famous observation, 'That a gravitation inversely proportional to the squares of the distances was the only principle which could unite material Nature into a permanent system, he also fits down—surveys the scene—points out the parts which he had brought within our ken—and then makes this reflection: 'Beheld in its totality, astronomy is the noblest monument of the human mind, its chief title to intelligence. But, seduced by the illusions of sense, and by self-conceit, we have long considered ourselves as the centre of these motions, and our pride has been punished by the groundless fears which we have created to ourselves. We imagine, foolishly, that all this is for us, and that the stars influence our destinies. But the labours of ages have convinced us of our error, and we find ourselves on an insignificant planet, almost imperceptible in the immensity of space. But the sublime discoveries we have made richly repay this humble situation. Let us cherish these with care, as the delight of thinking beings—they have destroyed our mistakes as to our relation to the rest of the universe; errors which were the more fatal, because the social Order depends on justice and truth alone. Far be from us the dangerous maxim, that it is sometimes useful to depart from these, and to deceive men, in order to insure their happiness; but cruel experience has shown us that these laws are never to rally again.'

There can be no doubt as to the meaning: of these last words—they cannot relate to astrology—this was entirely out of date. The 'attempts to deceive men, in order to insure their happiness,' can only be those by which we are made to think too highly of ourselves. 'Inhabitants of this pepper-corn, we think

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" O Lirfeives the peculiar favourites of Heaven, nay the chief objects of care to a Being, the Maker of all ; and then we imagine that, after this life, we are to be happy or miferable, according as we accede or not to this fubjugation to opinions which enfiave us. But truth and juilice have broken thefe bonds/' — ' But where is the force of the argument which entitles this perfe6ler of the Newtonian philofophy to exult fo much ? It all refls on this. That this earth is but as a grain of muilard-feed. Man would be more worth attention had he inhabited Jupiter or the Sun. Thus may a Frenchman look down on the noble creatures who inhabit Orolong or Pelew. But whence arifes the abfurdity of the inteliedlual inhabitants of this peppercorn being a proper object of attention ? it is becaufe our fhallow comprehenfions cannot, at the fame glance, fee an extenfive fcene, and perceive its moff: minute detail.

David, a King, and a foldier, had fome notions of this *kind. The heavens, it is true, pointed out to him a Maker and Ruler, which is more than they feem to have done to the Gallic philofopher^ but David was afraid that he would be forgotten in the crowd, and cries out, " Lord what is man that thou art mindful of " him?" But David gets rid of his fears, not by becoming a philofopher^ and difcoverino; all this to be abfurd,—he would dill be forgotten,—he at once thinks of what he is—a noble creature—high in the fcale of nature. " But," fays he, "^ I had forgotten myfeif. " Thou haft made man but a little lower than the an*' gels—thou haft crowned him v/ith glory and honour " —thou haft put all things under his (cci." Here are exalted fentiments, fit for the creature whofe ken pierces through the immenfity of the vifible univerfe, and who fees his relation to the univerfe, being nearly allied to its Sovereign, and capable of riling continually

tiniially in his rank, by cultivating thofe talents which ciiftinguifh and adorn it.

Thousands, I trust, there are, who think that this life is but a preparation for another, in which the mind of man will have the whole wonders of creation and of providence laid open to its enraptured view—where it will see and comprehend with one glance what Newton, the most patient and successful of all the observers of nature, took years of meditation to find out—where it will attain that pitch of wisdom, goodness and enjoyment, of which our consciences tell us we are capable, though it far surpasses that of the wisest, the best, and the happiest of men. Such persons will consider this Order as degrading and detestable, and as in direct opposition to their most confident expectations: For it pretends to what is impossible, to perfect peace and happiness in this life. They believe, and they feel, that man may be made perfect through sufferings, which finally call into action powers of mind that otherwise would never have unfolded themselves—powers which are frequently sources of the purest and most soothing pleasures, and naturally make us rest our eyes and hopes on that state where every tear shall be wiped away, and where the kind affections shall become the never-fading sources of pure and unalloyed delight. Such persons see the palpable absurdity of a preparation which is equally necessary for all, and yet must be confined to the minds of a few, who have the low and indelicate appetite for frivolous play-things, and for gross sensual pleasures. Such minds will turn away from this boasted treat with loathing and abhorrence.

I am well aware that some of my readers may smile at this, and think it an enormous mental working up of the imagination, similar to what I reprobate in the case of Utopian happiness in a state of universal Liberty and Equality. It is like, they will say, to the decla

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matron in a sermon by persons of the trade, who are

trained up to fineffe, by which they allure and tickle weak minds.

. I acknowledge that in the present case I do not address myself to the cool hearts, who contentedly

" Sink and plumber in their cells of ch-y ;

Peace to all such ;— —but to the ^^ fides anim^y

" qiihlis hcec cogmjcere cura ;" —to those who have enjoyed the pleasures of science, who have been successful— who have made discoveries— who have really illuminated the world—lo the Bacons, the Newtons, the Lockes. —Allow me to mention one, Daniel Bernoulli, the most elegant mathematician, not only philosopher, and the most worthy man, of that celebrated family. He said to a gentleman, (Jr. Staehling,) who repeated it to me, that " When reading some of those wonderful gijelles of Sir Isaac Newton, the frequent demonstration of which has been the chief source of fame to his most celebrated commentators—his mind has sometimes been so overpowered by thrilling emotions, that he has wished that moment to be his last; and that it was this which gave him the clear conception of the happiness of heaven." (such delightful emotions could be excited by the perception of mere truth, what must they be when each of these truths is an instance of wisdom, and when we recollect, that what we call wisdom in the works of nature, is always the nice adaptation of means for producing ends; and that each of these affecting qualities is susceptible of degrees which are boundless, and exceed our highest conceptions ? What can this complex emotion or feeling be but rapture ? But Bernoulli is a Doctor of Theology— and therefore a suspicious person, perhaps one of the

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CHAP. IV. THE ILLUMINATI. I^C^

combination hired by despots to enslave us. I will take another man, a gentleman of rank and family, a soldier, who often signified himself as a naval commander— who at one time forced his way through a powerful fleet of the Venetians with a small squadron, and brought relief to a distressed port. I would desire the reader to observe the conclusion of Sir Kenhelm Digby's life on Body and Mind; and after having reflected on the state of science at the time this author wrote let him coolly weigh the incitements to mainly conduct which this soldier finds in the differences observed between body and mind \ and then let him say, on his

conscience, whether they are more feeble than those which he can draw from the eternal Oeep of death. \i\\t thinks that they are—he is in the proper frame for initiation into Spartacus's higher, myftries. He may be either jVIagus or Rex.

Were this a proper place for confidering the queftion as a queftion of fcience or truth, I would fay, that every man who has been 21 Juccefsful {Indent of nature, and who will reft his conclufions on the fame maxims of probable reafoning that have procured him fuccefs in his pair refearches, ¥/ill confider it as next to certain that there is another ftate of exiftence for rational man. For he muft own, that if this be not the cafe, there is a moil: fingula'r exception to a propofition which the whole courfe of his experience has made him confider as a truth founded on univerfal indu6tion, viz. that noAure aceomfl'ifhes all her flans^ and that every clafs of beings attains all the improvement of which it is capable. Let him but turn his thoughts inward, he will feel that his intellec: is ciipable of improvement, in comparifon with which Newton is but a child. I could purfue this argument very far, and (I th.ink) warm the heart of every m..m vviiom I fould wifh to call n)y friend.

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What Opinion will be formed of this i^ffociation by the mode't, the iowly-minded, the^ candid^ who acknowledge that they too often feel the fuperior force of prefent and fcnfible pleafures, by which their minds are draw/n off from the contemplation of what their confciences tell them to be right,—to be their dutiful and filial kntiments and emotions refpecling their great and Rood Parent—-to be their dutiful and neip-hbourly affections, and their proper conducl to all around them '—and which diminih their veneration for that purity of thought and moderation of appetite which becomes their noble natures ? What rnuft ^bey think of this Order f Confcious of frequent faults, v/hich would offend themfelves if committed by their deareft children, they look up to tlieir Maker with anxiety— are grieved to have fo far forgotten their duty, and fearful that they may again forget it. Their painful experience tells them that their reafon is often too weak, their information too fcanty, or its light is obfcured by paffion and prejudices, which diilort and difcolour every thing i or it is unheeded during their

attention to present objects. Happy should they be, if it should please ' their kind Parent to remind them of their duty from time to time, or to influence their mind in any way that would compensate for their own ignorance, their own weakness, or even their indolence and neglect. They dare not expect such a favour, which their modesty tells them they do not deserve, and which they fear may be unfit to be granted ; but when such a comfort is held out to them, with eager hearts they receive it—they bless the kindness that granted it, and

the hand that brings it. Such amiable characters

have appeared in all ages, and in all situations of mankind. They have not in all instances been wise—often have they been precipitate, and have too readily caught at any thing which pretended to give them the so much

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widied-for affiances; and, unfortunately, there have been enthusiasts, or villains, who have taken advantage of this, universal will of anxious man: and the world has been darkened by cheats, who have misrepresented God to mankind, have filled us with vain terrors, and have then quieted our fears by fines, and sacrifices, and mortifications, and services, which they said were more than sufficient to expiate all our faults. Thus was our duty to our neighbour, to our own dignity, and to our Maker and Parent, kept out of sight, and religion no longer came in aid to our sense of right and wrong; but, on the contrary, by these superstitions it opened the doors of heaven to the worthless

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and the wicked.—But I will not to speak of these men, but of the good, the candid, the modest, the HUMBLE, who know their failings^ who love their duties, but wish to know, to perceive, and to love them still more. These are they who think and believe that " the Gospel has brought life and immortality to *' light," that is, within their reach. They think it worthy of the Father of mankind, and they receive it with thankful hearts, admiring: above all things the simplicity of its morality, comprehended in one

fentence, "Do to another what you can reasonably wish that another should do to you," and that purity

OF THOUGHT AND MANNERS WHICH DISTINGUISHES IT FROM ALL THE SYSTEMS OF MORAL INSTRUCTION THAT HAVE EVER BEEN OFFERED TO MEN. HcFC

they find a ground of resignation under the troubles of life, and a support in the hour of death, quite suited to the diffidence of their own character. Such men are ready to grant that the Stoics were persons of noble and exalted minds, and that they had worthy conceptions of the rank or man in the scale of God's works; but they confess that they themselves do not feel all that support from Stoical principles which man

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IS2 THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

too frequently needs; and they say that they are not singular in their opinions, but that the bulk of mankind are prevented, by their want of heroic fortitude, by their situation. or their want of the opportunities of cultivating their native strength of mind, from ever attaining this hearty submission to the will of the Deity. They maintain, that the Stoics were but a few, a very few, from among many millions—and therefore their being satisfied was but a trifle amidst the general discontent, and anxiety, and despair. Such men will most certainly start back from this Illumination with horror and fright—from a Society which gives the lie to their fondest expectations, makes a sport of their grounds of hope, and of their deliverer; and which, after laughing at their credulity, bids them shake off all religion whatever, and denies the existence of that Supreme Mind, the pattern of all excellence, who till now had filled their thoughts with admiration and love—from an Order which pretends to Ute them from spiritual bondage, and then lays on their necks a load ten times more oppressive and intolerable, from which they have no power of ever escaping. Men of sense and virtue will spurn at such a proposal; and even the profligate, who trade with Deity, must be sensible that they will be better off with their priests, whom they know, and among whom they may make a selection of such as will with

patience and gentleness clear up their doubts, calm their fears, and encourage their hopes.

And all good men, all lovers of peace and of justice, will abhor and reject the thought of overturning the present constitution of things, faulty as it may be, merely in the endeavour to establish another, which the vices of mankind may subvert again in a twelvemonth. They must see, that in order to gain their point, the professors have found it necessary to destroy the grounds of morality, by permitting the moil wick-

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cd means for accomplishing any end that our fancy, warped by passion or interest, may represent to us as of great Importance. They see, that instead of morality, vice must prevail, and that therefore there is no security for the continuance of this Utopian felicity ; and, in the mean time, desolation and misery must lay the world waste during the struggle, and half of those for whom we are striving will be swept from the face of the earth. We have but to look to France, where, in eight years there have been more executions and spoliations and disfigurements of every kind by the [^] pouvoir royal than can be found in the long records of that despotic monarchy.

There is nothing in the whole constitution of the Illuminati that strikes me with more horror than the proposals of Hercules and Minos to enslave the women in this shocking warfare with all that " is good, and [^] pure, and lovely, and of good report." They could not have fallen on any expedient that will be more effectual and fatal. If any of my countrywomen shall honour these pages with a reading, I would call on them, in the most earnest manner, to consider this as an affair of the utmost importance to themselves. I would conjure them by the regard they have for their own dignity, and for their rank in society, to join against these enemies of human nature and profligate degraders of the sex ; and I would assure them that the present state of things almost puts it in their power to be the favourites of the world. But if they are remiss, and yield to the seduction, they will fall from that high state to which they have arisen in Christian Europe, and again sink into that insignificance or Obscurity in which the sex is found in all ages and countries out of the hearing of Christianity.

I hope that my countrywomen will consider this solemn address to them as a proof of the high esteem in

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THE ILLUMINATION. CHAP. 11.

which I hold them. They will not be offended then if, in this season of alarm and anxiety, when I wish to impress their minds with a serious truth, I shall have ceremony, which is always designing, and speak of them in honest but decent plainness.

Man is immersed in luxury. Our accommodations are now so numerous that every thing is pleasure. Even in very sober situations in this highly-cultivated Society there is hardly a thing that remains in the form of a necessity of life, or even of a mere convenience — every thing is ornamented — it need not appear of use — it must appear as giving some sensible pleasure. I do not say this by way of blaming — it is nature — man is a refining creature, and our most boasted acquisitions are but refinements on our necessary wants. Our hut becomes a palace, our blanket a fine dress, and our arts become sciences. This discontent with the natural condition of things, and this disposition to refinement, is a characteristic of our species, and is the great employment of our lives. The direction which this propensity chances to take in any age or nation, marks its character in the most conspicuous and interesting manner. All have it in some degree, and it is very conceivable that, in some, it may constitute the chief object of attention. It thus be the case in any nations, it is surely most likely to be so in those where the accommodations of life are the most numerous — therefore in a rich and luxurious nation. I may surely, without exaggeration or reproach, give that appellation to our own nation at this moment. If you do not go to the very lowest classes of people, who toil; labour all day, is it not the chief object of all to procure some acceptable pleasure in one way or another? The sober and busy struggle in the thoughts and hopes of getting the means of enjoying the fruits of life without farther labour — and many have no other object than pleasure.

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Then let us reflect that it is woman that is to grace the whole—It is in nature, it is the very constitution of man, that woman, and every thing conduced with woman, must appear as the ornament of life. That this mixes with every other social sentiment, appears from the conduct of our species in all ages and in every situation. This I presume would be the case even though there were no qualities in the sex to justify it. This sentiment respecting the sex is necessary, in order to rear so helpless, so nice, and so improveable a creature as man; without it, the long abiding talk could not be performed:—and I think that I may venture to say that it is performed in the different Paces of society nearly in proportion as this preparatory and indispensable sentiment is in force.

On the other hand, I think it no less evident that it is the desire of the women to be agreeable to the men, and that they will model themselves according to what they think will please. Without this adjustment of sentiments by nature, nothing would go on. We never observe any such want of symmetry in the works of God. If, therefore, those who take the lead, and give the fashion in society, were wise and virtuous, I have no doubt but that the women would let the brightest pattern of every thing that is excellent. But if the men are vain and dissipated sensualists, the women will be refined and elegant voluptuaries.

There is no deficiency in the female mind, either in talents or in dispositions nor can we say with certainty that there is any subject of intellectual or moral discussion in which women have not excelled. It is the delicacy of their constitution, and other physical causes, allow the female sex a smaller share of some mental powers, they possess others in a superior degree, which are no less respectable in their own nature, and of as great importance to society. Instead of decanting at

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large on their powers of mind, and supporting my assertions by the instances of a Hypatia, a Schurman, a Zenobia, an Elizabeth, &c. I may repeat the account given of the sex by a person of uncommon experience, who saw them without disguise, or any motive that could lead them to play a feigned

part—Mr. Ledyard, who traversed the greatest part of the world, for the mere indulgence of his taste for observation of human nature ; generally in want, and often in extreme misery.

*^ I have (says he) always remarked that women, ^ in all countries, are civil, obliging, tender, and humane : that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modeil; and that they do ^^ not hesitate, like men, to perform a kind or generous action.—Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious, they are full of courtesy, and fond of society—more liable in general to err than man, but " in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship—without receiving a decent and friendly answer— with man it has " often been otherwise.

In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar,—if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, ^ the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, (so worthy of the appellation of benevolence,) these actions have ' been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that " if I was thirsty, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarse meal with a double

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And these are they whom Weillhanj3t would corrupt ! One of these, whom he had embraced with fondness, would he have murdered^ to save his honour, and qualify himself to preach virtue ! But let us not be too severe on Weillhaupt—let us wash ourselves clear of all stain before we think of reprobating him. Are we not guilty in some degree, when we do not cultivate in the women those powers of mind, and those dispositions of heart, which would equally dignify them in every station as in those humble ranks in which Mrs Ledyard most frequently saw them ? I cannot think that we do this. They are not only to grace the whole of cultivated society, but it is in their faithful and affectionate personal attachment that we are to find the sweetest pleasures that life can give. Yet in all these situations where the manner in which they are treated is not dictated by the stern laws of necessity, are they not trained up for mere amusement—are not serious occupations considered as a traffic which hurts their loveliness ? What is this but selfishness, or as if they had no virtues worth cultivating ? Their happiness is supposed to be the ornamenting themselves, as if nature did not dictate this to them already, with at least as much force as is necessary. Every thing is prescribed to them because it makes them more lovely—even their moral lessons are enforced by this argument, and Miss Woolilcraft is perfectly right when (she says that the fine lessons given to young women by Fordyce or Rousseau are nothing but selfish and refined voluptuousness. This advocate of her sex pursues her subjects in the proper point of view, when she tells them that they are, like man, the subjects of God's moral government, —like man, preparing themselves for boundless improvement in a better state of existence. Had she adhered to this view of the matter,* and kept it constantly in sight, her book (which doubtless contains many excellent things, highly

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deferring of their serious consideration) would have been a most valuable work. She justly observes, that the virtues of the sex are great and respectable, but that in our mad chase of pleasure, only pleasure, they are little thought of or attended to. Man trusts to his own uncontrollable

power, or to the general goodness of the sex, that their virtues will appear when we have occasion for them ;— " but we will fend for these some " other time •" — Many noble displays do they make of the most difficult attainments. Such is the patient bearing up under misfortunes, which has no brilliancy to support it in the effort. This is more difficult than braving danger in an active and conspicuous situation. How often is a woman left with a family, and the flattered remains of a fortune, lost perhaps by dissipation or by indolence—and how seldom, how very seldom, do we see a woman shrink from the task, or discharge it with negligence ? Is it not therefore folly next to madness, not to be careful of this our greatest blessing — of things which so nearly concern our peace—nor guard ourselves, and these our best companions and friends, from the effects of this fatal Illumination? It has indeed brought to light what dreadful lengths men will, go, when under the fanatical and dazzling glare of happiness in a state of liberty and equality, and spurred on by insatiable luxury, and not held in check by moral feelings and the restraints of religion—and mark, reader, that the women have here also taken the complexion of the men, and have even gone beyond them. If we have seen one present himself to the National Assembly of France, professing his satisfaction with the execution of his father three days before, and declaring himself a true citizen, who prefers the nation to all other considerations ; we have also seen, on the same day, wives denouncing their husbands, and (O shocking to human nature !) others denouncing their sons, as bad citizens

citizens and traitors. Mark too what return the women have met with for all their horrid services, where, to express their sentiments of civility and abhorrence of royalty, they threw away the character of their sex, and bit the amputated limbs of their murdered countrymen*. Surely these patriotic women merited that the rights of their sex should be considered in full council, and they were well entitled to a seat, but there is not a single article of their government in which the sex is considered as having any rights whatever, or that they are things to be cared for.

Are not the accursed fruits of Illumination to be seen in the present humiliating condition of woman in France? pampered in every thing that can reduce them to the mere instruments of animal pleasure. In their present state of national moderation (as they call it) and security, see

Madame Tailien come into the public theatre, accompanied by other beautiful women, (I was about to have misnamed them Ladies,) laying aside all modesty, and presenting themselves to the public view, with bared limbs, a la Sauvage as the alluring objects of desire. I make no doubt but that this is a serious matter, encouraged, nay, prompted by government. To keep the minds of the Parisians in the present fever of dissolute gaiety, they are at more expence from the national treasury for the support of the sixty theatres, than all the pensions and honorary offices in Britain, three times told, amount to. Was not their abominable farce in the church of Notre Dame a badge of the same kind in the true spirit of the Revolution?

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* I say this on the authority of a young gentleman, an emigrant, who saw it, and who said, that they were women, not of the dress of the Palais Royal, nor of infamous character, but well dressed.—I am sorry to add, that the relation, accompanied with looks of horror and disgust, only provoked a contemptuous smile from an illuminated British Fair-one.

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** ■ We do not," said the high priest, "call you to the

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worship of inanimate idols. Behold a masterpiece

of nature, (lifting up the veil which concealed the " naked charms of the beautiful Madmf. Barbier) : " This Sacred image would inflame all hearts." And it did so ; the people shouted out, " No more altars, *■' no more priests, no God but the God of Nature."

Orleans, the first; prince of the blood, did not scruple to prostitute his daughter, if not to the embraces, yet to the wanton view of the public, with the precise intention of inflaming their desires. (See the account given of the dinners at Sillery's, by Camille Desmoulins, in his speech against the

Briilotins.) But what will be the end of all this ? Tht fondlings of the w^ealthy will be pampered in all the indulgences which fafl:idious volupcuoufnefs finds neceffary for varying or enhancing its pleafures, but they will either be flighted as toys, or they will be immured ; and the companions of the poor will be drudges and flavcs.

I am fully perfuaded that it was the enthufiafbic admiration of Grecian democracy that recommended to the French nation the drefs a la Grecque, which exhibits not the elegant, ornamented beauty, but the alluring female, fully as well as Madame Tallien*s drefs ^/<^ Sauvage. It was no doubt with the fame adherence to Jerious principle, that Mademoifelle Therouanne was moll: beautifully drefl^ed a VAmazonne on the 5th of October 1789, when fne turned the heads of fo many young officers of the regiments at Verfailles. The Cythera, the borninitm divunqie vduptas, at the cathedral of Notre Dame, v/as alfo drefled a la Grecque: There is a moil evident and charadteriftic change in the whole fyftem of female drefs in France. The Filles de VOpera always gave the ton, and were furely withheld by no rigid principle. They fometimes produced very extravagant and fantailic forms, but thefe were

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almoft always in the (lyle of the higheft: ornament, and they triift^d, for the reil of tlie imprelTion which they willifd ro make, to the fafcinatingcxp^cllion of elegant movements. This indeed was wonderful, and hardly conceivable by any who have not fcen a grand ballet performed by good a6lors. I have fhed tears of the mod fincere and tender forrow during the exhibition of Antigone, fet to mufic by Traecta, and performed by Madame Mcilcour and S^^ Toreili, and Zantini. I can cafily conceive the impreiTion to be dill (Ironger, though perhaps of another kind, when the former fuperb dreffes are changed for the expreffive fim.plicity of the Grecian. I cannot help thinking that the female ornaments in the reft of Europe, and even among ourfelves, have k'fs elegance fmce we loft the fancStion of the French court. But fee how all this will terminate, when we fhall have brought the fex fo lov/, and will not even wait for a Mahometan paradife. What caa we expe6t but fuch adiflblutenefs of manners, that the endearing ties of relation and family, and mutual confidence within doors,

will be flighted, and will cease ; and every man must stand up for himself, single and alone ?

Secunda culpa: Jacula nuptias Primum invidiare, et genus et de nos
Hic fente derivata clades

In patriam populumque fluxit, Hor. iii. 6. 17.

This is not the suggestion of prudish fear, I think it is the natural course of things, and that France is at this moment giving to the world the fullest proof of Weisshaupt's sagacity, and the judgment with which he has formed his plans. Can it tend to the improvement of our morals or manners to have our ladies frequent the gymnastic theatres, and see them decide, like the • Roman

At THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

Roman matrons, on the merits of a naked gladiator or wrestler ? Have we not enough of this already with our vaulters and prefigure-masters, and should we admire any lady who had a rage for such spectacles ? Will it improve our taste to have our rooms ornamented with such paintings and sculptures as filled the cenaculum, and the study of the refined and elegant morality of Horace, who had the arc—ridendo doce verum ? Shall we be improved when such indulgences are thought compatible with such lessons as he generally gives for the conduct of life ? The pure Morality of Illuminatism is now employed in stripping Italy of all those precious remains of ancient art and voluptuousness; and Paris will ere long be the deposit and the resort of artists from all nations, there to study the works of ancient masters, and to return from thence panders of public corruption. The plan is masterly, and the lowborn Scoundrels and Generals of France may in this respect be set on a level with a Colbert or a Conde. But the consequences of this Gallic dominion over the minds of fallen man will be as dreadful as their dominion over their lives and fortunes.

Recollect in what manner Spartacus proposed to corrupt his followers (for we need not speak of the manner in which he expected that this would promote his plan —this is abundantly plain). It was by deftroying their moral sentiments, and their sentiments of religion. Recoiled what is the

recommendation that the Atheist Minos gives of his illegitimate daughters, when he speaks of them, as proper persons for the Lodge of Sillers, *' They have got over all prejudices, and, in matters ^ of religion they think as I do." These profligates judged rightly that this affair required much caution, and that the utmost attention to decency, and even delicacy, must be observed in their rituals and ceremonies, otherwise the women would be disgraced. This

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was judging fairly of the feelings of a female mind^ But they judged falsely, and only according to their own coarse experience, when they attributed their disgust and their fears to coyness. Coyness is indeed the invariable attribute of the female. In woman it is very great, and it is perhaps the genuine source of the disgust of which the Illuminati were suspicious. But they have been deceived indeed, or very unfortunate in their acquaintance, if they never observed any other source of repugnance in the mind of woman to what is immoral or immodest — if they did not see dislike — moral disapprobation. Do they mean to insinuate, that in that regard which modest women express in all their words and actions, for what every one understands by the terms decency, modesty, and the disapprobation of every thing that violates those feelings, the women only show female coyness ? Then are they very blind impostors. But they are not so blind. The account given of the initiation of a young Sister at Frankfurt, under the feigned name FJychariGn^ shows the most scrupulous attention to the moral feelings of the sex; and the confusion and disturbance which, after all their care, it occasioned among the ladies, shows, that when they thought all right and delicate, they had been but coarse judges. Minos damns the ladies there, because they are too free, too rich, too republican, and too wise, for being led about by the nose (this is his own expression). But Philo certainly thought more correctly of the sex in general, when he says. Truth is a modest girl: She may be handed about like a lady, by good sense and good manners, but must not be bullied and driven about like a trumpet. I would here insert the discourses or addresses which were made on that occasion to the different classes of the assembly, girls, young ladies, wives, young men, and strangers, which

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are really ingenious and well composed, were they not such as would offend my fair countrywomen.

The religious sentiments by which mortals are to be affected, even in the discharge of their moral duties, and still more, the sentiments which are purely religious, and have no reference to any thing here, are precisely those which are most easily excited in the mind of woman. Affection, admiration, filial reverence, are, if I mistake not exceedingly, those in which the women surpass the men; and it is on this account that we generally find them so much disposed to devotion, which is nothing but a sort of fond indulgence of those affections without limit to the imagination. The enraptured devotee pours out her soul in expressions of these feelings, just as a fond mother mixes the caresses given to her child with the most extravagant expressions of love. The devotee even endeavours to excite higher degrees of these affections, by expatiating on such circumstances in the divine conduct with respect to man as naturally awaken them; and he does this without any fear of excess: because Infinite Wisdom and Goodness will always justify the sentiment, and free the expression of it from all charge of hyperbole or extravagance.

I am convinced, therefore, that the female mind is well adapted to cultivation by means of religion, and that their native softness and kindness of heart will always be sufficient for procuring it a favourable reception from them. It is therefore with double regret that I see any of them join in the arrogant pretensions of our Illuminated philosophers, who see no need of

such attainances for the knowledge and discharge of

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their duties. There is nothing so unlike that general modesty of thought, and that diffidence, which we are disposed to think the character of the female mind. I

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am inclined to think, that such deviations from the general conduct of the sex are marks of a harsher character, of a heart that has less sensibility, and is on the whole less amiable than that of others. Yet it must be owned that there are some such among us. Much, if not the whole of this perversion, has, I am persuaded, been owing to the contagion of bad example in the men. They are made familiar with such expressions—their first horror is gone, and (would to heaven that I were mistaken !) some of them, have already wounded their consciences to such a degree, that they have some reason to wish that religion may be without foundation.

But I would call upon all, and these women in particular, to consider this matter in another light—as it may affect themselves in this life ; as it may affect their rank and treatment in ordinary society. I would say to them, that if the world should adopt the belief that this life is our all, then the true maxim of rational conduct will be, to eat and to drink, since tomorrow we are to die ; and that when they have nothing to trust to but the fondness of the men, they will soon find themselves reduced to slavery. The crown which they now wear will fall from their heads, and they will no longer be the arbiters of what is lovely in human life. The empire of beauty is but short; and even in republican France, it will not be many years that Madame Tallien can fascinate the Parisian Theatre by the exhibition of her charms. Man is fastidious and changeable, he is the dishonest animal, and can always take his own will with respect to woman. At present he is withheld by respect for her moral worth—and many are withheld by religion—and many more are withheld by public laws, which laws were framed at a time when religious truths influenced

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the minds and the conduct of men. When the sentiments of men change, they will not be so foolish as to keep in force laws which cramp their strongest desires. Then will the rich have their Harems, and the poor their drudges.

Nay, it is not merely the circumstance of woman's being considered as the moral companion of man that gives the sex its empire among us. There is something of this to be observed in all nations. Of all the distinctions which set our species above the other sentient inhabitants of this globe, making us

as unlike to the best of them as they are to a piece of inanimate matter, there is none more remarkable than the differences observable in the appearances of those degrees by which the race is continued. As I observed already, such a distinction is indispensably necessary. There must be a moral connection, in order that the human species may be a race of rational creatures, improveable, not only by the increasing experience of the individual, but also by the heritable experience of the successive generations. It may be observed between the solitary pairs in Labrador, where human nature flourishes, like the stunted oak in the crevice of a barren rock and it is seen in the cultivated societies of Europe, where our nature in a series of ages becomes a majestic tree. Whatever may be the native powers of mind in the poor but gentle Esquimaux, he can do nothing for the species but nurse a young one, who cannot run his race of life without incessant and hard labour to keep soul and body together—here therefore her station in society can hardly have a name, because there can hardly be said to be any association, except what is necessary for repelling the hostile attacks of Indians, who seem to hunt them without provocation as the dog does the hare. In other parts of the world,

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we see that the consideration in which the sex is held, nearly follows the proportions of that aggregate of many different particulars, which we consider as constituting the cultivation of a society. We may perhaps err, and we probably do err, in our estimation of those degrees, because we are not perfectly acquainted with what is the real excellence of man. But as far as we can judge of it, I believe that my assertion is acknowledged. On this authority, I might presume to say, that it is in Christian Europe that man has attained his

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highest degree of cultivation—and it is undoubtedly here that the women have attained the highest rank. I may even add, that it is in that part of Europe where the essential and distinguishing doctrines of Christian morality are most generally acknowledged and attended to by the laws of the country, that woman acts the highest part in general society. But here we must be very careful how we form our notion, either of the society, or of the

female rank—it is surely not from the two or three dozens who fill the highest ranks in the state. Their number is too small, and their situation is too particular, to afford the proper average. Besides, the situation of the individuals of this class in all countries is very much the same—and in all it is very artificial—accordingly their character is fanciful. Nor are we to take it from that class that is the most numerous of all, the lowest class of society, for these are the labouring poor, whose conduct and occupations are so much dictated to them by the hard circumstances of their situation, that scarcely any thing is left to their choice. The situation of women of this class must be nearly the same in all nations. But this class is still susceptible of some variety—and we see it—and I think that even here there is a perceptible superiority of the female rank in those countries where

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the purest Christianity prevails. We must however take our measures or proportions from a numerous class, but such a class in some what of early circumstances, where moral sentiments call some attention, and persons have some choice in their conduct. And here, although I cannot pretend to have had many opportunities of observation, yet I have had some. I can venture to say that it is not in Russia, nor in Spain, that woman is, on the whole, the most important as a member of the community. I would say, that in Britain her important rights are more generally respected than any where else. No where is a man's character so much hurt by conjugal infidelity—no where is it so difficult to rub off the stigma of bailardy, or to procure a decent reception or society for an improper connection—and I believe it will readily be granted, that the share of the women in successions, their authority in all matters of domestic trust, and even their opinions in what concerns life and manners, are fully more respected here than in any country*

I have long been of the opinion, (and every observation that I have been able to make since I first formed it confirms me in it,) that woman is indebted to Christianity alone for the high rank she holds in society. Look into the writings of antiquity—into the works of the Greek and Latin poets—into the numerous panegyrics of the sex, to be found both in prose and verse—I can find little, very little indeed, where woman is treated with

refped:—there is no want of love, that is, of fondness, of beauty, of charms, of graces. But of woman as the equal of man, as a moral companion, travelling with him the road to felicity—as his adviser—his solace in misfortune—as a pattern from which he may sometimes

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copy with advantage;—of all this there is hardly a trace. Woman is always mentioned as an object of passion. Chastity, modesty, sober-mindedness, are all considered in relation to this single point; or sometimes as of importance in respect of economy or domestic quiet. Recollect the famous speech of Metellus Numidicus to the Roman people, when, as, Censor, he was recommending marriage.

"*Si sine uxore poterimus Quirites vivere, omnes ea molestia careremus. Sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivere possit, salutis perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati confuendum.*"

Jd. Cell, No. Att. I, 6.

What does Ovid, the great panegyrist of the sex, say for his beloved daughter, whom he had praised for her attractions in various places of his Tristia and other compositions? He is writing her Epitaph—and the only thing he can say of her as a rational creature is, that (she was—Domitilla—not a Gadabout.—Search Aeneas, where you will find many female characters in history—You will find that his little Phyllis (a cook-maid and frumpet) was nearest to his heart, after all his philosophy. Nay, in his pretty story of Cupid and Psyche, which the very wife will tell you is a fine lesson of moral philosophy, and a representation of the operations of the intellectual and moral faculties of the human soul, a story which gave him the fine opportunity, nay, almost made it necessary for him to insert whatever can ornament the female character in what is his Psyche but a beautiful, fond, and silly girl; and what are the whole fruits of any acquaintance with the sex?—Pleasure. But why take more pains in the search?—Look at their immortal

goddesses —

—is there one among them whom a wife or a friend would select for a wife or a friend?—I grant that a Lucretia is praised—a Portia, an Arria, a Zenobia— but these are individual characters—not representatives of the sex. The only Grecian ladies who made a figure by intellectual talents, were your Aspasia, Sappho, Phrynes, and other nymphs of this cast, who had emerged from the general insignificance of the sex, by throwing away what we are accustomed to call its greatest ornament.

I think that the first piece in which woman is pictured as a respectable character, is the oldest novel that I am acquainted with, written by a Christian Bishop, Heliodorus—I mean the Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea. I think that the Heroine is a greater character than you will meet with in all the annals of antiquity. And it is worth while to observe what was the effect of this painting. The poor Bishop had been deposed, and even excommunicated, for doctrinal errors, and for drawing such a picture of a heathen. The magistrates of Antioch, the most voluptuous and corrupted city of the East, wrote to the Emperor, telling him that this book had reformed the ladies of their city, where Julian the Emperor and his Sophists had formerly preached in vain, and they therefore prayed that the good Bishop might not be deprived of his mitre.—It is true, we read of Hypatia, daughter of Theon, the mathematician at Alexandria, who was a prodigy of excellence, and taught philosophy, i. e. the art of leading a good and happy life, with great applause in the famous Alexandrian school.— But it was in the times of Christianity, and was the intimate friend of Syncellus and other Christian Bishops.

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It is undoubtedly Christianity that has set woman on her throne, making her in every respect the equal of man bound to the same duties, and candidate for the same happiness. Mark how woman is described by a Christian poet,

- " Yet when I approach

Her loveliness, so absolute she seems, And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say Seems "u;//^, virtuous and
directed be/}.

Neither her outside, form'd so fair,

So much delights me, as those graceful and Those thousand decencies that
daily flow From all her words and actions, mix'd with love And sweet
compliance, which declare unfeign'd Union of mind^ or in us both one soul,

-And, to consummate all,

Greatness of mind^ and nobleness^ their feat Build in her loveliest, and
create an awe About her J as a guard angelic ■plac'dr

Milton.

This IS really moral painting, without any abatement of female charms.

This is the natural consequence of that purity of heart, which is so much
infused on in the Christian morality. In the instructions of the heathen
philosophers, it is either not mentioned at all, or at most, it is recommended
coldly, as a thing proper^ and worthy of a mind attentive to great things.—
But, in Christianity, it is infused on as an indispensable duty, and enforced
by many arguments peculiar to itself

It is worthy of observation, that the most prominent superstitions which
have dishonoured the Christian churches, have been the excessive
refinements which

* 2 C ' the

202 THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II,

the enthusiastic admiration of heroic purity has allowed the holy trade to
introduce into the manufacture of our spiritual fetters. Without this
enthusiasm, cold expediency would not have been able to make the
Monadic vow so general, nor have given us such numbers of convents.

These were generally founded by such enthusiasts— the rulers indeed of the church encouraged this to the utmost, as the best: levy for the spiritual power—but they could not enjoy such foundations. From the same source we may derive the chief influence of auricular confession. When these were firmly established and were venerated, almost all the other corruptions of Christianity followed of course. I may almost add, that though it is here that Christianity has suffered the most violent attacks, it is here that the place is most tenable.— Nothing tends so much to knit all the ties of society as the endearing connections of family, and whatever tends to lessen our veneration for the marriage-contradict, weakens them in the most effectual manner. Purity of manners is the most effectual support, and pure thoughts are the only sources from which pure manners can flow, I readily grant that in former times this veneration for personal purity was carried to an extravagant height, and that several very ridiculous fancies and customs arose from this. Romantic love and chivalry are strong instances of the strange vagaries of our imagination, when carried along by this enthusiastic admiration of female purity ; and so unnatural and forced, that they could only be temporary fashions. But I believe that, with all their ridicule, it would be a happy nation vs[^]here this was the general creed and practice. Nor can I help thinking a nation on its decline, when the domestic connections cease to be venerated, and the illegitimate offspring of a nabob or a nobleman are received with ease into good

company.

Nothing

CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI. 201

Nothing is more clear than that the design of the Illuminati was to abolish Christianity'— and we now see how effectual this would be for the corruption of the fair sex, a purpose which they eagerly wished to gain[^] that they might corrupt the men. But if the women would retain the rank they now hold, they will be careful to preserve in full force on their minds this religion[^] so congenial to their dispositions, which nature has made affectionate and kind.

And with respect to the men^ is it not egregious folly to encourage any thing that can tend to blasp our sweetest enjoyments ? Shall we not do this most effectually if we attempt to corrupt what nature will always make us consider as the highest elegance of life ? The divinity of the Stoics was^, ' Mensjana in cor "pore Jam y^ <—but it is equally true.

