

P R O O F S
O F A
C O N S P I R A C Y
A G A I N S T A L L T H E
R E L I G I O N S A N D G O V E R N M E N T S
O F
E U R O P E,
C A R R I E D O N
I N T H E S E C R E T M E E T I N G S
O F
F R E E M A S O N S, I L L U M I N A T I,
A N D
R E A D I N G S O C I E T I E S.

COLLECTED, FROM GOOD AUTHORITIES,

By JOHN ROBISON, A.M.

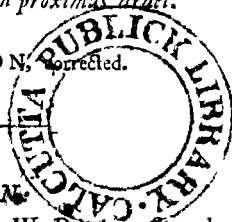
PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AND SECRETARY TO
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

Nam tua est agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

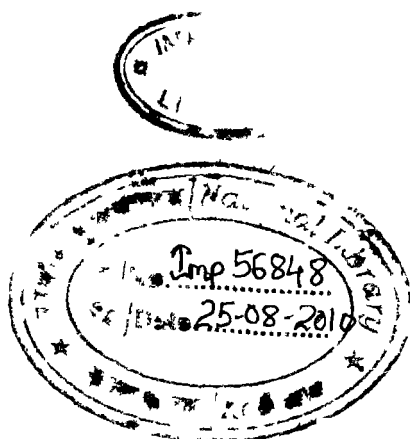
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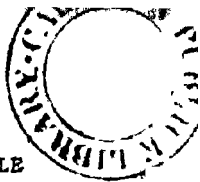
L O N D O N.

Printed for J. CADELL, jun. and W. DAVIES, Strand;
and W. CRESCHE, Edinburgh.



Entered in Stationers Hall.





TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM WYNDHAM,
SECRETARY AT WAR, &c. &c. &c.

S I R,

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 Performance 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 pressure 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 those 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 Health, Prosperity, and increasing Honour.

With sentiments of the greatest Esteem and Respect,

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

JOHN ROBISON.

EDINBURGH,
September 5, 1797.

QUOD si quis verâ vitam ratione gubernet,
Divitiæ grandes homini sunt, vivere parcè
Æquo animo : neque enim est unquam penuria pervi.
At claros se homines voluêrunt atque potentes,
Ut fundamento stabili fortuna maneret,
Et placidam possent epulenti digere vitam :
Nequicquam, — quoniam ad summum succedere bono erant
Certantes, iter infestum fecêre viar,
Et tamen è summo quasi fulmen depicit istos
Invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara tetra.

Ergo, Regibus occisis, subversa jacebat
Pristina majestas soliorum, et sceptrâ superba ;
Et capitis summi præclarum insigno, cruentum,
Sub pedibus volgi magnum lugebat honorem :
Nam cupidè conculcatur nimis ante metutum.
Res itaque ad summam fæccem, turbasque redibat,
Imperium sibi cum ac summatum quisque petebat.

LUCRETIVS, V. IIII6.



INTRODUCTION.

BEING at a friend's house in the country during some part of the summer 1795, I there saw a volume of a German periodical work, called *Religiöns Begebenheiten*, i. e. Religious Occurrences; in which there was an account of the various schisms 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 (shall I call them) of Free Masonry; and, having chiefly frequented the Lodges on the Continent, I had learned many doctrines, and seen many ceremonials which have no place in the simple system 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 too is the contagion of example, that I could not hinder myself from thinking one opinion better founded, or one Ritual more apposite 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 Bishop, his Trefonciars, and the chief Noblesse of the State were members. I visited the French Lodges at Valenciennes, at Brussels, at Aix-la-Chapelle, at Berlin, and Koningsberg; and I picked up some printed discourses delivered by the Brother-orators of the Lodges. At St. Petersburg 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 Eleve of the *Loge de la Parfaite Intelligence* at Liege. I was importuned by persons of the first rank to pursue my masonic career through

through many degrees unknown in this country. But all the splendour 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 *Loge de la Fidélité*, where every ceremonial was composed 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. 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 depositary 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 desir'd 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 pass'd by him, I saluted him softly in the Russian language; but without stopping, or looking him directly in the face. He colour'd, but made no return. I endeavour'd, in vain, to meet with him, wishing to make a proper return for much civility and kindness which I had received from him in his own country. o

I now consider'd the box as accessible to myself, and opened it. I found it to contain all the degrees of the *Parfait Maçon Ecossais*, with the Rituals, Catechisms, and Instructions, and also four other degrees of Free Masonry, as cultivated in the Parisian Lodges. I have kept them with all care, and mean to give them to some respectable Lodge. But as I am bound by no engagement of any kind, I hold myself as at liberty to make such use of them as may be serviceable to the public, without enabling any uninitiated person to enter the Lodges of these degrees.

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This acquisition might have roused my former relish for Masonry, had it been merely dormant ; but, after so long separation from the *Loge de la Fidélité*, the masonic spirit had evaporated. Some curiosity however remained, and some wish to trace this plastic mystery to the pit from which the clay had been dug, which has been moulded into so many different shapes, “ some to honour, and some to dishonour.” But my opportunities were now gone. I had given away (when in Russia) my volumes of discourses, and some far-fetched and gratuitous histories, and nothing remained but the pitiful work of Anderson, and the *Maçonnerie Adonhiramique dévoilée*, which are in every one’s hands.

My curiosity was strongly roused by the accounts given in the *Religions Begebenheiten*. There I saw quotations without number ; systems and schisms of which I had never heard ; but what particularly struck me was a zeal and a fanaticism about what I thought trifles, which astonished me. Men of rank and fortune, and engaged in serious and honourable public employments, not only frequenting the Lodges of the cities where they resided, but journeying from one end of Germany or France to the other, to visit new Lodges, or to learn new secrets or new doctrines. I saw conventions held at Wismar, at Wilsbad, at Kohlo, at Brunswick, and at Willemstad, consisting of

some hundreds of persons of respectable stations. I saw adventurers coming to a city, professing some new secret, and in a few days forming new Lodges, and instructing 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 suspected 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 dissensions had arisen about the time that the order of *Loyola* was suppressed; so that it should seem, that these intriguing brethren had 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 Rosycrucians—by Magicians—Magnetisers—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

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 *Religions 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 the authors to ridicule or to censure. These projectors had contrived to tag their peculiar nostrums to the mummery of Masonry, and were even allowed to twist the masonic emblems and ceremonies 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 some 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 missionaries 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 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 Richlieus.

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I know no subject 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 care 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. Baseless and frivolous, it admits of every 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 imposing ascendancy of French brethren, who are to be found every where, ready to instruct 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 tinsel 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

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 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

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 first 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 among

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 *all* 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 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 assert 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

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 emissaries are busy 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 *feel* 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 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 these 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 still subsists without being detected, and has spread into all the countries of Europe. It took its first rise among the Free Masons, but is totally different from Free Masonry. It was not, however, the
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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 party spirit which pervaded 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 discussion. The patient industry of German erudition has been very seriously 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; 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

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 what they do not see, and say that they are concealed by the oath of secrecy. Of such instruction I can make no use, even if I were disposed to write a history of the Fraternity. I shall content myself with an account of such particulars as are admitted by all the masonic parties, and which illustrate or confirm my general proposition, making such use of the accounts of the higher degrees in my possession as I can without admitting the profane into their Lodges. Being under no tie of secrecy with regard to these, I am withheld by discretion alone from putting the public in possession of all their mysteries.

P R O O F S
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A C O N S P I R A C Y, &c.

C H A P. I.

Schisms in Free Masonry.

THERE is undoubtedly a dignity in the art of building, or in architecture, which no other art possesses, and this, whether we consider it in its rudest state, occupied in raising a hut, or as practised in a cultivated nation, in the erection of a magnificent and ornamented temple. As the arts in general improve in any nation, this must always maintain its pre-eminence; for it employs them all, and no man can be eminent as an architect who does not possess a considerable knowledge of almost every science and art

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already

already cultivated in his nation. His great works are undertakings of the most serious concern, connect him with the public, or with the rulers of the state, and attach to him the practitioners of other arts, who are occupied in executing his orders: His works are the objects of public attention, and are not the transient spectacles of the day, but hand down to posterity his invention, 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 simular 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, stadia, 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 recognised each other. This association came into Ionia from Syria, into which country it had come from Persia, along with that style of architecture

ecture 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 Master'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 easy 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 start 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 encrease 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

serious and manly cast of mind, and had little pleasure in the frivolous ceremonies 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 Masons. 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 Associa-

tion 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 object 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 stood 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
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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 association,) but hoards up in its bosom inestimable secrets, whose natural tendency, they say, is to form the heart to this generous and kind conduct, and inspire us with
love

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 Look of Constitutions, "That the Fraternity existed
"all over the World," and the numberless 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 this is not a point of mere historical curiosity, but that much hinges on it.

In

In the mean time, let us just remember, that the plain tale of Brotherly love had been polished up to protestations 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 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 insinuated themselves into the English Lodges, where they were caressed 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, Fellow-craft, and Master, were called *symbolical*, 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 the *first* 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 mathematical 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,

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 1716, 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 *Maçons Chevaliers*, ornamented 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*, *Eleve*, and *Chevalier*, were soon added, and the *Parfait Maçon* 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 ingenuity was set to work to invent

new baits for the *Parfait Maçon*. More degrees of chivalry were added, interspersed with degrees of *Philosophe*, *Pellerin*, *Clairvoyant*, &c. &c. till some Parisian Lodges had forty-five ranks of Masonry, having fifteen orders of chivalry. For a Knighthood, with a Riband and a Star, was a *bonne bouche*, 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 Desert, 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 progressive mummary 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 finesse of the clergy to give to it some slight connection with religion or morality. The Masons, protected by their secrecy, ventured to go farther. The declamations in the lodges by the Brother orator, must 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 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,
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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 patronising, 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 bigotry of Louis XIV. and the oppression of the church, and should have the free indulgence of their inclinations. His own plans were disappointed by his death; but the licentious example of his pupil the regent, who disregarded all decency, completed the corruptions of the court and the capital. This quickly spread, with other Parisian modes, into the provinces; so that before the majority

majority of Louis XV. there was hardly a man pretending to eminence in knowledge or reflection who did not laugh at religion. Its defenders opposed in vain to their sarcasms the authority of the church in all matters of doctrine. This authority, the traditions and the legends of the church, were ridiculed, and all the religious acts and observances that were founded on them. The former were asserted to be falsehoods, and the latter were called gross superstition; and the national religion was represented, both by the infidels and by the sectaries, as an endless round of troublesome ceremonies, serving as the fund for supporting a set of domineering priests, who showed their disbelief of its doctrines by their own immoral lives, by the continual court-residence of their chiefs, and by their neglect and oppressive treatment of the only part of their order which showed a concern about the religious sentiments of the people, namely the *curés*, or parish-priests. These men had always been respected as faithful pastors, as pious men, kind to the poor, and the ready mediators between the lords and their vassals; a circumstance which greatly endeared them to the people. Yet these useful men were kept in slavish subjection and in indigence, by their superiors; their reiterated remonstrances were stifled, and their petitions were prevented from reaching the ear of the King. On the other hand, the higher sta-

tions in the church were appropriated by the great families. Their sons, bred in the contagious habits of high birth and ample fortune, had, in general, deviated greatly from the humble simplicity of a primitive bishop. Many of them, forsaking their dioceses, resided continually at court, where preferment was to be obtained; and here they courted the favour and dreaded the displeasure of a succession of royal mistresses. Some of them had furnished matter of scandal by their immoral behaviour. Such glaring faults, in such eminent stations, struck every eye. Religion suffered greatly by this degradation of character; and the infidels and libertines found little difficulty in persuading the people that the institution must be a cheat, when its doctrines are so belied by its dignified scholars*. Infidelity was almost universal. Nor was this overstrained 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

* See the Postscript.

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 Masterhip, 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, slide 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, 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; so 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 distinct proof of it, even in some of the French degrees. In the degree called the *Chevalier de Soleil*, 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 *Sagesse*, that in the north is *Liberté*, that in the south is *Fermeté*, and in the west it is *Caution*; terms which are very significant. The *Très Vénérable* 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 circumspect, and nothing occurs which can alarm the most timid. 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 the *Elus*)?

Elús)? He says, that the world is in darkness, and his companions and he have lost each other; that *Hesperus*, 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 recognised 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 trusted, and what sacrifices he is willing to make in search after truth.

This shape given to the plastic mysteries of Masonry was much relished, 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 *Noûve*, and the *Elú de la Vérité*, and the *Sub-*

lime Philosophic. 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 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 proselytès to every strange and obnoxious doctrine. *Theurgy*, *Cosmogony*, *Cabala*, and many whimsical and mystical 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,

der, and, availing himself of the pre-eminence given (at first 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 facts 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 for Masonic chivalry which distinguishes the French Free Masonry. Ramsay was as eminent for his piety as he was for his enthusiasm, but his opinions 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 prosecuted 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 less respect, if he shows any serious attachment to such things. But in France, the civil and religious restraints on conversation made these secret assemblies very precious; and they were much frequented by men of letters, who there found an opportunity of expressing in safety their dissatisfaction 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 *Avocats au Parlement*, the unbeneficed Abbés, the young men of no fortune, and the *soi-disant* 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 *Frere Orateur*. 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 relish for Free Masonry had forsaken me. One of these is a discourse by Brother Robinet, delivered in the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Sainte Cité* at Lyons, at a visitation by the Grand Master the *Duc 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 *Loge des Philalèthes* at Strasbourg, we have the outlines of his posthumous work, *Le Progres de l'Esprit humain*; and in another, delivered by Mirabeau in the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants* at Paris, we have a great deal of the levelling principles, and cosmopolitanism †, which he thundered from the tribunes

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

† Citizenship of the World; from the Greek words *Cosmos*, world, and *Polis*, a city.

of the National Assembly. But the most remarkable performances of this kind are, the *Archives Mystico-Hermetiques*, and the *Des Erreurs, et de la Verité*. The first is considered as an account, historical and dogmatical, of the procedure and system of the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants* 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 *Duc de Chartres*, afterwards *Orleans*, and at last *Ph. Egalité*. It sent out many affiliated Lodges, which were erected in various parts of the French dominions. The daughter Lodges at Paris, Strasbourg, Lille, Thoulouse, took the additional title of *Philalthes*. There arose some schisms, as may be expected, 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 *Amis reunis de la Verité*. 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

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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 professing one Masonic Faith, sufficiently distinguishable from that of other Lodges. What this was we 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*, 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 suffragan Lodges at Regensburgh became exceedingly obnoxious to the state, 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 Sect of Free Masons. The *Archives Mystico-Hermétiques* exhibit a very strange mixture of
Mysticism,

Myfticism, Theofophy, Cabaliftic whim, real Science, Fanaticifm, and Freethinking, both in religion and politics. They muft not be confidered as an account of any fettled fyftem, but rather as annals of the proceedings of the Lodge, and abftracts of the ftrange doctrines which made their fucceffive appearance 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, fo as to engrofs the general attention, while they alfo 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 expreffed decently, and with fome caution and moderation, atheifm, materialifm, and difcontent with 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 inquiry and communication of fentiment feems to fecure, and we are put off our guard againft the risk of delufion, to which we are expofed when our judgment is warped by our paffions.