" Gravior est pichro veniens e corpore virtus.

it

If, therefore, instead of profanedly tainting what is of itself beautiful, we could really work it up to

^ That fair form, which, wove in fancy's loom, " Floats in light visions round the poet's head,"

and make woman a pattern of perfection, we should undoubtedly add more to the heartfelt happiness of life than by all the discoveries of the Illuminati. See what was the effect of Theagenes and Chariclea.

And we should remember that with the fate of woman that of man is indissolubly knit. The voice of nature spoke through our immortal bard, when he made Adam say,

-" From thy fate

," Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe."

Shoi Id

^04 Tffc ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

Should we suffer the contagion to touch our fair partner^ ail is gone, and too late shall we say,

" O fairest of creation I left and beO:

" Of all God's works, creature in whom excell'd

^^ Whatever can to fight or thought be form'd,

^' J^oivy^ divine J good^ amiable^ orjhveet!

^ Hov/ art thou loft,—and now to death devote?

" And me with thee haft ruin'd; for with thee

'^ Certain my refoiution is to die."

I ^97]

CHAP. Ilii

Th^ German Union.

W

HEN fuch a fermentation had been excited in the public mind, it cannot be fuppofed that the formal fuppreffion of the Order of the lilumi^ nati in Bavaria, and in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, by the reigning princes, would bring all to refl again. By no means. The minds of men were predifpofed for a change by the refllefs fpirit of fpeculation in every kind of enquiry, and the leaven had been carefully and fkilfuily diffeminated in every quarter of the empire, and even in foreign countries. Weifhaupt faid, on good grounds, that " if the Orders fhould be difcovered and fuppreffed, he would reftore it with tenfold energy in a twelvemonth." Even in thofe ftates where it was formally abolifhed, nothing could hinder the enlifting new members, and carrying on all the purpofes of the Order. The Areopagitae might indeed be changed, and the feat of the direclion transferred to fome other place, but the Minerval and his Mentor could meet as formerly, and a ride of a few miles into another State, would bring him to a Lodge, where the young would be amufed, and the more advanced would be engaged in ferious mifchief. \Wei{haupt never liked children's play. He indulged Philo in it, becaufe he faw him taken with fuch rattles: but his own projeds were dark and folemn, and it was a relief to him now to be freed from that m^ummery. He foon found the bent of the perfon's liiind on whom he had fet his talons,

and, he says, that ** no man ever escaped him whom he thought it worth
v^hile to secure." He had already filled the Ijfls wkh enough

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IgS THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. lii.

of the young and gay, and when the present condition of the Order required
fly and experienced heads, he no longer courted them by play-things. He
communicated the ranks and the intrusions by a letter, without any
ceremony. The correspondence with Philo at the time of the breach with
him, shews the superiority of Spartacus. Philo is in a rage, provoked to find
a pitiful professor discontented with the immense services which he had
received from a gentleman of his rank, and treating him with authority, and
with dissimulation.—He tells Spartacus what still greater services he can do
the Order, and that he can also ruin it with a breath.—But in the midst of
this rage, he proposes a thousand modes of reconciliation. The smallest:
conciliation would make him hug Spartacus in his arms. But Spartacus is
deaf to all his threats, and firm as a rock. Though he is conscious of his own
vile conduct, he abates not in the smallest point, his absolute authority—
requires the most implicit submission, which he says "is due not to him, but
to the Order, and without which the Order must immediately go to ruin."—
He does not even deign to challenge Philo to do his word, but allows him
to go out of the Order without one angry word. This shews his confidence in
the energy of that spirit of relief discontent, and that hankering after reform
which he had so successfully spread abroad.

This had indeed arisen to an unparalleled height^ unexpeded even by the
feditious themselves. This Appeared in a remarkable manner by the
reception given to the infamous letters on the constitution of the Prussian
States*

The general opinion was, that Mirabeau was the author of the letters
themselves, and it was perfectly understood by every person, that the
translation into French was a joint contrivance of Mirabeau and Ni

chouai.

€HAP. 111. THE GERMAN UNION. igg

chulai. I vvas affuredof this by the Brltiffi MInifter at that Court. There, are fome blunders in refped of names, which an inhabitant of the country could hardly be guilty of, but are very confitent with the felf-conceit and precipitancy of this Frenchman — There are feveral inftances of the fame kind in two pieces, which are known for certain to be his, viz. the Chronique fcandaleiife and the Hiftoire Jecrette de la Cour de Berlin, Thefe letters were in every h^nd, and were mentioned in every converfation, even in the Pruffian dominions—and in other places of the empire they were quoted, and praifed, and commented on, although fome of their contents were nothing lhort of rebellion.

Mirabeau had a large portion of that felf-conceit which diftinguifhes his countrymen. He thought himfelf qualified not only for any high office in adminiftration, but even for managing the whole affairs of the new King. He therefore endeavoured to obtain fome poft of honour. But he was difappointed, and, in revenge, did every thing in his power to make thofe in adminiftration the objeds of public ridicule and reproach. His licentious and profligate manners were fuch as excluded him from the fociety of the people of the firft claffes, whom it behoved to pay fome attention to perfonal dignity. His opinions were in the higheft: degree corrupted, and he openly profeffed Atheifm. This made him peculiarly obnoxious to the King, who was determind to corred the difturbances and difquiets which had arifen in the Pruffian ftates from the indifference of his predeceffbr in thofe matters. Mirabeau therefore attached himfelf to a junto of writers and fcribblers, who had united in order to diffeminate licentious principles, both in refped of religion and of government. His wit and fancy were great, and he had not perhaps his equal for eloquent

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20Q THE GERMAN UNION, CHAP, ill,

and biting fatire. He was therefore careffed by thofe writers as a moft valuable acquifition to their Society. He took all this deference as his jaff due ; and was fo confident in his powers, and fo foolifh^ as to advife, and even to admonifh, the King. Highly obnoxious by fuch condud, he was

excluded from any chance of preferment, and was exceedingly out of humour. In this state of mind he was in a fit frame for Illumination. Spartacus had been eyeing him for some time, and at last communicated this honour to him through the intermedium of Mauvillon, another Frenchman[^] Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the Duke of Brunswick. This person had been no less active during the formal existence of the Order, and had contributed much to its reception in the Protestant states—he remained long concealed. Indeed his Illumination was not known till the invasion of Holland by the French. Mauvillon then stepped forth, avowed his principles, and recommended the example of the French to the Germans. This encouragement brought even Philo again on the stage, notwithstanding his repentment against Spartacus, and his solemn declaration of having abjured all such societies.—These, and a thousand such facts, show that the seeds of licentious Cosmopolitism had taken deep root, and that cutting down the crop had by no means destroyed the baneful plant.—But this is not all—a new method of cultivation had been invented, and immediately adopted, and it was now growing over all Europe in another form.

I have already taken notice of the general perversion of the public mind which co-operated with the schemes of Free Masonry in procuring a listening ear to Spartacus and his associates. It will not be doubted but that the machinations of the Illuminati increased this, even among those who did not enter

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CHAP. III THE GERMAN UNION. 101

into the Order. It was easier to diminish the respect for civil establishments in Germany than in almost any other country. The frivolity of the ranks and court-offices in the different confederated petty states made it impossible to combine dignity with the habits of a scanty income.—It was still easier to expose to ridicule and reproach those numberless abuses which the folly and the vices of men had introduced into religion. The influence on the public mind which naturally attaches to the venerable office of a moral instructor, was prodigiously diminished by the continual disputes of the Catholics and Protestants, which were carried on with great heat in every little principality. The freedom of enquiry, which was supported by the state in Protestant

Germany, was terribly abused, (for what will the folly of man not abuse?) and degenerated into a wanton licentiousness of thought, and a rage for speculation and scepticism on every subject whatever. The struggle, which was originally between the Catholics and the Protestants, had changed, during the gradual progress of luxury and immorality, into a contest: between reason and superstition. And in this contest the denomination of superstition had been gradually extended to every doctrine which professed to be of divine revelation, and reason was declared to be, for certain, the only way in which the Deity can inform the human mind,

Some respectable Catholics had published works filled with liberal sentiments. These were represented as villainous machinations to invade Protestants. On the other hand, some Protestant divines had proposed to imitate this liberality by making concessions which might enable a good Catholic to live more at ease among the Protestants, and might even accelerate an union of faiths. This was hooded beyond measure, as Jesuitical, and big with danger.

"While

202 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. III.

While the sceptical junto, headed by the editors of the Deutsche Bibliothek and the Berlin Monatsschrift were recommending every performance that was liable to the established faith of the country, Leuchtfening was equally busy, finding Jesuits in every corner, and went about with all the inquietude of a madman, picking up anecdotes. Zimmerman, the respectable physician of Frederick King of Prussia, gives a diverting account of a visit which he had from Leuchtfening at Hanover, all trembling with fears of Jesuits, and wishing to persuade him «that his life was in danger from them. Nicholai was now on the hunt, and during this crusade Philo laid hands on him, being introduced to his acquaintance by Leuchtfening, who was, by this time, cured of his zeal for Protestantism, and had become a disciple of Illuminatism. Philo had gained his good opinion by the violent attack which he had published on the Jesuits and Rosicrucians by the orders of Spartacus.—He had not far to go in gaining over Nicholai, who was at this time making a tour through the Lodges. The

sparks of Illumination which he perceived in many of them pleased him exceedingly, and he very cheerfully received the precious secret from Philo.

This acquisition to the Order was made in January 1782. Spartacus was delighted with it, considered Nicholai as a most excellent champion, and gave him the name of Lucian^ the great foe of all religion, as aptly expressing his character.

Nicholai, on his return to Berlin, published many volumes of his discoveries. One would imagine that not a Jesuit had escaped him. He mentions many strange schisms, both in religion and in Masonry — But he never once mentions an Illuminatus. — When they were first checked, and before the discovery of the secret correspondence, he defended them, and strongly reprobated the proceedings of the

Elector

Chap, iii* the German union. 203

Electoral of Bavaria, calling it vile persecution. — » Nav, after the discovery of the letters found in Zwack's house, he persisted in his defence, vindicated the position of the abominable receipts, and highly extolled the character of Weifhaupt. — But when the discovery of papers in the house of Batz informed the public that he himself had long been an Illuminatus^ he was sadly put to it to reconcile his

defence with any pretensions to religion*.

Weifhaupt saved him from disgrace, as he thought, by his publication of the system of illumination' — Nicholai then boldly said that he knew no more of the Order than was contained in that book, that is, only the two first degrees.

But before this, Nicholai had made to himself a most formidable enemy. The history of this contest is curious in itself, and gives us a very instructive picture of the machinations of that conjunction of philosophers^ or gang of scribblers who were leagued against the peace of the world. The reader will therefore find it to our purpose. On the authority of a lady in Courland, a Countess von der Recke, Nicholai had accused Dr. Stark of Darmstadt (who

made such a figure in Free Masonry) of Jesuitism, and of having even submitted to the torture. Stark was a most restless spirit—had gone through every mystery in Germany, illumination excepted, and had ferreted out many of Nicolai's hidden transactions.

* He impudently pretended that the papers containing the system and doctrines of Illuminatism, came to him at Berlin, from an unknown hand. But no one believed him—it was inconsistent with what is said of him in the secret correspondence. He had said the same thing concerning the French translation of the Letters on the Constitution of the Prussian States. Fifty copies were found in his warehouse. He said that they had been sent from Straßburg, and that he had never sold one of them.—Supposing both these assertions to be true, it appears that Nicolai was considered as a very proper hand for disseminating such poison.

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204 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. III.

tions. He was also an unwearied book-maker, and dealt out these discoveries by degrees, keeping the eye of the public continually upon Nicolai. He had falsified his Illumination for some time past, and when the secret came out, by Spartacus' letter, where he boasts of his acquisition, calling Nicolai a most inveterate combatant, and laying that he was contented with Stark left no stone unturned till he discovered that Nicolai had been initiated in all the horrid and most profligate mysteries of Illuminatism, and that Spartacus had at the very first entrusted him with his most darling secrets, and advised with him on various occasions*.

His complete blinding of his moral character could not be patiently borne, and Nicolai was in his turn the bitter enemy of Stark, and, in the pa-

* Cf this we have complete proof in the private correspondence. Philo, speaking in one of his letters of the gradual change which was to be produced in the minds of their pupils from Christianity to Deism, says, *' Nicolai informs me, that even the pious ** Zollikofer has now been convinced that it would be proper to set up a deistical church in Berlin." It is in vain that Nicolai says that his knowledge of the Order was only of

what Weiihaupt had piiblihed ; for Philo fays that that corre<Sed fyftem had not been introduced into it when he quitted it in 1784.. But Nichoiai deferves no credit—he is one of the molt fcandalous examples of the operation of the principles of Weiihaupt. He procured admiffion into the Lodges of Free Mafons and Rofycrucians, merely to aſt the difhonourable part of a fpy, and he betrayed their fecrets as far as he could. In the appendix to ^he 7th volume of his journey, he declaims againſt the Templar Mafons, Rofycrucians, and Jcfuits, for their blind fubmiſſion to unknown fuperiors, for their fuperllitions, their priefthoods, and their bafe principles— and yet had been five years in a fciety in which all theſe were carried to the crveateft hei'jht. He remains true to the liluminati alone, becauſe they had the fame object in view with himſelf and his atheiiUcal aHbciatcs, His defence of Protedantifm is all a cheat; and perhaps he maybe confidered as an enemy equally formidable with Weiihaupt himſelf. This is the reaſon v*'hy he occupies fo many of theſe pages.

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CUA?. 111» THS GERMAN UNIOiV. 305

roxyfms of his anger, publiuied every idle tale, although he Vv^i-^s often obliged to contradict them in the next Review. In the coiirſe of this attack and defence, Dr. Stark di-covered the revival of the lihiminati, or ac leail a iocie^v which carried on the fanie great work in a fomtrwhat different way.

Dr. Stark had written a defence againd one of Nichoiai'saccufations, and wifed to have it printed at Leipzig. He therefore ſent the manuſcript to a friend, who relided there. This friend immediately propoſed it to a moil improper perſon, Mr. Pott, who had written an anonymous commentary on the King of PrulTia's edid for the uniformity of religious worlhip in his dominions. This is one of the moſt ihamelefs attacks on the efiabiſhed faith of the nation, and the authority and cnducl of the Prince, that can be imagined. Stark's friend was ignorant of this, and fpoke to Polt, as the partner of the grea.t piibliſher Walther. They, without hehtation, undertook the publihing ; but when fix weeks had paſſed over, Stark's friend found that it was not begun. Some exceptionable parages, which treated with difreſpect the religion of Reaſon, were given as the cauie of delay ; and he was told that ths author had been written to about them, but had not yet

returned an answer. This was afterwards found to be false. Then a promise in the preface was objected to, as treating roughly a lady in Courland, which Walther could not print, because he had connections with that court. The author must be entreated to change his expressions. After another delay, paper was wanting. The MS. was withdrawn. Walther now said that he would print it immediately, and again got it into his hands, promising to send the sheets as they came from the press. These not appearing for a long time, the agent made enquiry, and found that it was sent to Michaelis at Halle, to

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be printed there. The agent immediately went thither, and found that it was printing with great alterations, another title, and a guide or key, in which the work was perverted and turned into ridicule by a Dr. Bahrdt, who resided in that neighbourhood. An action of recovery and damages was immediately commenced at Leipzig, and after much contest, an interdict was put on Michaelis's edition, and a proper edition was ordered immediately from Walther, with security that it should appear before Bahrdt's key. Yet when it was produced at the next fair, the booksellers had been already supplied with the spurious edition; and as this was accompanied by the key, it was much more saleable ware, and completely supplanted the other.

This is surely a strong instance of the machinations by which the Illuminati have attempted to destroy the Liberty of the Press, and the power they have to discourage or suppress any thing that is not agreeable to the taste of the literary junto. It was in the course of this transaction that Dr. Stark's agent found people talking in the coffeehouses of Leipzig and Halle of the advantages of public libraries, and of libraries by subscription in every town, where persons could, at a small expence, see what was passing in the learned world. As he could not but acquiesce in these points, they who held this language began to talk of a general Association, which should act in concert over all Germany, and make a full communication of its numerous literary productions by forming Societies for reading and instruction, which should be regularly supplied with every publication. Flying Quizzes and pamphlets were afterwards put into his hands, dating the

great use of such an Association, and the effect which it would speedily produce by enlightening the nation. By and by he

learned

CHAPTER III. THE GERMAN UNION. §. Q-J

learned that such an Association did really exist, and that it was called the German union, for

ROOTING OUT SUPERSTITION AND PREJUDICES, AND
ADVANCING TRUE CHRISTIANITY. On

enquiry, however, he found that this was to be a Secret Society, because it had to combat prejudices which were supported by the great of this world, and because its aim was to promote that general information which priests and despots dreaded above all things. This Association was accessible only through the reading societies, and oaths of secrecy and fidelity were required. In short, it appeared to be the old song of the Illuminati.

This discovery was immediately announced to the public, in an anonymous publication in defence of Dr. Stark. It is supposed to be his own performance. It discloses a scene of complicated villainy and folly, in which the Lady in Courland makes a very strange figure. She appears to be a wild fanatic, deeply engaged in magic and sorcery, and leagued with Nicolai, Gedicke, and Biefter, against Dr. Stark. He is very completely cleared of the faults alleged against him; and his three male opponents appear void of all principle and enemies of all religion. Stark however would, in Britain, be a very singular character, considered as a clergyman. The frivolous secrets of Masonry have either engrossed his whole mind, or he has laboured in them as a lucrative trade, by which he took advantage of the folly of others. The contest between Stark and the Triumvirate at Berlin engaged the public attention much more than we should imagine that a thing of so private a nature would do. But the characters were very notorious; and it turned the attention of the public to those clandestine attacks which were made

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Qo8 The GERMAN UNION* CHAP, u'l,

ill every quarter on the civil and religious establishments. It was obvious to every person that their reading Societies had all on a sudden become very numerous; and the characters of those who patronized them only increased the suspicions which were now raised.

The first work that appears expressly of the German Union, is a very lenient performance " On the Right of Princes to dissent from the Religion of their Subjects. The next is a curious Work, a sort of narrative Dialogue on the Characters of Nicholas Göttsche and Biebler, it is chiefly occupied with the contest with Dr. Stark, but in the 5th part, it treats particularly of the German Union,

About the same time appeared some farther account, in a book called Archives of Faith and Illirmination, But all these accounts are very vague and unsatisfactory. The fullest account is to be had in a Work published at Leipzig- by Goichen the bookseller. It is entitled, " Merc Notes on the German Union of 1789 a new Secret Society for the Good of Mankind. The publisher says that it was sent him by an unknown hand, and that he published it with all speed, on account of the many mischiefs which this Society, (of which he had before heard several reports,) might do to the world and to the trade, if allowed to go on working in secret. From this work, therefore, we may form a notion of this redoubtable Society, and judge how far it is practicable to prevent such secret machinations against the peace and happiness of mankind.

There is another work, " Further information concerning the German Union, (Nahere Beleuchtung der Deutschen Union,) also Johnson's for a moderate price one may become a Scotch

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GKAP. iii* TAKE GERMAN UNION. 9,09

" Free Maffon's Frankford and Lehzi's. \ 780, The author says that he had all the papers in his hands : whereas the author of More Notes than Text acknowledges the want of some. But very little additional light is thrown on

the subject by this work, and the first is chiefly the inoffensive, and will chiefly be followed in the account which is now to be laid before the reader.

The book More Notes than Text contains plans and letters, which the Twenty-two United Brethren have allowed to be given out, and of which the greatest part were printed, but were entrusted to ailed members.

No, I. is the first plan, printed on a single quarto page, and is addressed, To all the Friends of Truth and of Virtue, It is pretty well written, and Hates among other things, that " because a great number of persons are labouring, with united effort, to bring Reason under the yoke, and to prevent all interference, it is therefore necessary that there be a combination which shall work in opposition to them so that man's kind may not sink anew into irrecoverable barbarism, when Reason and Virtue shall have been completely subdued, overpowered by the re-

plaints which are put on our opinions."

For this noble purpose a company of twenty-two persons, public instructors, and men in private stations, have united themselves, according to a plan which they have had under consideration for more than a year and a half, and which, in their opinion, contains a method that is fair and irreproachable by any human power, for promoting the enlightening- and forming- of man's kind, and that will gradually remove all the obstacles which superstition supported by force has hitherto put in the way."

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THE GERMAN UNION.

CHAP. iii.

This address is intended for an enlightening advertisement, and, after a few insignificant remarks on the Association, a six-dahler is required along with

the subscription of acquiescence in the plan, as a compensation for the expences attending this mode of intimation and consent.

Whoever pays the six-dahler, and declares his "wili to join the Association, receives in a few days, No. II. which is a form of the Oath of secrecy, also printed on a single Ato page. Having subscribed this, and given a full designation of himself, he returns it agreeably to a certain address; and soon after, he gets No. III. printed on a 4to sheet. This number contains what is called the Second Plan, to which all the subsequent plans and circular letters refer. A copy therefore of this will give us a pretty full and just notion of the Order, and its mode of declaration. It is intitled,

^/ie Plan of the Twenty-Two^

and begins with this declaration: " We have united, in order to accomplish the aim of the exalted Founder of Christianity, viz. the enlightening of mankind, and the dethronement of superstition and fanaticism, by means of a secret fraternization of all who love the work of God, " Our first exertion, which has already been very extensive, consists in this, that, by means of confidential persons, we allow ourselves to be announced every where as a Society united for the above-mentioned purpose; and we invite and admit into brotherhood with ourselves every person who has a sense of the importance of this matter, and wishes to apply to us and see our plans.

ilHAP. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. 21^

" We labour first of all to draw into our Association all good and learned writers. This we imagine will be the easiest obtained, as they must derive an evident advantage from it. Next to such men, we seek to gain the mailers and secretaries of the Post-offices, in order to facilitate our correspondence. *' Besides these, we receive persons of every condition and station, excepting princes and their ministers. Their favourites, however, may be admitted, and may be useful by their influence in behalf of Truth and Virtue. '* When any person writes to us, we send him an oath, by which he must abjure all treachery or discovery of the Association, till circumstances shall make it proper for us to come forward and show ourselves to the world. Vvhen he subscribes the oath, he receives the plan, and if he finds this to be what satisfies his mind as a thing good and honourable, he becomes our

friend only in so far as he endeavours to gain over his friends and acquaintances. Thus we learn who are really our zealous friends, and our numbers increase in a double proportion.

" This procedure is to continue till Providence shall so far bless our endeavours, that we acquire an active Brother and coadjutor in every place of note, wherever there is any literary profession ; and for this purpose we have a secretary and proper office in the center of the Association, where every thing is expedited, and all reports received. When this happy epoch arrives, we begin our second operation.*' That is to say.

We intimate to all the Brotherhood in every quarter, on a certain day, that the GKRIAN UNION.

" Union

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THE GKRIAN UNION.

CHAPTER III

' Union has now acquired a conjuncture^ and we ' now divide the fraternized part of the nation ' into ten or twelve Provinces or Dioceses^ each ' directed by its Diocefan at his office ; and these ' are so arranged in due subordination, that all ' business comes into the Union-house as into ' the center of the whole.

*• Agreeably to this manner of proceeding there ' are two classes of the Brotherhood, the Grd' ?!a?y and the Managing Brethren, The latter ' alone know the aim of the association, and all ' the means for attaining it; and they alone

- constitute the UNIFORM, the name, and the connection of which is not intended to be at all

- conspicuous in the world.

'• To this end the business takes a new external form. The Brethren, to wit, speak not of the Union in the places where they reside, nor

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or a society, nor of enlightening the people ; but they assemble, and act together in every quarter, merely as a Literary Society, bring into it all the lovers of reading and of useful knowledge; and such in fact are the Ordinary Brethren, who only know that an Association exists in their place of residence for the encouragement of literary men, but by no means that it has any connexion with any other similar Society, and that they all constitute one whole. But these Societies will naturally point out to the intelligent Brethren such persons as are proper to be selected for carrying forward the great work. For persons of a serious turn of mind are not mere loungers in such company, but know in their conversation the interest they take in real instruction. And the call of their reading, which must not be checked in the beginning in the

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of a higher degree, although it may be gradually directed to proper subjects of information, will point out in the most unequivocal manner their peculiar ways of thinking on the important subjects connected with our great object. Here, therefore, the active Brethren will observe in secret, and will select those whom they think valuable acquisitions to the sacred Union, They will invite such persons to unite with themselves in their endeavours to enlighten the rest of mankind, by calling their attention to profitable subjects of reading, and to proper books, reading Societies, therefore, are to be formed in every quarter, and to be furnished with proper books. In this provision attention must be paid to two things. The taste of the public must be complied with, that the Society may have any effect at all in bringing men together who are born for somewhat more than just to look about them. But the general taste may, and must also be carefully and skillfully directed to subjects that will enlarge the comprehension, will fortify the heart, and, by habituating the mind to novelty, and to successful discovery, both in physics and in morals, will hinder the timid from being startled at doctrines and maxims which are singular, or perhaps opposite to those which are current in ordinary society. Commonly a man speaks as if he thought he was

uttering his own sentiments, while he is only echoing the general sound. Our minds are directed in a prevailing fashion as much as our bodies, and with faculties as little congenial to sentiment, as a piece of woollen cloth is to the human skin. So careless and indolent are men, even in what they call serious conversation. Till reflection be

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' comes a habit, what is really a thought starts, ' however simple, and, if really uncommon, it " astonishes and confounds. Nothing, therefore, " can so powerfully tend to the improvement of " the human character, as well-managed Reading Societies.

" When these have been established in different *' places, we must endeavour to accomplish the " following intermediate plans; i. To introduce " a general literary Gazette or Review, which, " by uniting all the learned Brethren, and combining with judgment and address all their " talents, and steadily proceeding according to " a distinct and precise plan, may in time supersede every other Gazette, a thing which its " intrinsic merit and comprehensive plan will «' easily accomplish. 2. To select a secretary for " our Society, who shall have it in charge to " commission the books which they (shall select ^* in conformity to the great aim of the Association, and who (shall undertake to commission *' all other books for the curious in his neighbourhood. If there be a bookseller in the place, " who can be gained over and sworn into the *« Society, it will be proper to choose him for *' this office, since, as will be made more ^' plain afterwards, the trade will gradually " come into the plan, and fall into the hands ** of the Union.

*' And now, every eye can perceive the progressive moral influence which the Union will " acquire on the nation. Let us only conceive *' what superabundance will arise, and what instruction must gain by this; when, i. In every " Reading Society the books are (elected by our '- Fraternity. 2. When we have confidential ^^ persons in every quarter, who will make it

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CHAP. iii. THE GERMAN UNION* 215

*^ their ferioiis concern to fspread fuch perform** ances as promote the enlightening of mankind, *' and to introduce them even into every cot" tage. 3. When we have the loud voice of the " public on our fide, and fince we are able, *' either to banifn into the fhade ali the fanatical *' writings which appear in the reviews that are ** commonly read, or to warn the public againfl *' them ; and, on the other hand, to bring into *' notice and recommend thofe performances " alone v/hich give light to the human mind. " 4. When we by degrees bring the whole trade *' of bookfelling into our hands, (as the good '^ writers will fend all their performances into *' the market through our means) we (hall bring " it about, that at laif: the writers who labour in *' the caufe of fuperfition and redraint, will " have neither a publifher nor readers. 5. When, ' laftly, by the fpreading of our Fraternity, ali *' good hearts and fenfible men will adhere to " us, and by our means will be put in a con*' dition that enables them to work in filence ' upon ail courts, families, and individuals in *' every quarter, and acquire an influence in the '* appointment of court-ofRcers, (lewards, fecre'* taries, parifh-priefts, public teachers, and pri*' vate tutors.

" Remark, That we fnall fpeedily get the trade *' into our hands, (which was formerly the aim " of the Affcciation called the Gelth'ttrihuch" hand lung) is conceivable by this, that every writer who unites with us immediately acquires a triple number of readers, and finds friends in every place who promote the fale of his perform.ance; fo that his gain is increafed ma" nifold, and confequently all will quit the book" fellers, aiid accede to us by degrees. Had the

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*' above named Affociation been confl:rued in ** this manner, it would, long ere now, have *' been the only fhop in Germany,"

The book called Fuller Information[^] &c. gives a more particular account of the advantages held forth to the literary manufactory of Germany by this Union for God's ink. The class of literary Brothers, or writers by trade, was divided into Mesopolites[^] Aldermen[^] Men, and Cadets,

The Mesopolites, or Metropolitans, are to be attached to the archive-office, and to be taken care of in the Union-house, when in straits through age or misfortune. They will be occupied in the department of the sciences or arts, which this Association professes principally to cherish. They are also Brethren of the third degree of Scotch Free Masonry, a qualification to be explained afterwards. The Union-house is a building which the often-fabled Founder of the Union professed to

have acquired, or speedily to acquire at [^],

through the favour and protection of a German Prince, who is not named.

Aldermen are persons who hold public offices, and are engaged to exercise their genius and talents in the sciences, These also are Brothers of the third rank of Scotch Free Masonry, and out of their number are the Deacons and the Directors of the Reading Societies selected,

The members who are designed simply Men, are Brothers of the second rank of Masonry, and have also a definite scientific occupation allotted them.

The Cadets are writers who have not yet merited any particular honours, but have exhibited sufficient talents for different kinds of literary manufacture.

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CHAPTER. III* THE GERMAN UNION. ^I^J

Every member is bound to bring the productions of his genius to market through the Union, An Alderman receives for an original work do per cent, of the returns, and 70 for a translation. The member of the next class receives 60, and the Cadet 50. As to the expence of printing, the Alderman pays

nothing, even though the work (should be on hand) unfolded; but the Man and the Cadet must pay one-half. Three months after publication at the fairs an account is brought in, and after this, yearly, when and in what manner the author himself desire.

In every Diocese will be established at least one Reading Society, of which near 800 are proposed. To each of these will a copy of an author's work be sent. The favour will be shown to a Dissertation by a Man, or by a Cadet, provided that the manuscript is documented by an Alderman, or formally approved by him upon serious perusal. This notice, which must be considered as a powerful recommendation of the work, is to be published in the General Post Office or Gazette, This is to be a vehicle of political as well as of literary news; and it is hoped that, by its intrinsic worth, and the recommendation of the members, it will flourish all others, (With respect to affairs of the Union, a sort of cypher was to be employed in it. Each Diocesan was there designed by a letter, of a size that marked his rank, and each member by a number. It was to appear weekly, at the very small price of five-and-twenty pence.)---But let us return to the plan.

When every thing has been established in the manner set forth above, the Union will assume the following republican form, (the reader always remembering that this is not to appear to

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the world, and to be known only to the managing Brethren,

Here, however, there is a great blank. The above-named sketch of this Constitution did not come to the hands of the person who furnished the bookeller with the rest of the information. But we have other documents which give sufficient information for our purpose. In the mean time, let us just take the papers as they stand.

No. IV. Contains a list of the German Union which the sender received in manuscript. Here we find many names which we (should not have expected,

and mis many that were much more likely to have been partners in this patriotic scheme. There are several hundred names, but very few designations ; so that it is difficult to point out the individuals to the public. Some however are design'd, and the writer observes that names are found, which, when applied to some individuals whom he knows, accord surprisingly with the anecdotes that are to be seen in the private correspondence of the Illuminati, and in the romance called Materials for the History of Socratism (Illuminatism)*. It is but a disagreeable remark, that the list of the Union contains

* This, by the by, is a very tedious and entertaining work, and, had the whole affair been better known in this country, would have been a much better antidote against the baneful effects of that Association than any thing that I can give to the public, being written with much acuteness and knowledge of the human mind, and agreeably diversified with anecdote and ironical exhibition of the assumed wisdom and philanthropy of the knavish Founder and his coadjutors. If the present imperfect and desultory account shall be found to interest the public, I doubt not but that a translation of this novel, and some other fanciful performances on the subject, will be read with entertainment and profit

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the names of many public teachers, both from the pulpit, and from the academic chair in all its degrees; and among these are several whose cyphers show that they have been active hands. Some of these have in their writings given evident proofs of their misconception of the simple truths, whether dogmatical or historical, of revealed religion, or of their inclination to twist and manufacture them so as to chime in with, the religion and morality of the Sages of France. But it is more distressing to meet with unequivocal names of some who profess in their writings to consider these subjects as an honest man (should consider them, that is, according to the plain and common sense of the words; whereas we have demonstrative proofs that the German Union had the diametrically opposite purpose in view. The only female in the list is the Countess von der Rœcke^ the Lady who gave Dr. Stark of Darmstadt so much trouble about his Tonfure, This Lady, as we have already seen, could not occupy herself with the frivolity of

drefs, flirtation, or domestic cares. " F' emina fante pattt, vir pecforej^ She was not pleased however at finding her name in such a Plebeian list, and gave oath, along with Biefter at the centre, that (he was not of the h. iibciation. I fee that the public was not satisfied with this denial. The Lady has published some more scandal against Stark since that time, and takes no notice of it; and there have appeared many accounts of very serious literary connections between these two persons and the man who was afterwards discovered to be the chief agent of the Union.

No. V. is an important document. It is a letter addressed to the sworn members of the Union, reminding the beloved fellow-workers that " the by

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22,0 THE GERMAN UNION. CMAP. ill.

*' pone management of the business has been expensive, and that the XXII. do not mean to make any particular charge for their own compensation. *' But that it was necessary that all and each of the " members should know precisely the object of the *' Association, and the way which mature consideration had pointed out as the most effectual method of attaining this object. Then, and not till then, could the worthy members act by one plan, and consequently with united force. To accomplish this purpose, one of their number had composed a Treatise on Intrusion^ and the means of promoting it^" This work has been revised by the whole number, and may be considered as the result of their deeper reflection. They say, that it would be a signal misfortune should this Association, this undertaking, so important for the happiness of mankind, be cramped in the very beginning of its brilliant progress. They therefore propose to print this work, this Holy Scripture of their faith and practice, by subscription, (They here give a short account of the work.) And they request the members to encourage the work by subscribing, and by exerting more than their usual activity in procuring subscriptions, and in recommending the performance in the newspapers. Four persons are named as Diocesan, who are to receive the money, which they beg may be speedily advanced in order to purchase paper, that the work may be ready for the first fair (Easter

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No. VI. is a printed paper (as is No. V.) without date, farther recommending the Eifay on Iniiirudion. No. VII. is in manuscript, Vv'ithout date. It is ad

* Ueler ausfklarung unJ Jeren BefordeningsS']\Mittel. The only proptr tra'ii'l'Htion of this word would be, clearing up or enlighten' in*. Injiruction feems the fn:gle word that comes ncared to the Drtz\{< meaning of Aiiiffklarimg^ but is not fynonymous.

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dreffed to "" a worthy man," intimating that the like are fent to others, to whom will alfo fpeedily be forwarded an icnproved plan, with a requeil to cancel or defroy the former contained in No. III. It is added, that the Union now contains, among many others, more than two hundred of the moft respectable perfons in Germany, of every rank and condition, and that in the coarfe of the year, (1788,) a general lift will be fent, with a requefl that the receiver will point cut luch as he does not think worthy of perfect confidence. It concludes with another recommendation of the book on In/lru^ion. on the returns from which firfl work of the German Union the fupport of the fecretary's office is to depend.

Accordingly No. VIII contains this plan, but it is not entitled The Improved Plan. Such a denomination would have called in doubt the infallibility of the XXII. It is therefore called the Progrefstve (vorlaufig) plan, a title which leaves room for every fubfequent change. It differs from the former only in fome unimportant circumftances. Some expreffions; which had given offence or raifed fufpicions, are foftened or cancelled. Two copies of this, which we may call A and B, are given, differing alfo in fome circumftances.

" The great aim of the German Union is the good ** of mankind, which is to be attained only by means " of mental illumination (^Auffklarung) and

the de*¹ throning of fanaticism and moral despotism." Neither paper has the expression which immediately followed in the former plan, " that this had been *¹ the aim of the exalted founder of Christianity." The paper A refers, on the present subject, to a dissertation printed in 1787, without a name. On the freedom of the Press and its Limitation, This is one of the most licentious pieces that has been published

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on the subject, not only enforcing the most unqualified liberty of publishing every thing a man pleases, but exemplifying it in the most scandalous manner ; libelling characters of every sort, and persons of every condition, and this frequently in the most abusive language, and expressions in coarse, as shewed t\ v[^] author to be either habituated to the coarsest coram[^]ly, or determined to try boldly once for all, what the public eye can bear. The piece goes on: "The Union considers it as a chief part of its present plan of operation, to include the trade of bookselling in their circle. By getting hold of this, they have it in their power to increase the number of writings which promote instruction, and to lessen that of those which mar it, since the authors of the latter will by degrees lose both their publishers and their readers. That the present bookellers may do them no harm, they will by degrees draw in the greater part of them to unite with them." — The literary newspaper is here wrongly inserted on, and, in addition to what was said in the former plan, it is said, " that they will include political news, as of mighty influence on the public[^] mind, and as a subject that merits the closest at[^] tention of the moral instructor. For what illumination is that mind susceptible of, that is so blinded by the prejudice created and nursed by the habits of civil subordination, that it worships stupidity or wickedness under a coronet, and neglects talents and virtue under the bearskin cap of the boor ? We must therefore represent political transactions, and public occurrences, not as they *¹ afford that artificial and fantastical creature of imagination that we see every where around us wheel[^] ed about in a chariot, but as it affords a man, rational, active, free born man. By thus Gripping " the transaction of all foreign circumstances, we

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CHAP. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. QQj

fee it as it affeds, or ought to affed, ourfelves. Be allured that this new form of political intelligence will be highly intereffing, and that the Gazette of the Union will foonfuperfedea all others, and, of itfelf, will defray all our neceffary ex*^l pences."

This is followed by fome allufions to a feeret correffpondence that is quick, unfufceptible of all difcovery or treachery, and attended with no expence, by which the bulinefs of the feeret plan (^different from either of thofe comjuncted\ to the fworn Brethren at large) is carried on, and which puts the members in a condition to learn every thing that goes on in the world, for or againft their caufe, and alfo teaches them to know mankind, to gain an influence over all, and enables them effecTually to promote their beft fubjedts into all offices, &c. and finally, from which every member, whether ftatefman, merchant, or writer, can draw his own advantages. Some paffages here and in another place make me imagine that the Union hoped to get the command of the poft-offices, by having their Brethren in the diretion.

It is then faid, that " it is fuppofed that the levy will be fufficiently numerous in the fpring of the enfuing year. When this takes place, a general fynod will be held, in which the plan of feeret operations will be finally adjufted, and accommodated to local circumftances, fo as to be digefted into a law that wdll need no farther alteration. A proper perfon will fet off from this fynod, with full powers to vifit every quarter where there are fworn Brethren, and he will there eftablifh a Lodge after the ancient iimple ritual, and will communicate verbally the plan of feeret opera^l ration^l and certain influ(fions. Thefe Lodges will then eftablifh a managing fund or box. Each

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Lodge will also establish a Reading Society, under the management of a bookfeller residing in the place, or of some person acquainted with the mechanical conduct of things of this nature. There must also be a collector and agent, (Expeditour[^]) *' so that in a moment the Union will have its offices or comptoirs in every quarter, through which it carries on the trade of bookfelling, and guides the ebb and flow of its correspondence. And thus " the whole machine will be set in motion, and its '^^ activity is all directed from the centre."