The other book, "*Des Erreurs et de la Verité*," came from the fame fchool, and is a fort of holy fcripture, or at leaft a Talmud among the
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the Free Masons of France. It is intended only for the initiated, and is indeed a mystery to any other reader. But as the object of it was to spread the favourite opinions of some enthusiastic Brethren, every thing is said that does not directly betray the secrets of the Order. It contains a system of Theosophy that has often appeared in the writings of philosophers, both in ancient and modern times. “ All the intelligence and moral sentiment that appears in the “ universe, either directly, as in the minds of “ men, or indirectly, as an inference from the “ marks of design that we see around us, some “ of which show us that men have acted, and “ many more that some other intelligence has “ acted, are considered as parts or portions of “ a general mass of intelligence which exists in “ the universe, in the same manner as matter “ exists in it. This intelligence has an inscrutable connection with the material part of the “ universe, perhaps resembling the connection, “ equally unsearchable, that subsists between “ the mind and body of man; and it may be “ considered as the *Soul of the World*. It is this “ substance, 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 numberless unfounded

“ founded 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 ne-
 “ ver 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
 “ unsearchable train of changes, in which it
 “ sometimes makes part of a flower, sometimes
 “ part 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 phe-
 “ nomena that we call human life, is at last
 “ swallowed up in the great ocean of intelli-
 “ gence.” The author then may sing

“ Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
 “ Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
 “ Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque 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 an end, which rest on our no-

tions 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 warm 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, Dieu, et l'Univers*, 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, 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 state of mankind,

kind, 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 willing 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 *Pantheisticon, seu Celebratio Sodalitii Socratici*. It is an account of the principles of a Fraternity which he calls Socratica, and the Brothers Pantheistæ. 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 whole

whole, and Liberty and Equality are the objects of their occupations.

We shall see afterwards that this book was fondly pushed into Germany, translated, commented upon, and so misrepresented, as to call off the attention from 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 treasure of the cosmo-political opinions of the Association of *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*, *Philalethes*, 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 Verité*, must therefore be considered as a classical book of these opinions. We know that it originated in the *Loge des Chev. 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 declaim 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 last of proclaiming their sentiments in public. The Abbé Sieyès was of the Lodge of Philalethes at Paris, and also at Lyons. Lequenois, author of the most profligate book that ever disgraced a press, the *Prejugés vaincus par la Raison*, was Warden in the Lodge *Compacte Sociale*. Despremenil, Bailly, Fauchet, Maury, Mounier, were of the same system, though in different Lodges. They were called Martinists, from a St. Martin, who formed a schism in the system of the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*, of which we have not any very precise account. Mercier gives some account of it in his *Tableau de Paris*, and in his *Année* 2440. The breach alarmed the Brethren, and occasioned great heats. But it was healed, and the Fraternity took the name of *Misè du Renis*, which is an anagram of *des Amis Réunis*. The Bishop of Autun, the man so
bepraised

bepraised as the benevolent Citizen of the World, the friend of mankind and of good order, was Senior Warden of another Lodge at Paris, established in 1786, (I think chiefly by Orleans and himself,) which afterwards became the Jacobin Club. In short, we may assert with confidence, that the Mason Lodges in France were the hot-beds, where the seeds were sown, and tenderly reared, of all the pernicious doctrines which soon after choaked every moral or religious cultivation, and have made the Society worse than a waste, have made it a noisome marsh of human corruption, filled with every rank and poisonous weed.

These Lodges were frequented by persons of all ranks, and of every profession. The idle and the frivolous found amusement, and glittering things to tickle their fatiated fancies. There they became the dupes of the declamations of the crafty and licentious Abbés, and writers of every denomination. Mutual encouragement in the indulgence of hazardous thoughts and opinions which flatter our wishes or propensities is a lure which few minds can resist. I believe that most men have felt this in some period of their lives. I can find no other way of accounting for the company that I have sometimes seen in a Mason Lodge. The Lodge *de la Parfaite Intelligence* at Liege contained, in December 1770, the Prince

Bishop, and the greatest part of this Chapter, and all the Office-bearers were dignitaries of the church; yet a discourse given by the Brother Orator was as poignant a satire on superstition and credulity, as if it had been written by Voltaire. It was under the auspices of this Lodge that the collection of discourses, which I mentioned above, was published, and there is no fault found with Brother Robinet, nor Brother Condorcet. Indeed the Trefonciers of Liege were proverbial, even in Brabant, for their Epicurism in the most extensive sense of the word.

Thus was corruption spread over the kingdom under the mask of moral instruction. For these discourses were full of the most refined and strained morality, and florid paintings of Utopian felicity, in a state where all are Brothers and citizens of the world. But alas! these wire-drawn principles seem to have had little influence on the hearts, even of those who could best display their beauties. Read the tragedies of Voltaire, and some of his grave performances in prose—What man is there who seems better to know his Master's will? No man expresses with more propriety, with more exactness, the feelings of a good mind. No man seems more sensible of the immutable obligation of justice and of truth. Yet this man, in his transactions with his book-sellers, with the very men to whom he was im-

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mediately indebted for his affluence and his fame, was repeatedly, nay incessantly, guilty of the meanest, the vilest tricks. When he sold a work for an enormous price to one bookseller, (even to Cramer, whom he really respected,) he took care that a surreptitious edition should appear in Holland, almost at the same moment. Proof-sheets have been traced from Ferney to Amsterdam. When a friend of Cramer's expostulated with Voltaire on the injustice of this conduct, he said, grinning, *Oh! le bon Cramer—eh bien—il n'a que d'être du parti—he may take a share—he will not give me a livre the less for the first piece I offer him.* Where shall we see more tenderness, more honour, more love of every thing that is good and fair, than in Diderot's *Pere de Famill* ? —Yet this man did not scruple to sell to the Empress of Russia an immense library, which he did not possess, for an enormous price, having got her promise that it should remain in his possession in Paris during his life. When her ambassador wanted to see it, after a year or two's payments, and the visitation could be no longer staved off, Diderot was obliged to set off in a hurry, and run through all the booksellers' shops in Germany, to help him to fill his empty shelves. He had the good fortune to succeed—appearances— but the trick took air, because he was so niggardly in his attention to the ambassador's secretary.

tary. This, however did not hinder him from honouring his Imperial pupil with a visit. He expected adoration as the light of the world, and was indeed received by the Russian 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 clearighted. *Ces philosophes, said she, sont beaux, vus de loin; mais de plus près, le diamant parait crystal.* 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 state, 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 effectuated by the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*, the *Philalethes*, or any other sect of colmo-political Brethren.

I do not mean by all this to maintain, that the Mason Lodges were the sole corrupters of
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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, where they should not be, in a cultivated field. Virtue is the cultivation of the human soul, and not the mere possession of good dispositions; 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
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needy. Such spontaneous reflections cannot be expected in persons who are engaged in unceasing labour, to procure a very moderate share (in their estimation at least) of the comforts of life. Yet such reflections would, in the main, be just, 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 suggested 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 cosmopolite acknowledges to be necessary for the very existence of a great and cultivated society. I have never seen 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 corrector
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and foothor of those discontents that are unavoidable in the minds of the unsuccessful and the unfortunate. The magistrate, therefore, whose professional habits lead him frequently to exert himself for the maintenance of public peace, cannot but see the advantages of such stated remembrancers of our duty. He will therefore support and cherish this public establishment, which so evidently assists him in his beneficent and important labours.

But all the evils of society do not spring from the discontents and the vices of the poor. The rich come in for a large and a conspicuous share. They frequently abuse their advantages. Pride and haughty behaviour on their part rankle in the breasts, and affect the tempers of their inferiors, already fretted by the hardships of their own condition. The rich also are luxurious; and are often needy. Grasping at every mean of gratification, they are inattentive to the rights of inferiors whom they despise, and, despising, oppress. Perhaps their own superiority has been acquired by injustice. Perhaps most sovereignties have been acquired by oppression. Princes and Rulers are but men; as such, they abuse many of their greatest blessings. Observing that religious hopes make the good resigned under the hardships of the present scene, and that its terrors frequently restrain the bad; they avail themselves of these observations, and support religion as an engine

engine of state, and a mean of their own security. But they are not contented with its real advantages; and they are much more afraid of the resentment and the crimes of the offended profligate, than of the murmurs of the suffering worthy. Therefore they encourage superstition, and call to their aid the vices of the priesthood. The priests are men of like passions as other men, and it is no ground of peculiar blame that they also frequently yield to the temptations of their situation. They are encouraged to the indulgence of the love of influence natural to all men, and they heap terror upon terror, to subdue the minds of men, and darken their understandings. Thus, the most honourable of all employments, the moral instruction of the state, is degraded to a vile trade, and is practised with all the deceit and rapacity of any other trade; and religion, from being the honour and the safeguard of a nation, becomes its greatest disgrace and curse.

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 actually is, but who view this life as the school of improvement, and know that man is to be made perfect through
suffering,

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 listened 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 priestcraft; 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 goes together.

Perhaps

Perhaps there never was a nation where all these co-operating 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. Even religion appeared in an unwelcome form, and seemed chiefly calculated for procuring establishments for the younger sons of insolent and useless nobility. For numbers of men of letters were excluded, by their birth, from all hopes of advancement to the higher stations in the church. These men frequently vented their discontents by secretly joining the laics in their bitter satires on such in the higher orders of the clergy, as had scandalously departed from the purity and simplicity of manners which Christianity enjoins. Such examples were not unfrequent, and none was spared in those bitter invectives. Religion suffered, and its defences were too feeble when not supported by the blameless lives of its leaders. The faith of the nation was shaken ; and when, in a few instances, a worthy Curé uttered the small still voice of true religion, it was not heard amidst the general noise of satire and reproach. The misconduct of administration, and the abuse of the public treasures, were every day growing

growing more impudent and glaring, and exposed the government to continual criticism. But it was still too powerful to suffer this to proceed to extremities; while therefore infidelity and loose sentiments of morality passed unpunished, it was still very hazardous to publish any thing against the state. It was in this respect chiefly, that the Mason Lodges contributed to the dissemination of dangerous opinions, and they were employed for this purpose all over the kingdom. This is not an assertion hazarded merely on account of its probability. Abundant proof will appear by and by, that the most turbulent characters in the nation frequented the Lodges. We cannot doubt, but that under this covert they indulged their seditious dispositions; nay, we shall find the greatest part of the Lodges of France converted, in the course of a very few weeks, into corresponding political societies.

But it is now time to turn our eyes to the progress of Free Masonry in Germany and the north of Europe; there it took a more serious turn. Free Masonry was imported into Germany somewhat later than into France. The first German Lodge that we have any account of is that at Cologne, erected in 1716, but very soon suppressed. Before the year 1725 there were many, both in Protestant and Catholic Germany. Those of
Wetzlar,

Wetzlar, Frankfort on the Mayne, Brunswick, and Hamburg, are the oldest, and their priority is doubtful. All of them received their institution 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 German, made this institution a most agreeable and useful passport to these gentlemen, and as many of them were in military stations, and in garrison, 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 affect 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 disgusting. Free Masonry was then of the simplest form, consisting of the three degrees of Apprentices, Fellow-craft, and Master. It is remarkable, that the Germans had been long accustomed to the word, the sign, and the gripe of the Masons, and some other handicraft trades. In many parts of Germany there was a distinction

of operative Masons into Wort-Maurers and Schrift-Maurers. The Wort-Maurers had no other proof to give 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, borough laws, 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 recognise 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
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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 called for by the public*.

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

* Note the Wort or Gnuß-Maurer were abolished by an Imperial edict in 1731, and none were entitled to the privileges of the corporation but such as could show written indentures.

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.

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 fittest places in the world for the scene of their operations. The Rosycrucians 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 Alchymists, pretenders to the transmutation of metals and the universal medicine, who, the better to inveigle their votaries, had mixed with their own tribes a good deal of the absurd superstitions of that sect, in order to give a greater air of mystery to the whole, to protract the time of instruction, 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 Rosycrucian Lodges were soon established, and became numerous, because their mysteries were addressed, both to the curiosity, the sensuality, 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 known 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 wish to be believed. If it be just, nothing but the absurdity of the ostensible motives of their occupations could have prevented this combination from carrying on schemes big with hazard to the peace of the world. But the Rosycrucian Lodges have always been considered by other Free Masons as bad Societies, and as gross schismatics. This did not hinder, however, their alchymical 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 superstitions, 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 Rosycrucians.

In 1743, Baron Hunde, a gentleman of honourable character and independent fortune, was in Paris, where he said he had got acquainted with the Earl of Kilmarnock and some other gentlemen who were about the 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). Hunde 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 services 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 emoluments. In fine, “ every true Mason is a Knight Templar.” It is very true that a clever fancy can accommodate the ritual of reception of the *Chevalier de l’Epée*, &c. to something like the institution of the Knights Templars ; and perhaps this explanation of young Zerobabel’s pilgrimage, and of the rebuilding of the Temple by Ezra, is the most significant explanation that has been given of the meagre symbols of Free Masonry.

When Baron Hinde returned to Germany, he exhibited to some friends his extensive powers for propagating this system of Masonry, and made a few Knights. But he was not very active. Probably the failure of the Pretender’s attempt

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to recover the throne of his ancestors had put an end to Hünde's hopes of making a figure. In the mean time Free Masonry was cultivated with zeal in Germany, and many adventurers found their advantage in supporting particular schisms.