I remark, that here we have not that exclusion of Princes and ministers that was in the former plan; they are not even mentioned. The exclusion in express terms could not but surprise people, and appear somewhat suspicious.

No. IX. is a printed circular letter to the sworn Brethren, and is subscribed *' by their truly associated Brother Barthels, Oheramtmann (first bailiff) " for the King of Prussia, at Halle on the Saal."

In this letter the Brethren are informed that " the *' XXII. were wont to meet sometimes at Halle, and *' sometimes at Berlin. But unavoidable circumstances oblige them not only to remain concealed for sometime, but even to give up their relation " to the Union, and withdraw themselves from any share in its proceedings. These circumstances are but temporary, and will be completely explained in due time. They trust, however, that *' this necessary step on their part will not abate the " zeal and activity of men of noble minds, engaged in the cause by the conviction of their own *' hearts.

They have therefore communicated to *' their worthy Brother Barthels all necessary information, and have unanimously conferred on *' him the direction of the Secretary's office, and " have provided him with every document and

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CHAPTER. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. 225

" mean of carrying on the correspondence. He has *' devoted himself to the honourable office, giving " up all other employments. They observe that by " this change in the manner of proceeding, the Association is freed from an objection made with " justice to all other secret societies, namely, that " the members subjected themselves to blind and unqualified submission to unknown superiors." — The Society is now in the hands of its own avowed members. Every thing will soon be arranged according to a constitution purely republican; a Diocesan will be chosen, and will direct in every province, and report to the centre every second month, and innovations and other informations " will issue in like manner from the centre.

" If this plan shall be approved of by the Association, H. Barthels will transmit to all the Dioceses general lists of the Union, and the Plan of Secret Operation, the result of deep meditation of the XXII. and admirably calculated for carrying on with irrefragable effect their noble and patriotic plan. To stop all cabal, and put an end to all slander and suspicion, H. Barthels thinks it proper that the Union shall step forward, and declare itself to the world, and openly name some of its most respectable members. The public must however be informed only with respect to the exterior of the Society, for which purpose he had written a sheet to be annexed as an appendix to the work. On Influence^ declaring that to be

the work of the Society, and a sufficient indication

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' tion of its moil honourable aim. He dtfires " fuch members as choofe to
fliare the honour *' with him, to {^cud him their names and proper
dcfignations, that they may appear in that Appendix. Andj laUiyy, he
requefts them to infrudt him, and co-operate with him, according

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" to the concerted nilsof the Union, in promot** ing the caiife of God and
the happineis of man*« kind."

The appendix now alluded to makes No. X. of the packet fent to the
Bookfeller Gofciien of Leipzig, and is dated December 1788. It is alfo
found in the book On Inpru^ion^ Sec, printed at Leipzig in 1789, by
Waither* Here, however, the Appendix is dated January 1789. This edition
agrees in the main with that in the book from which I have made fuch
copious extracts, but differs in fome particulars that are not unworthy of
remark, " In the packet it is written, " The Under" 7%^^^ ^-^ il^<s'/?/2^<fr
and ^gent of the German *' Union, in order to redtify feveral miftakes and *'
injurious llanders and accufations, thinks it ne*' celTary that the public itfelf
(liould judge of their '* obje(^ and conduct." — Towards the end it is faid, *'
and all who have any doubts may apply " to thofe named below^ and are

invited to write " to them." No names however are subjoined. In the Appendix to the book it is only said, *' the agent of the German Union," Sec, and " persons who wish to be better informed may write *• to the agent, under the address, To the German Union—under cover to the (shop of Walther, bookseller in Leipzig."—Here too there are no names, and it does not appear that any person has chosen to come from behind the curtain*.

* Wakker is an eminent bookseller, and carries on the business of publishing to a great extent, both at Leipzig and other places. He was the publisher of the most virulent attacks on the King of Prussia's Edict; on Religion, and was brought into much trouble about the Commentary by Pott which is mentioned above. He also publishes many of the sceptical and licentious writings which have so much disturbed the peace of Germany.

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CHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. 227

There has already been so much said about Enlightening[^] that the reader must be almost tired of it. He is allured in this performance that the Illumination proposed by the Union is not that of the Voltairean Fragments[^] nor that of Horus, nor that of Bahrdt. The Fragments and Horus' books which aim directly, and without any concealment, to destroy the authority of our Scriptures, either as historical narrations or as revelations of the intentions of providence and of the future prospects of man. The Theological writings of Bahrdt are gross perversions, both of the sense of the text, and of the moral instructions contained in it, and are perhaps the most exceptionable performances on the subject. They are stigmatized as absurd, and coarse, and indecent, even by the writers on the same side; yet the work recommended so often as containing the elements of that illumination which the world has to expect from the Union, not only coincides in its general principles with these performances, but is almost an abridgement of some of them, particularly of his Popular Religion[^] his Paraphrase on the Sermon on the Mounts and his Morality of Religion. We have also {tQ,T\ that the book on the Liberty of the Press is quoted and

recommended as an elementary book. Nay both the work on Infft uction and that on the Liberty of the Prefe^ are now known to be Bahrdt's.

But thefe principles, exceptionable as they may be, are probaoly not the worit of the infitution. We fee thac the outside alone of the Union is to be fhewn to the r)ublic. Barthels felicitates the public that there is no fubordmation and blind obedience to unknown Superiors; yet, in the fame paragraph, he tells us that there is a fecret plan of operations, that is known only to the Centre and the Confidential Brethren. The author of Fuller Information fays that he has this plan, and would print il, were

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225 ^ THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. iil.

he not re{lrained by a promife*. He gives us enough however to (how us that the higher myfteries of the Union are precifeiy the fame with thofe of the Illuminati. Chriftianity is exprefsiy faid to have been a Myliical AiTociation, and its founder the Grand Maifer of a Lodge. The Apodles, Peter, James, John, and Andrew, were the Ele^^ and Brethren of the Third Degree, and initiated into all the myfteries. The remaining Apoftles were only of the Second Degree ; and the Seventy-two were of the Firfl degree. Into this degree ordinary Chriftians may be admitted, and prepared for further advancement. The great miftery is, that J C was a

Naturalift, and taught the dodlrine of a Supreme Mind, the Spedator, but not the Governer of the World, pretty nearly in the fenfe of the Stoics. The Initiated Brethren were to be inflrued by reading proper books. Thofe particularly recommended are Baf dozvs Pradical Knowledge^ Eherhard's Apology for Socrates^ Bahrdfs Apology for Reafon^ Steinbardf 5 Syftem of Moral Education^ Meiners Ancient Myfteries, Bahrdfs Letters on the Bible^ and

Bahrdfs Completion of the Plan and Aim of J

C . Thefe books are of the moft Antichriftian

character, and some of them aim at flaking off all moral obligation whatever.

Along with these religious doctrines, are inculcated the most dangerous maxims of civil conduct. The despotism that is aimed at over the minds of men, and the machinations and intrigues for obtaining possession of places of trust and influence, are equally alarming; but being perfectly similar to those of the Illuminati, it is needless to mention them.

The chief intelligence that we get from this author is that the Centre of the Union is at a

* This I find to be false, and the book a common job.

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GHAFF. ill. THE GERMAN UNION; 22g

house in the neighborhood of Halle. It is a sort of tavern, in a vineyard immediately without the city. This was bought by Doctor Karl FRIEDERICH Bahrtdt, and fitted up for the amusement of the University Students. He calls it Bahrtdt's RUHE (Bahrtdt's Ptepote). The author thinks that this must have been the work of the Association, because Bahrtdt had not a farthing, and was totally unable for such an undertaking. He may however have been the contriver of the institution. "He has never affirmed or denied this in explicit terms; nor has he ever said who are the XXH coadjutors. Wucherer, an eminent bookfeller at Vienna, seems to have been one of the most active hands, and in one year admitted near two hundred members, among whom is his own shoemaker^ He has published some of the most profligate pamphlets which have yet appeared in Germany,

The publication of the list of members alarmed the nation; persons were astonished to find themselves in every quarter in the midst of villains who were plotting against the peace and happiness of the country, and destroying every sentiment of religion, morality, or loyalty. Many persons published in the newspapers and literary journals affirmations and proofs of the false

inertion of their names. Some acknowledged that curiosity had made them enter the Association, and even continue their correspondence with the Centre, in order to learn something of what the Fraternity had in view, but declared that they had never taken any part in its proceedings. But, at the same time it is certain that many Reading Societies had been set up during these transactions, in every quarter of Germany, and that the ostensible managers were in general of very suspicious characters, both

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23^o f"HE GERMAN" UNION. CHAP. III

as to morals and loyalty. The Union had actually set up a press of their own at Calbe, in the neighbourhood of Halberstadt, Every day there appeared innumerable proofs of a combination of the Journalists, Reviewers, and even of the publishers and booksellers, in suppressing the writings which appeared in defence of the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of the States of Germany. The extensive literary manufacture of Germany is carried on in such a manner that it is impossible for any thing less than the joint operation of the whole federated powers to prevent this. The spirit of freethinking and innovating in religious matters had been remarkably prevalent in the dominions of the King of Prussia, having been much encouraged by the indifference of the late King. One of the vilest things published on this occasion was an abominable farce, called the Religion Edict. This was traced to Bahrds's Rube, and the Doctor was arrested, and all his papers seized and ransacked. The civil Magistrate was glad of an opportunity of expurgating the German Union, which common fame had also traced hither. The correspondence was accordingly examined, and many discoveries were made, which there was no occasion to communicate to the public, and the prosecution of the business of the Union was by this means stopped. But the persons in high office at Berlin agree in saying that the Association of writers and other turbulent persons in Germany has been but very faintly hit by this blow, and is almost as active as ever.

The German Union appears a mean and precipitate Association. The Centre, the Archives, and the Secretary are contemptible. All the Archives; that were found were the plans and lists of the members and a parcel of letters of correspondence. The correspondence and other business was managed by

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CHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. ^3!

an old man in some very inferior office or judicatory,, who lived at bed and board in Bahrdt's house for about six (hillings a week, having a chest of papers and a writing-desk: in the corner of the common room of the house.

Bahrdt gives a long narration of his concern in the affair, but we can put little confidence in what he says : yet as we have no better authority, I shall give a very short abstract of it, as follows :

He said, that he learned Cosmo-political Free Masonry in England, when he was there getting pupils for his academy—but neglected it on his return to Germany. Some time after his settlement he was roused by a visit from a stranger who passed for an Englishman, but whom he afterwards found to be a Dutch officer—(he gives a description which bears considerable resemblance to the Prince or General Salms who gave so much disturbance to the States General)—He was still more excited by an anonymous letter giving him an account of a Society which was employed in the infraction of mankind, and a plan of their mode of operations, nearly the same with that of No. III. He then set up a Lodge of Free Masonry on Cosmo-political principles, as a preparation for engaging in this great plan—he was opposed by the National Lodge, because he had no patent from it.—He was obliged him to work in secret.—He met with a gentleman in a coffee house, who entreated him to go on, and promised him great assistance—this he got from time to time, as he stood most in need of it, and he now found that he was working in concert with many powerful though unknown friends each in his own circle. The plan of operation of the XXn. was gradually unfolded to him, and he got solemn promises of being made acquainted with his colleagues. But he now thought, that after he had so essentially served their

cause

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«3'2 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

caufe, he was dropped by them in the hour of danger, and thus was made the facrifice for the public good. The lad packet which he received was a requell; from a Friend to the Union to print two performances fent hjm, with a promife of loo dahlers for his trouble. Thefe were the abominable farce called the Religion Edid, and fome Diflertations on that Royal Proclamation.

He then gives an account of his fyflem of Free Mafonry, not very different from Weifliaupt's Mafonic Cbriftianity—and concludes with the following abftrad of the advantages of the Union—Advancement of Science—A general intereft and concern for Arts and Learning—Excitement of TalentsCheck of Scribbling—Good Education—Liberty—-. Equality— Hofpitaaiity—Deli very of many from Misfortunes—Union of the Learned —-and at lafl-—perhaps—Amen.

What the meaning of this enigmatical conclufion is we can only guefs—and our conjedures cannot be very favourable.

The narration, of which this is a very fhort index, is abundantly entertaining; but the opinion of the mod intelligent is, that it is in a great meafure fiditious, and that the contrivance of the Union is moftly his own. Although it could not be legally proved that he was the author of the farce, every perfon in court was convinced that he was, and indeed it is perfedly in Bahrdt's very lingular manner. This invalidates the whole of his ilory—and he afterwards acknowledges the farce (at lead by implication) in feveral writings, and boafts of it.

For thefe reafons I have omitted the narration in detail. Some information, however, which I have received hnce, feems to confirm his account, w-hile it diminiihes its importance. I now find that the book called Fuller Information is the performance of

a clergyman

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CHAP. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. ^3^

a ciervir.an cnlled ^chutz, of the lowed clafs, and bv no means of an eminent charadler.— Another performance in the form of a dialogue between X, y, and Z, giving nearly the fame account, is by Potr, the dear friend of Bradht and of his Union, and author of the Commentary on the Edi<fi. Schntz got his materials from one Roper, an expelled ftudent of debauched morals, who fubftituted by copying and vending filthy raanufcripts. Bahrtdt fays, that he found him naked and (farving, and, out of pity, took him into his houfe, and employed him as an amanuensis. Roper iioie the papers at various times, taking them with him to Leipzig, whither he went on pretence of ficknefs. At laft Schutz and he went to Berlin together, and gave the information on which Bahrtdt was put in prifon. In fiort they aii appear to have been equally profligates and traitors to each other, and exhibit a dreadful, but I hope a ufeful picture of the influence of this Illumination which fo wonderfully fascinates Germany.

This is all the direct information that I can pick up of the founder and the proceedings of the German Union. The project is coarfe, and palpably mean, aiming at the dahlers of entry-money and of annual contribution, and at the publication and profitable fale of Dr. Bahrtdt's books. This circumftance gives it ftrong features of its parentage—Philofpeaks of Bahrtdt in his Final Declaration in terms of contempt and abhorrence. There is nothing ingenious, nothing new, nothing enticing, in the plans; and the immediate purpoie of indulging the licentious tafte of the public comes fo frequently before the eye, that it bears all the marks of that groflhefs of mind, precipitancy, and impatient oversight that are to be found in all the voluminous writings of Dr. Bahrtdt. Many in Germany, however, afcribe the Union to Wei&aapt, and fay that it is the Illu

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minati working In another form. There Is no denying that the principles, and even the manner of proceeding, are the fame in every effential circualliance. Many paragraphs of the declamations circulated through Germany with the plans, are tranfcribed verbatim from Weifhaupt's Corrected Jyftem of Illuminatifm. Much of the work On Injlruction^ and the Means for promoting it^ is very nearly a copy

of the fame work, blended with floveniv extracts

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from some of his own writings—There is the same series of delusions from the beginning, as in Illuminatism—Free Masonry and Christianity are compounded—lifelike: with marks of respect—then Christianity is twisted to a purpose foreign from it, but the same with that aimed at by Weisshaupt—then it is thrown away altogether, and Natural Religion and Atheism substituted for it—For no person will have a moment's hesitation in saying, that this is the creed of the author of the books On Instruction and On the Liberty of the Press, Nor can he doubt that the political principles are equally anarchical with those of the illuminati.—The endeavours aimed to get possession of public offices—of places of education—of the public mind, by the Reading Societies, and by publications—are {so many transcripts from the illuminati. Add to this, that Dr. Bahrdt was an Illuminatus—and wrote the Better than Horus at the command of Weisshaupt, Nay, it is well known that Weisshaupt was twice or thrice at Bahrdt's Rheine during those travels and that he zealously promoted the formation of Reading Societies in several places.—But I am rather of the opinion that Weisshaupt made those visits in order to keep Dr. Bahrdt within some bounds of decency, and to hinder him from hurting the cause by his precipitancy, when spurred on by the want of money. Weisshaupt could not work

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in fact an unskillful manner. But he would be very glad of such help as this coarse tool could give him—and Bahrdt gave great help; for, when he was imprisoned and his papers seized, his Archives, as he called them, showed that there were many Reading Societies which his project had drawn together. The Prussian States had above thirty, and the number of readers was astonishingly great—and it was found, that the pernicious books had really found their way into every hut. Bahrdt, by descending a step lower than Weisshaupt, has greatly increased the number of his pupils.

But, although I cannot consider the German Union as a formal revival of the Order under another name, I must hold those United and the members of those Reading Societies, as Illuminati 21X(1, Mhierva's, I must even consider the Union as a part of Spartacus' work. The plans of Weisshaupt were partly carried into effect in their different branches—they were

pointed out, and the way to carry them on are distinctly described in the private correspondence of the Order—It required little genius to attempt them in imitation, Bahrdt made the attempt, and in part succeeded.

Weillaupt's hopes were well founded—The leaven was not only distributed, but the management of the fermentation was now understood, and it went on apace*

It is to be remarked, that nothing was found among Bahrdt's papers to support the (ory he writes in his diary—no such correspondences— but enough for detecting many of these Societies. Many others however were found unconnected with Bahrdt's Ruhe, not of better character, either as to Morality or Loyalty, and some of them considerable and expensive; and many proofs were

found

2^6 THE GERMAN UNION; 6HAP. II

found of a combination to force the public to a certain way of thinking, by the management of the Reviews and Journals. The extensive dealings of Nicolai of Berlin gave him great weight in the book-making trade, which in Germany furrows all our conceptions. The catalogues of Jewish writings in libraries, which are printed twice a-year for each of the fairs at Leipzig and Frankfurt, would astonish a British reader by the number. The bookfellers meet there, and at one glance see the whole republic of literature, and, like Roman senators, decide the sentiments of distant provinces. By thus seeing the whole together their speculations are national, and they really have it in their power to give what turn they please to the literature and to the sentiments of Germany. Still however they must be induced by motives. The motive of a merchant is gain, and every object appears in his eye something by which money may be made. Therefore in a luxurious and voluptuous nation, licentious and freethinking books will abound. The writers flatter themselves and the bookfellers think how the thing will tickle. Yet it must not be inferred, from the prevalence of such books, that such is the common sense of mankind, and that the writings are not the corrupters, but the corrupted, or that they are what they ought to be, because they please the public. We need only push the matter to an extremity and its cause appears plain. Filthy prints will always create a greater crowd before the (shop window

than the finest performances of Wollett. Licentious books will be read with a fluttering eagerness, as long as they are not universally permitted and pitiable will be the fate of the nation when their number makes them familiar and no longer captivating.

But

But although it must be confessed that great encouragement was given to the sceptical, infidel, and licentious writings in Germany, we see that it was still necessary to practise seduction. The Religionist was made to exhibit some engaging exhibition of his faith. The Citizen must be told that his civil connexions are respected, and will be improved ; and all are told that good manners or virtue is to be supported. Man is supposed to be, in very essential circumstances, what he wishes to be, and feels he ought to be : and he is corrupted by means of falsehood and trick. The principles by which he is wheedled into wickedness in the first instance, are therefore such as are really addressed to the general sentiments of mankind : these therefore should be considered as more expressive of the public mind than those which he afterwards adopts, after this artificial education. Therefore Virtue, Patriotism, Loyalty, Veneration for true and undefiled Religion, are really acknowledged by those corrupters to be the prevailing sentiments ; and they are good if this prevalence is to be the test of worth. The mind that is otherwise affected by them, and hypocritically uses them in order to get hold of the uninitiated, that he may in time be made to cherish the contrary sentiments, cannot be a good mind, notwithstanding any pretensions it may make to the love of mankind.

No man, not Weistaupt himself, has made stronger professions of benevolence, of regard for the happiness of mankind, and of every thing that is amiable, than Dr. Bahrdt. It may not be useless to enquire what effect such principles have had on his own mind, and those of his chief coadjutors. Deceit of every kind is dishonourable ; and the deceit that is professedly employed in the pro

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ceedings of the Union is no exception. No pious fraud ^whatever mud be
ufed, and pure religion mud be prefented to the view without all difguife.

** The more fair Virtue's feen, the more '^\t charms. ** Safe, plain, and
eafy, are her artlefs ways. ** With face ereft, her eyes look ftrait before ; **
For dauntlefs is her march, her Hep fecure.

** Not fo, pale Fraud—now here fhe turns, now there,

** Still feeking darker fhades, fecure in none,

** Looks often back, and wheeling round and round,

** Sinks headlong in the danger (he would ftun.'*

The mean motive of the Protellant Sceptic is as inconftent with our
notions of honefty as with our notions of honour ; and our fufpicions are
juftly raifed of the character of Dr. Bahrtdt and his afrociates,even although
we do not fuppoze that their aim is the total aboliihing of religion. With
propriety therefore may we make fome enquiry about their lives and
conduct. Fortunately this is eafy in the prefent inftance. A man that has
turned every eye upon himfelf can hardly efcape obfervation. But it isnotfo
eafy to get fair information. The peculiar fituation of Dr. Bahrtdt, and the
caufe between him and the public, are of all others the moft productive of
millake, mifreprefentation, obloquy, and injuftice. But even here we are
fortunate. Many remarkable parts of his life are eftablifhed by the mod
refped:able teftimony, or by judicial evidences; and, to make all fure, he has
written his own life. I Ihall infert nothing here that is not made out by the
two laft modes of proof, reding nothing on the fird, however refpeftable the
evidence may be. But I mud obferve, that his life was alfo written, by his
dear friend Pott, the partner of Walther the bookfel

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ler. The flory of this publication is curious, and it is infrudtive.

Bahrtdt was in prifon, and in great poverty. He intended to write his own
life, to be printed by Wakher, under a iidlitious name, and in this work he

intended to indulge his spleen and his dislike of all those who had offended him, and in particular all priests, and rulers, and judges, who had given him so much trouble. He knew that the (range, and many of them scandalous anecdotes, with which he had so liberally interlarded many of his former publications, would let curiosity on tiptoe, and would procure a rapid sale as soon as the public should guess that it was his own performance, by the singular but significant name which the pretended author would assume. He had almost agreed with Walther for a thousand dahlers, (about L. 200), when he was imprisoned for being the author of the farce so often named, and of the commentary on the Religion Edict^l written by Pott, and for the proceedings of the German Union. He was refused the use of pen and ink. H# then applied to Pott, and found means to correspond with him, and to give him part of his life already written, and materials for the rest, consisting of stories, and anecdotes, and correspondence. Pott sent him several sheets, with which he was so pleased, that they concluded a bargain. Bahrtdt says, that Pott was to have 400 copies, and that the rest was to go to the maintenance of Bahrtdt and his family, consisting of his wife, daughter, a Christina and her children who lived with them, Sec, Pott gives a different account, and the truth was different from both, but of little consequence to us. Bahrtdt's papers had been seized, and searched for evidence of his transactions, but the first[<] attention was paid to the precise points of the

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2^o THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. ii^l.

charge, and do paper was abandoned which did not relate to these. All others were kept in a sealed room. Pott procured the removal of the seals and got possession of them. Bahrtdt says, that his wife and daughter came to him in prison, almost starving, and told him that now that the room was opened, Pott had made an offer to write for their support, if he had the use of these papers—that this was the conclusion of the bargain, and that Pott took away all the papers. N. B. Pott was the associate of Walther, who had great confidence in him (Anecdotenbuch für meinen kühnen Ajiitjbr'uder^l p, 400) and had conducted the business of Stark's book, as has been already mentioned. No man was better known to Bahrtdt, for they had long acted together as chief hands in the Union. He would therefore write the life of its

founder cort amore[^] and it might be expected to be a rare and tickling performance. And indeed it was. The first part of it only was published at this time ; and the narration reaches from the birth of the hero till his leaving Leipzig in 1768! The attention is kept fully awake, but the emotions which successively occupy the mind of the reader are nothing but strong degrees of aversion, disgust, and horror. The figure set up to view is a monster, a man of talents indeed, and capable of great things; but lost to truth, to virtue, and even to the attention of common decency—In flight, a (harmless profligate.—Poor Bahrtd was alienated,—(tired —but, having his wits about him, saw that this life would {^\\^ and would also sell another.— Without loss of time, he said that he would hold Pott to his bargain—but he reckoned without his host. " No, no," said Pott, " you are not the " man I took you for—your correspondence was " put into my hands— I saw that you had de

" received

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" received me, and it was my duty, as a man -who loves truth above all things[^] to hinder you from deceiving the world. I have not written the book you desired me. I did not write for you, but for myself—therefore you get not a grofchen.* " Why, Sir," said Bahrtd, we>" both know that this won't do. You and I have " ah'cadv tried it. You received Stark's manu" script, to be printed by Walther—Walther and " you Tent it hither to Michaelis, that I might see it during the printings I wrote an illustration and a key, which made the fellow very ridiculous, and they were printed together, with one title page.—You know that we were cast in court.—Walther was obliged to print the work " as Stark first ordered, and we lost all our la" hour.—So finally you now% for I will commence " an action this instant, and let me see with what " face you will defend yourself, w[^]ithin a few " weeks of your next appearance in court." Pott said, " You may try this. My w[^]ork is already sold, " and dispersed over all Germany—and I have " no objection to begin yours to-morrow—believe " me, it will sell." Bahrtd pondered—and resolved to write one himself.

This is another specimen of the Union, Dr. Carl Frederick Bahrtd was born in 1741. His father was then a parish minister, and afterwards Professor of

Theology at Leipzig, where he died[^] in 1775* The youth, when at College, enlisted in the Prussian service as a hussar, but was bought off by his father. He was M. A. in 1761. He became curate in his father's church, was a popular preacher, and published sermons in 1765, and some controversial writings, which did him honour—But he then began to indulge in conviviality, and in anonymous papers

nades,

242 THE GERMAN UNION, CHAP. III,

episodes, uncommonly bitter and offensive. No person was safe—Professors—Magistrates—Clergymen, had his chief notice—also students—and even comrades and friends. (Bahrtdt says, that these things might cut to the quick but they were all just.) Unluckily his temperament was what the atomical philosophers (who can explain every thing by atoms and vibrations) call sanguine. He therefore (his own word) was a passionate admirer of the ladies. Coming home from supper he frequently met a young Miss in the way to his lodgings, neatly dressed in a rose-coloured silk jacket and train, and a fine bonnet, softly, and like a lady. One evening (after some old Kenish, as he says,) he saw the lady home. Some time after, the mistress of the house, Madam Godschufly, came into his room, and said that the poor maiden was pregnant. He could not help that—but it was very unfortunate, and would ruin him if known.—He therefore gave the old lady a bond for 200 dollars

to be paid by instalments of twenty-five.

*' The girl was sensible, and good, and as he had ** already paid for it, and her conversation was "agreeable, he did not discontinue his acquaintance." A comrade one day told him, that one Bel, a magistrate, whom he had lampooned, knew the affair, and would bring it into court, unless he immediately retrieved the bond. This bond was the only evidence, but it was enough. Neither Bahrtdt nor his friend could raise the money. But they fell on another contrivance. They got Madam Godschufly to meet them at another house, in order to receive the money. Bahrtdt was in a closet, and his comrade wore a sword. The woman could not be prevailed on to produce

the bond till Balirdt (hould arrive, and the money be put into her hands, with aprefcnt to herfelf. The

comrade

•HAP. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. 24J

comrade tried to flutter her, and, drawing his sword, (hewed her how men fenced—made pafies at the wall—and then at her—but (he was too firm—he then threw away his sword, and began to try to force the paper from her. She defended herfelf a good while, but at length he got the paper out of her pocket, tore it in pieces, opened the

clofet door, and laid, " There you b , there

" is the honourable fellow whom you and your *' wh— have bullied—but it is with me you have " to do now, and you know that I can bring you " to the gallows.*' There was a great ftquabble to be fure, fays Bahrtdt, but it ended, and I thought all was now over.—But Mr. Bel had got word of it, and brought It into court the very day.that Bahrtdt was to have made fome very reverend appearance at church. In (liort, after many attempts of his poor father to fave him, he was obliged to fend in his gown and band, and to quit the place. It was fome comfort, how^ever, that Madam Godichuiky and the young Mifs did not fare much better. They were both imprifoned. Madam G. died lometime after of Ibme (liocking difeafe. The court records give a very different account of the v/hole, and particularly of the fciffle; bfeit Bahrtdt's ftory is enough.

Bahrtdt fays, that his father was fevere—but acknowviedges that his own temperament was hafty, (why does not his father's temperament excufe fomethig? Vibratiuncula will explain everything or nothing. " therefore (again) I fometimes forgot myfelf. One day I laid a loaded piftol on the table, and toid him that he (hould meet with that if he went on fo. But I was only feventeen."

Dr. Bahrtdt was, of courfe, obliged to leave the place. His friends, and Semler in particular, 2iVi eminent theological writer, who had formed a very

favourable

^44 "^^E GERMAN UNION. CHAP. HI,

favourable opinion of his uncommon talents, were aitiidiiious in their endeavours to get an edabiifhniient for him. But his high opinion of himfeif, his temper, impetuous, precipiianf.and overbearing, and a bitter fatirical habit which he had freely induded in his oulfet of life, m.ade their endeavours very inetfedual.

x^t lad he got a profefforfhip at Erlangen, then at Erfurth, and in 1771, at Gieffen. But in all thefe places he was no fooner fettled than he got into difputes v;nth his colleagues and with the eflablifhed church, being a llrenuous partizan of the innovations which were attempted to be made in the doctrines of chriftianity. In his anonymous publications, he did not truff to rational difcuiTion alone, but had recourfe to ridicule and perfonal anecdotes, and indulged in the mod cutting farcafms and grofs fcurrility. Being fond of convivial company, his income was infuSicient for the craving demand, and as foon as he found that anecdote and flander always procured readers, he never ceafed writing. He had wonderful readinefs and adivity, and fpared neither friends nor foes in his anonymous performances. But this could not lad, and his avowed theological writings were fuch as could not be fuffered in a Profelfor of Divinity. The very dudents at Gieden were (hocked with fome of his liberties. After much wrangihig in the church judicatories he was jud going to be difmided, when he got an invitation to Marfchlins in Switzerland to fuperintend an academy. He went thither about the year 1776, and formed the feminary after the model of Bafedow's Philanthropine, or academy, at Dedau, of which I have already given fome account. It had acquired fome celebrity, and the plan was peculiarly fuiied to Bahrdt's tade, becaufe it left him at liberty to introduce any fydeai of religious or irreligious

opinions

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^HAP, ill; THE GERMAN UNION. 245

opinions that he pleaded. He resolved to avail himself of this liberty[^] and though a clergyman and Doctor of Theology[^], he would outstrip even Bafedovv, who had no ecclesiastical orders to restrain him. But he wanted the moderation, the prudence and the principle of Bafedow. He had, by this time, formed his opinion of mankind, by meditating on the feelings of his own mind. His theory of human nature was simple—"The leading propensities, says he, of the human mind are three—Instinctive liberty (Freyheitstriebe)—instinctive activity (Triebe

für Thätigkeit) and instinctive love (Liebes

triebe)." I do not wish to misunderstand him, but I can give no other translation.—[^] If a man is obstructed in the exercise of any of these propensities he suffers an injury.—The business of a good education therefore is to teach us how they are to be enjoyed in the highest degree." We need not be surprised although the Doctor should find it difficult to manage the Cyclopaedia in his Philanthropic in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the neighbourhood, which was habituated to very different sentiments,—Accordingly he found his situation as uncomfortable as at Gießen. He says, in one of his latest performances, that the Grifons were a strong instance of the immense importance of education. They knew: nothing but their handicrafts, and their minds were as coarse as their persons." He quarrelled with them all, and was obliged to abscond after lying sometime in arrest.

He came to Durkheim or Turkheim, where his father was or had been minister. His literary talents were well known»—After some little time he got an association formed for erecting and supporting a Philanthropic or house of education. A large fund was collected, and he was enabled to

2 H travel

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travel into Holland and England, to engage pupils[^] and was furnished with proper recommendations.—On his return the plan was carried into execution. The castle or residence of Count Leining Hartzburgh, at Heidelberg, having gardens, park, and every handsome accommodation,

had been fitted up for it, and it was consecrated by a solemn religious festival in 1778.

But his old misfortunes pursued him. He had indeed no colleagues to quarrel with, but his avowed publications became every day more obnoxious—and when any of his anonymous pieces had a great run, he could not stifle his vanity and conceal the author's name. Of these pieces, some were even (looking to decency. It was indifferent to him whether it was friend or foe that he abused ; and some of them were so horribly injurious to the characters of the most respectable men in the (late, that he was continually under the correction of the courts of justice. There was hardly a man of letters that had ever been in his company who did not suffer by it. For his constant practice was to father every new slip that he took towards Atheism on some other person ; and, whenever the reader sees, in the beginning of a book, any person celebrated by the author for sound sense, profound judgment, accurate reasoning, or praised for acts of friendship and kindness to himself, he may be allured that, before the close of the book, this man will convince Dr, Bahrdt in some private conversation, that some doctrine, cherished and venerated by all Christians, is a piece of knavish superstition. So lost was Dr. Bahrdt to all sense of shame. He said that he held his own opinions independent of all mankind, and was indifferent about their praise or

their reproach.

Bahrdt's

CHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. 24

Bahrdt's licentious, very licentious life, was the cause of most of these enormities. No income could suffice and he wrote for bread. "The artful manner in which the literary manufacture of Germany was conducted, made it impossible to hinder the rapid diffusion of his writings over all Germany ; and the indelicate and coarse maw of the public was as ravenous as the sensuality of Ur, Bahrdt, who really fattened in the Epicurean fly. The consequence of all this was that he was obliged to fly from Reidefneim, leaving his creditors in the lurch to pay about 14,000 dahlers, besides debts without number to his friends. He was imprisoned at

Dienheim., but was released I know not how, and settled at Halle. There he went to be a keeper of a tavern and billiard-table, and his house became the resort and the bane of the (Indents in the University,—He was obliged therefore to leave the city. He had somehow got funds which enabled him to buy a little vineyard, prettily situated in the neighbourhood. This he fitted up with every accommodation that could invite the students, and called it Bahrdts Ruhe, We have already seen the occupations of Dr. B. in this Buen Retiro—Can we call it otium cum dignitate? Alas, no! He had not lived two years here, bustling and toiling for the German Union, sometimes without a bit of bread—when he was sent to prison at Halle, and then to Magdeburg, where he was more than a year in jail. He was set at liberty, and returned to Bahrdts Ruhe^ not, alas, to live at ease, but to lie down on a sick-bed, where, after more than a year's suffering increasing pain, he died on the 23d of April 1793, the most wretched and loathsome victim of unbridled sensuality. The account of his case is written by a friend, a Dr. Jung, who professes to defend his

memory

248 THE GERMAN UNION, CHAP. II

memory and his principles. The medical description melted my heart, and I am certain would make his bitterest enemy weep. Jung repeatedly says, that the case was not venereal—calls it the vineyard disease—the quicksilver disease, (he was dying of an unconquerable salivation,) and yet, through the whole of his narration, relates symptoms and sufferings, which, as a medical man, he could not possibly mean to be taken in any other sense than as effects of pox. He meant to please the enemies of poor Bahrdt, knowing that such a man could have no friends, and being himself ignorant of what friendship or goodness is. The fate of this poor creature affected me more than any thing I have read of a great while. All his open enemies put together have not said so much ill of him as his trusted friend Pott, and another confidant, whose name I cannot recollect, who published in his lifetime an anonymous book called Bahrdt with the Iron Brow—^and this fellow/ Jung, under the absurd mask of friendship, exhibited the loathsome case for a florin, like a malefactor's at Surgeon's Hall, Such were the fruits of the German Union, of that Illumination that was to refine the heart

of man, and bring to maturity the seeds of native virtue, which are choked in the hearts of other men by superfrition and despotism. We see nothing but mutual treachery and base desertion,

I do not concern myself with the gradual perversion of Dr. Bahrdt's moral and religious opinions. But he affected to be the enlightener and reformer of mankind; and affirmed that all the mischiefs in life originated from despotism supported by superstition. "In vain," says he, "do we complain of the inefficacy of religion. All positive religion is founded on injustice. No

" Prince

CHAF. III. THE GERMAN UNION, 249

" Prince has a right to prescribe or facilitate any such system. Nor would he do it, were not the priests the firm pillars of his tyranny, and superstition the iron fetters for his subjects. He dares not know Religion as (he is — pure and undefiled — She would charade the eyes and the hearts of mankind, would immediately produce true morality, would open the eyes of freeborn man, would teach him what are his rights, and who are his oppressors, and Princes would vanish from the face of the earth."

Therefore, without troubling ourselves with the truth or falsehood of his religion of Nature, and assuming it as an indisputable point, that Dr. Bahrdt has seen it in this natural and free purity, it is surely a very pertinent question, "Whether has the light produced on his mind an effect so far superior to the acknowledged faintness of the impression of Christianity on the bulk of mankind, that it will be prudent to adopt the plan of the German Union, and at once put an end to the divisions which so unfortunately alienate the minds of professed Christians from each other?" The account here given of Dr. Bahrdt's life seems to decide the question.

But it will be said, that I have only related so many instances of the quarrels of Priests and their faithful adherents, with Dr. Bahrdt. Let us view him in his ordinary conduct, not as the champion and martyr of Illumination, but as an

ordinary citizen, a husband, a father, a friend, a teacher of youth, a clergyman.

When Dr. Bahrdt was a parish-minister, and president of some inferior ecclesiastical district, he was empowered to take off the censures of the church

from

250 THE GERMAN UNION?. 6HAP. III,

from a young woman who had born a bastard child. By violence he again reduced her to the same condition, and escaped censure, by the poor girl's dying of a fever before her pregnancy was far advanced, or even legally documented. Also, on the night of the solemn farce of consecrating his Philanthropine, he debauched the maid-servant, who bore twins, and gave him up for the father. The thing, I presume, was not judicially proved, otherwise he would have surely been disgraced; but it was afterwards made evident, by the letters which were found by Pott, when he undertook to write his life. A series of these letters had passed between him and one Graf, a steward, who was employed by him to give the woman the small pittance by which {he and the infants were maintained. Remonstrances were made when the money was not advanced; and there are particularly letters about the end of 1779, which show that Bahrdt had ceased giving any thing. On the 10th of February 1780, the infants (three years old) were taken away in the night, and were found exposed, the one at Uffheim, and the other at Worms, many miles distant from each other, and almost frozen to death. The first was discovered by its moans, by a stonemason in a field by the roadside, about six in the morning; the other was found by two girls between the hedges in a lane, set between two great stones, pale all crying. The poor mother travelled up and down the country in quest of her infants, and hearing these accounts, found them both, and took one of them home; but not being able to maintain both, when Bahrdt's commissioner refused contributing any more, it remained with the good woman who had taken it in."

* This is worse than Rousteau's conduct, who only sent his children to the Foundling hospital, that he might never know them again. (See his

Confessions,)

Bahrtdt

CHAPTER. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. ^^^

Bahrtdt was married in 1772, while at Gießen; but after losing the greater part of his wife's little fortune left her by a former husband, he was provoked by losing 1000 florins (about £100) in the hands of her brother who would not pay it up. After this he used her very ill, and speaks very contemptuously of her in his own account of his life, calling her a dowdy, jealous, and every thing contemptible. In two infamous novels, he exhibits characters, in which she is represented in a most cruel manner; yet this woman (perhaps during the honey-moon) was enticed by him one day into the bath, in the pond of the garden of the Pöhlenthal near Hiesfeld, and there, in the sight of all the pupils did he (also undressed) toy with his naked wife in the water. When at Halle, he used the poor woman extremely ill, keeping a mistress in the house, and giving her the whole command of the family, while the wife and daughter were confined to a separate part of it. When in prison at Magdeburgh, the pimp lived with him, and bore him two children. -He brought them all to his house when he was at liberty. Such barbarous usage made the poor woman at last leave him and live with her brother, his daughter died about a year before him, of an overdose of laudanum given by her father, to procure sleep, when ill of a fever. He ended his own wretched life in the same manner, unable, poor man, to bear his misfortunes, without the smallest compunction or remorse for his conduct; and the last thing he did was to send for a bookseller, (Vopink of Halle, who had published some of his vile pieces,) and recommend his pimp and her children to his protection, without one thought of his injured wife.