But in 1756, or 1757, a complete revolution took place. The French officers who were prisoners at large in Berlin, undertook, with the assurance peculiar to their nation, to instruct the simple Germans in every thing that embellishes society. They said, that the homespun Free Masonry, which had been imported from England, was fit only for the unpolished minds of the British; but that in France it had grown into an elegant system, fit for the profession of Gentlemen. Nay, they said, that the English were ignorant of true Masonry, and possessed nothing but the introduction to it; and even this was not understood by them. When the ribands and stars, with which the French had ornamented the Order, were shown to the Germans, they could not resist the enchantment. A Mr. Rosa, a French commissary, brought from Paris a complete waggon-load of Masonic ornaments, which were all distributed before it had reached Berlin, and he was obliged to order another, to furnish the Lodges of that city. It became for a while a most profitable business to many French officers and commissaries dispersed over Ger-

many, having little else to do. Every body gaped for instruction, and these kind teachers were always ready to bestow it. In half a year Free Masonry underwent a complete revolution all over Germany, and Chevaliers multiplied without number. The Rosaic system was a gospel to the Masons, and the poor British system was despised. But the new Lodges of Berlin, as they had been the teachers of the whole empire, wanted also to be the governors, and insisted on complete subjection from all the others. This startled the Free Masons at a distance, and awaked them from their golden dreams. Now began a struggle for dominion and for independency. This made the old Lodges think a little about the whole affair. The result of this was a counter revolution. Though no man could pretend that he understood the true meaning of Free Masonry, its origin, its history, or its real aim, all saw that the interpretations, of their hieroglyphics, and the rituals of the new degrees imported from France, were quite gratuitous. It appeared, therefore, that the safest thing for them was an appeal to the birth-place of Masonry. They sent to London for instructions. There they learned, that nothing was acknowledged for genuine unsophisticated Masonry but the three degrees; and that the mother Lodge of London alone could, by her instructions, prevent

vent the most dangerous schisms and innovations. Many Lodges, therefore, applied for patents and instructions. Patents were easily made out, and most willingly sent to the zealous Brethren; and these were thankfully received and paid for. But instruction was not so easy a matter. At that time we had nothing but the book of constitutions, drawn up about 1720, by Anderson and Desaguilliers, two persons 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 respect. We are apt to smile at grave men's being satisfied with such coarse and scanty fare. But it was of use, merely because it gave an ostensible reason for resisting the despotism of the Lodges of Berlin. Several respectable Lodges, particularly that of Frankfurt on the Mayne, that of Brunswick, that of Wetzlar, and the Royal York of Berlin, resolutely adhered to the English system, and denied themselves all the enjoyment of the French degrees, rather than acknowledge the supremacy of the Rosaic 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 Hunde, 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 Hunde 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, *Typota Symbola Divina et Humana*, published in 1601. There is not the least trace in this book either of Masonry or Templars, and the emblems are taken out without the smallest ground of selection. Some inconsistency with the former magnificent promises of Johnson startled them at first, but they acquiesced and submitted to Baron Hunde, 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 Hunde. He erected Lodges, gave a few simple instructions, all in the system of English Masonry, and promised,

mised, that when they had approved themselves as good Masons, he would then impart the mighty secret. After two or three years of noviciate, 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 DISCIPLINARIANS, *Strickten Observanz*. It was acceptable to many, because they insisted that they were really Knights, properly consecrated, though without temporalities; and they seriously set themselves about forming a fund which should secure the Order in a landed property and revenue, which would give them a respectable civil existence. Hundt 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 apostle of Mysteries, a Dr. Zinzendorff, one of the *Strict Observanz*, introduced

introduced a new system, which he said was from Sweden, distinguished by some of the mystical doctrines of the Swedenborgh sect, and though the system obtained the Royal patronage, and a National Lodge was established at Berlin by patent, still the *Tempelorden*, or *Order des Strikten 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 state of things, one Stark, a Protestant divine, well known in Germany by his writings, made another trial of public faith. One Gugomos, (a private gentleman, but who would pass for son to a King of Cyprus,) and one Schropfer, keeper of a coffee-house at Nuremberg, drew crowds of Free Masons around them, to learn ghost-raising, exorcism, and alchymy. Numbers came from a great distance to Weilbad to see 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 superiority. He saw that this deception could not long stand its ground. He therefore came forward, at a convention at Braunschweig in 1772, and said to the Strict Disciplinarians or Templars, That he was of their Order, but of the spiritual department, and was deputed by the Chapter of

K—m—d—t

K—m—d—t in Scotland, where he was Chancellor of the Congregation, and had the name of Archidemides, *Eques ab Aquila fulva* That this Chapter had the superintendance of the Order: That they alone could consecrate the Knights, or the unknown superiors; and that he was deputed to instruct them in the real principles of the Order, and impart its inestimable secrets, which could not be known to Baron Hunde, as he would readily acknowledge when he should converse with him. Johnson, he said, had been 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 *Eques ab Ense*) 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 Weggenfak, Baron Von Raven, and some others of his coadjutors in the Lodges at Koningsberg in Prussia, and at Wismar, were received into the Order. But in vain—notlung 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 expected wonders, they were so much frightened by the unconditional submission, that they could come to no agreement, and the secrets of the Scotch Congregation of K—m—d—t still remain with Dr. Stark. They did, however, a sensible thing; they sent a deputation to Old Aberdeen, to inquire after the caves where their venerable mysteries were known, and their treasures were hid. They 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 rixdollars. But alas! their ambassadors found the FreeMasons of Old Aberdeen ignorant of all this, and as eager to learn from the ambassadors what was the true origin

origin and meaning of Free Masonry, of which they knew nothing but the simple tale of Old Hiram. This broke Stark's credit; but he still insisted on the reality of his commission, and said that the Brethren at Aberdeen were indeed ignorant, but that he had never said otherwise; their expectations from that quarter had rested on the scraps purloined by Johnson. 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 similar inquiries in Italy, where Schropfer and others (even Hunde) had told them great secrets were to be obtained from the Pretender's secretary Approsi, 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. These, however, they could not accede to; but they were cruelly tortured by seeing Wachter, who had left Germany in sober circumstances, now a man of great wealth and expence. He would not acknowledge that he had got the secret
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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 honourably, and owed no man any thing. He broke off all connections with them, and left them in great distress about their Order, and panting after his secrets. *Risum teneatis 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, shut their Lodges against each other,

other, and proceeded even to vilify and persecute the adherents of every System but their own.

These animosities arose chiefly from the quarrels about precedency, 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 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 characterised that Sect. But we are certain that infidelity and laxity of moral principles were prevalent in the Rosaic Lodges, and that the observation of this corruption had offended many of the sober 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

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 ſceptiſm, 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 preſs. 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 proſelytes is natural to all ſerious profeſſors 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

proach 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 slightly supported; but, of late, by better proofs. The spirit of free inquiry was the great boast of the Protestants, and their 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 asserted that the Reformation which those Confessions express was not complete. Further Reformations were proposed. The Scriptures, the foundation of our faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views, till by explaining, correcting, allegorising, 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 solecism, as plainly appeared by the irreconcilable differences among those Enlighteners (so they were called) of the public, and that man had nothing 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, 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 Nicholai, an eminent and learned bookseller in Berlin. He has been for many years the publisher of a periodical work, called the General German Library, (*Allgemein 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. Nicholai 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 criticised with every

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 connection, 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 restoration 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 Rosycrucian, being introduced by his friends Gedicke and Biester, clergymen, publishers of the *Berlin Monatsschrift*, and most zealous promoters of the new doctrines. This favour he has repaid at his return, by betraying the mysteries of the Lodges, and by much bitter satire. His journey was published in several volumes, and is full of frightful Jesuitisms. This man, as I have said, found the greatest success in his method of slandering the defenders of Bible-Christianity, by representing them as concealed Jesuits. But, not contented with open discussion, he long ago published a sort of romance, called *Sebaldu Nothanker*, in which these divines are introduced under feigned names, and

made as ridiculous and detestable as possible. All this was a good trading job; for sceptical and free-thinking writings have every where a good market; and Nicholai was not only reviewer, but publisher, having presses in different cities of the Empire. The immense literary manufacture of Germany, far exceeding that of any nation of Europe, is carried on in a very particular way. The books go in sheets to the great fairs of Leipzig and Francfort, twice a-year. The booksellers meet there, and see at one glance the state of literature; and having speculated and made their bargains, the books are instantly dispersed through every part of the Empire, and appear at once in all quarters. Although every principality has an officer for licensing, it is impossible 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 distance in another state. By this mode of traffic, a plot may 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 Heinemann, a bookseller, called, *Appeal to my Country, concerning a Combination of Writers, and Booksellers, to rule the Literature of Germany, and form the Public Mind into a Contempt for the Religion and Civil Establishments of the Empire.*

pire. It contains a historical account of the publications in every branch of literature for about thirty years. The author shows, in the most convincing manner, that the prodigious change from the former satisfaction of the Germans on those subjects to their present discontent and attacks from every quarter, is neither a fair picture of the prevailing sentiments, nor has been the simple operation of things, but the result 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 *Basedow*, a man of talents and learning, set up, in the Principality of Anhalt-Deffau, 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 Basedow 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 specious 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? Catholics, 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 of the institution. Basedow 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 Basedow'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,

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ing, 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 instructions 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 Baselow's. The predisposing causes existed, indeed, and 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.

Baselow 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 the Regent to fill some important office. The Prince was astonished, and told the Cardinal, that "that" would never do, for the man was a Jansenist; "*Eh! que non, Sire,*" said the Cardinal, "*il n'est qu'Athée;*" all was safe, and the man got the priory. But though all was in vain, Basedow's Philanthropine at Dessau 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,

clared, however, to a minister of his court, long before his death, that “ he was extremely sorry
“ that his indifference had produced such effects;
“ that he was sensible it had greatly contributed
“ to hurt the peace and mutual good treatment
“ of his subjects ;” and he said, “ that he would
“ willingly give up the glory of his best-fought
“ battle, to have the satisfaction of leaving his
“ people in the same state of peace and satisfac-
“ tion, 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 conversing to the professors 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, slanders, 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

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 direct the faith of his subjects, they extended their discussions to the rights of princes in general ; and now they fairly opened their 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 glaciis, and summoned the fort to surrender. The most daring 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 presses. 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
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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 Silesia 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 (*conjuraton*) 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.

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
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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 chevaleries, and stars, 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 tracts of free-thinking were more serious, 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 a glimpse of them in the cosmo-political and sceptical discourses in their Lodges ; he sat down to meditate on these, and

foon 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 ; 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 cosmopolitism, and that he was continually deal-
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ing 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 affects 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 assemblies 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 of our rights, and the gradual accumulation of the comforts of life, in the families of the sober and industrious. These have, by prudence and a respectable œconomy, 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
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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 Hofrath, the Hofmarschal, and all the Kammerhers of a Prince, whose dominions do not equal the estates of many English Squires, cause the whole to appear like

like the play of children, and must give frequent occasion for discontent and ridicule. Mason 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 a 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 cosmo-political 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*, we 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

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 Knigge, and some other cosmo-political Brethren whom he had called to his assistance. Knigge 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 showing each system how infirm its foundation was, and how little chance it had of obtaining a general adherence. The *Strikten Observanz* had now completely lost its credit, by which it had hoped to get the better of all the rest. Knigge therefore proposed a plan to the Lodges of Frankfort 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-

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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 character of any particular system. These Lodges having secured the adherence of several others, brought about a general convention at Willemstad 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 selection, 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 while, the deputies consulting about the frivolities of Masonry, with all the seriousness of state ambassadors. But there was great shyness in their communications; and Knigge was making but small progress in his plan, when he met with another Mason, the Marquis of Constanza, who in an instant converted him, and changed all his measures,

measures, by showing him that he (Knigge) was only doing by halves what was already accomplished by another Society, which had carried it to its full extent. They immediately set about undoing what he had been occupied with, and heightened as much as they could the dissensions already sufficiently great, and, in the mean time, got the Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar, and several others, to unite, and pick out the best of the things they had obtained by the communications from the other systems, and they formed a plan of what they called, the *Eclectic or Syncretic Masonry of the United Lodges of Germany*. They composed a constitution, ritual, and catechism, which has merit, and is indeed the completest body of Free Masonry that we have.

Such was the state of this celebrated and mysterious Fraternity in Germany in 1776. The spirit of innovation had seized all the Brethren. No man could give a tolerable account of the origin, history, or object of the Order, and it appeared to all as a lost or forgotten mystery. The symbols seemed to be equally susceptible of every interpretation, and none of these seemed entitled to any decided preference.

CHAP. II.

The Illuminati.

I HAVE now arrived at what I should call the great epoch of Cosmo-politism, the scheme communicated to Baron Knigge by the *Marchese di Constanza*. This obliges me to mention a remarkable Lodge of the Eclectic Masonry, erected at Munich in Bavaria in 1775, under the worshipful Master, Professor Baader. It was called *The Lodge Theodore of Good Counsel*. It had its constitutional patent from the Royal York at Berlin, but had formed a particular system of its own, by instructions from the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants* at Lyons, with which it kept up a correspondence. This respect to the Lodge at Lyons had arisen from the preponderance acquired in general by the French party in the convention at Willemstad. The deputies of the Rosaic Lodges, as well as the remains of the Templars, and *Strikten Observanz*, all
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looking up to this as the mother Lodge of what they called the *Grand Orient de la France*, consisting (in 1782) of 266 improved Lodges, united under the *D. de Chartres*. Accordingly the Lodge at Lyons sent Mr. Wilermooz as deputy to this convention at Willemsbad. Refining gradually on the simple British Masonry, the Lodge had formed a system of practical morality, which it asserted to be the aim of genuine Masonry, saying, that a true Mason, and a man of upright heart and active virtue, are synonymous characters, and that the great aim of Free Masonry is to promote the happiness of mankind by every mean in our power. In pursuance of these principles, the Lodge Theodore professedly occupied itself with œconomical, statistical, and political matters; and not only published from time to time discourses on such subjects by the Brother Orator, but the Members considered themselves as in duty bound to propagate and inculcate the same doctrines out of doors.

Of the zealous members of the Lodge Theodore the most conspicuous was Dr. Adam Weishaupt, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Ingolstadt. This person had been educated among the Jesuits; but the abolition of their order made him change his views, and from being their pupil, he became their most bitter enemy. He had

acquired a high reputation in his profession, and was attended not only by those intended for the practice in the law-courts, but also by young gentlemen at large in their course of general education; and he brought numbers from the neighbouring states to this university, and gave a *ton* to the studies of the place. He embraced with great keenness this opportunity of spreading the favourite doctrines of the Lodge, and his auditory became the seminary of Cosmo-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 state, 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, and the abject and indolent submission of the laity. Accordingly Professor Weishaupt says, in his *Apology for Illuminatism*, 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.

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 inquiry, 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. Weisshaupt 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 but two. After this disappointment Weishaupt 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 resentment, 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 Weishaupt's emissaries had already procured the adherence of many other Lodges; and the Eclectic Masonry had been brought into vogue chiefly by their exertions at the Willemstad 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 pasquinades, satires, and other offensive pamphlets, were in secret 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 made to every entrant
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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 inquiry into the proceedings of the Lodge Theodore.