I shall end my account of this profligate monster with a specimen of his way of using his friends.

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THE GERMAN UNION.

CHAP. iiL^

" Of all the acquiitions which I made in England, Mr. — — (the name appears at full length) was the most important. This person was accomplished in the highest degree. With sound judgment, great genius, and correct taste, he was perfectly a man of the world. He was my friend, and the only person who warmly interested himself for my institution. To his warm and repeated recommendations I owe all the pupils I got in England, and many most respectable connections; for he was universally esteemed as a man of learning and of the most unblemished worth. He was my friend, my conductor, and I may say my preserver; for when I had not bread for two days, he took me to his house, and supplied all my wants. This gentleman was a clergyman, and had a small but genteel and well-ordered congregation, a flock which required strong food. My friend preached to them pure natural religion, and was beloved by them. His sermons were excellent, and delivered with native energy and grace, because they came from the heart. I had once the honour of preaching for him. But what a difference—I found myself afraid—I feared to speak too boldly, because I did not know where I was, and thought myself speaking to my crouching countrymen. But the liberty of England opens every heart, and makes it accessible to morality. I can give a very remarkable instance. * The women of the town in London do not, to be sure, meet with my unqualified approbation in all respects. But it is impossible not to be struck with the propriety and decency of their manners, so unlike the clownish impudence of our German Wh— . I could not distinguish them from modest women, otherwise than by their greater attention and eagerness to (leave me civility. My friend

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e.HAP. iii; the German union. 253

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used to laugh at my mistakes, and I could not believe him when he told me that the lady who had kindly showed the way to me, a foreigner, was a votary of Venus. He maintained that English liberty naturally produced morality and kindness. I still doubted, and he said that he would convince me by my own experience. These girls are to be seen in crowds every evening in every quarter of the town. Although some of them may not have even a flirt, they come out in the evening dressed like princesses, in hired clothes, which are entrusted to them without any fear of their making off with them. Their fine shape, their beautiful skin, and dark brown hair, their bosoms, so prettily set off by their black silk dresses, and above all, the gentle sweetness of their manners, makes an impression in the highest degree favourable to them. They civilly offer their arm and say, "My dear, will you give me a glass of wine." If you give them no encouragement, they pass on, and give no farther trouble, I went with my friend to Covent Garden, and after admiring the innumerable beauties we saw in the piazzas, we gave our arm to three very agreeable girls, and immediately turned into a temple of the Cytherean Goddesses, which is to be found at every second door in the city, and were shewn into a parlour elegantly carpeted and furnished, and lighted with wax, with every other accommodation at hand.— My friend called for a pint of wine, and this was all the expence for which we received so much civility. The conversation and other behaviour of the ladies was agreeable in the highest degree, and not a circumstance recalled that would have distinguished them from nuns, or that was not in the highest degree mannerly and elegant. We parted in the street—and such is the liberty of England, that

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2^^ THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. VI.

" my friend ran not the smallest risk of suffering either in his honour or usefulness.—Such is the effect of freedom."

We may be sure, the poor man was astonished when he saw his name before the public as one of the enlighteners of Christian Europe. He is really a man of worth, and of the most irreproachable character, and knew that whatever might be the protection of British liberty, such conduct would ruin him with his own hearers, and in the minds of all his respectable countrymen. He therefore sent a vindication of his character from this slanderous abuse to the publishers of the principal newspapers and literary journals in Germany. The vindication is complete, and B. is convicted of having related what he could not possibly have seen, It is worthy of remark, that the vindication did not appear in the Berlin Monatsschrift[^] nor in any of the journals which made favorable mention of the performances of the Enlighteners.

** Think not, indignant reader,[^] says Arbuthnot, " that this man's life is useless to mortals." It shines in a strong light the falsity of all his declamations in favour of his so much praised natural religion and universal kindness and humanity. No man of the party writes with more persuasive energy, and, though his petulance and precipitant self-conceit lead him frequently astray, no man has occasionally put all the arguments of these philosophers in a clearer light ; yet we see that all is false and hollow. He is a vile hypocrite, and the real aim of all his writings is to make money, by fomenting the sensual propensities of human nature, although he sees and feels that the completion of the plan of the German Union would be an event more destructive and lamentable than any that can be pointed out in the annals of 111 perdition. I will not say that all partisans

of

CUAF. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. 255

of illumination are hogs of the type of Epicurus like this wretch. But the reader must acknowledge that, in the institution of Weisshaupt, there is the same train of sensual indulgence laid along the whole, and that purity of heart and life is no part of the morality that is held forth as the perfection of

human nature. The final abolition of Christianity is undoubtedly one of its objects—whether as an end of their efforts, or as a mean for the attainment of some end still more important. Purity of heart is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Christian morality. Of this Dr. Bahrdt seems to have had no conception; and his institution, as well as his writings, shew him to have been a very coarse sensualist. But his taste, though coarse, accorded with what Weisshaupt considered as a ruling propensity, by which he had the best chance of securing the fidelity of his subjects.—Craving desires, beyond the bonds of our means, were the natural consequences of indulgence; and since the purity of Christian morality stood in his way, his first care was to clear the road by rooting it out altogether—What can follow but general dissoluteness of manners?

Nothing can more distinctly prove the crooked politics of the Reformers than this. It may be considered as the main-spring of their whole machine. Their pupils were to be led by means of their sensual appetites, and the aim of their conductors was not to inform them, but merely to lead them; not to reform, but to rule the world,—They would reign, though in hell, rather than serve in heaven.—Dr. Bahrdt was a true Apostle of Illuminatism; and though his torch was made of the grossest materials, and "served only to discover" cover fights of woe," the horrid glare darted into every corner, rousing hundreds of filthy vermin, and directing their flight to the rotten car-

riage

riage where they could best deposit their poison and their eggs; in the breasts, to wit, of the sensual and profligate, there to be sown and buried forth in a new and filthy progeny; and it is astonishing what numbers were thus roused into action. The scheme of Reading Societies had taken prodigiously, and became a very profitable part of the literary trade of Germany. The booksellers and writers soon perceived its importance, and acted in concert.

I might fill a volume with extracts from the criticisms which were published on the Religion Edited so often mentioned already. The Leipzig catalogue for one year contained 173. Although it concerned the Prussian States alone, these appeared in every corner of Germany; nay, also in Holland, in Flanders, in Hungary, in Switzerland, in Courland, and in Livonia. This shews it to have been the operation of an Associated Band, as was intimated

to the King, with so much petulance by Mirabeau. There was (pail all doubt) such a combination among the innumerable scribblers who supplied the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfurt. Mirabeau calls it a Conjunction des Philopkes^ an expression very clear to himself, for the myriads of garrulous who have long fed the craving mouth of Paris (" always thirsting after some ^' new thing") called themselves philosophers, and, like the gangs of St. Giles's, conferred with each other in a cant of their own, full of morale^ of energie^ of bienveillance^ &c. &c. c^c, unintelligible or misunderstood by other men, and used for the purpose of deceit. While Mirabeau lived too, they formed a Conjunction, The 14th of July 1790, the most solemn invocation of the Divine pretence ever made on the face of this earth, put an end to the propriety of this appellation; for it

became

eHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. *X^J

became necessary (in the progress of political Illumination) to declare that oaths were nonense, because the invoked was a creature of the imagination

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nation, and the grand federation, like VVeiliiapt and Bahrdt's Masonic Christianity, is declared, to those initiated into the higher mysteries, to be a lie. But if we have no longer a Conjunction des Philosophes^ we have a gang of scribblers that has got possession of the public mind by their management of the literary Journals of Germany, and have made licentious sentiments in politics, in morals, and in religion, as familiar as were formerly the articles of ordinary news. All the sceptical writings of England put together will not make half the number that have appeared in Protestant Germany during the last twelve or fifteen years. And, in the Criticisms on the Edict, it is hard to say whether infidelity or disloyalty fills the most pages.

To such a degree had the Illuminati carried this favourite and important point that they obtained the direction even of those whose office it was to prevent it. There is at Vienna, as at Berlin, an office for examining and licensing writings before they can have their course in the market. This office publishes annually an index of forbidden books. In this index are

included the account of the late Operations of Spartacus and Philo in the Order of Illuminati^ and a dissertation on The Final Overthrow of Free Masonry^ a most excellent performance, flowing the gradual corruption and final perversion of that society to a summary of sedition. Also the Vienna Magazine of Literature and Arts^ which contains many accounts of the interferences of the Illuminati in the disturbances of Europe. The Censor who occasioned this prohibition was an Illuminatus named Retzer.

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25^ THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP, lli,

He makes a most pitiful and jejune defence, flowing himself completely variant in ^11 the chicanery of the Illuminati^ and devoted to their Infidel principles. (See Rel, Begebenh, 1795, p.

493')

There are two performances which give us

much information respecting the state of moral and political opinions in Germany about this time. One of them is called, Proofs of a hidden Combination to destroy the Freedom of Thought and Printing in Germany, These proofs are general, taken from many concurring circumstances in the condition of German literature. They are convincing to a thinking mind, but are too abstracted to be very impressive on ordinary readers. The other is the Appeal to my Country^ which I mentioned in page 84. This is much more striking, and in each branch of literature, gives a progressive account of the changes of sentiment, amply supported by the evidence of the books themselves. The author puts it past contradiction, that in every species of literary composition into which it was possible, without palpable absurdity, to introduce licentious and seditious principles, it was done. Many romances, novels, journeys through Germany and other countries*, are written in ^vix purpose to attach praise or reproach to certain sentiments, characters, and pieces of conduct. The Prince, the nobleman, is made despotic, oppressive, unfeeling or ridiculous—the poor, and the man of talents, are unfortunate indeed. neglected—and here and there a seditious Graf><)r Baron is

* A plan adopted within these few years in our own country, which, if prosecuted with the same industry with which it has been begun, will soon render our circulating Libraries for many Nurseries of Sedition and Impiety. (See Travels into Germany by Efte.)

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CHAP. iii. THE GERMAN UNION. 2^g

made a divinity, by philanthropy expressed in romantic charity and kindness, or callous indifference for the little honours which are so precious in the eyes of a German.—In short, the system of Weisheit and Knigge is carried into vigorous effect over all. In both these performances, and indeed in a vast number of other pieces, I see that the influence of Nicholai is much commented on, and considered as having had the chief hand in all those innovations.

Thus I think it clearly appears, that the suppression of the Illuminati in Bavaria and of the Union in Brandenburg, were insufficient for removing the evils which they had introduced. The Elector of Bavaria was obliged to issue another proclamation in November 1790, warning his subjects of their repeated machinations, and particularly enjoining the magistrates to observe carefully the assemblies in the Reading Societies, which were multiplying in his States. A similar proclamation was made and repeated by the Regency of Hanover, and it was on this occasion that Mauvillon impudently avowed the most anarchical opinions.—But Weisheit and his agents were still busy and successful. The habit of plotting had formed itself into a regular system. Societies now existed every where in secret, in correspondence with similar societies in other places. And thus a mode of co-operation was furnished to the discontented, the rebels, and the unprincipled in all places, without even the trouble of formal initiations, and without any external appearances by which the exigence and occupations of the members could be distinguished. The hydra's teeth were already grown, and each grew up, independent of the rest, and soon sent out its own offsets.—In all places where such secret practices

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were going on, there did not fail to appear some individuals of more than common zeal and activity, who took the lead, each in his own circle. This gave a consistency and unity to the operations of the rest, and they, encouraged by this cooperation, could now attempt things which they would not otherwise have ventured on. It is not till this state of things obtains, that this influence becomes sensible to the public. Philo, in his public declaration, unwarily lets this appear. Speaking of the numerous little societies in which their principles were cultivated, he says, "we thus begin to be formidable."* It may now alarm—but it is now too late. The same germ is now sprouting in another place.

I must not forget to take notice that about this time (1787 or 1788,) there appeared an invitation

from a Baron or Prince S , Governor of the

Dutch provinces H , before the troubles in Holland, to form a society for the Protection of Princes, —The plan is expressed in very enigmatical terms, but such as plainly shew it to be merely an odd title, to catch the public eye ; for the Association is of the same seditious kind with all those already spoken of, viz. professing to enlighten the minds of men, and making them imagine that all their hardships proceed from superstition, which subjects them to useless and crafty priests; and from their own indolence and want of patriotism, which make them submit to the mal-administration of ministers. The Sovereign is supposed to be innocent, but to be a cypher, and every magistrate, who is not chosen by the people actually under him, is held to be a despot, and is to be bound hand and foot.—Many circumstances concur to prove that the projector of this insidious plan is the Prince of Salms, who has confidently fomented all the disturbances in the Dutch and Austrian Netherlands.

CHAP. III. THE GERMANY UNION. 101

lands. He had, before this time, taken into his service Zwack, the Gato of the Illuminati. The project had gone some length when it was discovered and suppressed by the States.

Zimmerman, who had been President of the Illuminati in Manheim, was also a most active person in propagating their doctrines in other countries. He was employed as a missionary, and erected some Lodges even in Rome—also at Neufchatel—and in Hungary. He was frequently seen in the latter place by a gentleman of my acquaintance, and preached up all the ostensible doctrines of Illuminatism in the most public manner, and made many proselytes. But when it was discovered that the real and fundamental doctrines were different from those which he professed in order to draw in proselytes, Zimmerman left the country in haste.—Some time after this he was arrested in Prussia for seditious harangues—but he escaped, and has not been heard of since.—When he was in Hungary he boasted of having erected above an hundred Lodges in different parts of Europe, some of which were in England,

That the Illuminati and other hidden Co-mo-political societies had some influence in bringing about the French Revolution, or at least in accelerating it, can hardly be doubted. In reading the secret correspondence, I was always surprised at not finding any reports from France, and something like a hesitation about establishing a militia there; nor am I yet able thoroughly to account for it. But there is abundant evidence—that they interfered, both in preparing for it in the same manner as in Germany, and in accelerating its progress. Some letters in the

% K Brunwick

262 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. iiL

Brunwick Journal from one Campe[^] who was an inspector of the seminaries of education, a man of talents, and an Illuminatus[^] put it beyond doubt. He was residing in Paris during its first movements, and gives a minute account of them, lamenting their excesses, on account of their imprudence, and the risk of shocking the nation, and thus destroying the project, but justifying the motives, on the true principles of Co-mo-politism. The Vienna Zeitschrift and the Magazine of Literature and Fine Arts for

1790, and other pamphlets of that date, say the same thing in a clearer manner. I shall lay together some passages from such as I have met with, which I think will show beyond all possibility of doubt that the Illuminati took an active part in the whole transaction, and may be said to have been its chief contrivers. I shall premise a few observations, which will give a clearer view of the matter.

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CHAP. IV.

The French Revolution,

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URING these divisions and contents, and this general fermentation of the public mind in Germany, political occurrences in France gave exercise and full scope for the operation of that spirit of revolt which had long growled in secret in the different corners of that great empire. The Comopolitical and sceptical opinions and sentiments so much cultivated in all the Lodges of the Phila' lethes had by this time been openly professed by many of the sages of France, and artfully interwoven with their flatifical economics* The many contentions between the King and the Parliament of Paris about the registration of his edicts, had given occasion to much discussion, and had made the public familiarly acquainted with topics altogether unfavourable to the absolute monarchy of France.

This acquaintance with the natural expectations of the subject, and the expediency of a candid attention on the part of Government to these expectations, and a view of Legislation and Government founded on a very liberal interpretation of all these things, was prodigiously promoted by the rash interference of France in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies. In this attempt to ruin Britain, even the court of France was obliged to preach the doctrines of Liberty, and to take its chance that Frenchman would consent to be the only slaves. But their officers and soldiers, who returned from America, imported the American principles, and in every company found hearers who listened with delight and regret to their fascinating tale of American

independence*

independence. During the war, the Minister, who had too confidently pledged himself for the destruction of Britain, was obliged to allow the Parisians to amuse themselves with theatrical entertainments, where English law was represented as oppression, and every fretful extravagance of the Americans was applauded as a noble struggle for native freedom. All were delighted for a taste of that liberty and equality which they were allowed to applaud on the stage; but as soon as they came from the theatre into the street, they found themselves under all their former restraints. The sweet charm had found its way into their hearts, and all the luxuries of France became as dull as common life does to a fond girl when she lays down her novel.

in this irritable state of mind a spark was sufficient for kindling a flame. To import this dangerous delicacy of American growth, France had expended many millions, and was drowned in debts. The mad prodigality of the Royal Family and the Court had drained the treasury, and foreclosed every livre of the revenue. The edicts for new taxes and forced loans were most unwelcome and oppressive.

The Avocats au parlement had nothing to do with state-affairs, being very little more than barristers in the highest court of justice; and the highest claim of the Presidents of this court was to be a sort of humble counsellors to the King in common matters. It was a very strange inconsistency in that ingenious nation to permit such people to touch on those state subjects; for, in France, the King of France was an absolute Monarch, and the subjects were slaves. This is the result of all their painful research, notwithstanding that glimmerings of natural justice and of freedom are to be met with in their records. There could not be found in their history so much as a tolerable account of the manner of

calling

^HAP. IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 161

calling the nation together, to learn from the people how their chains would be: please their fancy. But still this was against nature, and it was necessary

that it should come to an end, the first time that the monarch confessed that he could not do every thing unless they put the tools into his hands. As things were approaching gradually but rapidly to this condition, the impertinent interference (for for a Frenchman, subject of the Grand Monarch, might think it) of the advocates of the Parliament of Paris was popular in the highest degree ; and it must be confessed, that in general it was patriotic, however inconsistent with the constitution. They felt themselves pleading the cause of humanity and natural justice. This would embolden honest and worthy men to speak truth, however unwelcome to the court. In general, it must also be granted that they spoke with caution and with respect to the sovereign powers ; and they had frequently the pleasure of being the means of mitigating the burdens of the people. The Parliament of Paris, by this conduct, came to be, looked up to as a sort of mediator between the King and his subjects; and as the advocates saw this, they naturally rose in their own estimation far above the rank in which the constitution of their government had placed them. For it must always be kept in mind, that the robe was never considered as the dress of a Nobleman, although the staff was. An advocate was merely not a roturier ; and though we can hardly conceive a profession more truly honourable than the dispensing of distributive justice, nor any rank more congenial to a rational mind than that of the practical morality which was, in theory, considered as the light by which they are always conducted ; and although even the artificial constitution of France had long been obliged to bow to the dictates of nature and humanity, and confer nobility, and even

title.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. PART I.

title, on such of the professors of the municipal law as had, by their skill and their honourable character, risen to the first offices of their profession, yet the Noblesse de la Robe never could incorporate with the Noblesse du Sang, nor even with the Noblesse de l'Epee. The descendants of a Marquis de la Robe never could rise to certain dignities in the church and at court. The advocates de la parlement felt this, and smarted under the exclusion from court honours ; and though they eagerly courted such nobility as they could attain, they seldom omitted any opportunity that occurred during their junior

practice, of exposing the arrogance of the Nobles, and the dominion of the court. This increased their popularity, and in the present situation of things, being certain of support, they went beyond their former cautious bounds, and introduced in their pleadings, and particularly in their joint remonstrances against the registration of edicts, all the wiredrawn morality, and common-political jurisprudence, which they had so often rehearsed in the Lodges, and which had of late been openly preached by the economists and philosophers.

A signal was given to the nation for engaging "the masses" in political difficulties. The Notables were called upon to come and advise the King; and the points were laid before them, in which his Majesty, (infallible till now) acknowledged his ignorance or his doubts. But where were the Notables? Were they more knowing than the King, or less in need of instruction? The nation thought otherwise; nay, the court thought otherwise; for in some of the royal proclamations on this occasion, men of letters were invited to assist; with their counsels, and to give what information their reading and experience should suggest as to the best method of convoking the States General, and of conducting their deliberations. When a Minister thus

solicits

CHAPTER IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION begins.

solicits advice from all the world how to govern, he modestly declares his own incapacity, and tells the people that now they must govern themselves. This however was done, and the Minister, the Philosopher and Philanthropist of Geneva, set the example, by sending in his opinion, to be laid on the council-table with the rest. On this signal, counsel poured in from every garret, and the prelates groaned with advice in every street. Ponderous volumes were written for the Bishop or the Duke; a handsome 8vo for the Noble Officer of eighteen; pamphlets and single sheets for the loungers in the Palais Royal, The fermentation was astonishing; but it was no more than should have been expected from the most cultivated, the most ingenious, and the most civilized nation on earth. All wrote, and all read. Not contented with bringing forth all the fruits which the illumination of their bright days of reason had raised in such abundance in the conservatories of the Academies and which had been

gathered from the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Koulieau, Tlajnah &c. the patriotic counfellors of the Notables had ranfacked all the writings of former ages. They difcovered THAT France had alv/ays been free ! One would have thought, that they had travelled with Sir John Mandeviile in that country v^^here even the fpeeches of former times had been frozen, and were now thawing apace under the beams of the fun of Reafon. For maiiv of thefe eilavs v/ere as incongruous and mai a-propos as the broken fen* tences recorded by Mr. Addifon in the Spectator. A gentleman who was in Paris at this time, a perfon of great judgment, and well informed in every thing reipeding the conftitutlon and prefent condition of his country, aiTured me that this in vitationj followed by the memorial of Mr. Neckar,

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operated like an electrical (liock. In the courfe of four or five days, the appearance of Paris was completely changed. Every where one faw crowds ftaring at papers palled on the walls — breaking into little parties — walking up and down the ftreets in eager converiation — adjourning to coffee-houfes — and the converfation in all companies turned to politics alone ; and in all thefe converfations a new vocabulary, where every fecond word was Morality, Philanthropy, Toleration, Freedom^ and Equalifation of property. Even at this early period perfons were liftened to without cenfure, or even furprife, who faid that it v/as nonfenfe to think of reforming their government, and that it muft be completely changed. In ihort, in the courfe of a month, a fpirit of licentioufnefs and a rage for innovation had completely pervaded the minds of the Pariflans. The moil confpicuous proof of this was the unexpected fate of the Parliament. It met earlier than ufual, and to give greater eclat to its patriotic efforts, and completely to fecure the gratitude of the people, it iTued an arret on the prefent ft ate of the nation, containing a number of refolutions on the different leading points of na= tional liberty. A few months ago thefe would have been joyfully received as the Magna Charts of Freedom, and really contained all that a wife people Pnould defire; but becaufe the Parliament had fometime before given it as their opinion as the conftitutional counfel of the Crown, that the States fnoouldbe convoked on the principles of their iaft meeting in 1614, which preferved the diftinctionsof rank, all their pad fervices were forgotten • — all thleir hard ilruggle with the former adrainiftration, and their unconquerable

courage and perseverance, which ended only with their downfall, all were forgotten ; and those distinguished

members

members whose zeal and sufferings ranked them with the most renewed heroes and martyrs of patriotism, were now regarded as the contemptible tools of Aristocracy. The Parliament now let, in a fiery troubled (ley—to rile no more.

Of all the barristers in the Parliament of Paris, the most conspicuous for the display of the enchanting doctrines of Liberty and Equality was Mr. Duval, son of an Avocat in the highest court, and ennobled about this time under the name of Despremier. He was member of a Lodge of the ^{^w/V} Reunis at Paris, called the Contract Social[^] and of the Lodge of Chevaliers Bienfaiteurs at Lyons. His reputation as a barrister had been prodigiously increased about this time by his management of a cause, where the defendant of the unfortunate General Lally, after having obtained the restoration of the family honours, was striving to get back some of the estates. Mr. Lally Tollendahl had even trained himself to the profession, and pleaded his own cause with astonishing abilities. But Despremier had near connections with the family which was in possession of the estates, and opposed him with equal powers, and more address. He was on the side which was most agreeable to his favourite topics of declamation, and his pleadings attracted much notice both in Paris and in some of the provincial Parliaments, I mention these things with some interest, because this was the beginning of that marked rivalry between Lally Tollendahl and Despremier, which made such a figure in the Journals of the National Assembly. It ended fatally for both. Lally Tollendahl was obliged to quit the Assembly, when he saw it determined on the destruction of the monarchy and of all civil order, and at last to emigrate from his country with the loss of all his

1 L property,

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property, and to flourish on the kindness of England. Desprezmenil attained his meridian of popularity by his discovery of the secret plan of the Court to establish the Cour p/em'ere, and ever after this took the lead in all the (strong measures of the Parliament of Paris, which was now overstepping all bounds of moderation or propriety, in hopes of preserving its influence after it had rendered itself impotent by an unguarded stroke. Desprezmenil was the first martyr of that Liberty and Equality which it was now boldly preaching, having voluntarily surrendered himself a prisoner to the officer sent to demand him from the Parliament. He was also a martyr to any thing that remained of the very shadow of liberty after the Revolution, being guillotined by Robespierre,

I have already mentioned the intrigues of Count Mirabeau at the Court of Berlin, and his seditious preface and notes on the anonymous letters on the Rights of the Prussian States. He also, while at Berlin, published an *Éclaircissement sur la Société des Illuminés*^ one of the strangest and most impudent performances that ever appeared. He there describes a sect existing in Germany, called the Illuminated^ and says, that they are the most absurd and gross fanatics imaginable, waging war with every appearance of Reason, and maintaining the most ridiculous superstitions. He gives some account of these, and of their rituals, ceremonies, &c., as if he had seen them all. His style is a confused mixture of Christian superstitions, Rosicrucian nonsense, and every thing that can raise contempt and hatred. But no such Society ever existed, and Mirabeau confided in his own powers of deception, in order to screen from observation those who were known to be Illuminati, and to hinder the rulers from attending to their

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CHAP. iv. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. ^1

real machinations, by means of this Ignis fatuus of his own brain. He knew perfectly that the Illuminati were of a stamp diametrically opposite ; for he was enlightened by Mauvillon long before. He gained his point in some measure, for NicoJai and others of the junto immediately adopted the whim, and called them *Ohjcurantem*^ and joined with Mirabeau in placing on the list of *Ohjcurantem* several persons whom they wished to make ridiculous.

Mirabeau was not more discontented with the Court of Berlin for the small regard it had testified for his eminent talents, than he was with his own Court, or rather with the minister Calonne, who had sent him thither, Calonne had been greatly dissatisfied with his conduct at Berlin, where his self-conceit, and his private projects, had made him act in a way almost contrary to the purposes of his mission. Mirabeau was therefore in a rage at the minister, and published a pamphlet, in which his celebrated memorial on the state of the nation, and the means of relieving it, was treated with the utmost levity of reproach; and in this contest his mind was wrought up to that violent pitch of opposition which he ever after maintained. To be noticed, and to lead, were his sole objects — and he found, that taking the side of the discontented was the best field for his eloquence and restless ambition. — Yet there was no man that was more devoted to the principles of a court than count Mirabeau, provided he had a share in the administration; and he would have obtained it, if any thing moderate would have satisfied him — but he thought nothing worthy of him but a place of active trust, and a high department. For such offices all knew him to be totally unfit. He wanted knowledge of great things,

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and was learned only in the bustling detail of intrigue, and at any time would sacrifice every thing to have an opportunity of exercising his brilliant eloquence, and indulging his passion for satire and reproach, — The greatest obstacle to his advancement was the abject worthlessness of his character. What we usually call profligacy, viz. debauchery, gaming, impiety, and every kind of fenality, were not enough — he was destitute of decency in his vices — tricks which would disgrace a thief-catcher, were never boggled at in order to supply his expences. For instance, — His father and mother had a process of separation — Mirabeau had just been liberated from prison for a gross misdemeanour, and was in want of money — He went to his father, sided with him in invectives against his mother, and, for 100 guineas, wrote

his father's memorial for the court.—He then went to his mother, and by a similar conduct got the same sum from her—and both memorials were presented. Drinking was the only vice in which he did not indulge—his exhausted constitution did not permit it. His brother, the Viscount, on the contrary, was apt to exceed in jollity. One day the Count said to him, "How can you, Brother, so expose yourself?" "What!" says the Viscount, "how insatiable you are Nature has

"given you every vice, and having left me only this one, you grudge it me."—When the elections were making for the States-General, he offered himself a candidate in his own order at Aix—But he was so abhorred by the Nobles, that they not only rejected him but even drove him from their meetings. This affront nettled his measures, and he determined on their ruin. He went to the Commons, disclaimed his being a gentleman, set up a little shop in the market place of

Aix

Aix, and sold trifles—and now, fully resolved what line he should pursue, he courted the Commons, by joining in all their exercises against the Nobles, and was at last returned a member of the Assembly.

From this account of Mirabeau we can easily forecast the use he would make of the Illumination which he had received in Germany. Its grand truths and just morality seem to have had the same effects on his mind as on that of Weisnaupt or Bahrdt.

In the year 1768, Mirabeau, in conjunction with the duke de Lauzun and the Abbe Perigord afterwards Bishop of Autun (the man who passed in the National Assembly as the brightest pattern of humanity) reformed a Lodge of Philaethes in Paris, which met in the Jacobin College or Convent. It was one of the Amis Reunis which had now rid itself of all the insignificant rubbish of the sect. This was now become troublesome, and took up the time which would be much better employed by the Chevaliers du Soleil and other still more refined champions of reason and universal citizenship, Mirabeau had imparted to it some of that Illumination which had beamed upon him when he was in Berlin. In 1788, he and the Abbe were wardens of the lodge. They found that they had not acquired all the dexterity of

management that he understood was practiced by his Brethren in Germany, for keeping up their connection, and conducting their correspondence. A letter was therefore sent from this Lodge, signed by these two gentlemen, to the Brethren in Germany, requesting their assistance and instruction. In the course of this year, and during the fitting of the Notables, a deputation was sent from the German Illuminati to catch this gloria

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ous opportunity of carrying their plan into full execution with the greatest éclat.

Nothing can more convincingly demonstrate the early intentions of a party, and this a great party, in France to overturn the constitution completely, and plant a democracy or oligarchy on its ruins. The Illuminati had no other object:—They accounted all Princes usurpers and tyrants, and all privileged orders their abettors. They intended to establish a government of Morality, as they called it, (Sitte?iregiment) where talents and character (to be effluated by their own force, and by themselves) should alone lead to preferment. They meant to abolish the laws which protected property accumulated by long continued and successful industry, and to prevent for the future any such accumulation. They intended to establish universal Liberty and Equality, the inalienable Rights of Man, (at least they pretended all this to those who were neither Magi or Kings.) And, as necessary preparations for all this, they intended to root out all religion and ordinary morality, and even to break the bonds of domestic life, by destroying the veneration for marriage vows, and by taking the education of children out of the hands of the parents. This was all that the Illuminati could teach^ and this was precisely WHAT FRANCE HAS DONE.

I cannot proceed in the narration without defiling the page with the detested name of Orleans^ stained with every thing that can degrade or disgrace human nature. He only wanted Illumination, to (show him in a field all the opinions, dispositions, and principles which filled his own wicked heart. This contemptible being was illuminated by Mirabeau, and has (shown himself" the most zealous disciple of the Order. In his oath of allegiance he

declares

declares, " That the intereffs and the objed of the " Order (hall be rated by him above all other reia*' tions, and that he will ferve it with his hoiour, '* his fortune, and his blood."<—He has kept his word, and has facrificed them all—And he has been treated in the true ipirit of the Order—uled as a mere tool, cheated and ruined.—For I mult now add, that the French borrowed from the Illuminati a maxim, unheard of in any other alTociation of banditti, viz. that of cheating each other. As the managers had the foie poiTeiTion of the higher myfteries, and led the reil by principles which they held to be falfe, and which they employed only for the purpofe of fecuring the co-operation of the inferior Brethren, fo Mirabeau, Sieyes, Pethicn, and others, led the Duke of Orleans at firft by his wicked ambition, and the expectation of obtaining that crown which they intended to break in pieces, that they might get the ufe of hisimmenfe fortune, and of his influence on the thoufands of his depending fycophants, who ate his bread and pandered to his grofs appetites. Although we very foon find him ading as an Illuminatus^ we cannot fuppofe him fo loll to common fenfe as to contribute his fortune, and rifk his life, merely in order that the one fhould be afterwards taken from him by law, and the other put on a level with that of his groom or his pimp. He furely hoped to obtain the crown of his indolent relation. And indeed Mirabeau faid to BergalTe, that '* " when the projet was mentioned to the Duke ** of Orleans, he received it with all poffible gra*' cioufnefs," {^avec toute la grace imaginable,^ During the conteds between the Court and the Parliament of Paris, he courted popularity with an indecency and folly that nothing can explain but a mad and fiery ambition which blinded his eyes to all consequences. This is put out of doubt by his behaviour

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our at Verfailles on the dreadful ^th and 6th of October, 1789. The depoiitions at the Chatelet prove in the moit inconteilible manner^ that during the horrojs of thofe two days he was repeatedly feen, and that whenever he was recognized by the crowd, he was huzzaed with Five Orleans^ Five notre Rot Orleans^ ^^c,—'He then withdrew, and was feen in other places. While all about the unfortunate Royal Family were in the

utmost concern for their fate, he was in gay humour, chatting on indifferent subjects. His last appearance in the evening of the 5th was about nine o'clock, conversing in a corner with ' men disguised in mean dresses, and some in women's clothes; among whom were Mirabeau, Barnave, Duport, and other deputies of the Republican party — and these men were seen immediately after, concealed among the lines of the regiment de Flandre, the corruption of which they had that day completed. He was seen again next morning, conversing with the same persons in women's dresses. And when the insulted Sovereign was dragged in triumph to Paris, Orleans was again seen (looking in a balcony behind his children, to view the procession of devils and furies ; anxiously hoping all the while that some disturbance would arise in which the King might perish. — I should have added that he was seen in the morning at the top of the stairs, pointing the way with his hand to the mob, where they should go, while he went by another road to the King. In short, he went about trembling like a coward, waiting for the explosion which might render it safe for him to fly himself. Mirabeau said of him, " The fellow carries a loaded pistol in his bosom, but will never dare to pull the trigger." He was saved, notwithstanding his own folly," by being joined in the execution with Mirabeau, who could not rescue himself without (driving also for Orleans, whom he def

pined,

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pined, while he made use of his fortune. — In short, Orleans was but half ruined at this time, and hoped to be King or Regent,

Yet he was deeply versed in the preparatory lessons of ruin, and well convinced of its fundamental truths. He was well allured of the great influence of the women in society, and he enjoyed this influence like a true disciple of Weishaupt. — Above three hundred nymphs from the purlieus of the Palais Royal were provided with ecus and Louis d'ors, by his grand procureur the Abbe Sieves, and were sent to meet and to illuminate the two battalions of the Regiment de Flandre, who were coming to Versailles for the protection of the Royal Family. The privates of one of these regiments came and informed their officers of this attempt

made on their loyalty,—45,000!, livres were given them at St. Denys, to make them disband themselves—and the poor lads were at first dazzled by the name of a sum that was not familiar to them—but when some thinking head among them told them that it only amounted to two Louis d'ors a piece, they disclosed the bribery. They were then offered 90,000, but never saw it. (Depositions at, the Chatelet No. 317.) Mademoiselle Therouane, the favorite of the day, at the Palais Royal, was the mistress: a devotee of the armed mob from Paris, dressed in Amazonian with all the elegance of the opera, and turned many young heads that day which were afterwards taken off by the guillotine. The Duke of Orleans acknowledged, before his death, that he had expended above 50,000 sterling in corrupting the Gardes Francaises. The armed mob which came from Paris to Versailles on the 5th of October, importuning the King for bread, had their pockets filled with crown pieces—and Orleans was taken on that day by two gentlemen, with a bag of money so heavy that it was fastened to

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his clothes with a strap, to hinder it from being oppressive, and to keep it in such a position that it should be accessible in an instant. (See the Depositions at the Chatelet, No. 177-)

But such was the contempt into which his gross profligacy, his cowardice, and his niggardly disposition, had brought him with all parties, that, if he had not been quite hindered by his wicked ambition, and by his implacable resentment of some bitter taunts he had gotten from the King and Queen, he would have seen very early that he was to be sacrificed as soon as he had served the purposes of the faction. At present, his assistance was of the utmost consequence. His immense fortune, much above three millions sterling, was almost exhausted during the three first years of the Revolution. But (what was of more consequence) he had almost unbounded authority among the Free Masons.

In this country we have no conception of the authority of a National Grand Master. When Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by great exertions among the jarring feuds in Germany, had got himself elected Grand Master of the Society of Observance it gave serious alarm to the Emperor, and to all the Princes of Germany, and contributed greatly to their connivance at the attempts of the

Illuminati to discredit that party. In the great cities of Germany, the inhabitants paid more respect to the Grand Master of the Masons than to their respective Princes. The authority of the D. of Orleans in France was still greater, in consequence of his employing his fortune to support it. About eight years before the Revolution he had (not without much intrigue and many bribes and promises) been elected Grand Master of France, having under his directions all the Masonic Lodges. The whole Association was called the Grand Orient de

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France and in 1785 contained 266 of these Lodges ; (see Freymaurerische Zeitung Netiwied 1787.) Thus he had the management of all those Secret Societies ; and the licentious and irreligious sentiments which were currently preached there, were sure of his hearty concurrence. The same intrigue which procured him the supreme chair, must have filled the Lodges with his dependents and emissaries, and these men could not better earn their pay, than by doing their utmost to propagate idolatry, immorality, and impurity of manners.

But something more was wanted ; Disrespect for the higher Orders of the State, and disloyalty to the Sovereign.—it is not so easy to conceive how these sentiments, and particularly the latter, could meet with toleration, and even encouragement, in a nation noted for its profusions of veneration for its Monarch, and for the pride of its Noblesse. Yet I am certain that such doctrines were habitually preached in the Lodges of Philalethes and the Reunis de la Verite, That they should be very current in Lodges of low-born Literati, and other Brethren in inferior stations, is natural, and I have already said enough on this head. But the French Lodges contained many gentlemen in easy, and affluent circumstances, I do not expect such confidence in my assertions, that even in these the same opinions were very prevalent. I was therefore much pleased with a piece of information which I got while these sheets were printing off, which corroborates my assertions.

This is a performance called La voile retiree ou le Secret de la Revolution expliquée par la Franc Maçonnerie. It was written by a Mr. Lefranc, President of the Seminary of the Eudistes at Caen in Normandy, and a second edition was published at Paris in

1792.

aSo THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAF. iv.

1 yg2. The author was butchered in the maiTacre of September. He fays, that on the death of a friend, who had been a very zealous Mafon, and many years Mafter of a refpedable Lodge, he found among his papers a colle6iion of Maionic writings, containing the rituals, catechifms, and fymbols of every kind, belonging to a long train of degrees of Free Mafonry, together with many difcourfes delivered in different Ledges, and minutes of their proceedings. The perufai filled himvyith ailoniishment and anxiety. For he found that doctrines were taught, and maxims of conduct were inculcated, which were fubverlive , of religion and of all good order in the Hate ; and whfch not only countenanced difloyaky and fedition, but even invited to it. Lie thought them fo daneerous to the Hate, that he lent an account of them to the Archbifhop of Paris long before the Revolution, and always hoped that that Reverend Prelate Vv^ould reprefent the matter to his Majefly's Minjfters, and that they would put an end to the meetings of this dangerous Societ}^ or would at leail reilrain them from fuch exceffes. But he v^as difappointed, and therefore thought it his duty to lay them before the public*.

Mr, Lefranc fays ervpreisly, that this fnocking perverfion of Free Mafonry to feditious purpoles

* Had the good man been fpared but a few montlis, his furprife at this negle6l would have ceafed. For, on the igtU of November i 793, the Archbifhop of Paris came to the Bar of the Alfembly, accompanied by his Vicar and eleven other Clergymen, who there renounced their Chriltianlty and their clerical vows ; acknowledging that they had played the villain for many years againft their confcences, teaching what they knew to be a lie, and were now refolved to be honeft men. The Vicar indeed had behaved like a true Illuminatus feme time before, by runninof off with another man's wife and his ftrong box.—None of them, however, feem to have attained the higher myleries, for they were all guillotined not long after.

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was, in a great measure, but a late thing, and was chiefly brought about by the agents of the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans. He was, however, of opinion that the whole Masonic Fraternity was hostile to Christianity and to good morals, and that it was the contrivance of the great schismatic Faustus Socinus, who being terrified by the fate of Servetus, at Geneva, fell on this method of promulgating his doctrines among the great in secret. This opinion is but ill supported, and is incompatible with many circumstances in Free Masonry — But it is out of our way at present. Mr. Lefranc then takes particular notice of the many degrees of Chivalry cultivated in the Lodges, and shows how, by artful changes in the successful explanations of the same symbols, the doctrines of Christianity, and of all revealed religion, are completely exploded, and the Philosopher Inconnu becomes at last a professed Atheist — He then takes notice of the political doctrines which are in like manner gradually unfolded, by which "patriotism and loyalty to the prince are declared to be "narrow principles, inconsistent with universal benevolence, and with the native and inalienable rights of man ; civil subordination is actual oppression, and Princes are ex officio usurpers and tyrants." These principles he fairly deduces from the Catechisms of the Chevalier du Soleil and of the Philosopher Inconnu, He then proceeds to notice more particularly the intrigues of the Duke of Orleans. From these it appears evident that his ambitious views and hopes had been of long standing, and that it was entirely by his support and encouragement that seditious doctrines were permitted in the Lodges. Many noblemen and gentlemen were disgusted and left their Lodges, and advantage was taken of their

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absence to improve the Lodges still more, that is to make them still more anarchical and seditious. Numbers of paltry scribblers who haunted the Palace Royal, were admitted into the Lodges, and there vented their poisonous doctrines. The Duke turned his chief attention to the French guards, introducing many of the privates and inferior officers into the obscure and even the more respectable Lodges, so that the officers were

frequently disgusted in the Lodges by the insolent behaviour of their own foldiers under the mask of Masonic Brotherhood and Equality—and this behaviour became not unfrequently even out of doors. He asserts with great confidence that the troops were much corrupted by these intrigues—and that when they sometimes declared, on service, that they would not fire on their Brethren^ the phrase had a particular reference to their Masonic Fraternity, because they recognised many of their Brother Masons in every crowd.— And the corruption was by BO means confined to Paris and its neighbourhood, but extended to every place in the kingdom where there was a Municipality and a Mason Lodge.

Mr. Lefranc then turns our attention to many peculiarities in the Revolution, which have a resemblance to the practices in Free Masonry, Not only was the arch rebel the Duke of Orleans, the Grand Master, but the chief actors in the Revolution, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, and others, were distinguished office-bearers in the great Lodges. He says that the distribution of France into departments, districts, circles, cantons, &c. is perfectly similar, with the same denominations, to a distribution which he had remarked in the correspondence of the Grand Orient*.

cont*. The President's hat in the National Assembly is copied from that of a Truce Venerable Grand Master.— The scarf of a Municipal Officer is the same with that of a Brother Apprentice.— When the Assembly celebrated the Revolution in the Cathedral, they accepted of the highest honours of Masonry by passing under the Arch of Steely formed by the drawn swords of two ranks of Brethren,— Also it is worthy of remark, that the National Assembly protected the meetings of Free Masons, while it pre-emptorily prohibited every other private meeting. The obligation of laying aside all (lars, ribbands, crowns, and other honourable distinctions, under the pretext of Fraternal Equality, was not merely a prelude, but was intended as a preparation for the destruction of all civil distinctions, which took place almost at the beginning of the Revolution,— and the first proposal of a surrender^ says Mr. Lefranc, was made by a zealous Mason,— He farther observes, that the horrible and sanguinary oaths, the daggers, death-heads, cross-bones, the imaginary combats with the murderers of Hiram, and many other gloomy ceremonies, have a natural tendency to harden the heart, to remove its natural aversion to deeds of horror, and have paved the way for

those flocking barbarities which have made the name of Frenchmen
abhorred over all Europe, These deeds were indeed perpetrated by a mob of
fanatics ; but the principles were promulgated and fostered by persons who
style themselves philosophers.

I see more evidence of these important facts in another book just published
by an emigrant gentleman

* I cannot help observing, that it is perfectly similar to the arrangement and
denominations which appear in the secret correspondence of the Bavarian
Illuminati,

gentleman

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gentleman (Mr. Latocnaye). He confirms my repeated assertions, that all the
irreligious and seditious doctrines were the subjects of repeated harangues in
the Mason Lodges, and that all the principles of the Revolution, by which
the public mind was as it were set on fire, were nothing but enthusiastic
amplifications of the common-place cant of Free Masonry, and arose
naturally out of it. He even thinks " that this must necessarily be the case " in
every country where the minds of the lower classes of the State are in any
way considerably fretted or irritated ; it is almost impossible to avoid
being drawn into this vortex, whenever a discontented mind enters into a
Mason Lodge. The scale (of brotherly love, which at another time
would only lull the hearer asleep, now makes him prick up his ears, and
listen with avidity to the silly tale, and he cannot hinder fretting thoughts
from continually ranking in his mind."

Mr. Latocnaye says expressly, *• That notwithstanding (and the general
contempt of the public for " the Duke of Orleans, his authority as Grand
Master of the Masons gave him the greatest opportunity that a seditious
mind could desire " for helping forward the Revolution. He had " ready to
his hand a connected system of hidden Societies, protected by the State,
habituated to secrecy and artifice, and already tinged with the very
enthusiasm he wished to inspire. In these he formed political committees,
into which " only his agents were admitted. He filled the Lodges with the

French guards, whom he corrupted with money and hopes of preferment; and by means of the Abbe Sieyes, and other emulraries, they were harangued with all the fophifical declamation, or cant of Mafonry.*

Mr.

Mr. Latocnaye fays, that all this was peculiar to the Lodges of the Grand Orient ; bat that there were m?My (not very many, if we judge by the Ncuwied almanc, which reckons only 289 in all France in 1784, of which 266 were of the Grand Orient) Lodges vvho continued on the old plan of anufing themielves with a little foleran trifling. He coincides wiith Mr* Lefranc in the opinion that the awful and gloomy rituals of Mafonry, and particularly the ievere trials of confidence and fubmiilion, mull have a great tendency to harden the heart, an<l fit a man for atrocious acions. No one can doubt of thisv/ho reads the foUowinginrtance : *' A candidate for reception into one of the '* higheil Orders, after having heard many threat*' enings denounced againil all who Ihould betray *' the Secrets of the Order, was conducS^ed to a " place where he faw the dead bodies of feveral " who were faid to have fuiFered for their trea" chery. He then faw his own brother tied hand *' and foot, begging his mercy and intercellion, *' He was uiformed that this perfon was about to *' fuffer the punifhment due to this oifence, and " that it was referved for him (the candidate) to " be the inllrument of this juft vengeance, and " that this gave him an opportunity of manifeil" ing that he was completely devoted to the Or" der. It being obferved that his countenance gave figns of inward horror, (the perfon in bonds imploring his mercy all the while) he was told that in order to fpare his feelings, a bandage fhould be put over his eyes. A dagger was then put into his right hand, and being hood-winked, his left hand was laid upon the palpitating heart of the criminal, and he was *' then ordered to (Irike, He infantly obeyed ; " and when the bandage was taken from his eyes,

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*' he saw that it was a lamb that he had {tabbed. *' Surely fiicli trials and fiich wanton cruelty are " fit only for training conipirators."

Mr. Latocnaye adds, that " when he had been *' initiated, an old gentleman aiked him what lie " thought of the whole ?" He answered, *' A great '* deal of noife, and much nonfenfe." " Nonfenfe." faid the other, *' don't judge forafily, young man ; " I have worked theie twenty-five years, and the '^ farther I advanced, it intereRed me the more ; " but I ilopped fiort, and nothing (hall prevail on " m.e to advance a ftep farther." In another converfation the gentleman faid, *' I imagine that my " (loppage was owing to my refufai about nine years ago, to lift en to fome perfons who made to me, out of the Lodge, propofals which were feditious " and horrible; for ever fmce that time I have remarked, that my higher Brethren treat me vvi h a much greater referve than they had done before, and that, under the pretext of further inflruktion; " they have laboured to confute the notions which I had already acquired, by giving fome of the mod delicate fubjeds a different turn. I faw that they v^anted to remove fome fufpicions which I was beginning to form concerning the ultimate fcope of the whole." I iaiaagine that thefe obfervaticns will leave no doubt in the mind of the reader vi'ith refpecl to the iniuenceof the feeret Fraternity of Free Mafonry in the French Revolution, and that he will allow.7 it to be highly probable that the infamous Duke of Orleans had, from the beginning, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of France. It is not my province to prove or difprove this point, only I think it no \eis evident, from n^any circumftances in the tranfadions of thole tumultuous days, that the adive leaders liad quite different views, and were

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impelled by fanatical notions of democratic felicity^ or, more probabiv, by their own ambition to be the movers of this vail: machine, to overturn the ancient government, and ered a republic, of v/hich they hoped to be the manageris*. Mirabeau had learned when in Germany that the principles of anarchy had been well digeiled into a fyllem, and therefore wifhed for fome

instructions to the subordinate detail of the business, and for this purpose required a deputation from the Ministry

In such a case as this, we may be certain that no ordinary person would be sent. One of the deputies was Amelius, the next person in the order to Spartacus and Philo. His worldly name was Johann. J. C. Bode, at Weimar, privy-counsellor to the Prince of Heire-Darmstadt. (See *Fragments der Biographie des verstorbenen Furstherr Bode in Weimar mit zur Verlaessigen Urkunder*, 2^o vo. Rom. 1795. See also *Endliche Schickfall der Freymaenner* \ 1794 ; also *Wiener Zeitchrift fur 1793-*)—This person has played a principal part in the whole scheme of Illumination. He was a person of considerable and many talents as a Writer. He had great talents for conversation, and had kept good company. With

* The depositions at the Chatelet, which I have already quoted, give repeated and unequivocal proofs, that he, with a considerable number of the deputies of the National Assembly, had formed this plot before the 5th of October 1789. That trial was conducted in a strange manner, partly out of respect for the Royal Family, which still had some hearts affectionately attached to it, and to the monarchy, and partly by reason of the fears of the members of this court. There was now no safety for any person who differed from the opinion of the frantic populace of Paris. The chief points of accusation were written in a schedule which is not published, and the witnesses were ordered to depose on these in one general Yes or No ; so that it is only the least important part of the evidence that has been printed. I am well informed that the whole of it is carefully preserved, and will one day appear.

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reference: to his mystical character, his experience was great. He was one of the Templar Masons, and among them was even a Lullian Conventualist. He had speculated much about the origin and history of Masonry, and when at the Wilhelmsbad convention, was converted to illumination. He was the great instigator of Nicolai, Gedicke, and Bieller, to the hunt after Jesuits which so much occupied them, and suggested to Nicolai his journey

through Germany. Leuchtfening whom I mentioned before, was only the letter-carrier between Bode and these three authors. He was just such a man as Weifhaupt wished for ; his head filled with Masonic fanaticism, attaching infinite importance to the frivolities of Malbnry, and engaged in an enthusiastic and fruitless research after its origin and history. He had collected, however, such a number of archives (as they were called) of Free Masonry, that he sold his manuscript to the Duke of Saxe Gotha, (into whose service Weifhaupt engaged himself when he was driven from Bavaria), for 150 dahlers. This little anecdote shows the high importance attributed to those matters by persons of whom we should expect better things. Bode was also a most determined and violent materialist. Besides all these qualities, so acceptable to the Illuminati, he was a discontented Templar Mason, having been repeatedly disappointed of the preferment which he thought himself entitled to. When he learned that the principal operations of the Illuminati were to be the obtaining the sole direction of the Mason Lodges, and of the whole Fraternity, his hopes revived of rising to the summit of the Corimanderies, which his enthusiasm, or rather fanaticism, had made him hope to see one day regained by the Order :—but when he found that the next and favourite object was to root out the Siri[^] Qbfervan[%] altogether, he started back. But Philo saw[^] that the

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CHAP. iv. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. '28q

understanding (HvAl we call it ?) that can be dazzled with one vision, may be dazzled with another, and he now attached him to Illuminatism, by a magnificent display of a world ruled by the Order, and conducted to happiness by means of Liberty and Equality. This did the business, as we see by the private correspondence, where Philo informs Spartacus of his lively discussions with Amelius. Amelius was gained over in August: 1782, and we see by the same correspondence, that the greatest affairs were soon entrusted to him—he was generally employed to deal with the great. When a Graf or a Baron was to be wheedled into the Order, Amelius was the agent.—He was also the chief operator in all their contests with the Jesuits and the Kofycrucians. It was also Bode that procured the important accession of Nicholai to the Order. This he brought about through

Leuchtfenring ; and lastly, his numerous connexions among the Free
Masons, together with Knigge's influence among them, enabled the
Illuminati to worm themselves into every Lodge, and at last gave them
almost: the entire command of the Fraternity.

Such was the first of the deputies to France. The other was a Mr. Buitche,
called in the Order Bayard ; therefore probably a man of respectable
character ; for most of Spartacus's names were significant like his own. He
was a military man, Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the Duke of
Darmstadt. — This man also was a discontented Templar Mason, and his name in that
Fraternity had been Eques a Fontibus Eremi. He was illuminated by
Knigge. He had also been unsuccessful both at court and in the field, in both
of which situations he had been attempting to make a distinguished figure.
He, as well as Bode, were immersed in debts. They were therefore

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foremost: in the proper temper for a political enterprise.

They went to Paris in the end of 1788, while the Notables were sitting, and
all Paris was giving advice. The alarm that was raised about Animal
Magnetism, which was indeed making much noise at that time, and
particularly at Paris, was assigned by them as the great motive of the
journey. Bode also said that he was anxious to learn what were the
corrections made on the system of the Chevaliers Bienfaisants. They had
taken that name at first, to screen themselves from the charges against them
under the name of Templars. They had corrected something in their system
when they took the name Philaletes, And now when the Schisms of the
Philaletes were healed, and the Brethren again united under the name of
Amis Reunis, he suspected that Jesuits had interfered ; and because he had
heard that the principles of the Amis Reunis were very noble, he wished to
be more certain that they were purged of every thing Jesuitical.

The deputies accordingly arrived at Paris, and immediately obtained
admission into these two Fraternities*. " They found both of them in the
ripell

* To prevent interruptions, I may just mention here the authorities for this journey and co-operation of the two deputies.

1. Eln iv'ichtiger Aufschhifs uht^r en noch nvenig Lekannte Veran'lajfung der Franzofchen Revolution, iii the Vienna Zeitschrift for
2. Endliche Shickfall des Freymaurer Ordens, 1794, p- 19.
3. Neuejh Arheitimg des Sbaitacus andPhilo, Munich, 1793* P' 151—54.
4. Hyionfche Nachrichten uher die Franc Revolution 1792, von Girtanrifr, var. loc.
5. Re'vnlulions Almanach fur 1792—4, Gottingen, var. loc.
6. Beytrage x.nr Biograpble des verjlorhenes Frey-Herr v. Bodcy -.1794.
7. Magaz'mdes Ltteratur et Kunjl, {or 1792, 3, 4? Iffc- tfc.

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CHAP. IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTICN. 2gl

flate for Illumination, having fhaken of Fallthe caba-^ lifical, chemical, and myilicai whims that had formerly dillurbed them, and Vvould now take up too much of their time. 1 hey were now cultivating with great zeal the philofophico poiiiical do6irines of univerfai citizenhip. Their leaders, to the number of tu'enty, are mentioned by name in the Berlin Monatschrift for 1785, and among them are feveral of the firfl: adois m the French Revolution. But this is nothing diilinciive, becaufe peifons of all opinions were Mafons.

7"he Amis Reunis were litle behind the liluminati in every thin? that was irreieious and anarchica], and had no inclination for any of the formalities of ritual, &c. They were ailready fit for the higher myfieries, and only vvanted ro learn the rr.ethods of bulinefs which had fucceeded fo well in fpreading their dodrines and maxims over Germany. Belides, their doctrines had not been digefted into a fyllem, nor had the artful methods of leading on the pupils from bad to Vw'orle been praclifed. For hitherto, each

individual had vented in the Lodges his own opinions, to unburden his own mind, and the Brethren listened for instruction and mutual encouragement. Therefore, when Spartacus's plan was communicated to them, they first saw once its importance, in all its branches, such as the rule of the Masonic Lodges, to first for Minervals—the rituals and ranks to entice the young, and to lead them by degrees to opinions and measures which, at first (right, would have shocked them. The firm hold which is gotten of the pupils, and indeed of all the inferior classes, by their reports in the course of their pretended training in the knowledge of themselves and of other men—and, above all, the provincial arrangement of the order, and the clever subordination and entire dependence on a federal band or Pandæmonium at

Paris,

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Paris, which should inspire and direct the whole.—I think (albeit I have not expressed assertions of the fact) from the subsequent conduct of the French revolutioners, that even at this early period, there were many in those Societies who were ready to go every length proposed to them by the Illuminati, such as the abolition of royalty, and of all privileged orders, as tyrants by nature, the annihilation and robbery of the priesthood, the rooting out of Christianity, and the introduction of Atheism, or a philosophical chimera which they were to call Religion. Mirabeau had often spoken of the main branch of the Illuminated principles, and the conversations held at Versailles during the awful pauses of the 5th of October, (which are to be seen in the evidence before the Chatelet in the Orleans process,) can hardly be supposed to be the fancies of an accidental mob.

Mirabeau was, as I have said, at the head of this democratic party, and had repeatedly said, that the only use of a King was to serve as a pageant, in order to give weight to public measures in the opinion of the populace.— And Mr. Latocnaye says, that this party was very numerous and that immediately after the imprudent or madlike invitation of every scribbler in a garret to give his advice, the party did not scruple to speak their sentiments in public, and that they were encouraged in their encomiums on the advantages of a virtuous republican government by Mr. Neckar, who had a most extravagant and childish predilection for the constitution of Geneva,

the place of his nativity, and was also much tinged with the Commo'political philosophy of the times. The King's brothers, and the Princes of the blood, presented a memorial to his Majesty, which concluded by laying, that *' the influence of the *' public opinions had come to such a height that

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" the most dangerous principles, imported from *' foreign parts, were avowed in print with impunity—that his Majesty had unwarily " encouraged every fanatic to dilate to him, " and to spread his poisonous sentiments, in which " the rights of the throne were not only disre*' spected, but were even disputed—that the rights *' of the higher classes in the State ran a great risk " of being speedily suppressed, and that nothing " would hinder the sacred right of property from ^' being ere long invaded, and the unequal distribution of wealth from being thought a proper " *^ subject of reform.*"

When such was the state of things in Paris; it is plain that the business of the German deputies would be easily transacted. They were received with open arms by the Philaletes^ the Amis de la Verite^ the Social Contrad^ Sec. and in the course of a very few weeks in the end of 1788, and the beginning of 1789, (that is, before the end of March) the whole of the Grand Orient, including the Philaletes^ Amis Reunis^ Martinistes^ &c. had the secrets of Illumination communicated to them. The operation naturally began with the Great National Lodge of Paris, and those in immediate dependence on it. It would also {Qtxx\^ from many circumstances that occurred to my observation, that the Lodges in Alsace and Lorraine were Illuminated at this time, and not long before as I had imagined. Straßburg I know had been Illuminated long ago, while Philo was in the Order. A circumstance (I take me here as of some moment. The secrets of Philaletes^ and Amis Reunis were refinements grafted on the system of the Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Lyons. Such refinements never fail to be considered as a sort of heresy, and the professors will be held with a jea

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lous and unfriendly eye by fame, who will pride themselves on adhering to the old faith. And the greater the success of the heresy, the greater will be the animosity between the parties.—May not this help to explain the mutual hatred of the Parisians and the Lyonnois, which produced the most dreadful atrocities ever perpetrated on the face of the earth, and made a desert and a solitude of the finest city of France ?

The first proceeding by the advice of the deputies was the formation of a political committee in every Lodge. This committee corresponded with the distant Lodges, and in it were discussed and settled all the political principles which were to be inculcated on the members. The author of the *Neufte Arheiting* says expressly, that "he was thoroughly instructed in this; that it was given in charge to these committees to frame general rules, and to carry through the great plan (*grand oeuvre*) of a general overturning of religion and government." The principal leaders of the subsequent Revolution were members of these committees. Here were the plans laid, and they were transmitted through the kingdom by the Corresponding Committees.

Thus were the stupid Bavarians (as the French were once pleased to call them) their instructors in the art of overturning the world. The French were indeed the first who put it in practice. These committees arose from the Illuminati in Bavaria, who had by no means given over working ; and these committees produced the Jacobin Club. It is not a frivolous remark, that the Masonic phrase of the persons who wish to address the Brethren, (*F, S, je demande la parole* which the F. S. reports to the V. G. M. and which he announces to the Brethren thus, " *Mes freres^ frere tel*

" *demande*

* *demande la parole^ la parole lui est accordee^^*) is exactly copied by the Jacobin Club. There is surely no natural connection between Free Masonry and Jacobinism—but we seek the link—*Illuminatism*.—

The office-bearers of one of the Lodges of Philalethes in Paris were Martin^ J Villermoz^ (who had been deputy from the *Xht Chevaliers Bienfaifants* to the *Willcmfbad Convention*) *Chappe^ Mlnet^^ de la Henriere^* and *Savatkr de VAnge*, In another (the *Coyitra5l Social*) the Political Committee consisted of *La Fayette, Condorcet, PethioUy d'Orleans, Abbe Bartbolis,*

d'Aigiiiillon, Bailly^ Marq. de la Salle, DejpreJmeniL This particular Lodjre had been founded and coudufi;ed by one De Leutre, ^n adventurer and cheat of the firfl magnitude, who fometimes made a figure, and at other times was without a Ihilling. At this very time he was a fpy attached to the office of the police of Parisf. The Duke of Orleans v/as Warden

* Minet was, I think, at this time a player. He was fon of a furgeon at Nantes—rob ed his father and fled—enlifted in Holland—deferted and became fmucrer—was taken and burnt in the hand—became player and married an aclrefs—then became prieft—a d was made Bifhop of Nantes by Couftard in difcharge of a debt of 500l. Mr. Latocnaye often faw Couftard kneel to him for benediction. It cannot be fuppo'ed that he was much venerated in his pontificals in his native city.—It feems Minet, Minet, is the call of the children to a kitten—This was prohibited at Nantes, and many perfons whipped for the freedom ufed with his name.

f I am told that he now (or very lately) keeps the beft company, and lives in elegance and affluence in London.

jiugur, fcbano Bates., msdiciis^ magus omnia novii Graculus ejiirlens; in cccium juifot'is^ ibit\, Ingenium volox audacia perdita, fermo Promptus.

:}: All fcience a hungry Frenchman knows. And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes.

Johnjon^s Tranjlation,

29^ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP, iv,

of the Lodge. The Abbe Sieyes was a Brother Orator, but not of this Lodge, nor, I think, of the former. It was probably of the one conducted by Mirabeau and the Abbe Perigord. But it appears from the piece from which I am at prefent borrowing, that Sieyes was prefent in the meetings of both Lodges, probably as vifiting Brother, employed in bringing them to common m.eafures. I muft obferve, that the fubfcquent condiit of fome of thefe men does not juil accord with my conjecture, that the principles of the Illuminati vvcre adopted in their full extent. But we know that all the Bavarian Brethren were not equally Illuminated, and it would be only

copying their teachers if the cleverest of their scholars should hold a JanCiiun Jandorum among themselves, without inviting all to the conference. Observe too that the chief lesson which they were now taking from the Germans was the method of doing business^ of managing their correspondence, and of procuring and training pupils. A Frenchman does not think that he needs instruction in any thing like principle or science. He is ready^ on all occasions to be the instructor.

Thus were the Lodges of France converted in a very short time into a set of secret societies, corresponding with the mother Lodges of Paris, receiving from thence their principles and instructions, and ready to rise up at once when called upon to carry on the great work of overturning the (late.

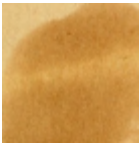
Hence it has arisen that the French aimed, in the very beginning, at overturning the whole world. In all the revolutions of other countries, the schemes and plots have extended no farther than the nation where they took their rise. But here we have seen that they take in the whole

world

world. They have repeatedly declared this in their manifestos, and they have declared it by their conduct—This is the very aim of the Illuminati. Hence too may be explained how the revolution took place in a moment in every part of France. The revolutionary societies were early formed, and were working in secret before the opening of the National Assembly, and the whole nation changed, and changed again, and again, as if by beat of drum. Those duly initiated in this mystery of iniquity were ready every where at a call. And we see Weisnaupt's will accomplished ^

in an unexpected degree, and the debates in a club giving laws to solemn assemblies of the nation, and all France bending the neck to the city of Paris, The members of the club are Illuminati, and form a great part of their correspondents.— Each operates in the (late as a Minerval would do in the Order^ and the whole goes on with systematic regularity. The famous Jacobin Club was just one of those Lodges, as has been already observed ; and as, among individuals one commonly takes the lead, and contrives for the rest, so it has happened on the present occasion, that this Lodge, supported by Orleans and Mirabeau, was the one that (lepped forth and

diewed itself to the world and thus became the oracle of the party ; and all the rest only echoed its discourses, and at last allowed it to give law to the whole, and even to rule the kingdom. It is to be remarked too that the founders of the club at Mentz were Illuminati, (Relig, BegeLenh, 1703. p. 448.) before the Revolution, and corresponded with another Lodge at Strafburg ; and these two produced mighty effects during the year 1790. In a performance called] Memoires Pohlhimes de Ciffine it is said, that when that general was bending his course to Holland,



'AgS THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP, i\%

land, the Illuminati at Straiburg, Worms, and Spire, immediately formed clubs, and invited him into that quarter, and, by going to Mentz and encouraging their brethren in that city, they raised a party against the garrison, and actually delivered up the place to the French army.

A little book, just now printed with the title Paragaphan^ ^ys, that Zimmerman, of whom I have spoken more than once, went to France to • preach liberty. He was employed as a missionary of Revolution in Alface, where he had formerly been a most successful missionary of Illuminatism. Of his former proceedings the following is a curious anecdote. He connected himself with a highly accomplished and beautiful woman, whose conversation had such charms, that he says (he gained him near a hundred converts in Spire alone. Some persons of high rank, and great exterior dignity of character, had felt more tender impressions — and when the lady informed them of certain consequences to their reputation, they were glad to compound matters with her friend Mr. Zimmerman, who either passed for her husband or took the scandal on himself. He made above 1500 Louis d'ors in this way. When he returned, as a preacher of Revolution, he used to mount the pulpit with a sabbath in his hand, and bawl out, '^ Behold, Frenchmen, this is your God. This '^ alone can save you.* The author adds, that when Cuiine broke into Germany, Zimmerman got adm!iion to him, and engaged to deliver Manheim into his hands. To gain this purpose, he

ordered to set fire to the corners of the city on fire, and assured him of support. Guillemet declined the offer.—Zimmerman appeared again before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and accused him of treachery to his cause.—Guillemet's answer is remarkable.

CHAP. iv. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. (p. 10)

remarkable. "Hardly," said he, "had I set my foot in Germany, when this man, and all the fools of his country, besieged me, and would have delivered up to me their towns and villages—What occasion had I to do any thing to Mannheim, when the Prince was neutral?" Zimmerman found his full account in Robespierre's bloody career—but the short term of his atrocities was also the whole of Zimmerman's career. He was arrested, but again liberated, and soon after again imprisoned, after which I can learn no more of him. The same thing is positively asserted in another performance, called *Cri de la Mison* and in a third, called *Les Majques Arrachees*, observe too, that it is not the clubs merely that are accused of this treachery, but the Illuminati. De la Metherje also, in his preface to the *Journal de Physique* 1790, says expressly, that "the cause and arms of France were powerfully supported in Germany by a sect of philosophers called the

Illuminated." In the preface to the *Journal* for 1792, he says, that "Letters and deputations were

received by the Assembly from several Corresponding Societies in England, felicitating them on the triumph of Reason and Humanity, and

promising them their cordial assistance."

He read some of these manifestos, and says, that "one of them recommended (wrongly) the political education of the children, who should be taken from the parents and trained up for the state." Another lamented the baleful influence of property, saying, that "the efforts of the Assembly would be fruitless, till the fence was removed with which the laws so anxiously secured inordinate wealth. They should rather be directed to the support of talents and virtue; because property would all

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" ways support itself by the too great influence " which it had in every corrupted (late. The " Jaws (hold prevent the too great accumulation

" of it in Particular families." In fact, the

council was almost verbatim what the Abbe Coffandey declared to have been preached in the meetings of the Illuminati, which terrified him and his colleagues, and made them quit the association. Anarchist Cloots, born in Prussian Westphalia, a keen Illuminatus, came to Paris for the express purpose of forwarding the great work, and by intriguing in the (lyie of the Order, he got himself made one of the Representatives of the Nation. He seems to have been one of the completed fanatics in Cofmo-politism, and just such a tool as Weisnaupt would choose to employ for a coarse and arduous job. He broke out at once into all the filly extravagance of the unthinking herd, and his whole language is just the jargon of Illumination. Citizen of the world—Liberty and

Equality, the inalienable Rights of Man

Morality, dear Morality—Kings and Priests are useless things—they are Despots and Corrupters, Sec.—^He declared himself an ath^ilf, and zealously laboured to have atheism established by law. He conducted that farcical procession in the true style of the moil childish ritual of Philo, where counterfeited deputies from all quarters of the world, in the dreitcs of their countries, came to congratulate the nation for its victory over Kings and Priests. It is also worthy of remark, that by this time Leuchtfening, whom we have seen (b zealous an Illuminatus, after having been as zealous a Protodant, tutor of Princes, Hofrath and Hofmeister, was now a secretary or clerk in one of the Bureaus of the National Assembly of France.

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I may add as a finishing touch, that the National Assembly of France was the only body of men that I have ever heard of who openly and systematically proposed to employ assassination, and to institute a band of patriots, who should exercise this profession either by sword, pistol, or poison;—and though the proposal was not carried into execution, it might be considered as the sentiments of the meeting; for it was only delayed till it should be considered how far it might not be imprudent, because they might expect reprisals. The Abbe Dubois engaged to poison the Comte d'Artois; but was himself robbed and poisoned by his accomplices.—There were strong reasons for thinking that the Emperor of Germany was poisoned— and that Mirabeau was thus treated by his pupil Orleans,—also Madame de Favras and her son.—This was copying the Illuminati very carefully.

After all these particulars, can any person have a doubt that the Order of Illuminati formally interfered in the French Revolution, and contributed greatly to its progress? There is no denying the insolence and oppression of the Crown and the Nobles, nor the misery and slavery of the people, nor that there were sufficient provocation and cause for a total change of measures and of principles. But the rapidity with which one opinion was declared in every corner, and that opinion as quickly changed, and the change announced every where, and the perfect conformity of the principles, and sameness of the language, even in arbitrary trifles, can hardly be explained in any other way. It may indeed be said [^] que les beaux genies se rencontrent[^]—that ^{**} wits jump. The principles are the same, and ^{*} the conduct of the French has been such as the ^{*} Illuminati would have exhibited; but this is all ^{*} «—the Illuminati no longer existed," En[®]ough has

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been said on this point already.—The facts are as have been narrated. The Illuminati continued as an Order, and even held assemblies, though not so frequently nor so formally as before, and though their Areopagus was no longer at Munich. But let us hear what the French themselves thought of the matter. In 1789, or the beginning of 1790, a manifesto[^] was sent from the G[^]AND National Lodge of Free Masons (so it is entitled) at Paris, signed by

the Duke of Orleans as Grand Master, addressed and sent to the Lodges in all the respectable cities of Europe, exhorting them to unite for the support of the French Revolution, to gain it friends, defenders, and dependents and according to their opportunities, and the practicability of the thing, to kindle and propagate the spirit of revolution through all lands. This is a most important article, and deserves a very serious attention. I got it first of all in a work called, *Hochwichtige Erinnerungen "zur rechten Zeit über einige der allerernflichsten Angelegenheiten dieses Zeitalters"* von L. A. Hoffmann, Vienna, 1795*

The author of this work says, "That every thing *' he advances in these memorandums is consistent with his own personal knowledge, and that he is ready to give convincing proofs of them to any respectable person who will apply to him personally. He has already given such convincing documents to the Emperor, and to several Princes, that many of the machinations occasioned by this manifesto have been detected and (lopped; and he would have no scruple at laying the whole before the public, did it not unavoidably involve several worthy persons who had suffered themselves to be misled, and heartily repented of their

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* Most important Memorandum in respect to the Revolution, concerning the Occurrences of this present Age, by L.

L. Hoffmann, Vienna, 1795. /

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*' errors." He's naturally (being a Catholic) very severe on the Protestants, (and indeed he has much reason,) and by this has drawn on himself many bitter retorts. He has however defended himself against all that are of any consequence to his good name and veracity, in a manner that fully convinces any impartial reader, and turns to the confusion of the slanderers.

Hoffmann says, that "he saw some of those men" fellows; that they were not all of one tenor, some "being addressed to friends, of whose success they" were already assured." One very important article of their contents is Earnest exhortations to establish in every quarter "secret Schools of political education" and schools for the public education of the children of the people under the direction of well-principled instructors; and offers of pecuniary assistance for this purpose and for the encouragement of writers in favour of the Revolution and for indemnifying the patriotic heroes who suffer by their endeavours to suppress publications which have an opposite tendency. We know very well that the immense revenue of the Duke of Orleans was scattered among all the rabble of the Palais Royal, Can we doubt of its being employed in this manner? Our doubts must vanish, when we see that not long after this was publicly said in the National Assembly, "that this method was the most effectual for accomplishing their purpose of setting Europe in a flame." "But much expence," says the speaker, "will attend it, and much has already been employed, which cannot be named" because it is given in secret." The Assembly had given the Illumination war-hoop—"Peace with cottages but war with palaces"—"Apouvoir revolutionnaire is mentioned, which supercedes all narrow thoughts, all ties of morality. Lequinio publishes the most detestable book that ever issued from a

printer

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printing press, Les Prejuges vaincus containing all the principles, and expressed in the very words of Lilliputian.

Hoffmann says, that the French Propaganda had many adherents in Vienna, and many friends whom he could point out. Mirabeau in particular had many connections in Vienna, and to the certain knowledge of Hoffmann, carried on a great correspondence in cyphers. The progress of Illumination had been very great in the Austrian States, and a statesman gave him an account of their proceedings, (qui font redresser ses cheveux) which makes one's hair stand on end. "I no longer wonder," says he, "that the Neueste Arhetung des Spartacus und Philo was forbidden." "O ye almighty Illuminati what can you not accomplish by your serpent like insinuation

and «' cunning !" Your leaders say, " This book is " dangerous, because it will teach wicked men " the most refined methods of rebellion, and it " must never get into the hands of the common " people. They have failed with the most impudent face to some Princes, who did not perceive the deeper-laid reason for suppressing the " book. The leaders of the Illuminati are, not ** without reason, in anxiety, left the inferior classes of their own Society should make just *' reprisals for having been so safely tricked, by " keeping them back and in profound ignorance ••^ of their real designs ; and for working on ' * them by the very goodness of their hearts, to ' * their final ruin ; and left the Free Masons, •' whom they have also abused, should think of " revenge on themselves, when the mischief of their deceivers has been so clearly exposed. It is in vain for them to talk of the danger ^ of instructing the people in the methods of fo

■* mentoring

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** meriting rebellion by this book. The aims are " too apparent, and even in the neighbourhood of *' Regensburg, where the strength of the Illumi' *' nation lay, every person said aloud, that the Illuminati discovered by this book was High Treason, and the most unheard of attempt to annihilate every religion and every civil government." He goes on: " In 1790 I was as ' * well acquainted with the spirit of the Illumination as at present, but only not so documented by their constitutional acts, as it is now " by the Neijle Arbeitung des Spartacus and " Philo^ My Masonic connections were formerly *' extensive, and my publication entitled Eighteen " Paragraphs Concerning Free Masonry^ procured *' me more acquaintance with Free Masons of *' the greatest worth, and of Illuminati equally '• upright, persons of respectability and knowledge, who had discovered and repented the " trick and inveigling conduct of the Order. All " of us jointly swore opposition to the Illuminati^ *' and my friends considered me as a proper instrument for this purpose. To whet my zeal, " they put papers into my hands which made me *' shudder, and raised my dislike to the highest " pitch. I received from them lists of the members and among them saw names which I lamented exceedingly. Thus stood matters in ^* 1790, when the French Revolution began to *' take a serious turn» The

intelligent saw in the " open system of the Jacobins the complete hidden system of the illuminati. We knew that this system included the whole world in its aims, and France was only the place of its first explosion. The Propaganda works in every corner to this hour, and its emissaries run about in all the four quarters of the world, and are to

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be found in numbers in every city that is a feat of government.'^

" He farther relates how they in Vienna wanted to enlighten him, and, as this failed, how they have abused him even in the foreign newspapers.

" I have personal knowledge (continues he) that in Germany a {Isond Mirabcau, Mauvillon, had proposed in detail a plan of revolution, entirely and precisely suited to the present state of Germany. This he circulated among several Free Mason Lodges, among all the Illuminated Lodges which still remained in Germany, and through the hands of all the emissaries of the Propaganda, who had been already dispatched to the frontiers (vorposten) of every district of the empire, with means for stirring up the people.'* (N. B. In 1792, Mauvillon, finding abundant support and encouragement in the appearance of things round him, when the French arms had penetrated every where, and their invitations to revolt had met with so hearty a reception from the discontented in every state, came boldly forward, and, in the Brunswick Journal for March 1792, declared that *'he heartily *' rejoiced in the French Revolution, wished it all " success, and thought himself liable to no reproach when he declared his hopes that a firm *' lar Revolution would speedily take place in " Germany.")

In the Hamburg Political Journal, August, September, and October 1790, there are many proofs of the machinations of emissaries from the Mason Lodges of Paris among the German Free Masons—See pages 836, 963, 1087, c-'C. It appears that a club (which) has taken the name of Propaganda* and meets once a week at night, in the form of a

Mason

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Mafon Lodge. It confiflsof perfons of all nations, and is under the diredlion of the Grand Mafter, the Duke of Orleans. De Lcii re is one of the Wardens, They have divided iiiirope into colonies, to which they give revoliiiionary names, llich as the Cap, the Pike^ the Lantern, Sec, They have minifters in thcfe colonies. (One is pointed out in Saxony, by marks which I prelume are well underftood.) A fecret preis was found in Saxe Gotha, furnidied with German types, which priored a feditious work called the J our 7ml of Humanity, This journai w^as found in the mornings lying in the llreets and highways. The houfe belonged to an Illimiinatus of the name of Duport, a poor fchoolmafter—-he w^as alTociated with another in Straibiiro-, who was alfo an IUuminatus.—

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His name was Meyer, the winter of the Strafom-^^ Newspaper. He had been fomc time a teacher in Salzmann's academy, who we fee was aifo an Illuminattis^ but difpieafed with their proceedings almoil at fArft, (Private Correpondence.)