It was then discovered that this and several associated Lodges were the nursery or preparation school for another 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 inquiry 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 MINERVALES, 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 Elector himself. They said that they were bound by honour to secrecy: but they assured the Elector, on their honour, that the aim of the Order was in the highest degree praise-worthy, and useful both to
church

church and state. But this could not allay the anxiety of the profane public ; and it was repeatedly stated to the Elector, 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 Marianen Academy, founded by the widow of the late Elector, viz. Utschneider, Cossandey, Renner, and Grunberger, with two others, were summoned before the Court of Inquiry, and questioned, on their allegiance, respecting the Order of the Illuminati. They acknowledged that they belonged to it, and when more closely examined, they related several circumstances of its constitution and principles. Their declarations were immediately published, and were very unfavourable. 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. Sensual 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; 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 discoursed 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

rance of many things. Two of them were only Minervals, another was an Illuminatus of the lowest class, and the fourth was but one step 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 said 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 Weishaupt 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 Constanza and Marquis Savioli, were also banished, with equal pensions, (about £. 40,) which they accepted. One Zwack, a counsellor, holding some law-office, was also banished.

banished. Others were imprisoned for some time. Weishaupt 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. de Salms, who soon after had so great 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, Weishaupt, 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. To this were added the statutes and the rules of proceeding, as far as the degree of *Illuminatus 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 shall be laid before the reader, in the order in which it was gradually

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discovered,

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 Weishaupt is correct, as far as I shall make use of it, and shows clearly the methods that were taken to recommend the Order to strangers.

The Order of ILLUMINATI appears as an accessory 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 *Eclectic System*. This he urged as the best method for getting information of all the explanations which have been given of the Masonic Mysteries. He was also a *Strict Observanz*, and an adept Rosycrucian. The result of all his knowledge is worthy of particular remark, and shall therefore be given at large.

“ I declare,” says he, “ and I challenge all
“ mankind to contradict my declaration, that no
“ man can give any account of the Order of
“ Free Masonry, of its origin, of its history, of
“ its object, nor any explanation of its mysteries
“ and symbols, which does not leave the mind
“ in

“ in total uncertainty on all these points. Every
“ man is entitled, therefore, to give any ex-
“ planation of the symbols, and any system of
“ the doctrines, that he can render palatable.
“ Hence have sprung up that variety of systems
“ which for twenty years have divided the Or-
“ der. The simple tale of the English, and the
“ fifty degrees of the French, and the Knights
“ of Baron Hunde, 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; take these for
“ their standard, and found on these all the
“ improvements by which each system is after-
“ wards suited to the particular object which it
“ keeps in view. There is no man, nor system,
“ in the world, which can show by undoubted
“ succession that it should stand at the head of
“ the Order. Our ignorance in this particular
“ frets me. Do but consider our short history
“ of 120 years.—Who will show me the Mother
“ Lodge? Those of London we have discover-
“ ed to be self-erected in 1716. Ask for their
“ archives. They tell you they were burnt.
“ They have nothing but the wretched sophisti-
“ cations of the Englishman Anderson, and the
“ Frenchman Desaguliers. Where is the Lodge
“ of York, which pretends to the priority, with
“ their

“ their King Bouden, and the archives that he
“ brought from the East? These too are all
“ burnt. What is the Chapter of Old Aber-
“ deen, and its Holy Clericate? 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? and have
“ not their 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; all indeed are on
“ an equal footing. They obtained followers,
“ not from their authenticity, but from their
“ conduciveness 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 Rosycru-
“ cians, 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 ineffi-
“ cient as the sleepy dose of an ordinary fer-
“ mon.

“ But

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,
 “ a feasible, and *speedy* prospect of universal hap-
 “ piness, 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 com-
 “ plete ; my means are effectual, and irresistible.
 “ Our secret Association works in a way that no-
 “ thing can withstand, *and man shall soon be free*
 “ *and happy.*

“ This is the great object held out by this As-
 “ sociation, and the means of attaining it is Il-
 “ lumination, enlightening the understanding by
 “ the sun of reason, which will dispel the clouds
 “ of superstition and of prejudice. The profi-
 “ cients in this Order are therefore justly named
 “ the Illuminated. And of all Illumination which
 “ human reason can give, none is comparable to
 “ the discovery of what we are, our nature, our
 “ obligations, what happiness we are capable of,
 “ and what are the means of attaining it. In
 “ comparison with this, the most brilliant sciences
 “ are but amusements for the idle and luxu-
 “ rious. To fit man by illumination for active
 “ virtue, to engage him to it by the strongest
 “ motives, to render the attainment of it easy
 “ and

“ and certain, by finding employment for every
 “ talent, and by placing every talent in its pro-
 “ per sphere of action, so that all, without feeling
 “ any extraordinary effort, and in conjunction
 “ with and completion of ordinary business, shall
 “ urge forward, with united powers, the general
 “ task. This indeed will be an employment,
 “ suited to noble natures, grand in its views,
 “ and delightful in its exercise.

“ And what is this general object? THE HAP-
 “ PINESS OF THE HUMAN RACE. Is it not dis-
 “ tressing to a generous mind, after contemplat-
 “ ing what human nature is capable of, to see
 “ how little we enjoy? When we look at this
 “ goodly world, and see that every man *may* be
 “ happy, but that the happiness of one depends
 “ on the conduct of another; when we see the
 “ wicked so powerful, and the good so weak;
 “ and that it is in vain to strive singly and alone,
 “ against the general current of vice and oppres-
 “ sion; the wish naturally arises in the mind,
 “ that it were possible to form a durable combin-
 “ ation of the most worthy persons, who should
 “ work together in removing the obstacles to hu-
 “ man happiness, become terrible to the wicked,
 “ and give their aid to all the good without
 “ distinction, and should, by the most powerful
 “ means, first fetter, and by **fettering**, lessen
 “ vice; means which at the same **time** should pro-
 “ mote virtue, by rendering the inclination to
 “ rectitude

“ rectitude hitherto so feeble, more powerful and
 “ engaging. Would not such an Association be
 “ a blessing to the world?

“ But where are the proper persons, the good,
 “ the generous, and the accomplished, to be
 “ found; and how, and by what strong motives,
 “ are they to be induced to engage in a task so
 “ vast, so incessant, so difficult, and so laborious?
 “ This Association must be gradual. *There are*
 “ some such persons to be found in every socie-
 “ ty. Such noble minds will be engaged by the
 “ heart-warming object. The first task of the As-
 “ sociation must therefore be to form the young
 “ members. As these multiply and advance, they
 “ become the apostles of beneficence, and the
 “ work is now on foot, and advances with a speed
 “ increasing every day. The slightest observa-
 “ tion shows that nothing will so much contri-
 “ bute to increase the zeal of the members as se-
 “ cret union. We see with what keenness and
 “ zeal the frivolous business of Free Masonry
 “ is conducted, by persons knit together by the
 “ secrecy of their union. It is needless to in-
 “ quire into the causes of this zeal which secrecy
 “ produces. It is an universal fact, confirmed
 “ by the history of every age. Let this circum-
 “ stance of our constitution therefore be directed
 “ to this noble purpose, and then all the objec-
 “ tions urged against it by jealous tyrannv and
 “ affrighted superstition will vanish. The Order

“ will thus work silently, and securely ; 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 lowest degree, and even this is liable to great suspicion. The accounts given by the four Professors, 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 ostensible members of the Order were the Minervals. They were to be found only in the Lodges of Free Masons. A candidate for admission must make his wish 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 farther conference, he is required to peruse and to sign the following oath :

“ I, N. N. hereby bind myself, by mine honour
 “ and good name, forswearing all mental refer-
 “ vation, never to reveal, by hint, word, writ-
 “ ing, 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 reli-
 “ gion, the state, nor good manners. I pro-
 “ mise, that I shall make no intelligible extract
 “ from any papers which shall be shewn me
 “ now or during my noviciate. All this I swear,
 “ as I am, and as I hope to continue, a Man of
 “ Honour.”

The urbanity of this protestation must agree-
 ably impress the mind of a person who recollects
 the dreadful imprecations which he made at his
 reception into the different ranks of Free Ma-
 sonry. The candidate is then introduced to an
Illuminatus Dirigens, whom perhaps he knows,
 and is told that this person is to be his future in-
 structor. 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, pro-
 fession, and favourite studies. He is then made
 to read several articles of this table. It contains,
 1st, A very concise account of the Order, its con-
 nection with Free Masonry, and its great object,
 the promoting the happiness of mankind by

means of instruction and confirmation in virtuous principles. 2d, 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 “ discussed to him ? In what respects he thinks “ he can be of use to the Order ? Who are his “ ancestors, relations, friends, correspondents, or “ enemies ? Whom he thinks proper persons to “ be received into the Order, or whom he thinks “ unfit for it, and the reasons for both opinions ? ” To each of these questions he must give 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.

punctuality. 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 rescripts, 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 unbiassed observation of his instructor, what is his own character, his most vulnerable side, either in respect of temper, passions, or prepossessions, 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 hu-

man 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 rescripts must consist of accounts of all interesting occurrences in his neighbourhood, whether of a public or private nature. Coslandey, one of the four Professors, gives a particular account of the instructions relating to this kind 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 pro-
“ moting the advancement of a candidate as very
“ copious narrations of this kind, because the
“ candidate, if promoted, 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 characteristic 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
“ connected 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 re-
“ quire 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 cha-
“ racter, to influence their conduct. For such
“ reasons this study is continued, and these re-
“ scripts are required, during the whole progress
“ through the Order, and attention to them is
“ recommended as the only mean of advance-
“ ment. Remarks on Physiognomy in these
“ narrations are accounted of considerable va-
“ lue.” 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 Intervals. In these conversations he learns the importance of the Order, and the opportunities he will afterwards have 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

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 *Primo*, or the Superiors in general by *Quibus 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 assiduous or remiss, 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 Minerval must look for no further advancement; he is found unfit, and remains a Free Mason of the highest class. This is called a *Sta bene*.

But should his Superiors judge more favourably of him, he is drawn out of the general mass of Free Masons, and becomes *Illuminatus Minor*. When called to a conference for this purpose, he is told in the most serious manner, that “it is
“vain for him to hope to acquire wisdom by
“mere systematic instruction; for such instruc-
“tion the Superiors have no leisure. Their duty
“is not to form speculators, but active men,
“whom

“ whom they must *immediately* employ in the service of the Order. He must therefore grow wise 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 further 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 purest enjoyment, when supported and encouraged by the countenance and co-operation of the united wise and good, such as are the Superiors of the Order. If the candidate, warmed by the alluring picture of the possible happiness of

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a virtuous Society, says that he is sensible of the propriety of this procedure, and still wishes to be of the Order, he is required to sign the following obligation :

“ I, N. N. protest before you, the worthy Pleni-
“ potentiary of the venerable Order into which I
“ wish to be admitted, that I acknowledge my na-
“ tural weakness and inability, and that I, with all
“ my possessions, rank, honours, and titles which I
“ hold in political society, am, at bottom, only a
“ man; I can enjoy these things only through my
“ fellow-men, and through them also I may lose
“ 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 uni-
“ versal good, but will oppose, with all my might,
“ the enemies of the human race, and of poli-
“ tical society. I will embrace every opportunity
“ of saving mankind, by improving my under-
“ standing 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 silence and unshaken loy-
“ alty 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 em-
“ ployment of my power and influence. I pledge
“ myself to account the good of the Order as my
“ own,

“ own, and am ready to serve it with my fortune,
“ my honour, and my blood. Should I, through
“ omission, neglect, passion, or wickedness, be-
“ have contrary to this good of the Order, I sub-
“ ject 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 in-
“ crease and promotion, and therein to employ
“ all my ability. All this I promise, and protest,
“ without secret reservation, according to the in-
“ tention 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, if he should ever betray the Order. He is then asked, 1. What aim does he wish 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 mummary of reception, and it is enough to say, that it nearly re-
sembles

fembles that of the *Masonic Chevalier du Soleil*, known to everyone much conversant in Masonry. Weisshaupt'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 morsels, under the same instructor. 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 Weisshaupt has shown 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, teemed with the boldest sentiments both in politics and religion. Enlightening, and the triumph of reason, had been the *ton* of the country for some time past; and every institution, civil and religious, had been the subject of the most free

free criticism. Above all, the Cosmo-politism, imported from France, where it had been the favourite topic of the enthusiastical œconomists, 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, unsuspicious as yet and generous, were fired 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 noviciate 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

them in the indulgence of youthful passions. Their instructors, who have thus relieved their minds from several anxious thoughts, must 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 noviciate 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, 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 these 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.

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 timid 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 after it has been made out, in some measure to the satisfaction of the pupil, that a great addition of happiness would be gained 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 monopolising sentiment, and even incompatible with the more enlarged views of the Order; namely, the uniting the whole human race into one great and happy

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society.

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 resisted, if, by these partial or narrow views, we prevent the accomplishment of that cosmopolitical 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 ac-
“cess to them. Thus we are able most power-
“fully 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 import-
“ant civil offices.”

Accordingly

Accordingly the Order laboured in this with great zeal and success. A correspondence was discovered, 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 bigotted priest. They contrived to place their members as tutors to the youth of distinction. One of them, Baron Leuchtsenring, 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 Ingolstadt 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

struction 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 rescripts 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 mean 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 thus it is better secured from the oppression of the ruling powers, and because this secrecy gives a greater zest to the whole."

This short account of the *Noviciate*, and of the lowest class 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,

ings, and of what they knew of the Higher Orders.

But since the time of the suppression by the Elector, discoveries have been made which throw great light on the subject. A collection of original papers and correspondence was found by searching the house of one Zwack (a member) in 1786. The following year a much larger collection was found at the house of Baron Baffus ; and since that time Baron Knigge, the most active member next to Weishaupt, published an account of some of the higher degrees, which had been formed by himself. A long while after this were published, *Neueste Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo in der Illuminaten Orden*, and *Hohere Graden des Illum. Ordens*. These two works give an account of the whole secret constitution of the Order, its various degrees, the manner of conferring them, the instructions to the intrants, and an explanation of the connection of the Order with Free Masonry, and a critical history. We shall give some extracts from such of these as have been published.

Weishaupt was the founder in 1776. In 1778 the number of members was considerably increased, and the Order was fully established. The members took antique names. Thus Weishaupt took the name of Spartacus, the man who headed the insurrection of slaves, which in

Pompey's time kept Rome in terror and uproar for three years. Zwack was called Cato. Knigge was Philo. Bassus was Hannibal. Hertel was Marius. Marquis Conflanza was Diomedes. Nicolai, an eminent and learned bookseller in Berlin, and author of several works of reputation, took the name of Lucian, the great scoffer at all religion. Another was Mahomet, &c. It is remarkable, that except Cato and Socrates, we have not a name of any ancient who was eminent as a teacher and practiser 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 give ancient names to the cities and countries of Europe. Munich was Athens, Vienna was Rome, &c.

Spartacus to Cato, Feb. 6, 1778.

“ *Mon but est de faire valoir la raison.* As a
 “ subordinate object I shall endeavour to gain se-
 “ curity to ourselves, a backing in case of mis-
 “ fortunes, and assistance from without. I shall
 “ therefore press the cultivation of science, espe-
 “ cially 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

“ 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. Science shall
 “ here be the lure. Only those who are assuredly
 “ proper subjects shall be picked out from
 “ among the inferior class to the higher mys-
 “ teries, which contain the first principles and
 “ means of promoting a happy life. No reli-
 “ gionist must, on any account, be admitted
 “ into these : for here we work at the discovery
 “ and extirpation of superstition and prejudices.
 “ The instructions shall be so conducted that
 “ each shall disclose what he thinks he conceals
 “ within his own breast, what are his ruling pro-
 “ pensties and passions, and how far he has ad-
 “ vanced 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. No-
 “ thing can escape our sight ; by these means
 “ we shall readily discover who are contented,
 “ and receive with relish the peculiar state-doc-
 “ trines and religious opinions that are laid be-
 “ fore them ; and, at last, the trust-worthy alone
 “ will

“ will be admitted to a participation of the whole
 “ maxims and political constitution of the Or-
 “ der. 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—Politique*
 “ *Naturelle—Philosophie de la Nature—Système*
 “ *Social*—The writings of Mirabaud, &c. Helve-
 “ tius is fit only for the strongest stomachs. If
 “ any one has a copy already, neither praise nor
 “ find fault with him. Say nothing on such sub-
 “ jects to intrants, for we don’t know how they
 “ will be received—folks are not yet prepared.
 “ Marius, 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 mysteries
 “ of

“ of the Higher Orders is *the fire-worship of the*
 “ *Magi*. We must have some worship, and
 “ none is so apposite. LET THERE BE LIGHT,
 “ AND THERE SHALL BE LIGHT. This is my
 “ motto, and is my fundamental principle. The
 “ degrees will be *Feuer Orden, Parfen Orden* * ;
 “ all very practicable. In the course through
 “ these there will be no STA BONE (this is the
 “ answer given to one who solicits preferment,
 “ and is refused). For I engage that none shall
 “ enter this class who has not laid aside his
 “ prejudices. No man is fit for our Order who
 “ is not a Brutus or a Catiline, and is not ready
 “ to go every length.—Tell me how you like
 “ this.”

Spartacus to Cato, March 1778.

“ To collect unpublished works, and informa-
 “ tion from the archives of States, will be a most
 “ useful service. We shall be able to show in a
 “ very ridiculous light the claims of our despots.
 “ Marius (keeper of the archives of the Electorate)
 “ has ferreted out a noble document, which we
 “ have got. He makes it, forsooth, a case of
 “ conscience—how silly that—since only that is

* This is evidently the *Mystere du Mithras* mentioned by Barruel, in his History of Jacobinism, and had been carried into France by Bede and Busche.

“ *fin*

“*sin* which is *ultimately* productive of mischief. In
 “ this case, where the advantage far exceeds the
 “ hurt, it is meritorious virtue. It will do more
 “ good in our hands than by remaining for 1000
 “ years on the dusty shelf.”

There was found in the hand-writing of Zwack a project for a Sisterhood, in suberviency to the designs of the Illuminati. In it are the following passages :

“ It will be of great service, and procure us
 “ both much information *and money*, and will suit
 “ charmingly the taste of many of our truest mem-
 “ bers, who are lovers of the sex. It should con-
 “ sist of two classes, the virtuous and the freer
 “ hearted (*i. e.* those who fly out of the com-
 “ mon track of prudish manners); they must not
 “ know of each other, and must be under the di-
 “ rection of men, but without knowing it. Pro-
 “ per books must be put into their hands, and such
 “ (but secretly) as are flattering to their passions.”

There are, in the same hand-writing, Description of a strong box, which, if forced open, shall blow up and destroy its contents—Several receipts for procuring abortion—A composition which blinds or kills when spurted in the face—A sheet, containing a receipt for sympathetic ink—Tea for procuring abortion—*Herbæ quæ habent qualitatem deleteriam*—A method for filling a bed-chamber with pestilential vapours—How to take off impres-
 fions

fions of seals, so as to use them afterwards as seals —A collection of some hundreds of such imprecations, with a list of their owners, princes, nobles, clergymen, merchants, &c. —A receipt *ad excitandum furorem uterinum*—A manuscript intitled, “Better than Horus.” It was afterwards printed and distributed at Leipzig fair, and is an attack and bitter satire on all religion. This is in the hand-writing of Ajax. As also a dissertation on suicide.—N. B. His sister-in-law threw herself from the top of a tower. There was also a set of portraits, or characters of eighty-five ladies in Munich; with recommendations of some of them for members of a Lodge of Sister Illuminatae: also injunctions to all the Superiors to learn to write with both hands; and that they should use more than one cypher.

Immediately after the publication of these writings, many defences appeared. It was said that the dreadful medical apparatus were with propriety in the hands of Counsellor Zwack, who was a judge of a criminal court, and whose duty it was therefore to know such things. The same excuse was offered for the collection of seals; but how came these things to be put up with papers of the Illuminati, and to be in the hand-writing of one of that Order? Weishaupt says, “These things were not carried into effect—only spoken of, and are justifiable when taken in proper connection.”

“nection.” 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 connection 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 in the university of Ingolstadt, the resort of the first class of the German youth ; 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 inquiry. I have exorcised spirits—
“raised

“ raised ghosts—discovered treasures—interro-
“ gated the Cabala—*hatte Loto gespielt*—I have
“ never transmuted metals.”—(A very pretty and
respectable circle indeed, and what vulgar spi-
rits 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 my 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 condemn-
“ ed 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 en-
“ gage 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 exertions,
“ and

“ and placed others in the situations which suited
 “ my talents. It was the full conviction of this
 “ and of what could be done, if every man were
 “ placed in the office for which he was fitted by
 “ nature and a proper education, which first sug-
 “ gested to me the plan of Illumination.” Surely
 Mr. Weishaupt had a very serious charge, the
 education of youth ; and his encouragement in
 that charge was the most flattering that an Illu-
 minatus could wish for ; because he had brought
 round him the youth whose influence in society
 was the greatest, and who would most of all con-
 tribute to the diffusing good principles, and ex-
 citing to good conduct through the whole state.
 “ I did not,” says he, “ bring deism into Ba-
 “ varia more than into Rome. I found it here,
 “ in great vigour, more abounding 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 ;

“ *Hic situs est Phaethon, currús auriga paterni,*
 “ *Quem si non tenuit, magnus tamen excudit ausis.”*

The second discovery of secret correspondence
 at Sanderdorf, the seat of Baron Batz, (Hanni-
 al,) contains still more interesting facts.

Spartacus

Spartacus to Cato.

“ What shall I do? I am deprived of all help.
“ Socrates, who would insist on being a man of
“ consequence among us, and is really a man of
“ talents, and of a *right way of thinking*, is eternally
“ befotted. Augustus is in the worst estimation
“ imaginable. Alcibiades sits the day
“ long with the vintner’s pretty wife, and there
“ he sighs and pines. A few days ago, at Corinth,
“ Tiberius attempted to ravish the wife of
“ Democides, and her husband came in upon
“ them. Good heavens! what *Arcopagitæ* I have
“ got. When the worthy man Marcus Aurelius
“ comes to Athens, (Munich,) what will he
“ think? What a meeting of dissolute immoral
“ wretches, whoremasters, liars, bankrupts, braggarts,
“ and vain fools! When he sees all this,
“ what will he think? He will be ashamed to enter
“ into an Association,” (observe, Reader, that
Spartacus writes this in August 1783, in the very
time that he would have murdered Cato’s sister,
as we shall see,) “ where the chiefs raise the
“ highest expectations, and exhibit such wretched
“ examples; and all this from self-will, from sensuality.
“ Am I not in the right—that this man—that
“ that any such worthy man—whose name alone
“ would give us the selection of all Germany—
“ will declare that the whole province of Grecia,
“ (Bavaria,)

“ (Bavaria,) innocent and guilty, must be excluded. I tell you, we may study, and write, and toil till death. We may sacrifice to the Order, our health, our fortune, and our reputation, (alas, the loss!) and these Lords, following their own pleasures, will whore, cheat, steal, and drive on like shameless rascals; and yet must be *Areopagite*, and interfere in every thing. Indeed, my dearest friend, we have only enslaved ourselves.”

In another part of this fine correspondence, Diomedes has had the good fortune to intercept a Q. L. (*Quibus licet*,) in which it is said, and supported by proofs, that Cato had received 250 florins as a bribe for his sentence in his capacity of a judge in a criminal court (the end had surely sanctified the means). In another, a Minerval complains of his Mentor for having by lies occasioned the dismissal of a physician from a family, by which the Mentor obtained, in the same capacity, the custom of the house and free access, which favour he repaid by debauching the wife; and he prays to be informed whether he may not get another Mentor, saying that although that man had always given him the most excellent instructions, and he doubted not would continue them, yet he felt a disgust at the hypocrisy, which would certainly diminish the impression of the most salutary truths. (Is it not distressing to think, that this promising youth

will

will by and by laugh at his former simplicity, and follow the steps and not the instructions of his physician?) In another place, Spartacus writes to Marius, (in confidence,) that another worthy Brother, an *Arcopagita*, had stolen a gold and a silver watch, and a ring, from Brutus, (*Savioli*,) and begs Marius, in another letter, to try, while it was yet possible, to get the things restored, because the culprit was a most *excellent man*, (*Vortrefflich*,) and of vast use to the Order, having the direction of an eminent seminary of young *gentlemen*; and because Savioli was much in good company, and did not much care for the Order, except in so far as it gave him an opportunity of knowing and leading some of them, and of steering his way at court.

I cannot help inserting here, though not the most proper place, a part of a provincial report from Knigge, the man of the whole *Arcopagita* who shows any thing like urbanity or gentleness of mind.

“Of my whole colony, (Westphalia,) the most brilliant is Claudiopolis (*Neuwied*). There they work, and direct, and do wonders.”

If there ever was a spot upon earth where men may be happy in a state of cultivated society, it was the little principality of Neuwied. I saw it in 1770. The town was neat, and the palace handsome and in good taste. But the country

was beyond conception 'delightful; not a cottage that was out of repair, not a hedge out of order; it had been the hobby (pardon me the word) of the Prince, who made it his *daily* employment to go through his principality regularly, and assist every householder, of whatever condition, with his advice, and with his purse; and, when a freeholder could not of himself put things into a thriving condition, the Prince sent his workmen and did it for him. He endowed schools for the common people, and two academies for the gentry and the people of business. He gave little portions to the daughters, and prizes to the well-behaving sons of the labouring people. His own household was a pattern of elegance and economy; his sons were sent to Paris to learn elegance, and to England to learn science and agriculture. In short, the whole was like a romance (and was indeed romantic). I heard it spoken of with a smile at the table of the Bishop of Treves, at Ehrenbretstein, and was induced to see it next day as a curiosity: and yet, even here, the fanaticism of Knigge would distribute his poison, and tell the blinded people, that they were in a state of sin and misery, that their Prince was a despot, and that they would never be happy till he was made to fly, and till they were all made equal.

They

They got their wish : the swarm of French locusts sat down on Neuwied's beautiful fields in 1793, and entrenched themselves ; and in three months, Prince and farmers houses, and cottages, and schools, and academies—all had vanished ; and all the subjects were made equal. But when they complained to the French General (René le Grand) of being plundered by his soldiers, he answered, with a contemptuous and cutting laugh, " All is ours—we have left you your eyes to cry."—(*Report to the Convention, 13th June 1795.*)

Disce justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos

To proceed :

Spartacus to Cato.

" By this plan we shall direct all mankind.
 " In this manner, and by the simplest means, we
 " shall set all in motion and in flames. The oc-
 " cupations must be so allotted and contrived,
 " that we may, in secret, influence all political
 " transactions." N. B. This alludes to a part
 that is withheld 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,
 L 2 "and

“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; 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 prosecuted 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 *ῥῆσις* and *ῥῆσις*,
 “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 Ingolstadt was to become the
 “teacher of the professors of Gottingen, and of
 “the greatest men in Germany?”

Spartacus

Spartacus to Cato,

“Send me back my degree of *Illuminatus Mi-*
 “*nor*; it is the wonder of all men here (I may
 “perhaps find time to give a translation of the
 “discourse of reception, which contains all that
 “can be said of this Association to the public); as
 “also the two last sheets of my degree, which is
 “in the keeping of Marius, and Celsus, under
 “100 locks, which contains my history of the
 “lives of the Patriarchs.” N. B. Nothing very
 particular has been discovered of these lives of the
 Patriarchs. He says, that there were above sixty
 sheets of it. To judge by the care taken of it, it
 must be a favourite work, very hazardous, and
 very catching.

In another letter to Cato, we have some hints
 of the higher degrees, and concerning a peculiar
 morality, and a popular religion, which the Or-
 der was one day to give the world. He says,
 “There must (*a la Jesuite*) not a single pur-
 “pose ever come in sight that is ambiguous, and
 “that may betray our aims against religion and
 “the state. One must speak sometimes one way
 “and sometimes another, but so as never to
 “contradict ourselves, and so that, with respect to
 “our true way of thinking, we may be impene-
 “trable. When our strongest things chance to

“ give offence, they must be explained as attempts
 “ to draw answers which discover to us the
 “ sentiments of the person we converse with.”

N. B. This did not always succeed with him.

Spartacus says, speaking of the priests degree, “ One would almost imagine, that this
 “ degree, as I have managed it, is genuine
 “ Christianity, and that its end was to free
 “ the Jews from slavery. I say, that Free Ma-
 “ sonry is concealed Christianity. My expla-
 “ nation of the hieroglyphics, at least, pro-
 “ ceeds 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 state-government, which so happily
 “ explain 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 class 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 *Benemeritissimi*” (surely such as Cato,
 his dearest friend, and the possessor of such
 pretty secrets, as abortives, poisons, pestilential
 vapours, &c.). “ The promoted may be Areo-

“ pagites 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 state-government in the
 “ world *.”