I have perfonal knowledge (continues Profeflbr Hoffman) that in 1791, during the tem^l porary dearth at Vienna, ieveral of thefe emilfaries wxrc bufy in corrupting the minds of the *' poor, by telling them that in like manner the court had produced a famine in Paris in i^Sp, I detefi:ed fome of them, and expofed them in my Patriotic R€77iarhs on the Prtfent Dearth^ ** and had the fatifadion of feeing my cndea*' voors of confiderable eflc<n:,"

Surely thefe fa^tS (liow that the Anarchifts of France knew of the German Illuminati, and confided in their fupport. They alfo knew to what particular Lodges thty could addrefs themfelvcs with fafcty and confidence.—But what need is there of more argument^ when we know the zeal

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of the niuminati, and the unhopcd for opportunity that the Revolution had given them of ailing v^ith immediate effed: in carrying on their great and

darling work? Can we doubt that they would eagerly put their hand to the Plough? And, to complete the proof, do we not know from the lists found in the secret correspondence of the Order, that they already had Lodges in France, and that in 1790 and 1791 many Illuminated Lodges in Germany, viz. Mentz, Worms, Spire, Frankfort, actually interfered, and produced great effects. In Switzerland too they were no less active. They had Lodges at Geneva and at Bern, At Bern two Jacobins were sentenced to several years imprisonment, and among their papers were found their patents of Illumination. I also see the fate of Geneva ascribed to the operations of Illuminati residing there, by several writers—particularly by Girtanner, and by the Gottingen editor of the Revolution Almanac.

I conclude this article with an extract or two from the proceedings of the National Assembly and Convention, which make it evident that their principles and their practice are precisely those of the Illuminati, on a great scale.

When the assumption of the Duchy of Savoy as an 84th Department was debated, Danton said to the Convention.

" In the moment that we send freedom to a nation on our frontier, we must say to them you must have no more Kings—for if we are surrounded by tyrants, their coalition puts our own freedom in danger.—When the French nation sent us hither, it created a great committee for the general infurrection of the people."

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On the 19th of November 1792 it was decreed, " That the Convention, in the name of the French nation, tenders help and fraternity to all people who would recover their liberty." On the 21st of November, the President of the Convention said to the pretended deputies of the Duchy of Savoy, " Representatives of an independent people, important to mankind was the day when the National Convention of France pronounced its sentence. Royal dignity is abolished"

lified, From that day many nations will, in

future, reckon the era of their political existence.—From the beginning of civil establishments Kings have been in opposition to their nations—but now they rise up to annihilate Kings.—Reason, when (she darts her rays into every corner, lays open eternal truths She

alone enables us to pass sentence on despots, hitherto the scourge of other nations." But the most distinguished exhibition of principle is to be seen in a report from the diplomatic committee, who were commissioned to deliberate on the conduct which France was to hold with other nations. On this report was founded the decree of the 15th of December 1793. The Reporter addresses the Convention as follows;

*' The Committees of Finance and War arise in the beginning—What is the object: of the war which we have taken in hand ? Without all doubt the object: is the annihilation of

ALL PRIVILEGES, WAR WITH THE PALACES,

PEACE WITH THE COTTAGES. These are the principles on which your declaration of war is founded. All tyranny, all privilege, must be treated as an enemy in the countries where we set our foot. This is the genuine result of our " principles.—But it is not with Kings alone that

2 Q^ " we

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" we are to wage war—were these our sole enemies, we should only have to bring down ten " or twelve heads. We have to fight with all " their accomplices, with the privileged orders, " who devour and have oppressed the people during many centuries.

" We must therefore declare ourselves for a " revolutionary power in all the countries into which we enter—(Loud applause from the Assembly) (emphatically)—Nor need we put on the cloak of humanity—we disdain such little arts.

— We must clothe ourselves with all the brilliancy of reason, and all the force of the nation. We need not mask our principles— the despots know them already. The first thing we must do is to ring the alarm bell, for insurrection and uproar.— We must, in a solemn manner, let the people see the banishment of their tyrants and

* ■ privileged castes otherwise, the people, and

enslaved to their fetters, will not be able to break their bonds.— It will effect nothing, merely to excite a rising of the people— this would only be giving them words instead of (leading) by them,

" And since, in this manner, we ourselves are the Revolutionary Administration, all that is against the rights of the people must be overthrown at our entry— We must display our principles by actually destroying all tyranny; and our generals after having chafed away the tyrants and their satellites, must proclaim to the people that they have brought them happiness; and then, on the spot, they must suppress tithes, feudal rights, and every species of servitude,"

* But we shall have done nothing if we stop here. Aristocracy still domineers— we must therefore suppress all authorities existing in the

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CpUP. iv; THE FRENCH REVOLUTION; 3II

" hands of the upper classes— When the Revolutionary Authority appears, there must be nothing of the old establishments.— A popular system must be introduced— every office must be occupied by new functionaries— and the Sans Culottes in all places have a share in the Administration.

" Still nothing is done, till we declare aloud the profusion of our principles to such as want only half freedom.— We must say to them— If you think of compromising with the privileged castes, we cannot further deal with tyrants— They are our enemies, and we must treat them as enemies, because they are neither for Liberty nor Equality.— Show yourselves

disposed to receive a new constitution—and the Convention will not only
(stand by you, but will give you permanent support; we will defend you
against the vengeance of your tyrants—* against their attacks, and against
their return. —Therefore abolish from among you the Nobles, and every
ecclesiastical and military incorporation. They are incompatible with
Equality.—Henceforward you are citizens, all equal in rights—equally
called upon to rule to defend, and to serve your country.—The agents

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" of the French Republic will inspire and assist " you in forming a free
constitution, and assure " you of happiness and fraternity."

This Report was loudly applauded, and a decree formed in precise
conformity to its principles. Both were ordered to be translated into all
languages, and copies to be furnished to their generals, with orders to have
them carefully dispersed in the countries which they invaded.

And, in completion of these decrees, their armies found it easy to collect as
many discontented

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or worthless persons in any country as sufficed for setting up a tree of
liberty. This they held as a sufficient call for their interference.—Sometimes
they performed this ceremony themselves—a representation was easily
made up in the same way—and then, under the name of a free constitution,
the nation was forced to acquiesce in a form dictated at the point of the
bayonet, in which they had not the smallest liberty to choose—and they
were plundered of all they had, by way of compensating to France for the
trouble (she had

taken. And this they call Liberty,—It needs no comment.—

Thus have I attempted to prove that the present awful situation of Europe, and the general fermentation of the public mind in all nations, have not been altogether the natural operations of discontent, oppression, and moral corruption, although these have been great, and have operated with fatal energy; but that this political fever has been carefully and systematically heightened by bodies of men, who professed to be the physicians of the State, and, while their open practice employed cooling medicines, and a treatment which all approved, administered in secret the most inflammatory poisons, which they made up so as to flatter the diseased fancy of the patient. Although this was not a plan begun, carried on, and completed by the same persons, it was undoubtedly an uniform and confident scheme, proceeding on the same unvaried principle, and France undoubtedly now smarting under all the woes of German Illumination.

I beg leave to suggest a few thoughts, which may enable us to draw some advantage from this shocking mass of information.

General

CHAP. IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. V. OJ^^

General Reflections.

I. I may observe, in the first place, and I beg it may be particularly attended to, that in all those villainous machinations against the peace of the world, the attack has been first made on the principles of Morality and Religion. The conspirators saw that till these are extirpated, they have no chance of success; and their manner of proceeding shews that they consider Religion and Morality as inseparably connected together. We learn much from this—*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*—They endeavour to destroy our religious sentiments, by first corrupting our morals. They try to inflame our passions, that when the demands from this quarter become urgent, the restraints of Religion may immediately come in sight, and stand in the way. They are careful, on this occasion, to give such a view of those restraints, that the real

origin of them does not appear.— We are made to believe that they have been altogether the contrivance of Priests and despots, in order to get the command of us. They take care, to support these assertions by facts, which, to our great (harm, and greater misfortune, are but too numerous. Having now the passions on their side, they find no difficulty in persuading the voluptuary, or the discontented, that tyranny, actually exerted, or resolved on in future, is the sole origin of religious restraint. He seeks no further argument, and gives himself no trouble to find any. Had he examined the matter with any care, he would find himself just brought back to those very feelings of moral excellence and moral depravity that he wishes to get rid of altogether; and these would tell him that pure Religion

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does not by a single restraint on us that a noble nature would not have laid on itself—nor enjoins a single duty which an ingenuous and warm heart would not be ashamed to find itself deficient in. He would then see that all the fondlings of Religion are fitted to his high rank in the scale of existence.— And the more he contemplates his future prospects, the more they brighten upon his view, the more attainable they appear, and the more he is able to know what they may probably be. Having attained this happy state of mind, (an attainment in the power of any kind heart that is earned in the enquiry) he will think that no punishment is too great for the unthankful and groveling soul which can forego such hopes, and reject these noble proffers, for the comparatively frivolous and transitory gratifications of life. He is not frightened into worthy and virtuous conduct by fears of such merited punishment; but if not enticed into it by his high expectations, he is at least retained in the paths of virtue by a kind of manly flame.

But all this is overlooked, or is kept out of sight in the intrusions of Illuminatism. In these (heed must be kept always directed to the Despot. This is the bugbear, and every thing is made to con-

with present or future tyranny and oppression

Therefore Religion is held out as a combination of terrors—the invention of the itate-tools, the priels. But it is not eafy to ftifie the fuggeftions of Nature—• therefore no pains are fpared to keep them down^ by encreahng the uncertainty and doubts which arife in the courfe of all fpeculations on fuch fubjects* Such difficulties occur in all fcientific difcufTions.—^ Heie they muit be numerous and embarrassing—for in this enquiry we come near the firft: principles of things, and the firft pncicipies of human knowledge. The geometer does not wonder at mif

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takes even in his fcience, the mofl: finple of all

others. Nor does the mechanic or the cheiuifl;

rejed all his fcience, becaufe he cannot attain clear conceptions of iome of the natural reiations which operate in the phenomena under his confideration.^—Nor do any of thefe lludents of nature brand wirth the name of fool, or knave, or bigot, another perfon who has drawn a difi'ereut concLu

fiou from the phenomenon. In one point they

all agree—they find themfelves poffeffed of faculties which enable them to fpeculate, and to difcover ; and they find, that the operation of thofe faculties is tjuite unlike the things which they contemplate by their means—and they feel a Jatisja&ion in the pqf

Jeffion of them^ and in this diftindion.^ But this

feems a misfortune to our Illuminators. I have long been ftruck v^ith this. If by deep meditation I have folved a problem which has baffled the endeavours of ethers, I (hould hardly thank the perfon .who convinced me that my fucefs was entirely owing to the particular fate of my health, by which my brain was kept free from many irritations to which other perfons are expofed. Yet this is the condud of the Illuminated—They are abundantly

self-conceited ; and yet they continually endeavour to destroy all grounds of self-elimination.— They rejoice in every discovery that is reported to them of some resemblance, unnoticed before, between mankind and the inferior creation, and would be happy to find that the resemblance is complete. It is very true, Mr. Pope's " Poor Indian, with untutor'd *' mind," had no objection to his dog's going to heaven with him :

" And thinks, admitted to that equal fate, " His faithful dog shall bear him company."

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This is not an abject, but it is a modest sentiment. But our high-minded philosophers, who, with Beatrice in the play, " cannot brook obedience to a *' wayward piece of marble," if it be in the shape of a Prince, have far other notions of the matter. Indeed they are not yet agreed about it. Mr. de la Meihérie hopes, that before the enlightened Republic of France has got into its teens, he shall be able to tell his fellow-citizens, in his *Journal de Physique*[^] that particular form of crystallization which men have been accustomed to call God.— Dr. Priestley again deduces all intelligence from elastic undulations, and will probably think, that his own great discoveries have been the quiverings of some fiery marble miasma. While Pope's poor Indian hopes to take his dog to heaven with him, these Illuminators hope to die like dogs, and that both soul and body shall be as if they never had been.

Is not this a melancholy result of all our Illumination? It is of a piece with the termination of the ideal Philosophy, viz. professed and total ignorance. Should not this make us start back and hesitate, before we put like wayward children at the hardships of civil subordination, and before we make a sacrifice to our ill humour of all that we value ourselves for ? Does it not carry ridicule and absurdity in its forehead ?— Such assertions of personal worth and dignity, (always excepting Princes and Priests,) and such abject acknowledgments of worthlessness.— Does not this, of itself, show that there is some radical fault in the whole ? It has all arisen from what they have called Illumination[^] and this turns out to be worse than darkness — But we also know that it has all arisen from self-conceited discontent, and

that it has been brought to its present state by the rage of speculation. We may venture to put the question to any man's conscience — whether discontent

did not precede his doubts about his own nature and whether he has not encouraged the train of argument that tended to degrade him? "Thy wife was father, Harry, to that thought." — Should not this make us distrust, at least, the operations of this faculty of our mind, and try to moderate and check this darling propensity. — It seems a misfortune of the age — for we feel that it is a natural source of disturbance and revolution.

But here it will be immediately said, "What, we give over thinking — be no longer rational" as creatures, and believe every lie that is told us?" By no means. — Let us be really rational creatures — and, taught by experience, let us, in all our speculations on subjects which engage the passions, guard ourselves with the most anxious care against the risk of having our judgments warped by our desires. — There is no propensity of our nature of which the proper and moderate indulgence is not beneficial to man, and which is not hurtful, when this indulgence is carried too far. — And if we candidly peruse the page of history, we may be convinced that the abuse is great in proportion as the subject is important. What has been so ruinously perverted as the religious principle? — What horrid superstition has it produced? The Reader will not, I hope, take it amiss that I presume to direct his attention to some maxims which ought to conduct a prudent man in his indulgence of a speculative disposition, and apply them to the case in hand.

Whoever will for a while call off his attention from the common affairs of life, the Curce hominum est rerum pondus inane and will but reflect a little on that wonderful principle within him, which carries him over the whole universe, and shows him its various relations — Whoever also remarks how very frail a proportion his own individual existence bears

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^iS THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP, iv,

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to this immeasurable scene, cannot but feel an inexpressible pleasure in the contemplation of his own powers—He multiplies in his own estimation, and he is disposed to cherish with fondness this principle which so eminently raises him above all around him. Of all the sources of human vanity this is surely the most manly, the most excusable, and the most likely to be extravagantly indulged.—We may be certain that it will be so indulged, and that men will frequently speculate for the sake of speculation alone, and that they will have too much confidence in the results of this favourite occupation.—As there have been ages of indolent and abject credulity and superstitiousness, it is next to certain that there are also times of wild and extravagant speculation—and when we see it becoming a sort of general passion, we may be certain that this is a case in point.

This can hardly be denied to be the character of the present day. It is not denied. On the contrary it is gloried in as the prerogative of the eighteenth century. All the speculations of antiquity are considered as glimmerings (with the exceptions of a few brighter flashes) when compared with our present meridian splendour. We should therefore listen with caution to the inferences from this boasted illumination. Also when we reflect on what passes in our own minds, and on what we observe in the world, of the mighty influence of our desires and passions on our judgments, we should carefully notice whether any such warping of the belief is probable in the present case. That it is so is almost certain—for the general and immediate effect of this illumination is to lessen or remove many restraints which the traditions of religion lay on the indulgence of very strong passions, and to diminish our regard for a certain purity or correctness of manners, which religion recommends as the only con-

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duel suited to our noble natures, and as absolutely necessary for attaining that perfection and happi-

ness of which we are capable. For surely if we

take away religion, it will be wisdom *' to eat and '* to drink, for to-morrow we die.* If, moreover, we see this Illumination extolled above all science, as friendly to virtue, as improving the heart, and as producing a just morality, which will lead to happiness both for ourselves and others^ but perceive at the same time that these assertions are made at the expense of principles, which our natural feelings force us to venerate as supreme and paramount to all others, we may then be certain that our informer is trying to mislead and de-

ceive us.- For all virtue and goodness both of

heart and conduct, is in perfect harmony, and there is no jarring or inconsistency. But we must pass this sentence on the doctrines of this Illumination. For it is a melancholy truth that they have been preached and recommended, for the most part^ by clergymen, parish-ministers, who, in the presence of invoked Deity, and in the face of the world, have set their solemn seal to a system of doctrines directly opposite to those recommended in their writings ; which doctrines they solemnly profess to believe, and solemnly swear to inculcate. Surely the informations and instructions of such men should be rejected. Where shall we find their real opinions ? In their solemn oaths? ^-^or in these infidel dissertations?—In either case, they are deceivers, whether misled by vanity or by the mean desire of church-emoluments ; or they are prostitutes, courting the society of the wealthy and sensual. Honesty, like justice, admits of no degrees. A man is honest, or he is a knave, and who would trust a knave ? But such men are unfitted instructors for another reason—they are

unwise;

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unwise ; for, whatever they may think, they are not respected as men of worth, but are inwardly despised as parasites, by the rich, who admit them into their company, and treat them with civility, for their own reasons. We take instructions not merely from the knowing, the learned, but from the wise—not therefore from men who give such evidences of wisdom.

Such would be the conduct of a prudent man[^] who licenses to the intrusions of another with the serious intention of profiting by them. In the present case he sees plain proofs of degraded self estimation, of dishonesty, and of mean motives. But the prudent man will go further—he will remark that dissolute manners, and actions which are inevitably subversive of the peace and order, nay, of the very existence of society, are the natural and necessary consequences of irreligion. Should any doubt of this remain in his mind ; (should he sometimes think of an Epicurean, or one or two individuals of antiquity, who were eminently virtuous, without the influence of religious sanctions, he should recollect, that the Stoics were animated by the thought, that while the wife man was playing the game of life, the gods were looking on, and pleased with his skill. Let him read the beautiful account given by Dr. Smith of the rise of the Stoic philosophy, and he will see that it was an artificial but noble attempt of a few exalted minds, enthusiasts in virtue, aiming to steel their souls against the dreadful but unavoidable misfortunes to which they were continually exposed by the daily recurring revolutions in the turbulent democracies of ancient Greece, There, a philosopher was this day a magistrate, and the next day a captive and a slave. He would see that this fair picture of mental happiness and independence was

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fitted for the contemplation of only a few choice spirits, but had no influence on the bulk of mankind. He must admire the noble characters who were animated by this manly enthusiasm, and who have really exhibited some wonderful pictures of virtuous heroism ; but he will regret, that the influence of these manly, these natural principles, was not more extensive. He will say to himself, " How will a whole nation act when religious sanctions are removed, and men are actuated by reason alone?" — He is not without instruction on this important subject. France has given an awful lesson to surrounding nations, by allowing them what is the natural effect of striking off the religious principle, and the veneration for that pure morality which characterizes Christianity. By a decree of the Convention, (June 6, 1794) it is declared, that there is nothing criminal in the promiscuous

commerce of the sexes, and therefore nothing that derogates from the female character, when woman forgets that (he is the depository of all domestic satisfaction

that her honour is the sacred bond of Co

cial life that on her modesty and delicacy

depend all the respect and confidence that will make a man attach himself to her society, free her from labour, share with her the fruits of all his own exertions, and work with willingness and delight, that (he may appear on all occasions his equal, and the ornament of all his acquisitions. In the very argument which this degraded body of senators has given for the propriety of this decree, it has degraded woman below all estimation. " It is to prevent her from murdering the fruit of unlawful love, by removing her (home, and by relieving her from the " fear of want." The senators say, " the Republic wants citizens, and therefore must not only re

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CHAP. IV[^]

" move this temptation of home[^] but must: take care " of the mother while she nurses the child.- It is " the property of the nation, and must not be lost." The woman all the while is considered only as the she-animal, the breeder of Sans Culottes. This is the moral of Ilkmission. It is really amusing (for things revolting to nature now amuse) to observe with what fidelity the principles of the Illuminati have expressed the sentiments which take possession of a people who have shaken off the shackles of Religion and morality. The following is part of the address to Pylarchion and the company mentioned in page 257 : " ■ Once more, Pylarchion, I indulge you with a look behind you to the flowery days of childhood. Now look forwards, young woman / the holy circle of the marriageable[^] {ynannbaren) welcome you. Young men, honour the young woman[^] the

future breeder {gebaererin) !^ Then, to all.— " Rejoice in the dawn of" Illumination and of Freedom. Nature at last enjoys her sacred never-fading rights. Long was her voice kept down by civil subordination,^ but the days of your majority now draw nigh, and you will no longer, under the authority of guardians, account it a reproach to consider with enlightened eyes the secret workshops of nature, and to enjoy your work and duty." Minos thought this very fine, but it raised a terrible disturbance and broke up the assembly.

Such are the effects of this boasted enlightening of the human mind with respect to religion and morality. Let us next consider what is the result of the mighty innovations which we have got in respect of our social or political connections.

II. We have learned the sum total of this political Illumination, and see that, if true, it is melancholy, destructive of our present comforts, numerous as they

CHAP. iv. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 323

they are, and affords no prospect of redress from which we can profit, but, on the contrary, plunges mankind into dissension, mutual injury, and universal misery, and all this for the chance only of prevailing in the contest, and giving our posterity a chance of going on in peace, if no change shall be produced, as in former times, by the efforts of ambitious men. But the Illumination appears to be partial, nay false. What is it ? It holds out to the prince nothing but the renunciation of all his prerogatives, rights and claims, sanctioned by the quiet possession of ages, and by all the feelings of the human heart which give any notion of right to his lowered subject. All these prerogatives and claims are discovered to have arisen from usurpations, and are therefore tyranny. It has been discovered, that all subordinate subjections were enforced, therefore their continuance is slavery, But both of these historical assertions are in a great degree false, and the inferences from them are unreasonable. The world has gone on as we see it go on at present. Most principalities or sovereignties have arisen as we see personal authorities and influence arise every day among ourselves. Business for the whole must be done. Most men are sufficiently occupied by their private affairs, and they

are indolent even in these — they are contented when another does the thing (or them. There is not a little village, nor a society of men, where this is not seen every day. Some men have an enjoyment in this kind of vicarious employment. Other men like influence and power, and thus are compensated for their trouble. Thus many petty managers of public affairs arise in every country. The mutual animosities of individuals, and still more, the animosities of tribes, clans, and different associations, give rise to another kind of superiors — i.e. leaders, who direct the struggles of the rest,

whether

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whether for offence or defence. The descendants of Israel said, *' they wanted a man to go out before " the people, like other nations." As the small business of a few individuals requires a manager or a leader, so do some more general affairs of these petty superiors.— Many of these also are indolent enough to wish this trouble taken off their hands ; and thus another rank of superiors arises, and a third, and so on, till a great State may be formed ; and in this gradation each class is a competent judge of the conduct of that class only which is immediately

above it.

All this may arise, and has often arisen, from voluntary concession alone. This concession may proceed from various causes,—from confidence in superior talents— from confidence in great worth,— most generally from the respect or deference which all men feel for great possessions. This is frequently founded in self-interest and expectations of advantage ; but it is natural to man, and perhaps springs from our instinctive sympathy with the satisfactions of others— we are unwilling to disturb them, and even wish to promote them.

But this subordination may arise, and has often arisen, from other causes— from the love of power and influence, which makes some men eager to lead others, or even to manage their concerns. We see this every day, and it may be perfectly innocent. It often arises from the desire of gain of one kind or another.— This also may frequently be indulged with perfect innocence, and

even with general advantage. Frequently, however, this subordination is produced by the love of power or of gain pushed to an immoderate degree of ambition, and rendered unjust. Now there arises oppression, tyranny, and injustice, and finally. Now appears an opposition between the rights or claims of the ruler and of the

people.

CHAPTER iv. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 33

people. Now the rulers come to consider themselves as a different class, and their transactions are only with each other.—Prince becomes the rival or the enemy of Prince; and in their contests one prevails, and the dominion is enlarged. This rivalry may have begun in any rank of superiors; even between the first managers of the affairs of the smallest communities; and it must be remarked that they only are the immediate gainers or losers in the contest, while those below them live at ease, enjoying many advantages of the delegation of their own concerns.

No human society has ever proceeded purely in either of these two ways, but there has always been a mixture of both.—But this process is indispensably necessary for the formation of a great nation, and for all the consequences that result only from such a coalition.—Therefore it is necessary to give rise to all those comforts, and luxuries, and elegances, which are to be found only in great and cultivated states. It is necessary for producing such enjoyments as we see around us in Europe, which we prize so highly, and for which we are making all this stir and disturbance, I believe that no man who expects to be believed will positively assert that human nature and human enjoyments are not meliorated by this cultivation.—It seems to be the intention of nature, and, notwithstanding the follies and vices of many, we can have little hesitation in saying that there are in the most cultivated nations of Europe, and even in the highest ranks of those nations, men of great virtue and worth, and of high accomplishment.—Nor can we deny that such men are the finest specimens of human nature. Rousseau indeed wrote a whimsical pamphlet, in which he had the vanity to think that he had proved that all these fruits of cultivation were losses to humanity and virtue.—Yet Rousseau could not be contented with the

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3^6 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. IV

society of the rude and unpolished, although he pretended that he was almost the sole supporter of pure virtue.—He supported himself, not by assisting the simple peasant, but by writing trifling and lascivious novels for the pampered rich.

This is the circumstance entirely overlooked, or almost kept out of sight, in the boasted Illumination of these days. No attention is paid to the important changes which have happened in national greatness, in national connection, in national improvement—yet we never think of parting with any of the advantages, real or imaginary, which these changes have produced—nor do we reflect that in order to keep a great nation together—to make it ad with equality, or with preponderancy, among other nations, the individual exertions must be concentrated, must be directed—and that this requires a ruler vested with supreme power, and interested by some great and endearing motive—such as hereditary possession of this power and influence, to maintain and defend this coalition of men.—All this is overlooked, and we attend only to the subordination which is indispensably necessary. Its grievances are immediately felt, and they are heightened tenfold by a delicacy or sensibility which springs from the great improvements in the accommodations and enjoyments of life, which the gradual usurpation and subsequent subordination have produced, and continue to support. But we are determined to have the elegance and grandeur of a palace without the prince.—We will not give up any of our luxuries and refinements, yet will not support those high ranks and those nice minds which produced them, and which must continue to keep them from degenerating into barbarous simplicity and coarse sensuality. We would keep the philosophers, the poets, the artists, but not the Maecenas. It is very true that in such a state there would be no Conjuratiion des

Philosophes;

onAP. ir. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: 327

Philosophes ; for in such a state this vermin of philosophers and scribblers would not have existed. In short, we would have what is impossible.

I have no hesitation in saying, that the British Constitution is the form of government for a great and refined nation in which the ruling sentiments and propensities of human nature seem most happily blended and balanced. There is no occasion to vaunt it as the ancient rights of Britons, the wisdom of ages, &c. It has attained its present pitch of perfection by degrees, and this not by the efforts of wisdom, but by the struggles of vice and folly, working on a rich fund of good nature, and of manly spirit, that are conspicuous in the British character. I do not hesitate to say that it is the only form of government which will admit and give full exercise to all the respectable propensities of our nature, with the least chance of disturbance and the greatest probability of man's arriving at the highest pitch of improvement in every thing that raises him above the beasts of the field. Yet there is no part of it that may not, that is not, abused, by pushing it to an improper length, and the same watchful care is necessary for preserving our inestimable blessings that was employed in acquiring them. This is to be done, not by flying at once to an abstract theory of the rights of man. There is an evident folly in this procedure. What is this theory ? It is the best general sketch that we can draw of social life, deduced from our knowledge of human nature. And what is this knowledge ? It is a well digested abstract, or rather a declaration of what we have observed of human actions. What is the use therefore of this intermediate picture, this theory of the rights of man ?—It has a chance of being unlike the original it must certainly have imper-

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fections, therefore it can be of no use to us. We should go at once to the original—we should consider how men have acted.—what have been their mutual expectations—their fond propensities—what of these are inconsistent with each other—what are the degrees of indulgence which have been admitted in them all without disturbance.—I will venture to say

that whoever does this, will find himself imperceptibly led to contemplate a mixed hereditary monarchy, and will figure to himself a parliament of King, Lords, and Commons, all looking at each other with somewhat of a cautious or jealous eye, while the rest of the nation are fitting, " each under his own vine and *' under his own fig-tree, and there is none to " make him afraid ;" —in one word, the Constitution of Great Britain.

A most valuable result of such contemplation will be a thorough conviction that the grievance which is most clamorously inflicted on is the inevitable consequence of the liberty and security which we enjoy. I mean ministerial corruption, with all the dismal tale of placemen, and pensioners, and rotten boroughs, &c. &c. These are never seen

in a despotic government there they are not

Wanted—nor can they be very apparent in an uncultivated and poor state—but in a luxurious nation, where pleasures abound, where the returns of industry are secure; here an individual looks on every thing as his own acquisition— he does not feel his relation to the state—has no patriotism—thinks that he would be much happier if the state would let him alone. He is fretted by the restraints which the public weal lays on him—therefore government and governors appear as checks and hindrances to his exertions—hence a general inclination to reform administration. Yet public

business

business must be done, that we may lie down and rise again in safety and peace. Administration must be supported—there are always persons who wish to possess the power that is exercised by the present ministers, and would turn them out. How is all this to be remedied? I see no way but by applying to the selfish views of individuals—by rewarding the friends of administration—This may be done with perfect virtue—and from this the selfish will conceive hopes, and will support a virtuous ministry— but they are as ready to help a wicked one. This becomes the greatest misfortune of a free nation. Ministers are tempted to bribe—and, if a systematic opposition be considered as a necessary part of a practical constitution, it is almost indispensable—and it is nowhere so prevalent as in a pure democracy. Laws may be contrived to make it very troublesome, but can never extirpate

it nor greatly diminish it: this can be done only by despotism, or by national virtue. It is a (hateful complaint we should not reprobate a few ministers, but the thousands who take the bribes. Nothing tends so much to diminish it in a corrupted nation as great limitations to the eligibility of representatives —and this is the beauty of our constitution.

We have not discovered[^] therefore, by this boasted Illumination, that Princes and superiors are nieces, and mud vanish from the earth ; nor that the people have now attained full age, and are fit to govern themselves. We want only to revel a little on the last fruits of national cultivation, which we would quickly consume, and never allow to be raised again. No matter how this progress began, whether from concession or usurpation— We possess it, and, if wise, we will preserve it, by preserving its indispensable supports. They

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have indeed been frequently employed very improperly, but their most pernicious abuse has been this breed of scribbling vermin, which have made the body politic smart in every limb.

Hear what opinion was entertained of the fates of France by their Prince, the father of Louis XVI the unfortunate martyr of Monarchy. *' By " the principles of our new Philosophers, the " Throne no longer wears the splendour^{^t^f} divi* nity. They maintain that it arose from violence, and that by the same justice that force erected it, force may again (take it, and over" turn it. The people can never give up their " power. They only let it out for their own ad*' vantage, and always retain the right to rescind " the contract, and resume it whenever their per[^] fonal advantage, their only rule of conduct, " requires it. Our philosophers teach in public *' what our passions suggest only in secret. They ** say to the Prince that all is permitted only " when all is in his power, and that his duty is " fulfilled when he has pleased his fancy. Then, *' surely, if the laws of self-interest, that is, the " self-will of human passions, (shall be so generally " admitted, that we thereupon forget

the eternal " laws of God and of Nature, ?dl conceptions of '^ right and wrong, of virtue and vice, of good " and evil, mud be extirpated from the human *' heart. The throne mud totter, the fubjects *' mud become unmanageable and mutinous, and " their ruler hard-hearted and inhuman. The " people will be inceifantly oppreffed or in an " uproar." — " What fervice will it be if I order " fuch a book to be burnt,^ — the author can Vv^rite *' another to-morrow," This opinion of a Prince is unpoHQicd indetd, and homely, hut itJs juft.

Weihaupt

CHAP. iv. T«E FRENCH REVOLUTION, 331

Weiftiaupt grants, that " there will be a terri" ble convulfion, and a fform — but this Vvill be " fucceeded by a calm — -the unequal will now be " equal — and when the caufe of difenfion is thus *' removed, the world will be in peace." — True, when the caufes of diifenfion are removed. Thus, the defrudtion of our crop by vermin is at an end when a flood has fwcept every thing away — but as new plants will fpring up in the wade, and, if not indantly devoured, will again cover the ground with verdure, fo the induftry of man, and his delire of comfort and confideration, will again accumulate in the hands of the diligent a greater proportion of the good things of life. In this infant (late of the emerging remains of former cultivation, comforts, which the prefent inhabitants of Europe would look on with contempt, will be great, improper, and hazardous acquifitions. The principles which authorife the propofed dreadful equalifation will as judly entitle the idleorunfuccefsful of future days to ilrip the poffeiTor of his advantages, and things mud ever remain on their favage level.

III. I think that the impreffion which the iniincerity of condud: of thole inftructors will leave on the mind, mud be highly ufeul. They are evidently teaching vv'hat they do not believe themfelves — and here I do not confine my remark to their preparatory doctrines, which they afterwards explode. I make it chiciiy with refpect to their grand odenfible principle, which pervades the whole, a principle whicii they arc obliged to adopt againd their will, -They knovy that the principles of virtue are rooted in the

heart, and that they can only be fmothered

but did they pretend to eradicate them and proclai ai bominem homini
lupura. all would foun at their

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33'2 TME FRENCH REVOLL'TION. CHAP. iVi

inflrudion. We are wheedled, by tickling our fancy with a notion that faced
virtue is not onjy fecure, but that it is only in fuch hearts that it exerts its
native energy. Senfible that the levelling maxims now fpoken of are
revolting to the mind, the Illuminators are under the neceffity of keeping us
from looking at the fhocking pidure, by difplaying a beautiful fcene of
Utopian happinefs — and they rock us afleep by the eternal lullaby of
morality and univerfal phitanthropyi Therefore the foregoing narration of
the perfonal condud of thefe infrudors and reformers of the worlds is highly
ufeful. All this is to be brought about by the native lovelinefs of pure virtue,
purged of the corruptions which fuperflitious fears have introduced, and
alfo purged of the leififh thoughts which are avowed by the advocates of
what their opponents call true religion. This is faid to hold forth eternal
rewards to the good, and to threaten the wicked with dreadful punifhment.
Experience has fhovvn how inefficient fuch motives are. Can they be
otherwife? lay our Illuminators. Are they not addrelTed to s principle that is
ungenerous and felfifh ? But our dodrines, fay they, touch the hearts of the
worthy. Virtue is beloved for her own fake, and all will yield to her gentle
fway. Bu6 look, Reader, look at Spartacus the murderer, at Cato the keeper
of poifons and the thief — Look at Tiberius^ at Alcibiades, and the relief the
Bavarian Pandemonium. Look at poor Bahrtd. Go to France — look at
Lequinio, at Condorcet*. Look

* De la Metherie fays, (Journ. de Phyf. Nov. 1792,) thaE CondQrcet was
brought up in the houfe of the old Duke of Rothefoucault, who treated him
as his fon — got Turgot to create a hicrative office for him, and raifed him
to all his eminence — yet he perfued him with malicious reports — and
adually employed ruffians to afTaffinate him Yet is Condorcet's writing a
model of Aimianity and tendernefs.

at

KLAP. iVi THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONTw

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at the Monfter Orleans, 'All were liars. Their

Hivinity had no influence on tht^ir profligate minds. They only wanted to wheedle you, by touching the? firings of huraanity and goodnefs which are yet braced up in your heart, and which ftill yield fweet harmony if you wil! accompany their notes with thofe of religion, and neither clog them vvith the groveling pleafures of fenfe, nor damp the whole with the thouscht of eternal lilence.

A moil worthy and accomplifhed gentleman, who took refuge in this country, leaving behind him his property, and friends to whom he was moft tenderly attached, often faid to nie that no'hirig fo much affected him as the revolution in the hearts of men. ^M^haraders which were unfpotted, hearts thoroughly known to himfelf, having been tried by many things which fearch the inmoll folds of felfifhnefs or malevolence—in (hcrt, perfens whofe judgments were excellent, and on whofe worth he could have relied his honour and his life, fo fafcinated by the contagion, that they came at lall: to behold, and even to commit the moft atrocious crimes with delight. — He ufed foratimes to utter a figh which pierced my heart, and would fay, that it was caufed by fome of thofe things that had come acrofs his thoughts. He breathed his laft among us, declaring that it was impoffible to recover peace of mind, without a total oblivion of the wickednefs and miferies he had beheld. — What a valuable advice, '* Let him that thinketh he ftandeth, take heed left he fall." — When the prophet told Hazael that he would betray his Prince, he exclaimed, " Is thy fervant a dog, that he fhould do fuch a thing ?" Yet next day he murdered him.

Never lince the beginning of the world, has true religion received fo complete an acknowledgment of her excellence, as has been extorted from the fanatics who have attempted to defroy her. Religion

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;^54 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, CHAI*. 11%

stood in their way, and the wretch Marat, as well as the steady villain Weiffiaupt, saw that they could not proceed till they had eradicated all sentiments of the moral government of the universe. Human nature, improved as it has been by religion, shrunk from the tasks that were imposed, and it must therefore be brutalized—The grand confederation was solemnly sworn to by millions in every corner of France—but, as Mirabeau said of the declaration of the Rights of Man, it must be made only the '* Almanack of the bygone year'—Therefore Lequinio must write a book, declaring oaths to be nonsense, unworthy of San Culottes, and all religion to be a farce. Not long after, they found that they had some use for a God—but he was gone—and they could not find another. Their constitution was gone—and they have not yet found another. What is now left them on which they can depend for awing a man into a respect for truth in his judicial declarations? what but the honour of a Citizen of France, who laughs at all engagements, which he has broken again and again? Religion has taken off with her every sense of human duty. What can we expect: but villainy from an Archbishop of Paris and his chapter, who made a public profession that they had been playing the villains for many years, teaching what they thought to be a bundle of lies? What but the very thing which they have done, cutting each other's throats?—Have not the enlightened citizens of France applauded the execution of their fathers? Have not the furies of Paris denounced their own children? But turn your eyes from the horrifying spectacle, and think on your own noble descent and alliance. You are not the accidental productions of a fatal chaos, but the work of a Great Artist, creatures that are cared for, born to noble professions, and conducted to them by the plainest

and

and most simple precepts, "to do justly, to love" mercy, and to walk humbly before God," not bewildered by the false and fluttering glare of French Philosophy, but conducted by this clear, single light, perceivable by all, "Do to others what you (should) reasonably expect them to do to you."

Think not the Muse whose hoarse voice you hear, , Contrasts with bigot
fr\vn her full brow, casts round Religion's orb the mills of Fear,

Or (hades with horror what with f miles should jHow.

No—(he would warn you with feraphic fire,

Heirs as ye are of Heaven's eternal day. Would bid you boldly to that
Heaven afplre,

Not link and fumber in your cells of clay.

Is this the bigot's rant ? Away, ye vain,

Your doubts, your fears, in gloomy dulnefs fteep ;

Go—foothe yeur fouts in ficknefs, death, or pain, With the fad folace of
eternal fleep.

Yet know, vain fceptics, know, th' Almighty Mind,

Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire, Bade his free foul, by earth nor
time confin'd.

To Heaven, to immortality afpire.

Nor ihall this pile of hope his bounty rear'd, . By vain philofophy be e'er
deftroy'd ; Eternity, by all or hop'd or fear'd, Shall be by all or fuffer'd or
enjoy'd^

Mason.

The unfortunate Prince who has taken refuge in this kingdom, and whose
situation among us is an illustrious mark of the generosity of the nation, and
of the sovereignty of its laws, said to one of the Gentlemen about him, that "
if this country was to *' escape the general wreck of nations, it would " owe
its preservation to Religion." — When this was doubted, and it was
observed, that there had not been wanting many Religionists in France :

- Tite, ^-"

336 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. IVc

"True," said the Prince, "but they were not earned.—I see here a serious interest in the thing, * The people know what they are doing when they * go to church—they understand something of it, " and take an interest in it." May his observation be just, and his expectations be fulfilled !

IV. I would again call upon my countrywomen with the most earnest concern and beseech them to consider this subject as of more particular importance to themselves than even to the men.—While woman is considered as a respectable moral agent, training along with ourselves for endless improvement then, and only then, will she be considered by lordly man as his equal ;—then, and only then, will she be allowed to have any rights, and those rights be respected. Strip women of this prerogative, and they become the drudges of man's indolence, or the pampered playthings of his idle hours, subject to his caprices, and slaves to his mean passions. Soon will their present empire of gallantry be over. It is a refinement of manners which sprang from Christianity; and when Christianity is forgotten, this artificial diadem will be taken from their heads, and unless they adopt the ferocious sentiments of their Gallic neighbour; and join in the general uproar, they will sink into the insignificance of the women in the turbulent republics of Greece, where they are never seen in the busy haunts of *Tnen, if we except four or five, who, during the course of as many centuries, emerged from the general obscurity, and appear in the historic page, by their uncommon talents, and by the sacrifice of what my fair countrywomen still hold to be the ornament of their sex. I would remind them, that they have it in their power to retain their present honourable station in society. They are our early instructors and while mothers in the

respectable

respectable stations of life continued to inculcate on the tender minds of their sons a veneration for the precepts of Religion, their pliant children, receiving their instructions along with the affectionate caresses of their mothers, got impressions which long retained their force, and which protected them from the impulses of youthful passions, till ripening years fitted their minds for listening to serious instruction from their public teachers. Sobriety and decency of manners were then no liar on the character of a youth, and he was thought capable of struggling for

independence, or pre-eminence, fit either for supporting or defending the state, although he was neither a toper nor a rake. I believe that no man who has seen thirty or forty years of life will deny that the manners of youth are sadly changed in this respect. And, without pretending to say that this has proceeded from the neglect, and almost total cessation of the moral education of the nursery, I think myself well warranted, from my own observation, to say that this education and the former manners of young men have quitted us together.

Some will call this prudery, and croaking. But I am almost transcribing from Cicero, and from Quintilian. Cornelia, Aurelia, Attia, and other ladies of the first rank, are praised by Cicero only for their eminence in this respect; but not because they were (singular, Quintilian says, that in the time immediately prior to his own, it had been the general practice of the ladies of rank to superintend the moral education both of sons and daughters. But of late, says he, they are so engaged in continual and corrupting amusements, such as the shows of gladiators, horse-racing, and deep play, that they have no time, and have yielded their places to Greek governesses and tutors, out

call" s

craft of a nation more subdued by their own vices

than by the Roman arms I dare say this was

laughed at, as croaking about the corruption of the age. But what was the consequence of all this?—The Romans became the most abandoned voluptuaries, and, to preserve their mean pleasures, they crouched as willing slaves to a succession of the vilest tyrants that ever disgraced humanity.

What a noble fund of self-estimation would our fair partners acquire to themselves, if, by reforming the manners of the young generation, they should be the means of restoring peace to the world! They have it in their power, by the renewal of the good old custom of early instruction, and perhaps still more, by impressing on the minds of their daughters the same sentiments, and obliging them to respect sobriety and decency in the youth, and pointedly to withhold their smiles and civilities from all who transgress

these in the same degree. This is a method of proceeding that will most certainly be victorious. Then indeed will the women be the favourites of their country. While therefore the German fair have been repeatedly branded with having welcomed the French invaders*, let our ladies stand up for the honour of free-born Britons, by turning against the pretended enlighteners of the world, the arms which nature has put into their hands, and which those profligates have presumptuously expended to

* I have met with this charge in many places; and one book in particular, written by a Prussian General Officer, who was in the country over-run by the French troops, gives a detail of the conduct of the women that is very remarkable. He also says, that infidelity has become very prevalent among the ladies in the higher circles. Indeed this melancholy account is to be found in many pages of the private correspondence of the Illuminati.

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employ in extending their influence over mankind. The empire of beauty is but short, but the empire of virtue is durable; nor is there an instance to be met with of its decline. If it be yet possible to reform the world, it is possible for the fair. By the constitution of human nature, they must always appear as the ornament of human life, and be the objects of fondness and affection; so that if any thing can make head against the selfish and overbearing dispositions of man, it is his respectful regard for the sex. But mere fondness has but little of the rational creature in it, and we see it harbour every day in the breast that is filled with the meanest and most turbulent passions. No where is it so strong as in the harems of the east; and as long as the women afford nothing of the men but fondness and admiration, they will get nothing else—they will never be respected. But let them rouse themselves, assert their dignity, by flying their own elevated sentiments of human nature, and by asserting up to this claim, and they may then command the world.

V. Another good consequence that (should result from the account that has been given of the proceedings of this conspiracy is, that since the fascinating picture of human life, by which men have been wheedled into immediate anarchy and rebellion, is in fact a mere artificial creature of the

imagination, it can have no (leadinefs, but muft be changed by every freak of fancy, or by every ingenious fophifl, who can give an equal plaufibility to whatever fuits his prefent views. It is as much an airy phantom as any other whim of Free Mafonry, and has no prototype, no original pattern in human nature, to which recourfe may always be had, to correft mifcakes, and keep things in a conllant tenor. Has not France given the

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moil unequivocal proofs of this? Was not the decJaration of the Rights of Man, the produftion of their mod brilliant Illuminators, a picture, in abftraCio^ where man was placed at a diftance from the eye, that no faHc light of local fituation might pervert the judgment or engage the paffions? Wa5 it not declared to be the mafter-piece of human wifdom? Did not the nation confider it at leifure? and, having it continually before their eyes, did they not, ftep by ftep, give their affent to the different articles of their Conftitution, derived from it, and fabricated by their moH choice Illuminators? And did not this Conftitution draw the applaufes of tlie bright geniufes of other nations^ who by this time were bufy in perfuading^ each his countrymen, that they were ignoramufes in ftatiftics, and patient flaves of opprellion or of an-* cient prejudices? Did not panegyrics on it ifTue from every garret in London ? Where is it now ? where is its (uccefTor ? Has any one plan of government fubfided, except v/hile it was fupported by the incontrollable and inexorable power of the guillotine? Is not the prefent adminiftration of France as much as ever the object of difcontent and of terror, and its coercions as like a5 ever to the fummary jullice of the Paridan mob? Is there any probability of its permanency in a flate of peace, w hen the fears of a foreign enemy no lon-^ ger give a confoiidation to their meafures, and oblige them either to agree among themfelves, or immediately to perfifh?

VI. The above accounts evince in the moft uncontrovertible manner the dangerous tendency of all myftical focieties, and of all affbciations who hold iccret meetings We fee that their uniform progrefs has been from frivolity and nonfenfe to wickcdneis and fedition. Wciftiaupt has been

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at great pains to fiew the good effe[^]i-s of fecrecy iii the Aflbciation, and the arguments are valid for this purpofe. But all his arguments are fo many dilTuafive advices to every thinking and fober mind. The man who really wi{hes to dilcover ail abftrufe truth will place himfclf, if poffible in a valin fituation, and will by no means expofe himfelf to the impatient hankering for fecrets and wonders— and he will always fear that a thing which refolutely conceals itfelf cannot bear the light. All wilo have ferioufly employed themfelves in the difcovery of truth have found the great advantages of open communication of fentiment. And it is againfl common fenfe to imagine that there is any thing of vafl importance td mankind which is yet a fecret, and which muft be kept a fecret in order to be ufeful. This is againft the whole experience of mankind— And furcly to hug in one's breall: a fecret of fuch mighty importance, is to give the lie to ail our profeflions of brotherly love. What a folecifm ! a fecret to fenlighten and reform the whole world. We render all our endeavours impotent when we grafp at a tiling beyond our power. Let an aflbciation be formed with a ferious plan for reforming its own members, and let them extend in numbers in proportion as they fucceed—this miglit do fome good; But mud the way of doing this be a fecret?—It Inay be to many—who will not look for it where it is to be found—It is this:

<< Do good,—'feek peace,—and purfue it.**

but it is almoft aifronting the reader to fuppofe Arguments neceffary on this point. If there be 1 nceffity for fecrecy, the purpofe of the aflbciation is either frivolous, or it is felfifli.

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Now, in either cafe, the danger of fuch fecrefe afsemblies is manifefl. Mere frivolity can never ferioufly occupy men come to age. And accordingly we fee that in every quarter of Europe where Free Mafonry has been eilabliQied, the Lodges have become feed-beds of public mifchief. I believe that no ordinary brother will fay that the occupations in the Lodges are any

thing better than frivolous, very frivolous indeed. The distribution of charity needs be no secret, and it is but a very small part of the employment of the meeting. This being the case it is in human nature that the greater we suppose the frivolity of such an association to be, the greater is the chance of its ceasing to give sufficient occupation to the mind, and the greater is the risk that the meetings may be employed to other purposes which require concealment. When this happens, self-interest alone must prompt and rule, and now there is no length that some men will not go, when they think themselves in no danger of detection and punishment. The whole proceedings of the secret societies of Free Masons on the Continent (and I am authorized to say, of some Lodges in Britain) have taken one turn, and this turn is «essentially natural. In all countries there are men of licentious morals. Such men wish to have a safe opportunity of indulging their wits in satire and sarcasm; and they are pleased with the support of others. The desire of making proselytes is in every breast—and it is whetted by the restraints of society. And all countries have discontented men, whose grumblings will raise discontent in others, who might not have attended to some of the trifling hardships and injuries they met with, had they not been reminded of them. To be discontented, and not to think of schemes of redress^

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is what we cannot think natural or manly—and where can such sentiments and schemes find such safe utterance and such probable support as in a secret society? Free Masonry is innocent of all these things; but Free Masonry has been abused, and at last totally perverted—and so will and must any such secret association, as long as men are licentious in their opinions or wicked in their dispositions.

It were devoutly to be wished therefore that the whole fraternity would imitate the truly benevolent conduct of those German Lodges who have formally broken up, and made a patriotic sacrifice of their amusement to the safety of the state. I cannot think the sacrifice great or costly. It can be no difficult matter to find as pleasing a way of

palling a vacant hour and the charitable deeds

of the members need not diminish in the smallest degree. Every person's little circle of acquaintance will give him opportunities of gratifying his kind dispositions, without the chance of being mistaken in the worth of the person on whom he bestows his favours. There is no occasion to go to St. Petersburg for a poor Brother, nor to India for a convert to Christianity, as long as we see so many fools and infidels among ourselves.

But not only are secret societies dangerous, but all societies whose object is mysterious. The whole history of man is a proof of this position. In no age or country has there ever appeared a mysterious association which did not in time become a public nuisance. Ingenious or designing men of letters have attempted to show that some of the ancient mysteries were useful to mankind, containing rational doctrines of natural religion. This was the strong hold of Wicliu, and he quotes the Eleusian, the Pythagorean, and other mys-

teries.

teries. But surely their external signs and tokens were every thing that is consistent with decency and civil order. It is uncommon pretension for the learned of the eighteenth century to pretend to know more about them than their contemporaries, the philosophers, the lawgivers of antiquity. They give no such account of them. I would desire any person who admires the ingenious dissertations of Dr. Warburton to read a dull German book, called *Charakteristik der Mythen der Alten*, published at Frankfurt in 1787. The author conceals himself with a patient collection of every scrap of every ancient author who has said any thing about them. If the reader can see anything in them but the most absurd and immoral polytheism and fable, he will take words in vain that is useless in reading any other piece of ancient composition, I have a notion that the Dionysiacs of Ionia had immense scientific secrets, viz. all the knowledge of practical mechanics which was employed by their architects and engineers, and that they were really a Masonic Fraternity. But, like the Illuminati they pretended to the secrets of Masonry the secret of drunkenness and debauchery; they had their Sister Lodges, and at last became rebels, subverters of the states where they were protected, till aiming at the dominion of all Ionia, they were attacked by the

neighbouring dates and dispersed. They were Illuminators too, and wanted to introduce the worship of Bacchus over the whole country, as appears in the account of them given by Strabo. Perhaps the Pythagoreans had also some scientific secrets; but they too were Illuminators, and thought it their duty to overtake the State, and were themselves overtaken.

Nothing is so dangerous as a mystical Association. The object remaining a secret in the hands of the

managers

CHAPTER IV, THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 54*

managers, they simply put a ring in their own noses, by which they may be led about at pleasure and still panting after the secret, they are the better pleased the less they see of their way. A mystical object enables the leader to shift his ground as he pleases, and to accommodate himself to every current fashion or prejudice. This again gives him almost unlimited power; for he can make use of these prejudices to lead men by troops. He finds them already associated by their prejudices, and waiting for a leader to concentrate their strength and set them in motion. And when once great bodies of men are set in motion, with a creature of their fancy for a guide, even the engineer himself cannot say, "Thus far (halt thou *' go, and no farther."*

VII. We may also gather from what we have seen that all declamations on universal philanthropy are dangerous. Their natural and immediate effect on the mind is to increase the discontent of the unfortunates, and of those in the laborious ranks of life. No one, even of the Illuminators, will deny that those ranks must be filled, if society exists in any degree of cultivation whatever, and that there will always be a greater number of men who have no farther prospect. Surely it is unkind to put such men continually in mind of a state in which they might be at their ease and it is unkindness unmixed, because all the change that they will produce will be, that James will serve John, who formerly was the servant of James. Such declamations naturally tend to cause men to make light of the obligations and duties of common patriotism, because these are represented as subordinate and inferior to the greater and more noble affection of universal benevolence. I

do not pretend to say that patriotism is founded in a rationally perceived pre-eminence or excellence of

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the society with which we are connected. But if it be a fact that society will not advance unless its members take an interest in it, and that human nature improves only in society, surely this interest should be cherished in every breast. Perhaps national union arises from national animosity;—but they are plainly distinguishable, and union is not necessarily productive of injustice. The same arguments that have any force against patriotism are equally good against: the preference which natural instinct gives parents for their children, and surely no one can doubt of the propriety of maintaining this in its full force, subject however to the precise laws of justice.

But I am in the wrong to adduce paternal or filial affection in defence of patriotism and loyalty, since even those natural instincts are reprobated by the Illuminati, as hostile to the all-comprehending philanthropy. Mr. de laMetherie says, that among the memorials sent from the clubs in England to the National Assembly, he read two, (printed,) in which the Assembly was requested to establish a community of wives, and to take children from their parents and educate them for the nation. In full compliance with this dictate of universal philanthropy, Weisshaupt would have murdered his own child and his concubine,—and Orleans voted the death of his near relation.

Indeed, of all the consequences of Illumination, the most melancholy is this revolution which it seems to operate in the heart of man,—this forcible sacrifice of every affection of the heart to an ideal divinity, a mere creature of the imagination.—It seems a prodigy, yet it is a matter of experience, that the farther we advance, or vainly suppose that we do advance, in the knowledge of our mental powers, the more are our moral feelings flattened and done away.

I remember

CMaP. iv. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 3^^

I remember reading, long ago, a dissertation on the nursing of infants by a French academician, Le Cointre of Versailles. He indelicately supports his theories by the case of his own son, a weak puny infant, whom his mother was obliged to keep continually applied to her bosom, so that she rarely could get two hours of sleep during the time of suckling him. Mr. Le Cointre says, that she contracted for this infant "a fine partialite tout^a-fait deraisonnable," — Plato, or Socrates, or Cicero, would probably have explained this by the habitual exercise of pity, a very endearing emotion. — But our Academician, better illuminated, solves it by influence on the papillae and on the nerves of the skin, and by the meeting of the humifying aura^ &c. and does not seem to think that young Le Cointre was much indebted to his mother. It would amuse me to learn that this was the wretch Le Cointre, Major of the National Guards of Versailles, who countenanced and encouraged the fiocking treason and barbarity of those ruffians on the 5th and 6th of October 1789. Complete freezing of the heart would (I think) be the consequence of a theory which could perfectly explain the affections by vibrations or crystallizations, — Nay, any very perfect theory of moral sentiments must have something of this tendency. — Perhaps the ancient systems of moral philosophy, which were chiefly searches after *honestum* and *bonum*, and systems of moral duties, tended more to form and strengthen the heart, and produce a worthy man, than the most perfect theory of modern times, which explains every phenomenon by means of a nice anatomy of our affections.

So far therefore as we are really more illuminated, it may chance to give us an earlier victory over the natural or instinctive attachments of mankind, and make the sacrifice to universal philanthropy less

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g⁸ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. IVs

costly to the heart. I do not however pretend to say that this is really the case: but I think myself fully warranted to say that increase of virtuous affections in general has not been the fruit of modern illumination. I will not again sicken the reader, by calling his attention to Weillhaupt and his associates or successors. But let us candidly contemplate the world around us, and particularly the perpetual advocates of universal philanthropy. What

have been the general effects of their continual declamations? Surely very melancholy; nor can it easily be otherwise. — An ideal standard is continually referred to. This is made gigantic, by being always seen indistinctly, as through a mist or rather a fluttering air. In comparison with this, every feeling that we have been accustomed to regard vanities as insignificant; and, adopting the Jesuitical maxim that "the great end sanctifies every mean," this sum of Cofmo-political good is made to eclipse or cover all the present evils which must be endured for it. The fad now is, that we are become so familiarised with enormities such as brutality to the weaker sex, cruelty to the old age, wanton refinement on barbarity, that we now hear unmoved accounts of scenes, from which, a few years ago, we would have shrunk back with horror. With cold hearts, and a metaphysical scale, we measure the present cruelties of our fellow creatures, and compare them with the accumulated cruelties of former times, occasioned through a course of ages, and ascribed to the ambition of Princes. In this artificial manner are the atrocities of France extenuated; and we struggle, and partly succeed, in reasoning ourselves out of all the feelings which link men together in society. — The ties of father, husband, brother, friend — all are abandoned for an emotion which we must even strive to excite, — universal philanthropy. But this is the perversion of

nature.

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nature. *1 He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? Still less can he love this ideal being, of which he labours to conjure up some indistinct and fleeting notion. It is also highly absurd; for, in trying to collied the circumstances which conditute the enjoyments of this Citizen of the World, we find ourselves just brought back to the very moral feelings which we are wantonly throwing away. Weif* haupt allures us by the happiness of the patriarchal life as the summum bonum of man. But when it is any thing more than eating and sleeping, and squabbling with the neighbouring patriarchs, it must conflict: in the domestic and neighbourly affections, and every other

agreeable moral feeling, all which are to be had in our present state, in greater abundance.

But this is all a pretence ;—the wicked corrupters of mankind have no such views of human felicity, nor would they be contented with it; they want to intrigue and to lead ; and their patriarchal life answers the same purpose of tickling the fancy as the Arcadia of the poets. Horace shows the frivolity of these declamations, without formally enunciating the moral, in his pretty Ode,

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*

The usurer, after expatiating on this Arcadian felicity, hurries away to change, and puts his whole staff again out to usury.

Equally ineffective are the declamations of Confucius-politism on a mind filled with selfish passions ;—• they just serve it for a subterfuge.—The ties of ordinary life are broken in the first place, and the Citizen of the World is a wolf of the desert. ^ The unhappy consequence is, that the natural progress of liberty is retarded. Had this ignis fa

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. 1^%

It is not appeared and milled us, the improvements which true Illumination has really produced, the increase in sciences and* arts, and the improvement in our estimate of life and happiness, would have continued to work silently and gradually in all nations ; and those which are less fortunate in point of government would also have improved, by little and little, without losing any sensible portion of their present enjoyments in the possession of riches, or honours, or power. Those pretensions would gradually have come to balance each other, and true liberty, such as Britons enjoy, might have taken place over all.

Inflead of this, the inhabitants of every flate are put into a iituation where every individual is alarm-* ed and injured by the fucefs of another, becaufe all pre-eminence is criminal. Therefore there muft be perpetual jealoufy and fruggle. Princes are now alarmed, fince they fee the aim of the lower claffes, and they repent of their former liberal conceffions. All parties maintain a fullen diftance and referve ; — the people become unruly, and the fovereign hard-hearted ; fo that liberty, fuch as can be enjoyed in peace, is banifhed from the country.

VIII. When we fee how eagerly the Illuminati endeavoured to inlinate their Brethren into all offices which gave them influence on the public mind, and particularly into feminaries of education, we fhould be particularly careful to prevent them, and ought to examine with anxious attention the manner of thinking of all who offer themfelves for teachers of youth. There is no part of the feeret correffpondence of Spartacus and his Affociates, in v^hich we fee moie varied and artful methods for fecuring pnpils, than in his own condud refpecting the ffudents in the Univerfity, and the injundions he gives to others. There are two men, Socher and Drexl,

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who had the general infpedion of the fchools in the Eledorate. They are treated by Spartacus as perfons of the greatetl: confequence, and the inilruvftions given them (lick at no kind of corruption. Weiftiaupt is at pains, circuitous and mean arts, to induce young gentlemen to come under his care, and, to one whom he defcribes in another letter as a little mafter who muft have much indulgence, he caufes it to be intimated, that in the quarters where he is to be lodged, he will get the key of the ftreet-door, fo that he can admit whom he will. In all this canvaffing he never quits the great objed, the forming the mind of the young man according to the principles of univerfal Liberty and Equality, and to gain this point, fcruples not to flatter, aud even to excite his dangerous paffions. We may be certain, that the zeal of Cofmo-politifm will operate in the fame way in other men, and we ought therefore to be folicitous to have all that are the inftru6lors of youth, perfons of the mofi: decent manners. No queffion but fobriety and hypocrify may inhabit the fame breall. But its immediate effedl on the pupil is at leaft fafe, and it is always eafy for a fenfible parent to repreffent the

refridions laid on the pupil by fuch a man as the effeds of uncommon anxiety for his fafety. Whereas there is no cure for the lax principles that may ileal upon the tender mind that is not early put on its guard. Weifhaupt undoubtedly thought that the principles of civil anarchy would be eafiefl: inculcated on minds, that had already fhaken off the reftreints of Religion, and entered into habits of fenfual indulgence. We fhall be fafe if we iruff: his judgient in this matter.— We ftiould be particularly obfervant of the character and principles of Men of Talents^ who offer themfelves for thefe offices, becaufe their influence muft be very great. Indeed this anxiety (liould extend

35^2 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP, iv,

tend to all offices which in any way give holders any remarkable influence on the minds of conhderable numbers. Such (hould always be filled by men of immaculate characters and approved principles; and, in times like the prefent, where the moil: eflential queftions are the fubjeds of frequent difcuiTion, we ihould always confider with fome diffruil: the men who are very cautious in declaring their opinions on thefe queftions.

It is a great misfortune undoubtedly to feel ourielves in a lituaLion which makes us damp the enjoyments of life with fo much fufpicion. But the hiflory of mankind (hows us that many great revolutionsi have been produced by remote and apparently frivolous caufes. When things come to a height, it is frequently impoible to tind a cure—at any rate rnedicinafero paratur^ and it is much better to prevent the dAitdS^^—principiis ohjia—venienti occurriie morbo,

IX. Nor can it be faid that thefe are vain fears. We know that the enemy is working among us, and that there are many appearances in thefe kingdoms which ftrongly refemble the contrivance of this daiieerous affociation. We know that before the Order of Illuminati was broken up by the Eledor of Bavalia, there were feveral Lodges in Britain, and we may be certain that they are not all broken up. I know that they are not, and that within thefe tvro years fome Lodges were ignorant or affeded to be fo, of the corrupted principles and dangerous deligns of the liluminati. The conflitution of the Order fhews that this may be, for the L<idges themfelves were illuminated by degrees. But I muft remark, that we can hardly fappofe a Lodge to be

effablified in any place, unless there be some very zealous Brother at hand to inilrucf and direct it. And I think th:}t a perfon can hardly be advanced as far as the

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rank of Scotch Knight of the Order, and be a fafc man either for our Church or State. I am very well informed, that there are feveral thoufands of fubfcribing Brethren in London alone, and we can hardly doubt, but that many of that number are vs^ell advanced. The vocabulary alfo of the Illuminati is current in certain focieties among us. Thefe focieties have taken the very name and conftitution of the French and German focieties. Correfponding—

Affiliated—Provincial—Refcript—Convention

Reading Societies—Citizen of the World—Liberty and Equality, the Imprefciiptible Rights of Man, ^c. &c. And mull: it not be acknowledged that our public arbiters of literary merit have greatly changed their manner of treatment of Theological and political writings of late years ? I'll Paine's Age of Reafon appeared, the moff: fceptical writings of England kept within the bounds of decency and of argument, and we have not, in the courfe of two centuries, one piece that (ould be compared with many of the blackguard produtions of the German prefTes. Vet even thofe performances generally met with fharp reproof as well as judicious refutation. This is a tribute of coramendacion to Vvhich mv countrv is moll juilly entitled. In a former part of my life I was pretty converlant in writings oi this kind, and have feen aimoll every Engiifli performance of note. I cannot exprefs the furpriie and difgufl which I felt at the number and the grofs indecency of the German dilTertations which have come in mv way fince I began this little hiftory,—and many of the titles which I obferve in the Leipzig catalogues are fuch as I think no Britifh writer would make ufe of. I am told that the iicentioufnefs of the prefs has been equally remarkable in France, even before the Revolution.—May this fenfe of propriety and decency long continue to proted us, and fupport the national

tional character for real good breeding, as our aN tainmerjts in manly science have hitherto gained us the reipect of the furrounding nations !

I cannot help thinking that BritiHi fentiment, or Britifti delicacy, is changed ; for Paine's book is treated by moil of our Reviewers with an affected liberality and candour, and is laid before the public as quite new matter, and a fair field for difculiion-rr—and it ftrikes me as if our critics were more careful to let no fault of his pponents pafs unnoticed than to expofe the futility and rudenefs of this indelicate writer. In the review^ of poli^ tical w^ritings we fee fgw of thole kind endeavours, which real love for our conftitutional government would induce a writer to employ in order to le{^ fen the fretful difcontents of the people ; and there is frequently betrayed a fatifadljon at finding adminiftration in flraits, either through mifconducit or misfortune. Real love for our country and its government would (I think) induce a perfon to mix with his criticifms fome fentiments of fympathy with the embarraiTirtent of a minifter loaded with the builncfs of a great nation, in a litation never before experienced by any minifter. The critic would recollect that the minifter was a man, fubjeift to error, but not neceffarily nor altogether bale. But it ieems to be an afumed principle with fome of our political writers and reviewers that government mud always be in fault, and that every thing needs a reform. Such w^ere the beginnings on the continent, and we cannot doubt but that attempts are made to influence the public mind in this country, in the very way that has been pra(^ifed abro^id.—Nay,

X, The detcftable dodlrines of Illuminatifm have been openly preached among us. Has not Dr. Frieftley faid, (I think in one of his letters on

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CHAP* IV. tHE FR£NCH REVOLUTIOxN. 3^ |

the Birmingham riots,) " That if the condition of other nations be as much improved as that ©f France will be by the change in her fyftcm of

government, the great crisis, dreadful as it may appear, will be a consummation devoutly to be wished for; and though calamitous to many perhaps to many innocent persons, will be eventually glorious and happy? — Is not this equivalent to Spartacus saying, *' True — there will be *' a storm, a convulsion — but all will be calm " again ?" .^~ Does Dr. Priestley think that the British will part more easily than their neighbours in France with their property and honours, secured by ages of peaceable possession, protected by law, and acquiesced in by all who wish and hope that their own descendants may reap the fruits of their honest industry? — Will they make a less manly struggle? — Are they less numerous? — Must his friends, his patrons, whom he has thanked, and praised, and flattered yield up all peaceably, or fall in the general struggle? This writer has already given the most promising specimens of his own docility in the principles of Illuminatism, and has already passed through several degrees of initiation. He has refined and refined on Christianity, and boasts, like another Spartacus, that he has, at last, hit on the true secret. — Has he not been preparing the minds of his readers for Atheism by his theory of mind, and by his commentary on the unmeaning jargon of Dr. Hartley? I call it unmeaning jargon, that I may avoid giving it a more apposite and disgraceful name. For, if intelligence and design be nothing but a certain modification of the vibrations or undulations of any kind, what is supreme intelligence, but a more extensive, and (perhaps they will call it) refined undulation, pervading or mixing

35^ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. IV i

ing with all others? Indeed it is in this very manner that the universal operation of intelligence is pretended to be explained* As any new or partial undulation may be superinduced on any other already existing, and this without the least disturbance or confusion, so may the inferior intelligences in the universe be only superinductions on the operations of this supreme intelligence which pervades them all, — And thus an undulation (of what? surely of something prior to and independent of this modification) is the cause of all the beings in the universe, and of all the harmony and beauty that we observe, — And this undulation is the object of love, and gratitude, and confidence (that is, of other kinds of undulations.) — Fortunately still this has no meaning. — ^But surely, if any

thing can tend to diminish the force of our religious sentiments, and make all Dr. Priestley's discoveries in Christianity insignificant, this will do it.

Were it possible for the departed soul of Newton to feel pain, he would surely recollect with regret that unhappy hour, when provoked by Dr. Hooke's charge of plagiarism, he first threw out his whim of a vibrating ether, to show what might be made of an hypothesis.—For Sir Isaac Newton must be allowed to have paved the way for much of the atomical philosophy of the moderns. Newton's aether is assumed as a factum by every precipitate sciolist, who, in despite of logic, and in contradiction to all the principles of mechanics, gives us theories of muscular motion, of animal sensation, and even of intelligence and volition, by the undulations of setherial fluids. Not one of a hundred of these theories can go through the fundamental theorem of all this doctrine, the 47th prop, of the 1st book of the Principia, and not one in a thousand know that Newton's investigation is inconclusive.—

Yet

Yet they talk of the effects and modifications of these undulations as familiarly and confidently as if they could demonstrate the propositions in Euclid's Elements. Yet such is the reason that satisfies Dr. Priestley.— But I do not suppose that he has yet attained his acme of illumination. His genius has been cramped by British prejudices.— They need not sway his mind any longer. He is now in that "rara temporis felicitate ubi/entire quae veils et quaerentias ad dicte licet"—in the country which was honoured by giving the world the first avowed edition of the Age of Reason with the name of the (hope and publisher. I make no doubt but that his mind will now take a higher flight,—and we may expect to see him fire "that train by which he boasted that he would *' blow up the religious establishment of his stupid, *- and enslaved native country."—Peace be with him.— But I grieve that he has left any of his friends and abettors among us, who declaim, in the most violent and unqualified terms, against all national establishments of Religion, and in no friendly terms of any establishments which maintain or allow any privileged Orders. Discanting much on such topics increases the dissatisfaction of the less fortunate part of mankind, who naturally repine at advantages which do not arise from the

personal merit of themselves, which they are the natural and necessary fruits of merit in their ancestors, and of the Justice and security of our happy Constitution. No well informed and sensible man will deny that the greatest injury was done to pure Religion when Constantine declared Christianity to be the Religion of the Empire, and vested the Church with all the riches and power of the Heathen Priesthood. But it is false that this was the source of all or of the worst corruptions of Christianity. The mere novice in Church History knows that the errors of the Greeks, of the Cerin-

2 X thians.

^5^ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP, iv^

thians, and others, long preceded this event, and that thousands lost their lives in those metaphysical disputes. But I cannot help thinking that, in the present condition of Europe, religion would desert the world, if the opinions of men were not directed, in some proper degree, by National Establishments. Teachers among the Independents will court popularity, as they have always courted it; by fostering some favourite and discriminating opinion to their hearers. The old subjects of debate have now lost their zeal, and I should fear that the teachers would find it a successful, as it is an easy road to popularity, to lead their hearers through a series of refinements, till they are landed, much to their satisfaction, in the Materialism of Dr. Priestley, from which it is but a Step to the Atheism of Diderot and Condorcet.

Seeing that there are such grounds of apprehension, I think that we have cause to be upon our guard, and that every man who has enjoyed the sweets of British liberty should be very anxious indeed to preserve it. We should discourage all secret assemblies, which afford opportunities to the disaffected, and all conversations which foster any notions of political perfection, and create hankerings after unattainable happiness. These only increase the discontent of the unfortunate, the idle, and the worthless.— Above all, we should be careful to discourage and check immorality and licentiousness in every shape. For this will of itself subvert every government, and will subject us to the vile tyranny of a profligate mob.

XI. If there has ever been a season in which it was proper to call upon the public influencers of the nation to exert themselves in the cause of Religion and Virtue, it is surely the present. It appears, from the tenor of the whole narration before the

reader,

CHAP. IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 3^^

reader, that Religion and Virtue are considered as the great obstacles to the completion of this plan for overturning the governments of Europe—and I hope that I have made it evident that those conspirators have presupposed that there is deeply rooted in the heart of man a sincere veneration for unfeigned virtue, and an affectionate propensity to Religion; that is, to consider this beautiful world as the production of wisdom and power, residing in a Being different from the world itself, and the natural object of admiration and of love—I do not speak of the truth of this principle at present, but only of its reality, as an impression on the heart of man. These principles must therefore be worked on,—and they are acknowledged to be strong, because much art is employed to eradicate them, or to overwhelm them by other powerful agents.—We also see that Religion and Virtue are considered by those corrupters as closely united, and as mutually supporting each other. This they admit as a fact, and labour to prove it to be a mistake.—And finally, they entertain no hopes of complete success till they have exploded both.

This being the case, I hope that I shall be clear of all charge of impropriety, when I address our national influencers, and earnestly define them to consider this cause as peculiarly theirs. The world has been corrupted under pretence of moral in-

struction. Backwardness, therefore, on their

part, may do inconceivable harm, because it will most certainly be interpreted as an acknowledgment of defeat, and they will be accused of indifference and insincerity. I know that a modest man reluctantly comes forward with any thing that has the appearance of thinking himself wiser or better than his neighbours. But if all are fo

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balliful, where will it end ? Muft we allow a parcel of worthleis profligates, whom no man would trull with the management of the mofi: trifling concern, to pafs with the ignorant and indolent for teachers of true wifdom, and thus entice the whole world into a trap ? They have lucceded with our unfortunate neighbours on the continent, and, in Germany, (to their fhame be it fpoken) they have been alTilled even by fome faithlefs clergymen.

But I will hope better of my countrymen, and I think that our clergy have encouragement even from the native character of Britons. National comparifons are indeed ungraceful, and are rarely candid—* but I think they may be indulged in this inilance. It is of his own countrymen that Voltaire fpeaks, when he fays, that " they refemble a mixed breed *' of the monkey and the tiger," animals that mix fun with mifchief, and that fport wkh the torments of their prey.—They have indeed given the moft locking proofs of the juinefs of his portrait. It is with a conhderable degree of national pride, therefore, that I compare the behaviour of the French with that of the Britifh in a very fimiliar fituation^ during the civil wars and the uiurpation of Cromwell. There have been more numerous, and iniinitely more atrocious, crimes commiitted in France during any one half year fince the beginning of the Revolution, than during the whole of that tumultuous period. And it fhould be remembered, that in Britain, at that period, to all other grounds of difcontent v^7^^s added no fmall fl^are of religious fanaticifm, a pafTion (may I call it) which feldom fails to roufe every angry thought of the heart.—Much may be hoped for from an earneft and judicious addrefs to that rich fund of manly kindnefs that isconfpicuous in the BviliQi charaifler,—3 fund to which I am perfuaded we owe the excellence of ourconflitution

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eHAP. iv, THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. C>61

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al governiient—No where elfe in Europe are the claims of the different ranks in fociety fo generally and fo candidly admitted. All feel their force,

and all allow them to others. Hence it happens that they

are enjoyed in so much peace hence it happens

that the gentry live among the yeomen and farmers with so easy and familiar a superiority :

-Extrema per Illos

quod ultra excedens terminis vigilis fecit.

Our clergy are also well prepared for the task. For our ancestors differed exceedingly from the present Illuminators in their notions, and have enacted that the clergy shall be well instructed in natural philosophy, judging that a knowledge of the symmetry of nature, and the beautiful adjustment of all her operations, would produce a firm belief of a wisdom and power which is the source of all this fair order, the Author and Conductor of all, and therefore the natural object of admiration and of love. A good heart is open to this impression, and feels no reluctance, but on the contrary a pleasure, in thinking man the subject of his government, and the object of his care. This point being once gained, I should think that the salutary truths of Religion will be highly welcome. I should think that it will be easy to convince such minds, that in the midst of the immense variety of the works of God there is one great plan to which every thing seems to refer, namely, the crowding this world, to the utmost degree of possibility, with life, with beings that enjoy the things around them, each in its own degree and manner. Among these, man makes a most conspicuous figure, and the maximum of his enjoyments seems a capital article in the ways of Providence. It will, I think, require little trouble to show that the natural dictates of Religion, or the immediate results of the belief of God's moral

302 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. IV,

ral government of the universe, coincide in every circumstance of sentiment, disposition, and conduct, with those that are most productive of enjoyment (on the whole) in social life. The same train of thought will show, that the real improvements in the pleasures of society, are, in fact, improvements of man's rational nature, and so many steps toward that perfection which our

own consciences tell us we are capable of, and which Religion encourages us to hope for in another state of being.—And thus will " the ways of Wisdom appear to be ways of pleasure, and all her paths to be peace."

Dwelling on such topics, there is no occasion for any political discussion. This would be equally improper and hurtful. Such discussions never fail to produce ill-humour—But surely the highest: complacency must result from the thought that we are co-operating with the Author of all wisdom and goodness, and helping forward the favourite plans of his providence. Such a thought must elevate the mind which thus recognises a sort of alliance with , the Author of nature.—Our brethren in society appear brethren indeed, heirs of the same hopes, and travelling to the same country. This will be a sort of moral patriotism, and should, I think, produce mutual forbearance, since we discover imperfections in all creatures, and are conscious of them in ourselves—notwithstanding which, we hope to be all equal at last in worth and in happiness.

I should gladly hope that I shall not be accused of presumption in this address. There is no profession that I more sincerely respect than that of the religious and moral instructor of my country. I am saying nothing here that I am not accustomed to urge at much greater length in the course of my professional duty. And I do not think that I am justly chargeable with vanity, when I suppose that many years of delightful study of the works of God have

given

Chap. Iv. the French Revolution, 303

given me somewhat more acquaintance with them than is probably attained by those who never think of the matter, being continually engaged in the bustle of life. Should one of this description say that all is fate or chance, and that " the same thing * happens to all," &c. as is but too common, I should think that a prudent man will give so much preference to my assertion, as at least to think seriously about the thing, before he allow himself any indulgence in things which I affirm to be highly

dangerous to his future peace and happiness. For

this reason I hope not to be accused of going out of my line, nor hear any one say 'tis his Jutor ultra ere'• pidavi,'" The present is a season of anxiety, and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite to the general good.