Spartacus proceeds, “ There shall be but three
 “ copies for all Germany. You can’t imagine
 “ what 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 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 seriously together. Spartacus sent him the materials, and Philo worked them up. It will therefore illustrate this

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

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 under-
“ standing of man really seems to be going back-
“ wards. Our task, therefore, is doubled. We
“ must give such an account of things, that fa-
“ natics shall not be alarmed, and that shall, not-
“ withstanding, excite a spirit of free inquiry.
“ 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 Ma-
“ sonry. But farther, we have to deal with the
“ despotism of Princes. This increases every
“ day. But then, the spirit of freedom breathes
“ and sighs in every corner ; and, by the assist-
“ ance of hidden schools of wisdom, Liberty
“ and Equality, the natural and imprescriptible
“ rights of man, warm and glow in every breast.
“ We

“ 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 an-
“ cient rights. For this purpose he would unite
“ men in a common bond. He would fit them
“ for this by spreading a just morality, by en-
“ lightening the understanding, and by assisting
“ the mind to shake off all prejudices. He would
“ teach all men, in the first place, to govern
“ themselves. Rulers would then be needless,
“ and equality and liberty would take place
“ without any revolution, by the natural and
“ gentle operation of reason and expediency.
“ This great Teacher allows himself to ex-
“ plain every part of the Bible in conformity
“ to these purposes ; and he forbids all wrang-
“ ling among his scholars, because every man
“ may there find a reasonable application to his
“ peculiar doctrines. Let this be true or false,
“ it does not signify. This was a simple Reli-
“ gion, and it was so far inspired ; but the minds
“ of his hearers were not fitted for receiving these
“ doctrines. I told you, says he, but you could not
“ bear it. Many therefore were called, but few
“ were chosen. To this elect were entrusted the
“ most important secrets ; and even among them
“ there were degrees of information. There was
“ a seventy, and a twelve. All this was in the
“ natural

“ natural order of things, and according to the
 “ habits of the Jews, and indeed of all antiquity.
 “ The Jewish Theosophy was a mystery, like
 “ the Eleusinian, or the Pythagorean, unfit for
 “ the vulgar. And thus the doctrines of Christi-
 “ anity were committed to the *Adepti*, in a *Disci-*
 “ *plina Arcani*. By these they were maintained
 “ like the Vestal Fire. They were kept up only
 “ in hidden societies, who handed them down to
 “ posterity ; and they are now possessed by the
 “ genuine Free Masons.”

N. B. This explains the origin of many anonymous pamphlets which appeared about this time in Germany, showing that Free Masonry was Christianity. They have doubtless been the works of Spartacus and his partisans among the Eclectic Masons. Nicholai, the great apostle of infidelity, had given very favourable reviews of these performances, and having always shewn 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 Nicholai to the Order. He had before this gained Leuchtenring, a hot-headed fanatic, who had spied Jesuits in every corner, and set Nicholai 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 Nicholai, and Spartacus exults 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 degrees, introducing beautiful ceremonies, which I have selected from among those of the ancient communions, combined with those of the Rosaic 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 prefixed; 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 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; man becomes free and happy.

Let us hear Spartacus again.

Spartacus, in another place.

“ We must, 1st, gradually explain away all
 “ our preparatory pious frauds: and when per-
 “ sons 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 turn-
 “ ed away from us like petted children. This
 “ will convince them of our sentiments, in all the
 “ intervening points; and our ambiguous expres-
 “ sions will then be interpreted into an endeavour
 “ to draw answers of any kind, which may show
 “ us the minds of our pupils. 2^d, We must un-
 “ fold, from history and other writings, the origin
 “ and fabrication of all religious lies whatever;
 “ and then, 3^d, We give a critical history of the
 “ Order. But I cannot but laugh, when I think
 “ of

“ of the ready reception which all his 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 esta-
 “ blish 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 they had not the enlighten-
 “ ing of our days.” I may here remark, that
 Weishaupt is presuming too much on the igno-
 rance of his friend, for there was a great deal of
 this enlightening in England at the time he speaks
 of, and if I am not mistaken, even this cele-
 brated Professor of Irreligion has borrowed most
 of his scheme from this kingdom. This to be
 sure is nothing in our praise. But the *PANTHEIS-
 TICON* of Toland resembles Weishaupt’s Illumi-
 nation in every thing but its rebellion and its vil-
 lany. Toland’s Socratic Lodge is an elegant
 pattern for Weishaupt, and his Triumph of Rea-
 son, his Philosophic Happiness, his God, or *Ani-
 ma Mundi*, are all so like the harsh system of
 Spartacus, that I am convinced that he has copied
 them, stamping them with the roughness of his
 own character. But to go on; Spartacus says of
 the English: “ Their poet Pope made his Essay
 “ on Man a system of pure naturalism, without
 “ knowing it, as Brother Chrysippus did with
 “ my Priest’s Degree, and was equally astonished

“ when this was pointed out to him. Chrysippus
 “ is religious, but not superstitious. Brother
 “ Lucian (Nicholai, of whom I have already said
 “ so much) says, that the grave Zolikofer now
 “ allows that it would be a very proper thing
 “ to establish a Deistical Worship at Berlin. I
 “ am not afraid but things will go on very well.
 “ But Philo, who was entrusted with framing the
 “ Priest’s Degree, has destroyed it without any
 “ necessity ; it would, forsooth, startle those who
 “ have a hankering for Religion. But I always
 “ told you that Philo is fanatical and prudish. I
 “ gave him fine materials, and he has stuffed it
 “ full of ceremonies and child’s play, and as Mi-
 “ nos says, *c’est jouer la religion*. But all this
 “ may be corrected in the revision by the *Arco-*
 “ *pagita*.”

N.B. I have already mentioned Baron Knigge’s
 conversion to Illuminatism by the M. de Con-
 stanza, whose name in the Order was Diomedes.
 Knigge (henceforth Philo) was, next to Spar-
 tacus, the most serviceable man in the Order,
 and procured the greatest number of members.
 It was chiefly by his exertions among the Ma-
 sons in the Protestant countries, that the *Eclectic*
System was introduced, and afterwards brought
 under the direction of the Illuminati. This con-
 quest was owing entirely to his very extensive con-
 nections among the Masons. He travelled like a
 philosopher

philosopher from city to city, from Lodge to Lodge, and even from house to house, before his Illumination, trying to unite the Masons; and he now went over the same ground to extend the *Eclectic System*, and to get the Lodges put under the direction of the Illuminati, by their choice of the Master and Wardens. By this the Order had an opportunity of noticing the conduct of individuals; and when they had found out their manner of thinking, and that they were fit for their purpose, they never quitted them till they had gained them over to their party. We have seen, that he was by no means void of religious impressions, and we often find him offended with the atheism of Spartacus. Knigge was at the same time a man of the world, and had kept good company. Weishaupt had passed his life in the habits of a college: therefore he knew Knigge's value, and communicated to him all his projects, to be dressed up by him for the taste of society. Philo was of a much more affectionate disposition, with something of a devotional turn, and was shocked at the hard indifference of Spartacus. After labouring four years with great zeal, he was provoked with the dissingenuous tricks of Spartacus, and he broke off all connection with the Society in 1784, and some time after published a declaration of all that he had done in it. This is a most excellent account

count of the plan and principles of the Order, (at least as he conceived it, for Spartacus had much deeper views,) and shows that the aim of it was to abolish Christianity, and all the state-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 shall 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 mean time we may proceed with the account of the principles of the system.

Spartacus to Cato.

“ Nothing would be more profitable to us than
“ a right 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

“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 and by the unequal will become equal; and after the storm all will be calm. Can the unhappy consequences remain when the grounds of dissension are removed? Rouse yourselves, therefore, O men! assert your rights; and then will Reason rule with unperceived sway; and ALL SHALL BE HAPPY*.

“Morality will perform all this; and morality is the fruit of Illumination; duties and rights are reciprocal. Where Octavius has no right, Cato owes him no duty. Illumination shows us our rights, and Morality follows;

* 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 lull it to sleep.

“ that Morality which teaches us to be of age,
 “ to be out of wardenship, to be full grown, and
 “ to walk without the leading-strings of priests and
 “ princes.

“ Jesus of Nazareth, the Grand Master of
 “ our Order, appeared at a time when the
 “ world was in the utmost disorder, and among
 “ a people who for ages had groaned under the
 “ yoke of bondage. He taught them the lessons
 “ of Reason. To be more effective, he took in
 “ the aid of Religion—of opinions which were
 “ current—and, in a very clever manner, he com-
 “ bined his secret doctrines with the popular re-
 “ ligion, and with the customs which lay to his
 “ hand. In these he wrapped up his lessons—
 “ he taught by parables. Never did any prophet
 “ lead men so easily and so securely along the
 “ road of liberty. He concealed the precious
 “ meaning and consequences of his doctrines;
 “ but fully disclosed them to a chosen view. He
 “ speaks of a kingdom of the upright and
 “ faithful; his Father’s kingdom, whose chil-
 “ dren we also are. Let us only take Li-
 “ berty and Equality as the great aim of his
 “ doctrines, and Morality as the way to at-
 “ tain it, and every thing in the New Testa-
 “ ment will be comprehensible; and Jesus will
 “ appear as the Redeemer of slaves. Man is
 “ fallen from the condition of Liberty and Equa-
 “ lity, the STATE OF PURE NATURE. He is
 “ under

“ 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 go-
 “ vernment, he is fallen, his worth is gone, and
 “ his nature tarnished. By subduing our pas-
 “ sions, or limiting their cravings, we may re-
 “ cover a great deal of our original worth, and
 “ live in a state of grace. This is the redemp-
 “ tion of men—this is accomplished by Morality;
 “ and when this is spread over the world, we
 “ have THE KINGDOM OF THE JUST.

“ But, alas! the 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 fre-
 “ quently 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 every fretting inequality of condition; and
 “ split, since we are no longer one family; and
 “ are farther divided by differences of govern-
 “ ment, rank, property, and religion; but when

“ reunited in one family, we are represented by
 “ the polished stone. G. is Grace ; the Flam-
 “ ing Star is the Torch of Reason. Those who
 “ possess this knowledge are indeed ILLUMINATI.
 “ Hiram is our fictitious Grand Master, slain for
 “ the REDEMPTION OF SLAVES ; the Nine Mas-
 “ ters are the Founders of the Order. Free
 “ Masonry is a Royal Art, inasmuch as it teaches
 “ us to walk without 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—of this *disciplina arcani*, 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 *Areopagita* ? 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 this *disciplina arcani*, of whose efficacy so much is said. Most fortunately, Spartacus has given us a brilliant specimen of the ethics which illumin-
 ated

ated 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 *Areopagitæ* co-operated in the transaction, and that it was carefully concealed from the profane and dim-sighted world, we can have no doubt but that it was conducted according to the *disciplina arcani* 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 rest, 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 sister-in-law is with 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 she is determined on every thing—
“even d—.” (Can this mean death?) “But, alas!
“Euriphon is, I fear, too timid;” (alas! poor
woman, thou art now under the *disciplina arcani*;)
“and I see no other expedient. Could I be
“but assured of the silence of Celsus, (a physi-
“cian at Ingolstadt,) he *can* relieve me, and he
“*promised me as much* three years ago. Do speak
“to him, if you think he will be staunch. I
“would not let Cato” (his dearest friend, and his
chief or only confidant in the scheme of illumina-
tion) “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 peace, and *strength to work again in*
“*the great cause*. If you cannot, be assured I will
“venture on the most desperate stroke,” (poor
sister!) “for it is fixed.—I will not lose my ho-
“nour. I cannot conceive what devil has made
“me go astray—*me who have always been so care-*
“*ful on such occasions*. As yet all is quiet, and
“none know of it but you and Euriphon. Were
“it but time to undertake any thing—but, alas!
“it is the fourth month. Those damned priests
“too—for the action is so criminally accounted
“by them, and scandalises the blood. This
“makes the utmost efforts and the most despe-
“rate measures absolutely necessary.”

It

It will throw some light on this transaction if we read a letter from Spartacus to Cato about this time.

“ One thing more, my dearest friend—Would
 “ it be agreeable to you to have me for a bro-
 “ ther-in-law? If this should be agreeable, and
 “ if it can be brought 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 secret,
 “ and only give me permission to enter into cor-
 “ respondence on the subject with the good lady,
 “ to whom I beg you will offer my respectful
 “ compliments, and I will explain myself more
 “ fully to you by word of mouth, and tell you
 “ my whole situation. But I repeat it—the
 “ thing must be gone about with address and
 “ caution. I would not for all the world deceive
 “ a person who certainly has not deserved so of
 “ me.”

What interpretation can be put on this? Cato seems to be brother to the poor woman—he was unwittingly to furnish the drugs, and he was to be dealt with about consenting to a marriage, which could not be altogether agreeable to him, since it required a dispensation, she being already the sister-in-law of Weishaupt, either the sister of his former wife, or the widow of a deceased brother. Or perhaps Spartacus really wishes to

marry Cato's sister, a different person from the poor woman in the straw ; and he conceals this adventure from his trusty friend Cato, till he sees 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 meet with another account, that the sister of Zwack threw herself from the top of a tower, and beat out her brains. But it is not said that it was an only sister ; if it was, the probability is, that Spartacus had paid his addressee to her, and succeeded, and that the subsequent 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 Bassus “ 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 Weishaupt, in page 140, where he appeals to the tenor of his former life, which had been so severely scrutinised, without diminishing his high reputation and great influ-

ence,

ence, and his ignorance and abhorrence of all those things found in Cato's repositories. You see this was a surprise—he had formerly proceeded cautiously—"He is the best man," says Spartacus, "who best conceals his faults."—He was disappointed by Celfus, *who had promised him his assistance on such occasions* three 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 Bassus; 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 *disciplina 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 Freysingen, knowing the cogent reasons, procured the dispensation, and Spartacus was obliged, like another dim-sighted mortal, to marry her. The scandal was hushed, and would not have been discovered had it not been for these private writings.

But Spartacus says (page 148) "that when you think him sunk to the bottom, he will spring up with double vigour." In a subsequent work, called *Short Amendment of my Plan*, he says. "If men
" were

“ were not habituated to wicked manners, his letters would be their own justification.” He does not say that he is without fault ; “ but they are faults of the understanding—not of the heart. He had, first of all, to form himself ; and this is a work of time.” In the affair of his sister-in-law he admits the facts, and the attempts to destroy the child ; “ but this is far from proving any depravity of heart. In his condition, his honour at stake, what else was left him to do ? His greatest enemies, the Jesuits, have taught that in such a case it is lawful to make away with the child,” and he quotes authorities from their books *. “ In the introductory fault he has the example of the best of men. The second was its natural consequence, it was altogether involuntary, and, in the eye of a philosophical judge” (I presume of the Gallic School) “ who does not square himself by the harsh letters of a blood-thirsty lawgiver, he has but a very trifling account to settle. He had become a public teacher, and was greatly followed ; this example might have ruined many young men. The eyes of the Order also were fixed on him. The edifice rested on his credit ; had he fallen, he could no longer have been in a condition to treat

* This is flatly contradicted in a pamphlet by F. Stutler, a Catholic clergyman of most respectable character, who here exposes, in the most incontrovertible manner, the infamous plots of Weishaupt, his total disregard to truth, his counterfeit antiques, and all his lies against the Jesuits.

“ *the matters of virtue so as to make a lasting impression.* It was chiefly his anxiety to support the credit of the Order which determined him to take this step. It makes *for* him, but by no means *against* him; and the persons who are most in fault are the slavish inquisitors, who have published the transaction, in order to make his character more remarkable, and to hurt the Order through his person; and they have not scrupled, for this hellish purpose, to stir up a child against his father!!!”

I make no reflections on this very remarkable and highly useful story, but content myself with saying, that this justification by Weishaupt (which I have been careful to give in his own words) is the greatest instance of effrontery and insult on the sentiments of mankind that I have ever met with. We are all supposed as completely corrupted as if we had lived under the full blaze of Illumination.

In other places of this curious correspondence we learn that Minos, and others of the *Areopagita*, wanted to introduce Atheism at once, and not go hedging in the manner they did; affirming it was easier to show at once that Atheism was friendly to society, than to explain all their Masonic Christianity, which they were afterwards to show to be a bundle of lies. Indeed this purpose, of not only abolishing Christianity, but all positive religion whatever, was Weishaupt's favourite scheme from the beginning. Before he canvassed for his Order,
in

in 1774, he published a fictitious antique, which he called *Sidonii Apollinaris Fragmenta*, to prepare (as he expressly says in another place) men's minds for the doctrines of Reason, which contains all the detestable doctrines of Robinet's book *De la Nature*. The publication of the second part was stopped. Weishaupt says in his APOLOGY FOR THE ILLUMINATI, that before 1780 he had retracted his opinions about Materialism, and about the inexpediency of Princes. But this is false: Philo says expressly, that every thing remained on its original footing in the whole practice and dogmas of the Order when he quitted it in July 1784. All this was concealed, and even the abominable Masonry, in the account of the Order which Weishaupt published at Regensburg; and it required the constant efforts of Philo to prevent bare or flat Atheism from being uniformly taught in their degrees. He had told the council that Zeno would not be under a roof with a man who denied the immortality of the soul. He complains of Minos's cramming irreligion down their throats in every meeting, and says, that he frightened many from entering the Order. "Truth," says Philo, "is a clever, but a modest girl, who must be led by the hand like a gentlewoman, but not kicked about like a whore." Spartacus complains much of the squeamishness of Philo; yet Philo is not a great deal behind him in irreligion. When describing to Cato the Christianity of the Priest.

Priest-degree, as he had manufactured it, he says, "It is all one whether it be true or false, we must have it, that we may tickle those who have a hankering for religion." All the odds seems to be, that he was of a gentler disposition, and had more deference even for the absurd prejudices of others. In one of his angry letters to Cato he says: "The vanity and self-conceit of Spartacus would have got the better of all prudence, had I not checked him, and prevailed on the *Areopagitæ* but to defer the developement of the bold principles till we had firmly secured the man. I even wished to entice the candidate the more by giving him back all his former bonds of secrecy, and leaving him at liberty to walk out without fear; and I am certain that they were, by this time, so engaged that we should not have lost one man. But Spartacus had composed an exhibition of his last principles, for a discourse of reception, in which he painted his three favourite mysterious 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 scared 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

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 sleep of death crowns all his humble hopes.

Before giving an account of the higher degrees, I shall just extract from one letter more on a singular subject.

Minos to Sebastian, 1782.

“ The proposal of Hercules to establish a Minerval school for girls is excellent, but requires
 “ much circumspection. 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? How will their
 “ relations, particularly their mothers, immersed
 “ in

“ in prejudices, consent that others shall influence their education? We must begin with grown girls. Hercules proposes the wife of Ptolemy 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 I do. 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 under *his* management. You must contrive pretty degrees, and dresses, and ornaments, and elegant and decent rituals. No man must be admitted. This will make them become more keen, and they will go much farther than if we were present, or than if they thought that we knew of their proceedings. Leave them to the scope of their own fancies, and they will soon invent mysteries which will put us to the blush, and create an enthusiasm which we can never equal. They will be our great apostles. Reflect on the respect, nay, the awe and terror, inspired by the female mystics of antiquity. (Think of the Daniads—think of

“ the

“the Theban *Bacchantes*.) Ptolemy’s wife must
“direct them, and she will be instructed by Pto-
“lemy, and my step-daughters will consult with
“me. We must always be at hand to prevent
“the introduction of any improper question.
“We must prepare themes for their discussion—
“thus we shall confess them, and inspire them
“with our sentiments. No man, however, must
“come near them. This will fire their roving
“fancies, and we may expect rare mysteries.
“But I am doubtful whether this association
“will be durable. Women are fickle and impa-
“tient. Nothing will please them but hurrying
“from degree to degree, through a heap of in-
“significant ceremonies, which will soon lose
“their novelty and influence. To rest seriously
“in one rank, and to be still and silent when
“they have found out that the whole is a cheat,”
(hear the words of an experienced Mason,) “is
“a task of which they are incapable. They have
“not our motives to persevere for years, allow-
“ing themselves to be led about, and even then
“to hold their tongues when they find that they
“have been deceived. Nay there is a risk that
“they may take it into their heads to give things
“an opposite turn, and then, by voluptuous al-
“lurements, heightened by affected modesty and
“decency, which give them an irresistible em-

“pire over the best men, they may turn our Order upside 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*, 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 Illuminat*, published at *Edeffa* (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 *Neueste Arbeitung des Spartacus und 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 *Areopagitæ*.

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

NURSERY,	{	----- Preparation,
		----- Novice,
		----- Minerval,
		----- Illumin. Minor.

MASONRY,	{	Sym- bolic	{	- - - - -	Apprentice,
				- - - - -	Fellow Craft,
				- - - - -	Master,
	{	Scotch	{	<i>Illum. Major,</i>	Scotch Novice,
				<i>Illum. dirigenz,</i>	Scotch Knight.
MYSTERIES,	{	Lesser	{	Presbyter, Priest,	
				Prince, Regent,	
		Greater	{	<i>Magus,</i>	
				<i>Rex.</i>	

The reader must be almost sick of so much villany, and would be disgusted with the minute detail, in which the cant of the Order is ringing continually in his ears. I shall therefore only give such a short extract as may fix our notions of the object of the Order, and the morality of the means employed for attaining it. We need not go back to the lower degrees, and shall begin with the *ILLUMINATUS DIRIGENS*, or SCOTCH KNIGHT.

After a short introduction, teaching us how the holy secret Chapter of Scotch Knights is assembled, we have, I. Fuller accounts and instructions relating to the whole. II. Instructions for the lower classes of Masonry. III. Instructions relating to Mason Lodges in general. IV. Account of a reception into this degree, with the bond which each subscribes before he can be admitted. V. Concerning the Solemn Chapter for reception. VI. Opening of the Chapter. VII. Ritual of reception, and the Oath. VIII. Shutting of the Chapter. IX. *Agapé*, or Love-Feast.

X. Ce-

X. Ceremonies of the consecration of the Chapter.
 Appendix A, Explanation of the Symbols of Free
 Masonry. B, Catechism for the Scotch Knight.
 C, Secret Cypher.

In N° I. it is said that the “ chief study of the
 “ Scotch Knight is to work on all men in such
 “ a way as is most insinuating. II. He must
 “ endeavour to acquire the possession of con-
 “ siderable property. III. In all Mason Lodges
 “ we must try secretly to get the upper hand.
 “ The Masons do not know what Free Masonry
 “ is, their high objects, nor their highest Supe-
 “ riors, and should be directed by those who will
 “ lead them along the right road. In pre-
 “ paring a candidate for the degree of Scotch
 “ Knighthood, we must bring him into dilem-
 “ mas by ensnaring questions.—We must endea-
 “ vour to get the disposal of the money of the
 “ Lodges of the Free Masons, or at least take
 “ care that it be applied to purposes favourable
 “ to our Order—but this must be done in a way
 “ that shall not be remarked. Above all, we
 “ must push forward with all our skill the plan
 “ of Eclectic Masonry, and for this purpose follow
 “ up the circular letter already sent to all the
 “ Lodges with every thing that can increase their
 “ present embarrassment.” In the bond of N° IV.
 the candidate binds himself to “ consider and
 “ treat the Illuminati as the Superiors of Free
 N 2 “ Masonry

“ Masonry, and endeavour, in all the Mason
 “ Lodges which he frequents, to have the Masonry
 “ of the Illuminated, and particularly the Scotch
 “ Noviciate, introduced into the Lodge.” (This
 is not very different from the Masonry of the *Che-
 valier de l’Aigle* of the Rosaic Masonry, making
 the Master’s degree a sort of commemoration of
 the Passion, but without giving that character to
 Christianity which is peculiar to Illuminatism.)
 Jesus Christ is represented as the enemy of super-
 stitious observances, and the assertor of the Em-
 pire of Reason and of Brotherly love, and his
 death and memory as dear to mankind. This evi-
 dently paves the way for Weisshaupt’s Christianity.
 The Scotch Knight also engages “ to consider
 “ the Superiors of the Order as the unknown
 “ Superiors of Free Masonry, and to contribute all
 “ he can to their gradual union.” In the Oath,
 N^o VII. the candidate says, “ I will never more be
 “ a flatterer of the great, I will never be a lowly
 “ servant of princes ; but I will strive with spirit,
 “ and with address, for virtue, wisdom, and li-
 “ berty. I will powerfully oppose superstition,
 “ slander, and despotism ; so that, like a true son
 “ of the Order, I may serve the world. I will
 “ never sacrifice the general good, and the happi-
 “ ness of the world, to my private interest. I will
 “ boldly defend my brother against slander, will
 “ follow out the traces of the pure and true Reli-
 “ gion

“ gion pointed out to me in my instructions, and
 “ in the doctrines of Masonry ; and will faith-
 “ fully report to my Superiors the progress I
 “ make therein.”

When he gets the stroke which dubs him a Knight, the Prefes says to him, “ Now prove thy-
 “ self, by thy ability, equal to Kings, and never
 “ from this time forward bow thy knee to one
 “ who is, like thyself, but a man.”

No. IX. is an account of the Love-Feast.

1st, There is a Table Lodge, opened as usual, but in virtue of the ancient Master-word. Then it is said, “ Let moderation, fortitude, morality,
 “ and genuine love of the Brethren, with the
 “ overflowing of innocent and careless mirth,
 “ reign here.” (This is almost *verbatim* from Toland.)

2^d, 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.

3^d, When the Table Lodge is ended, and the Prefect sees no obstacle, he strikes on this bye-table the stroke of Scotch Master, and his signal is repeated by the Senior Warden. All are still and silent. The Prefect lifts off the cloth.

4th, The Prefect asks, whether the Knights are in the disposition to partake of the Love-Feast in earnest, peace, and contentment. If none hesitates, or offers to retire, he takes the plate with the bread and says,

“ J. of N. our Grand-Master, in the night in
 “ which he was betrayed by his friends, persecut-
 “ ed for his love for truth, imprisoned, and con-
 “ demned to die, assembled his trusty Brethren,
 “ to celebrate his last Love-Feast—which is signi-
 “ fied to us in many ways. He took bread (tak-
 “ ing it) and broke it (breaking it) and blessed
 “ it, and gave it to his disciples, &c.—This shall
 “ 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-Master, is ready to lay down his
 “ life for his Brethren.

“ Thanks be to our Grand-Master, who has
 “ appointed this feast as a memorial of his kind-
 “ nefs, for the uniting of the hearts of those who
 “ love him.—Go in peace, and blessed be this
 “ new Association which we have formed.—
 “ Blessed be ye who remain loyal and strive for
 “ the good cause.”

5th, The Prefect immediately closes the Chap-
 ter with the usual ceremonies of the *Loge de Table*.

6th, It is to be observed, that no Priest of the
 Order must be present at this Love-Feast, and
 that even the Brother Servitor quits the Lodge.

I must observe here, that Philo, the manufac-
 turer of this ritual, has done it very injudiciously;
 it has no resemblance whatever to the Love-Feast
 of the primitive Christians, and is merely a copy
 of a similar thing in one of the steps of French
 Masonry,

Masonry. Philo's reading in church history was probably very scanty, or he trusted that the candidates would not be very nice in their examination of it, and he imagined that it would do well enough, and "tickle such as had a religious "hankering." Spartacus disliked it exceedingly—it did not accord with his serious conceptions, and he justly calls it *Jouer la Religion*.

The discourse of reception is to be found also in the secret correspondence (*Nachtrag II. Abtheilung*, p. 44). But it is needless to insert it here. I have given the substance of this and of all the cosmo-political declamations already in the panegyric introduction to the account of the process of education. And in Spartacus's letter, and in Philo's, I have given an abstract of the introduction to the explanation given in this degree of the symbols of Free Masonry. With respect to the explanation itself, it is as slovenly and wretched as can be imagined, and shows that Spartacus trusted to much more operative principles in the human heart for the reception of his nonsense than the dictates of unbiassed reason. None but promising subjects were admitted thus far—such as would not boggle; and their principles were already sufficiently apparent to assure him that they would be contented with any thing that made game of religion, and would be diverted by the seriousness which a chance devotee might exhibit during these silly caricatures of Christianity and Free Masonry.

But there is considerable address in the way that Spartacus prepares his pupils for having all this mummerly shewn in its true colours, and overturned.

“Examine, read, think on these symbols.
“There are many things which one cannot find
“out without a guide, nor even learn without
“instruction. They require study and zeal.
“Should you in any future period think that you
“have conceived a clearer notion 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 when 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 Weishaupt 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

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

The Priest's degree contains, 1. an Introduction. 2. Further Accounts of the Reception into this degree. 3. What is called Instruction in the Third Chamber, which the candidate must read over. 4. The Ritual of Reception. 5. Instruction for the First Degree of the Priest's Class, called *Instructio in Scientificis*. 6. Account of the Consecration of a Dean, the Superior of this Lower 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 for the whole Order. 4. Instruction for the whole Regent degree. 5. Instruction for the Prefects or Local Superiors. 6. Instruction for the Provincials.

The most remarkable thing in the Priest's degree is the Instruction in the Third Chamber. It is to be found in the private correspondence (*Nachtrage Original Schriften* 1787, 2d Abtheilung, page 44). There it has the title
Discourse

Discourse to the Illuminati Dirigentes, or Scotch Knights. In the critical history, which is annexed to the *Neueste Arbeitung*, there is an account given of the reason for this denomination; and notice is taken of some differences between the instructions here contained and that discourse.

This instruction begins with fore complaints of the low condition of the human race; and the causes are deduced from religion and state-government. “Men originally led a patriarchal life, in which every father of a family was the sole lord of his house and his property, while he himself possessed general freedom and equality. But they suffered themselves to be oppressed—gave themselves up to civil societies, and formed states. Even by this they fell; and this is the fall of man, by which they were thrust into unspeakable misery. To get out of this state, to be freed and born again, there is no other mean than the use of pure Reason, by which a general morality may be established, which will put man in a condition to govern himself, regain his original worth, and dispense with all political supports, and particularly with rulers. This can be done in no other way but by secret associations, which will by degrees, and in silence, possess themselves of the government of the States, and make use of those means for this purpose which the wicked

“ use for attaining their base ends. Princes and
 “ Priests are in particular, and κατ’ ἐξοχην, the
 “ wicked, whose hands we must tie up by means
 “ of these associations, if we cannot root them
 “ out altogether.

“ Kings are parents. The paternal power
 “ ceases 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 age, their state of wardship is
 “ at an end.”