It is in some such hopes that I have written these pages ; and if they have any such effect, I shall think myself fortunate in having by chance hit on something useful, when I was only trying to amuse myself during the tedious hours of bad health and confinement. No person is more sensible of the many imperfections of this performance than myself. But, as I have no motive for the publication but the hopes of doing some good, I trust that I shall obtain a favourable acceptance of my endeavours from an intelligent, a candid, and a good-natured public. I must entreat that it be remembered that these sheets are not the work of an author determined to write a book. They were for the most part notes, which I took from books I had borrowed, that I might occasionally have recourse to them when occupied with Free Masonry, the object of my curiosity. My curiosity was diverted to many other things as I went along, and when the Illuminati came in my way, I regretted the time I had thrown away on Free Masonry,— But, observing

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3⁴ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CAP. iv⁴

their connection, I thought that I perceived the progress of one and the same design. This made me eager to find out any remains of Weishaupt's Association. I was not surprized when I saw marks of its interference in the French Revolution.— In hunting for clearer proofs I found out the German Union—and in fine, the whole appeared to be one great and wicked project, fermenting and working over all Europe.— Some highly respected friends encouraged me in the hope of doing some service by laying my informations before the public, and said that no time could be lost.— ! therefore set about collecting my scattered papers.— I undertook this task at a time when my official duty pressed hard on me, and bad health made me very unfit for study,— The effects of this must appear in many faults, which I see, without being able at present to amend them. I owe this

apology to the public, and I trust that my good intentions will procure it acceptance*.

Nothing

* While the sheet commencing p. 341 was printing off, I got a firht of a v/ork published in Paris lalt year entitled La Conjura[^] tion d'Orleans* It conHrms all that I have faid refpedHng the life made of the Free Mafon Lodges.—It gives a particular account of the fGrmatirn of the Jacobin Club, by the Club Breton. This iafl appears to have been the x'Mfociation formed with the affilancce of the German deputies. The Jacobin Club had feveral committees, fimilar to thofe of the National Affembly. Amoi g others, it had a Committee of Enquiry and Correpondence, whofe hufinefs it was to gain partizans, to difcover enemies, to decide on the merits of tlie Brethren, and to form fimilar Clubs in other places.

The author of the above-mentioned work writes as follows, (vol. iii. p, 19.) We may judge of what the D. of Orleans could do in other places, by what he did during his flay in England. During his flay in London, he gained over to his intereft Lord Stanhope and Dr. Price, two 01 the moft refpe[^]able inembers of the Revoluion Society* This Society had no other

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CM A p. iy, THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 365

Nothing would give me more iincere pleafure than to fee the whole proved to be a mifake ;—to be convinced that there is no fuch plot, and that we run no rifk of tlje coniagion ; but that Britain will continue, by the abiding prevalence of honour, of virtue, and of true religion, to exhibit the fairell fpecimen of civil government that ever was feen on earth, and a national character and conduct not unvv[^]orthy of the ineinmable bleilings that we enjoy. Our excellent Sovereign, at his acceffion to the throne, declared to his Parliament that he gloried

IN HAVING BEEN BORN A BriTON. --Wouid tO God

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objeſt (it ſaid) but to ſupport the Revolution, which had driven James II. from the throne of his anceftors.

Orleans made of this affociation a true Jacobin Club.—It entered into correſpondence with the Committee of Enquiry of our Commune, with the ſame Committee of our Jacobin Club, and at laſt; with our National Aſſembly. It even ſent to the Aſſembly an oftenſible letter, in which we may ſee the following paſſages :

" The Society congratulate the National Aſſembly of France *■* on the Revolution which has taken place in that country. It. ** cannot but earneſtly wiſh for the happy concluſion of ſo irrs** portant a Revolution, and, at the ſame time, expreſs the ex** trem.e ſatisfaction which it feels in reflecting on the glorious ** example v/hich France has given to the world." (The Reader will remark, that in this example are contained all the horrors which had been exhibited in France before the month of March 1790; and that before this time, the conduſt of the Duke of Orleans on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, with all the ſhocking atrocities of thoſe days, were fully known in England.)

*' The Society reſolves unanimouſly to invite all the people of ** England to eſtabliſh Societies through the kingdom, to ſupport *' the principles of the Revolution, to form correſpondence be" tween themſelves, and by theſe means to eſtabliſh a great con** certed Union of all the true Friends of Liberty.*'

Accordingly (ſays the French author) this was executed, and Jacobin Clubs were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral cities of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 2 Y

2,66 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. iv.

that all and each of his ſubjects had entertained the ſame lefty notions of this good fortune ! Then would they have laboured, as he has done for near forty years, to ſupport the honour of the Britiſh name by ſetting as bright an example of domeſtic and of public virtue.—Then would Britons have been indeed the boaſt of humanity—then we ſhould have viewed theſe wicked plots of our neighbours with a ſmile of contempt, and of ſincere pity—and

there would have been no need of this impeifed but well-meant performance.

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Pojlfcrlypt,

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LTHOUGH I faw noreafon to doubt of the validity of the proofs which I have offered in the preceding pages, of a confpiracy againll the deareft interefts of every nation of Europe, nor of the importance of the information to my own countrymen, it gives me great fatisfaction to learn that it has been received with favour and indulgence. This I may conclude from the impreifion's being exhaufted in a few days, and becaufe the publiifler informs me that another edition is wanted immediately, I could have wi{hed that this were deferred for fome time, that I might have availed myfelf of the obfervationsof others, and be enabled to correct the miftakes into which I have been led by my fcanty knowledge of the German language, and the miftakes of the writers from whom I derived all my informations. I fhould, in that cafe, have attempted to make the work more worthy of the public eye, by correffing many imperfediions, which the continual diftradlion of bad health, and my hafte to bring it before the public, have occafioned. I fhould have made the difpofition more natural and perfpicuoifis, and have lopped off fome redundances and repetitions. But the printer tells me, that this would greatly retard the publication, by changing the feries of the pages. At any rate, I am not at prefent in a condition to engage in any work that requires difpatch, I mult yield therefore to thofe reafons, and content myfelf with fuch corrections as can be made immediately. I have found, after minute enquiry, that I was miflaken as to the exprefRon of an eminent

follower

^6S ' FOSTSCRIPT.

follower of Dr. Prieflley, mentioned before, The peifbn alluded to difclaims all fanguinary proceedings, and my information arofe from a vei'y erroneous account which w^as circulated of the converfation. But I ftiii

think the caution equally necessary, which I recommended to the hearers of the frequent and violent declinations made by those alluded to, against all religious establishments.[^]

Except the anecdote of Diderot's library, I do not recollect another allusion in the book, for which I have not the authority of printed evidence. This story was told me by so many persons of credit, who were on the spot at the time, that I have no doubt of its truth.

I also find that I was mistaken in my conjecture that Mr. Zeff:7z:7(communicated his suspicions of the horrid designs of the Free Masons to Archbishop Gobet. It must have been to Mr. Le Clerc de Juigne[^] a most worthy prelate, whom the hatred of the Jacobins obliged to fly into Switzerland. The Catholic clergy were butchered or banished, and the Jacobins substituted in their places such as would second their views, Gobet was worthy of their confidence, and the Archbishop of Thoulouse (Brkmie)\\m.^x could not have served the cause of the philosophers more effectually, had they succeeded in their attempts to get him continued Archbishop of Paris.

As the poetical picture of unqualified Liberty and Equality, and the indolent pleasures of the patriarchal life, are the charm by which the illuminators hope to fascinate all hearts, and as they reprobate every constitution of society which tolerates any permanent subordination, and particularly such as found this subordination or[^] dif

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tensions of ranks, and to all privileges allowed to particular orders of men, I hope that it will not be thought foreign to the general purpose of the foregoing Work, if, I with great deference, lay before the Reader some of my reasons for asserting, without hesitation, in a former part, that the British constitution is the only one that will give permanent happiness to a great and luxurious nation, and is peculiarly calculated to give full exercise to the best propensities of cultivated minds, I am the more desirous of doing this, because it seems to me that most of the political writers on the

Continent, and many of my countrymen, have not attended to important circumstances which distinguish our constitution from the States General of France and other countries. The republicans in France have, since the Revolution, employed the pains in searching their records, which ought to have been taken before the convocation of the States, and which would probably have prevented that step altogether. They have believed that the meetings of the States, if we except that in 1614 and 1483, were uniformly occasions of mutual contests between the different Orders, in which the interests of the nation and the authority of the Crown were equally forgotten, and the kingdom was plunged into all the horrors of a rancorous civil war. Of this they give us a remarkable instance during the captivity of King John in 1355 and 1356, the horrors of which were hardly exceeded by any thing that has happened in our days. They have shown the same dismal consequences of the assembly of the different Orders in Brabant ; and still more remarkably in Sweden and Denmark, where they have frequently produced a revolution and change of government, all of which have terminated

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nated in the absolute government, either of the Crown, or of one of the contending Orders. They laugh at the simplicity of the British for expecting that the permanent fruits of our constitution, which is founded on the same jarring principles, shall be any better ; and assert, that the peaceable exercise of its several powers for somewhat more than a century, (a thing never experienced by us in former times,) has proceeded from circumstances merely accidental. With much address they have related the former disturbances, and have connected them by a sort of principle, so as to support their system, " that a States General " or Parliament, consisting of a representation of the different classes of citizens, can never deliberate for the general good, but must always occupy their time in contentions about their mutual invasions of privilege, and will furnish every aid to the executive power, with some unjust and ruinous aggrandisement of the various Order." They have the effrontery to give the Magna Charta as an instance of an usurpation of the great feudatories, and have represented it in such a light as to make it the game of their writers and of the tribunes.— All this they have done in order to reconcile the minds

of the few thinking men of the nation to the abolition of the different Orders of the State, and to their National Convention in the form of a chaotic mass of Frenchmen, one and indivisible :

Non bene junctarum discordia femina rerum, Ubi frigidapuegnant cal'idis^ humentia Jicels, Moll'ia cum duris J Ilne pondere habentia pondus.

Their reasonings would be just, and their proofs from history would be convincing, if their pre

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oices were true ; if the British Parliament were really an assembly of three Orders, either personally, or by representation, deliberating apart, each having a veto on the decisions of the other two. And I apprehend that most of my countrymen, who have not had occasion to canvass the subject with much attention, suppose this to be really the British Constitution : for, in the ordinary table conversations on the subject, they seldom go far* ther, and talk with great complacency of the balance of hostile powers, of the King as the umpire of differences, and of the peace and prosperity that results from the whole.

But I cannot help thinking that this is a misconception, almost in every circumstance. I do not know any opposite interests in the State, except the general one of the governor and the governed, the king and the subject.— If there is an umpire in our constitution, it is the house of Lords—but this is not as a representation of the persons of birth, but as a court of hereditary magistrates: the Peers do not meet to defend their own privileges as citizens, but either as the counsellors of the King, or as judges in the last resort. The privileges for which we see them (sometimes contend, are not the privileges of the high-born, of the great vassals of the Crown, but the privileges of the House of Lords, of the supreme Court of Judicature, or of the King's Council. In all the nations on the Continent, the different Orders, as they are called, of the State, are corporations, bodies politic, which have jurisdiction within themselves, and rights which they can maintain at their own hand, and privileges which mark them most distinctly, and produce such a

complete separation between the different Orders, that they can no more mix than oil and water. Yet the

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great president Montclquieu says, that the Pccragi^ of England is a body of Nobility ; and he uses the term body in the strict sense now mentioned, as synonymous to corporation. He has repeatedly used this term to denote the second order of Frenchmen, persons of noble birth, or ennobled, (that is, veiled in the privileges and distinctions of the Nobly born,) united by law, and having authority to maintain their privileges. The history of France, nay of our own country, shows us that this body may enjoy all its distinctions of nobility, and that the Great Barons may enjoy the prerogatives of their baronies, although the authority of the Crown is almost annihilated.— We have no cogent reason, therefore, for thinking that they will be constantly careful to support the authority of the Crown ; and much less to believe that they will, at the same time, watch over the liberties of the people. In the election of their representatives, (for the whole body of the gentlemen must appear by representation,) we must not expect that they will neglect such of their own number as will take care of those two essential objects of our constitution.— Equally jealous of the authority of the Crown and of the encroachments of all those who are not gentlemen, and even fearful of the affronts of the Great Barons, the powerful individuals of their own order, they will always choose such representatives as will defend their own rights in the first place. Such persons are by no means fit for maintaining the proper authority of the Crown, and keeping the representatives of the lower classes within proper bounds.

But this is not the nature of our House of Lords in the present day. It was formerly in a great measure, and had the same effects as in other countries. But (since the Revolution, the Peers

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of Great-Britain have no important privileges which relate merely or chiefly to birth. These all refer to their functions as Magistrates of the Supreme Court. The King can, at any time, place in this House any eminent person whom, he thinks worthy of the office of hereditary magistrate. The Peers are noble—that is, remarkable, illustrious ; but are not necessarily, nor in every instance, persons of high birth. This House therefore is not, in any sort, the representative of what is called in France the Noblesse—a particular class of the nation ;—nor is it a junction of the proprietors of the great fees of the Crown, as such—for many, very many, of the greatest baronies are in the hands of those we call Commoners.—They sit as the King's Counsellors, or as Judges.—Therefore the members of our Upper House are not swayed by the prejudices of

any class of the citizens. They are hereditary magis-

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istrates, created by the Sovereign, for his counsel, to defend his prerogatives, to hold the balance between the throne and the people. The greatest part of the Nobility (in the continental sense of the word) are not called into this House, but they may be members of the Lower House, which we call the Commons; nay the sons and the brothers of the Peers are in the same situation. The Peers therefore cannot be hostile or indifferent to the liberty, the rights, or the happiness of the Commons, without being the enemies of their own families.

Nor is our House of Commons at all similar to the Third Estate of any of the neighbouring kingdoms. They are not the representatives of the ignobly born, or of any class of citizens. The members are the proper representatives of the whole nation and consist of persons of every class, persons of the highest birth, persons of great fortune, persons of education, of knowledge, of talents.

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Thus the caiffes of diiTtrriion which refer to the diftinc[^]live rights or prerogatives of the different claffs of citizens are removed, becaufe in each Houfe there are many individuals feiected from all the claffes.

A Peer, havino[^] attained the his-heft honours of the ftate, muft be an enemy to every revolution. Revolution muft certainly degrade him, whether ic places an abfolute monarch or a democratic junto, on the throne.

The Sovereign naturally looks for the fupport of the Upper Houfe, and in every meafure agreeable to the conftitution, and to the public v/eal, exerts his influence on the Houfe of Commons. Kere the character of the monarch and his choice of minifters muft appear, as in any other coj>fl"itution ; but with much lefs chance of danger to political liberty.—The great engine of monarchy in Europe, has been the jarring privileges of the different Orders ; and the Sovereign, by fiding with one of them, obtained acceffions of prerogative and power.—It v/as thus that, under the Houfe of Tudor, our conftitution advanced with hafty ftides to abiblute monarchy; and would have attained it, had James the Firft been as able as he was willing to fecure what he firmly believed to be the divine rights of his Crown.

I do not recollect hearing the lower ranks of the State ventino; much of their difcontents acrainfl: the Peers, and they feem to perceive pretty clearly the advantages arifing from their prerogatives. They feem to look up to them as the firft who will prote61: them againil the agents of fovercignty. They know that a man may rife from the loweft llaticn to the peerage, and that in that exaltation he remains conneced with themlclves by the deareft

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eff ties; and the Houfe of Commons take no offence at the creation of new Peers, becaufe their privileges as a Court, and their private rights, arc not attced by it. Accordingly, the Houfe has always oppofed every projecl of limiting the King's prerogative in this refpect.

How unlike is ail this to the conllitution cconfifting of the pure representatives of the Privileged Orders of the Continental States. The felf-conceited conftitutionalifts of France faw fomethig in the Britifh Parliament which did not fall in v/ith their own hafty notions, and prided

themselves in not copying from us. This would have indicated great poverty of invention in a nation accustomed to consider itself as the teacher of mankind. The most sensible, of them, however, wished to have a constitution which they called the Improvement of ours: and this was the simple plan of a representation of the two or three Orders of the State. Their Upper House should contain the representatives of 100,000 nobles. The Princes of the Blood and Great Barons should sit in it of their own right, and the rest by deputies. The Lower House, or Third Estate, should consist of deputies from the ignobly born; such as merchants, persons in the lower offices of the law, artisans, peasants, and a small number of freeholders. Surely it needs no deep reflection to teach us what sort of deliberations would occupy such a house. It would be a most useful occupation however, to peruse the history of France, and of other nations, and see how they really did occupy the Third Estate thus constituted, and what were their proceedings, their decisions, and the steps which they took to make them effectual. I have no doubt but that this study would cure most of our advocates for general eligibility, and for general suffrage. I have lately

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read Volley and Viilarec's History of France, (by the bye, the Abbe Barruel has shown that the Chib d'Holbach managed the publication of this History after the first eight or ten volumes, and slipped into it many things suited to their impious project,) and the accounts of the troublesome reigns of John, and Charles his successor, by authors who wrote long before the Revolution; and they filled me with horror, the only instance that I met with of any thing like moderation in the claims and disputes of the different Orders of their States General, and of patriotism, or regard for the general interests of the State, is in their meetings during the minority of Charles VIII.

With respect to the limitations of the eligibility into the House of Commons, I think that there can be no doubt that those who are excluded whole habits of needy and laborious life have precluded them from all opportunities of acquiring some general views of political relations. Such persons are totally unfit for deliberations, where general or comprehensive views only are to be the subjects of discussion; they can have no conceptions of the

subject, and therefore no ready notions or opinions, but must change them after every speaker[^] and must become the dupes of every demagogue.

But there are other circumstances which make me think that[^] of all the classes of citizens, the land proprietors are the fittest[~] for holding this important office. I do not infer this from, their having a more real connection with the nation, and a stronger interest in its fate-[^] I prefer them on account of their general habits of thought. Almost all their ordinary transactions are such as make them acquainted with the interests of others, cause them to consider things in general points of view and, in short, most

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of their occupations are, in some degree, national. They are accustomed to settle differences between those of lower stations—they are frequently in the * King's commission as Justices of the Peace. All these circumstances make them much wiser scholars in that political knowledge, which is absolutely necessary for a member of the House of Commons. But, besides this, I have no hesitation in saying that their turn of mind, their principles of conduct, are more generally such as become a Senator, than those of any other class of men. This class includes almost all men of family. I cannot help thinking that even what is called family pride is a sentiment in their favour. I am convinced that all our propensities are useful in society, and that their bad effects arise wholly from want of moderation in the indulgence of them, or sometimes from the impropriety of the occasion on which they are exerted. What propensity is more general than the desire of acquiring permanent consideration for ourselves and our families? Where is the man to be found disappointed as not to value himself for being born of creditable parents, and for creditable domestic connections? Is this wrong because it has been abused? So then is every pre-eminence of office and the directors of republican France are as criminal as her former Nobles. This propensity of the human heart should no more be rejected than the desire of power. It should be regulated—but it should certainly be made use of as one of the means of carrying on the national business. I think that we know something of its good effects—it incites to a certain propriety of conduct that is generally agreeable[^]—its honesty is embellished by a manner that makes it more pleasing. There is something that we call the behaviour of a

Gentleman that is immediately and uniformly understood. The plainest peasant or labourer

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er will say of a man whom he esteems in a certain way, " He is a Gentleman, every bit of him," — and he is perfectly understood by all who hear Him to mean, not a rank in life, but a turn of mind, a tenor of conduct that is amiable and worthy, and the ground of confidence. — I remark, with some feeling of patriotic pride, that these are phrases almost peculiar to our language — in Russia the words would have no meaning. But there, the Sovereign is a despot, and all but the Gentry are slaves; and the Gentry are at no pains to recommend their class by such a distinction, nor to give currency to such a phrase. — I would infer from this peculiarity, that Britain is the happy land, where the wisest use has been made of this propensity of the human heart.

If therefore there be a foundation for this peculiarity, the Gentry are proper objects of our choice for filling the House of Commons.

If theoretical considerations are of any value in questions of political difficulty, I would say, that we have good reasons for giving this class of citizens a great share in the public deliberations. Besides what I have already noticed of their habits of considering things in general points of view, and their feeling a closer connection with the nation than any other class, I would say that the power and influence which naturally attach to their being called to offices of public trust, will probably be better lodged in their hands. If they are generally selected for these offices, they come to consider them as parts of their civil condition, as situations natural to them. They will therefore exercise this power and influence with the moderation and calmness of habit, — they are no novelties to them — they are not afraid of losing them; — therefore, when in office, they do not catch at the opportunities of exercising them. This is the ordinary

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nary conduct of men, and therefore is a ground of probable reasoning. — In short, I should expect from our Gentry somewhat of generosity and

candour, which would temper the commercial principle, which seems to regulate the national transactions of modern Europe, and whose effects seem less friendly to the best interests of humanity, than even the Roman principle of glory.

The Reader will now believe that I would not recommend the filling the House of Commons with merchants, although they seem to be the natural Representatives of the monied interest of the nation. But I do not wish to consider that House as the Representative of any Orders whatever, or to disturb its deliberations with any debates on their jarring interests. The man of purely commercial notions disclaims all generosity—recommends honesty because it is the best policy—in short, *• places the " value of a thing in as much money as 'twill bring.* I should watch the conduct of such men more narrowly than that of the Nobles. Indeed, the history of Parliament will show that the Gentry have not been the most venal part of the House. The Illumination which now dazzles the world aims directly at multiplying the number of venal members, by filling the benches of Europe with men who may be bought at a low price. Ministerial corruption is the fruit of Liberty, and freedom dawned in this nation in Queen Elizabeth's time, when her minister bribed Wentworth.—A wife and free. Legislation will endeavour to make this as expensive and troublesome as possible, and therefore will neither admit universal suffrage nor a very extensive eligibility. These two circumstances, besides opening a wider door to corruption, tend to destroy the very intention of all civil constitutions. The

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them is, to make a great number of people happy. Some men place their chief enjoyment in measuring their strength with others, and love to be continually employed in canvassing, intriguing, and carrying on some little pieces of a sort of public business—, to such men universal suffrage and eligibility would be paradise—but it is to be hoped that the number of such is not very great: for this occupation must be accompanied by much disquiet

among their neighbours, much diffention, and mutual offence and ill-will; and the peaceable, the indolent, the studious, and one half of the nation, the women, will be great sufferers by all this. In a nation enjoying many of the comforts and pleasures of life, the happy government is that which will leave the greatest number possible totally unoccupied with national affairs, and at full liberty to enjoy all their domestic and social pleasures, and to do this with security and permanency. Great limitations in the right of election seems therefore a circumstance necessary for this purpose, and limitations are equally necessary on the eligibility. When the offices of power and emolument are open to all, the scramble becomes universal, and the nation is never at peace. The road to a seat in Parliament should be accessible to all; but it should be long, so that many things, which all may in time obtain, shall be requisite for qualifying the candidate. The road should also be such that all should be induced to walk in it, in the prosecution of their ordinary business; and their admission into public offices should depend on the progress which they have made in the advancement of their own fortunes. Such regulations would, I think, give the greatest chance of filling the offices with persons best fitted for them, by

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their talents, their experience, and their habits of thinking. These habits, and the views of life which a man forms in consequence of his situation, are of the utmost importance.

After all these observations, I will recur to a position which I have repeated more than once, namely, that our constitution, which nearly embraces all these circumstances, has attained its present excellence chiefly in consequence of the innate worth of the British character. About the time of the Conquest, our constitution hardly differed from that of France. But the clashing of interests between the different Orders of the subjects was not so rancorous and obstinate—these Orders melted more easily together—the purity of the principle of Representation in the States was less attended to; and while the French Peers gradually left off minding any business but their own, and left the High Court of Judicature to the lawyers,

and the King to his Cabinet Council, the Peers of Great Britain, overlooking their own less important distinctions, attended more to the State, became a permanent Council to the Sovereign in the administration and legislation; and, with a patriotism and a patience that are unknown to the Other Grandees of Europe, continued to hear and to judge in all questions of justice and property between the inferior citizens of the State. British Liberty is the highly prized fruit of all this worthy conduct, and most people ascribe it to the superior spirit and independence of the national character. It strikes me, however, as more fully indicating superior virtue, and more judicious patriotism; and our happy constitution is not more justly entitled to the admiration and respect that is paid to it by all Europe,

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than to the affectionate and grateful attachment of every true-hearted Briton.

Since the publication of this volume I have seen a very remarkable work indeed, on the same subject. *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Jacobinisme* par M. l'Abbe Barruel. This author confirms all that I have said of the Enlighteners, whom he very aptly calls Philo-sophists; and of the abuses of Free Masonry in France. He shows, unquestionably, that a formal and systematic conspiracy against Religion was formed and zealously prosecuted by Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Diderot, assisted by Frederic II. King of Prussia; and I see that their principles and their manner of procedure have been the same with those of the German atheists and anarchists. Like them they hired an Army of Writers; they industriously pushed their writings into every house and every cottage. Those writings were equally calculated for inflaming the sensual appetites of men, and for perverting their judgments. They endeavoured to get the command of the Schools, particularly those for the lower classes; and they erected and managed a prodigious number of Circulating Libraries and Reading-Societies. M. Barruel lays, that this gang of public corruptors have held their meetings for many years in the Hotel de Holbach at Paris, and that Voltaire was their honorary President. The most eminent members were d'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, La Harpe, Turgot, & Lamignon. They took

the name of (Economists, and affected to be continually occupied with plans for improving Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, Finance, &c. and published from time to time respectable performances on those subjects.— But their darling project was to destroy Christianity and all Religion, and to bring about a total change

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of Government. They employed writers to compose corrupting and impious books—these were revised by the Society, and corrected till they suited their purpose. A number were printed in a handsome manner, to defray the expense; and then a much greater number were printed in the cheapest form possible, and given for nothing, or at very low prices, to hawkers and pedlars, with injunctions to distribute them secretly through the cities and villages. They even hired persons to read them to conventicles of those who had not learned to read.*

(See vol. i. 343—3550)

I am particularly struck by a position of Abbe Barruel, " That Irreligion and unqualified Liberty and *^ Equality are the genuine and original Secrets of Free ^^ Masonry, and the ultimatum of a regular progress ^^ through all its degrees," He supports this remarkable position with great ingenuity, and many very pertinent facts. I confess that now, when I have got this impression, I shall find it very difficult to efface it. But I must also say, that this thought never struck me, during all the time that I have

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* The author makes an observation which is as just as it is agreeable. This atrocious gang solicited, with the most anxious assiduity, the participation and patronage of the great ones of the world, and boast of several very exalted names; Frederic II. of Prussia, whom they call the Solomon of the North, Catharine II. Gustavus King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, &c. &c. But in the whole series of their correspondence there is not the least trace of any encouragement or any hopes from our excellent Sovereign

George III. Despising the incense of such wretches, and detesting their science, he has truly merited the title of Philosopher, by having done more for the real Illumination of the World, by the promotion of true Science, than all the present Sovereigns of Europe united ; and has uniformly distinguished himself by his regard for true Religion, and every thing that is venerable and sacred. This omission is above all praise*

been occupied with it nor have I ever heard it expressed by any Brother, except such as had been illuminated -, and such Brethren always considered this as an innovation or improvement on genuine British Free Masonry. I recollect, indeed, that Nicholai, in his account of the German Rosicrucians, says, that the object of Free Masonry in England since the time of James II. is Toleration in Religious Opinions as Royall had been the object before that time.

The account which the Abbe gives of the Chevalerie du Soleil is very conformable to one of the three rituals in my possession. His account of the Chevalerie de Rose Croix, and some others, differs considerably from those in my box. I have reason to think that my materials are transcripts from the rituals; &c. which Rosa introduced into the German Lodges, because the writer of the greater part of them is an inhabitant of that city.

I think that the Abbe Barruel's account of this matter fuggeils a pleasing reflection. All the Brethren on the Continent agree in saying, that Free Masonry was imported from Great Britain about the beginning of this century, and this in the form of a Mystical Society. It has been assiduously cultivated in Britain ever since that time, and I believe that the Fraternity is more numerous here, in proportion to the population of the country, than in any other kingdom; yet in Britain the Brethren have never suspected that its principles were seditious or atheistical. While the Free Masonry of the Continent was tricked up with all the frippery of stars and ribands, or was perverted to the most profligate and impious purposes, and the Lodges became seminaries of Foppery, of Sedition, and Impiety, it has retained in Britain its original form,

simple

simple and unadorned, and the Lodges have remained the scenes of innocent merriment, or meetings of Charity and Beneficence. As the good sense and sound judgments of Britons have preserved them from the absurd follies of Transmutation, of Ghost-raising, and of Magic, so their honed hearts and their innate good dispositions have made them detect and reject the mad projects and impious doctrines of Colonists, Epicurists, and Atheists.

O fortunatos nimium, Jiafi bona nor rat Angkolas I

I have more confidence than ever in the sentiment which I expressed as an encouragement for our moral instructors; and with greater earnestness do I call on them to rescue from corruption and impending ruin a nation so highly deserving of their care.

Mr. Barruel, in the eighteenth chapter of his work, has furnished some reflections, which highly merit attention, and greatly tend to efface the impression which is naturally made on the minds of the unthinking and precipitant, when they observe such a list of authors, whom they have been accustomed to admire, all leagued against Religion. I think, however, that nothing can more effectually remove it, than what I have already shown of the vile and disgraceful tricks which these sophists have been guilty of to support their cause. The cause of this numerous association is distinct; they see in their very procedure. The very first step in their progress is depravation of manners. In this they have laboured with as much earnestness as either Spartacus, or Minos, or Bahrtd. It was a treat to me to learn that La Close's abominable book Les Liaisons

Dangerous,

Dangerous, was not merely pandering for his patron Orleans, but also working for his masters at the Hotel d'Holbach. Nothing gives such certain bread to those authors, in the beginning of their career, as immoral and impure writings—and with such did even their chief set out, and fill his pockets; witness his Pucelle d'Orleans; and even after they became the Judges of France they continued, either from coarse taste or from serious principle, for the diabolical purpose of inflaming the passions of others, to interlard their gravest performances with impure thoughts and sentiments. Nay, the secret of the Hotel d'Holbach shows us that, for any thing we know

to the contrary, the vilest productions of their pens may have been the compositions of the obtuse Voltaire, of the fly d'Alembert, or of the author of the Fere de Famille. What a pity it is that the Decline of the Roman Empire was not all written in England, and that its learned and elegant author, by going into their society, has allowed himself to be drawn into this muddy and degrading vortex !

I should scarcely afflict for more to disgust me with the philosophy of these ages, and to make me distrust all their pretensions to knowledge. The manners of the conduct suited the original poverty of the whole of them -, but its continuance strips them of all claims to the name of philosophers. Their pretended wisdom is only cunning, — and we must acknowledge that their conduct was clever: for this mean of corruption, concealed or embellished by their talents for sentimental flang, (I can give it no better name,) made their conversation and their writings more acceptable to their noble patrons.— Now it is that Religion, of necessity, comes on the field for Religion tells us, that these

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are mean pleasures for creatures born to our prospects; and Christianity tells us, that they are gross transgressions of the only just morality. The progress of the pupil will now be rapid; for he will listen with willing ears to lessons which flatter his passions. Yet Voltaire thinks it necessary to enliven the lessons by a little of the *Jalais*, quelques bons mots a-p'Os apres des femmes^ which he recommends to d'Alembert, who, it seems, was deficient in this kind of small talk.

Surely all this is very unlike to wisdom; and when we see that it is part of a plan, and this an obvious one, it should greatly lessen our wonder at the number of these admired infidels. If we would now proceed to examine their pretensions to science, on which they found their claim to the name of philosophers, we must be careful to take the word in a sense that is unequivocal. Its true meaning is by no means what is commonly assigned to it, a lover of knowledge. It is a lover of wisdom ^ and philosophy professes to teach us what are the constituents of human felicity, and what are the means of attaining it; what are our duties, and the general rules for our conduct. The flocks were philo-» fophers. The Christians are also

philosophers. The Epicureans and the Sophists of France would also be called philosophers. I have put in my objection to this claim already, and need not repeat my reasons for saying that their doctrines are not dictates of wisdom. I shall only add, that their own conduct shows plainly that their principles had no effect on themselves, because we see, from the series of correspondence which Mr. Barruel has laid before us, that they do not scruple to practise villanous and hypocritical tricks, which never fail to disgrace a man, and are totally irreconcilable with

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our notions of human dignity. Voltaire patiently took a caning from an officer at Frankfort, for having wittily told lies of his scholar Frederic, and his wisdom told him that his honour was cleared by offering to meet the Major, each of them provided with an injection of urine. This was thought sublime wit at Ferney. I do not suppose that the slave Epictetus, or the foldier Digby, would have ended the affair in this manner. Many of the deeds of wisdom of the club d'Holbach were more degrading than even this ; and I am confident that the whole of this phalanx of sages were conscious that they were treated by their patrons and pupils as Voltaire was treated by the Solomon of the North, and that their notions of the vraie vertu were also the same with his. He gives this account of it in his letter to his niece :
' Le Roi lui avoit repondu ; ' j'aurai * >besoin de Voltaire un an tout au plus—On presTe * Torange, et on jette l'ecorce.* Je me suis fait ^^ repeter ces douces paroles"—(How poor Voltaire would grin !)—^^ Je vois bien qu'on a presTe " l'orange—il faut penser a fauver l'ecorce.'*

But, as things stand at present, philosopher means a man of science, and in this sense of the word our sages claim great respect. No claim can be worse founded. It is amusing to observe the earnestness with which they recommend the study of natural history. One does not readily see the connection of this with their ostensible object, the happiness of man. A perusal of Voltaire's letters betrays the secret. Many years ago he heard that some observations on the formation of strata, and the fossils found in them, were incompatible with the age which the Mosiac history seems to assign to this globe. He mentions this with great exultation in some of his early letters; and, from that time

forward.

forward, never ceases to enjoin his colleagues to press the study of natural history and cosmogony, and carefully to bring forward every fact which was hostile to the Mosaic accounts. It became a serious part of the exercises of their wealthy pupils, and their perplexing discoveries were more orientatioufly displayed. M. de Luc, a very eminent naturalist, has shown, in a letter to the Chevalier Dr. Zimertmann, (published, I think, about the year 1790,) how very scanty the knowledge of these observers has been, and how precipitate have been their conclusions. Moses writes the history, not of this globe, but of the race of Adam.

The science of these philosophers is not remarkable in other branches, if we except M. d'Alembert's mathematics". Yet the imposing confidence of Voltaire was such, that he passes for a person fully informed, and he pronounces on every subject with such authority, with such a force of expression, and generally with so much wit or pleasantry, that his hearers and readers are fascinated, and soon convinced of what they wish to be true.

It is not by their wisdom nor by their profound knowledge which these writers display, that they

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* Never was there any thing more contemptible than the physical and mechanical positions in Diderot's great work, the *Système de la Nature* (Barruel asserts, that he was the author, and got 100 pistoles for the copy, from the person who related the story to him,) that long ago found that Diderot had enlisted Robinet to make a book out of his Masonic Oration, which I mentioned in page 41. Robinet tried to Diderot's knowledge in natural philosophy. But the Junto were ashamed of the book *De la Nature*, Diderot seems to have, after this, read Dr. Hartley's book, and has greatly refined on the crude system of Robinet. But after all, the *Système de la Nature* is contemptible, if it be considered as pretending to what is received as science by a mechanical philosopher.

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have acquired celebrity, a fame which has been so pernicious. It is by fine writing, by works addressed to the imagination and to the affections, by excellent dramas, by affecting moral essays, full of expressions of the greatest respect for virtue, the most tender benevolence, and the highest sentiments of honour and dignity.—By these means they fascinate all readers; they gain the esteem of the worthy, who imagine them sincere, and their pernicious doctrines are thus spread abroad, and fall into the minds of the dissolute, the licentious, and the unwary.

But I am writing to Britons, who are considered by our neighbours on the Continent as a nation of philosophers—to the countrymen of Bacon, of Locke, of Newton—who are not to be wheedled like children, but must be reasoned with as men.—Voltaire, who decides without hesitation on the character of the most distant nations in the most remote antiquity, did not know us: he came among us, in the beginning of his career, with the highest expectations of our support, and hoped to make his fortune by his *Pucelle d'Orleans*. It was rejected with disdain—but we published his *Henriade* for him: and, notwithstanding his repeated disappointments of the same kind, he durst not offend his countrymen by flandering us, but joined in the profound respect paid by all to British science.—Our writers, whether on natural or moral science, are still regarded as standard classics, and are studied with care. Lord Verulam is acknowledged by every man of science to have given the first; just description of true philosophy, pointed out its objects, and ascertained its mode of procedure—And Newton is equally allowed to have evinced the propriety of the Baconian precept by his unequalled success,

and

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Jud Mathefi facem ferente.—The most celebrated philosophers on the Continent are those who have completed by demonstration the wonderful guesses of his penetrating genius. Bailli, or Condorcet, (I forget which,) struck with the inconceivable reaches of Newton's thoughts, breaks out, in the words of Lucretius,

Tefeqmr^ 0 magn£ gentls deciis^ inque tuls nunc Fix a -pedum pom prejjis
vefigia figms, Tu pater et rerum invent or ^ tu p atria nobis Suppeditas
precepta^ tuifque ex inclute chartls^ Floriferis ut apes in faitibus omnia
libant^ Omnia nos iidem depafcimur aurea díbia\ Aurea^ perpetud femper
digniffima vita.

After fuch avowals of our capacity to influ6t ourfelves, fiiall we ftiil fly to
thofe difturbers of the world for our leftons ? No—Let us rally round our
own flandards—let us take the path pointed out by Bacon—let us follow the
fteps of Newton—and, to conclude, let us ferioufly confider a moft
excellent advice by the higheft authority:

" Beware of falfe prophets, who come to you " in fheep's cloathing, but
inwardly they are r:^ " vening wolves—by their fruits ye sua ;. " KNOW
THEM—Do mtn gather grapes of thoidS, " or figs of thifiles?"

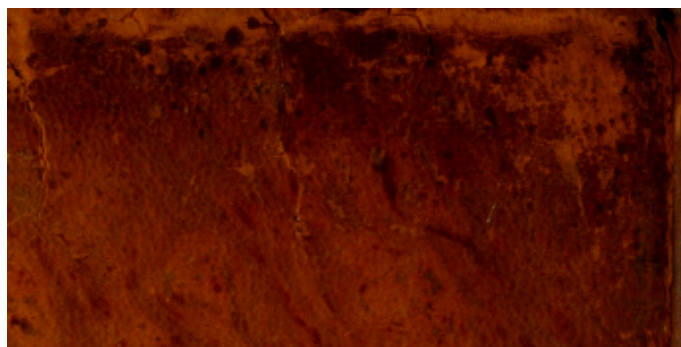
THE END.

To the Binder.

* 2 B, and * 2 C, are to be placed before 2 B, thcfe pages being repeated.

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P R O O F S
OF A
C O N S P I R A C Y
AGAINST ALL THE
RELIGIONS AND GOVERNMENTS
OF
E U R O P E,
CARRIED ON
IN THE SECRET MEETINGS
OF
FREE MASONS, ILLUMINATI,
AND
READING SOCIETIES.

COLLECTED FROM GOOD AUTHORITIES,

By JOHN ROBISON, A. M.

PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AND SECRETARY TO THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

The THIRD EDITION.

To which is added a POSTSCRIPT.

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