Here follows a long declamation against Patri-
 otism, as a narrow-minded principle when com-
 pared with true Cosmo-politism. Nobles are repre-
 sented as “ a race of men that serve not the na-
 “ tion but the Prince, whom a hint from the So-
 “ vereign stirs up against the nation, who are re-
 “ tained servants and ministers of despotism, and
 “ the mean for oppressing national liberty. Kings
 “ are accused of a tacit convention, under the
 “ flattering appellation of the balance of power,
 “ to keep nations in subjection.

“ The means to regain Reason her rights—to
 “ raise liberty from its ashes—to restore to man
 “ his original rights—to produce the previous re-
 “ volution in the mind of man—to obtain an
 “ eternal victory over oppressors—and to work
 “ the redemption of mankind, are secret schools
 “ of wisdom. When the worthy have strengthen-
 “ ed their association by numbers, they are secure,
 “ and

“ and then they begin to become powerful, and
 “ terrible to the wicked, of whom many will, for
 “ safety, amend themselves—many will come
 “ over to our party, and we shall bind the hands
 “ of the rest, and finally conquer them. Who-
 “ ever spreads general Illumination, augments
 “ mutual security; Illumination and security
 “ make princes unnecessary; Illumination per-
 “ forms this by creating an effective Morality,
 “ and Morality makes a nation of full age fit to
 “ govern itself; and since it is not impossible to
 “ produce a just Morality, it is possible to regain
 “ freedom for the world.”

“ We must therefore strengthen our band,
 “ and establish a legion, which shall restore the
 “ rights of man, original liberty and independ-
 “ ence.

“ Jesus Christ”—but I am sick of all this.
 The following questions are put to the candidate :

1. “ Are our civil conditions in the world the
 “ destinations that seem to be the end of our na-
 “ ture, or the purposes for which man was placed
 “ on this earth, or are they not? Do states, civil
 “ obligations, popular religion, fulfil the inten-
 “ tions of men who established them? Do secret
 “ associations promote instruction and true hu-
 “ man happiness, or are they the children of ne-
 “ cessity, of the multifarious wants, of unnatural
 “ conditions, or the inventions of vain and cun-
 “ ning men?”

2. “ What

2. "What civil affociation, what science, do you think to the purpose, and what are not?"

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

4. "Does it appear possible, after having gone through all the nonentities of our civil constitutions, to recover for once our first simplicity, and get back to this honourable uniformity?"

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

6. "Does Christianity give us any hint to this purpose? Does it not recognise such a blessed condition as once the lot of man, and as still recoverable?"

7. "But is this holy religion, the religion that is now professed by any sect on earth, or is it a better?"

8. "Can we learn this religion—can the world, as it is, bear the light? Do you think that it would be of service, before numerous obstacles are removed, if we taught men this purified religion, sublime philosophy, and the art of governing themselves? Or would not this hurt, by rousing the interested passions of men habituated to prejudices, who would oppose this as wicked?"

9. "May it not be more advisable to do away these corruptions by little and little, in silence,
"and

“and for this purpose to propagate these salutary
“and heart-consoling doctrines in secret?”

10. “Do we not perceive traces of such a secret
“doctrine in the ancient schools of philosophy,
“in the doctrines and instructions of the Bible,
“which Christ, the Redeemer and Deliverer of
“the human race, gave to his trusty 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 de-
gradation, “The plan of operation, by which
“our higher degrees act, must work powerfully
“on the world, and must give another turn to
“all our present constitutions.”

Many other questions are put to the pupil du-
ring his preparation, and his answers are given in
writing. Some of these rescripts 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 Cosmo-
polite is adduced, who betrayed a private corre-
spondence entrusted to him, for the service of free-
dom: the case was Dr. Franklin’s. In another,
the

the power of the Order was extended to the putting the individual to death; and the reason given was, that “this power was allowed to all Sovereignities, for the good of the State, and therefore belonged to the Order, which was to govern the world.”——“N. B. We must acquire the direction of education—of church-management—of the professorial chair, and of the pulpit. We must bring our opinions into fashion by every art—spread them among the people by the help of young writers. We must preach the warmest concern for humanity, and *make people indifferent to all other relations.* We must take care that our writers be well puffed, and that the Reviewers do not depreciate them; therefore we must endeavour by every mean to gain over the Reviewers and Journalists; and we must also try to gain the bookfellers, who in time will see that it is their interest to side with us.”

I conclude this account of the degree of *Presbyter* with remarking, that there were two copies of it employed occasionally. In one of them all the most offensive things in respect of church and state were left out. The same thing was done in the degree of *Chevalier du Soleil* of the French Masonry. I have seen three different forms.

In the Regent degree, the proceedings and instructions are conducted in the same manner.
Here,

Here, it is said, " We must as much as possible
" select for this degree persons who are free,
" independent of all princes ; particularly such
" as have frequently declared themselves discon-
" tented with the usual institutions, and their
" wishes to see a better government established."

Catching questions are put to the candidate for this degree ; such as,

1. " Would the society be objectionable
" which should (till the greater revolution of
" nature should be ripe) put monarchs and
" rulers out of the condition to do harm ; which
" should in silence prevent the abuse of power,
" by surrounding the great with its members,
" and thus not only prevent their doing mis-
" chief, but even make them do good ?"

2. " Is not the objection unjust, That such a
" Society may abuse its power ? Do not our
" rulers frequently abuse their power, though
" we are silent ? This power is not so secure 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, li-
" berty, 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 most 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,) that we direct all the Free Mason Lodges, and even all other Orders, and that the greatest monarchs are under our guidance, 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 ourselves 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 immense 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,
o “without

“ without knowing that they do so ; for they
 “ will only be indulging their own desire of per-
 “ sonal admiration.

“ We must win the common people in every
 “ corner. This will be obtained chiefly by
 “ means of the schools, and by open, hearty
 “ behaviour, show, condescension, 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.

“ A chief object of our care must be to keep
 “ down that slavish veneration for Princes which
 “ so much disgraces all nations. Even in the
 “ *forty-first* free England, the silly Monarch says,
 “ We are graciously pleased, and the more
 “ simple people say, Amen. These men, com-
 “ monly very weak heads, are only the farther
 “ corrupted by this servile flattery. But let us at
 “ once give an example of our spirit by our be-
 “ haviour with Princes ; we must avoid all fami-
 “ liarity, — never entrust ourselves to them—be-
 “ have 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

“ and that only by convention they are Lords.
 “ We must assiduously collect anecdotes, and
 “ the honourable and mean actions, both of the
 “ least 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.

“ The great strength of our Order lies in its
 “ concealment , let it never appear in any place
 “ in its own name, but always covered by an-
 “ other name, and another occupation. *None*
 “ *is fitter than the three lower degrees of Free Ma-*
 “ *sonry; the public is accustomed to it ; expects*
 “ *little from it, and therefore takes little notice*
 “ *of it.* Next to this the form of a learned or
 “ literary society is best suited to our purpose,
 “ and had Free Masonry not existed, this cover
 “ would have been employed ; and it may be
 “ much more than a cover, *it may be a power-*
 “ *ful engine in our hands. By establishing reading*
 “ *societies, and subscription 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 in-
 “ fluence in the military academies, (this may be
 “ of mighty consequence,) the printing-houses,
 “ booksellers’ shops, chapters, and in short in all
 “ offices which have any effect, either in form-
 “ ing, or in managing, or even in directing the
 “ mind

“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 *Prefecti*) “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 should never get be-
“yond the Scotch knighthood. They either
“never prosecute 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 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, ho-
“nour, 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 in-
structions, but also their assiduous practice, take
the following report from the overseer of Greece
(Bavaria):

* (They were strongly suspected 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 filthy prints, they corrupt even
such as cannot read.

In

In Cato's hand-writing.

“ The number (about 600) of Members re-
lates to Bavaria alone.

“ In Munich there is a well-constituted meet-
ing of *Illuminati Majores*, a meeting of excel-
lent *Illuminati Minores*, a respectable Grand
Lodge, and two Minerval Assemblies. There
is a Minerval Assembly at Freyßing, at Landf-
berg, at Burghausen, at Straßburg, at Ingol-
stadt, 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 busi-
ness 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 speci-
mens, 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 citi-
zens and the Princes a little more noticed for

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

“ certain little slips. We oppose the monks
“ with all our might, and with great success.

“ The Lodge is constituted entirely according
“ to our system, and has broken off entirely
“ from Berlin, and we have nearly finished our
“ transactions with the Lodges of Poland, and
“ shall have them under our direction.

“ By the activity of our Brethren, the Jesuits
“ have been kept out of all the professorial
“ chairs at Ingolstadt, and our friends prevail.”

“ The Widow Duchess has set up her aca-
“ demy entirely according to our plan, and we
“ have all the Professors in the Order. Five of
“ them are excellent, and the pupils will be pre-
“ pared for us.

“ We have got Pylades put at the head of the
“ Fife, and he has the church-money at his
“ disposal. By properly using this money, we
“ have been enabled to put our Brother ——’s
“ household in good order; which he had de-
“ stroyed by going to the Jews. We have sup-
“ ported more Brethren under similar misfor-
“ tunes.

“ Our Ghostly Brethren have been very for-
“ tunate this last year, for we have procured for
“ them several good benefices, parishes, tutor-
“ ships, &c.

“ Through our means Arminius and Cortez
“ have gotten Professorships, and many of our
“ younger.

“ 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 revenues, fuch as the Miffion, the
 “ Golden Alms, the Exercifes, and the Conver-
 “ fion Box, are now under the management of
 “ our friends. So are alfo their concerns in
 “ the univerfity and the German fchool found-
 “ ations. The application of all will be deter-
 “ mined prefently, and we have fix members
 “ and four friends in the Court. This has coft
 “ our fenate fome nights want of fleep.

“ Two of our beft youths have got journies
 “ from the Court, and they will go to Vienna,
 “ where they will do us great fervice.

“ All the German fchools, and the Benevo-
 “ lent Society, are at laft under our direction.

“ We have got feveral zealous members in
 “ the courts of juftice, and we are able to afford
 “ them pay, and other good additions.

“ Lately, we have got poffeffion of the Bar-
 “ tholomew Inftitution for young clergymen,
 “ having fecured all its fupporters. Through
 “ this we fhall be able to fupply Bavaria with fit
 “ priefts.

“ By a letter from Philo we learn, that one
 “ of the higheft dignities in the church was ob-
 “ tained for a zealous illuminatus, in oppofition

“ even to the authority and right of the Bishop
“ of Spire, who is represented as a bigotted and
“ tyrannical priest.”

Such were the lesser mysteries of the Illuminati. But there remain the higher mysteries. The system of these has not been printed, and the degrees were conferred only by Spartacus himself, from papers which he never entrusted to any person. They were only read to the candidate, but no copy was taken. The publisher of the *Neueste Arbeitung* says that he has read them (so says Grollman). He says, “ that in the first degree of
“ MAGUS or PHILOSOPHUS, the doctrines are the
“ same with those of Spinoza, where all is mate-
“ rial, God and the world are the same thing, and
“ all religion whatever is without foundation, and
“ the contrivance of ambitious men.” The second degree, or REX, teaches, “ that every pea-
“ sant, citizen, and householder is a sovereign, as
“ in the Patriarchal state, and that nations must
“ be brought back to that state, by whatever
“ means are conducive—peaceably, if it can be
“ done; but, if not, then by force—for all subor-
“ dination must vanish 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

discovered at Landshut and Baffus 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 less on their guard. A third collection was found under the foundation of the house in which the Lodge *Theodor vom guten 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	Westphalia (several)
Ingolstadt	Heidelberg
Frankfort	Mannheim
Echstadt	Straßburgh (5)
Hanover	Spire
Brunswick	Worms
Calbe	Duffeldorff
Magdeburgh	Cologne
Cassel	Bonn (4)
Osnabruck	Livonia (many)
Weimar	Courland (many)
Upper Saxony (several)	Frankendahl
Austria (14)	Alsace (many)

Vienna

Vienna (4)	Deuxponts
Hesse (many)	Coufel
Buchenwerter	Treves (2)
Mompeliard	Aix-la-Chapelle (2)
Stutgard (3)	Baruchied
Carlsruhe	Hahrenberg
Anspach	Switzerland (many)
Neuwied (2)	Rome
Mentz (2)	Naples
Poland (many)	Ancona
Turin	Florence
England (8)	France
Scotland (2)	Holland (many)
Warsaw (2)	Dresden (4)
America (several). N.B. This was before 1786.	

I have picked up the names of the following members :

Spartacus,	Weilhaupt, Professor.
Philo,	Knigge, Freyherr, <i>i. e.</i> Gentleman.
Amelius,	Bode, F. H.
Bayard,	Busche, F. H.
Diomedes,	Constanza, Marq.
Cato,	Zwack, Lawyer.
	Torring, Count.
	Khreitmaier, Prince.
	Utschneider, Professor.
	Coffandey, Professor.
	Renner, Professor.
	Grunberger,

	Grunberger, Professor.
	Balderbusch, F. H.
	Lippert, Counsellor.
	Kundl, ditto.
	Bart, ditto.
	Leiberhauer, Priest.
	Kundler, Professor.
	Lowling, Professor.
	Vachency, Counsellor.
	Morauſky, Count.
	Hoffstetter, Surveyor of Roads.
	Strobl, Bookseller.
Pythagoras,	Westenrieder, Professor.
	Babo, Professor.
	Baader, Professor.
	Burzes, Priest.
	Pfruntz, Priest.
Hannibal,	Baffus, Baron.
Brutus,	Savioli, Count.
Lucian,	Nicholai, Bookseller.
	Bahrtdt, Clergyman.
Zoroaster, Confucius,	Baierhamer.
Hermes Trismegistus,	Socher, School Inspector.
	Dillis, Abbé.
Sulla,	Meggenhoff, Paymaster.
	Danzer, Canon.
	Braun, ditto.
	Fischer,

	Fischer, Magistrate.
	Frauenberger, Baron.
	Kaltner, Lieutenant.
Pythagoras, (2d,)	Drexl, Librarian.
Marius,	Hertel, Canon.
	Dachfel.
	Dilling, Counsellor.
	Seefeld, Count,
	Gunzheim, ditto.
	Morgellan, ditto.
Saladin,	Ecker, ditto.
	Ow, Major.
	Werner, Counsellor.
Cornelius Scipio,	Berger, ditto.
	Wortz, Apothecary.
	Mauvillon, Colonel,
	Mirabeau, Count.
	Orleans, Duke.
	Hochinaer.
Tycho Brahe,	Gaspar, Merchant.
Thales,	Kapfinger,
Attila,	Sauer.
Ludovicus Bavarus,	Lofi.
Shaftesbury,	Steger.
Coriolanus,	Tropponero, Zuschwartz.
Timon,	Michel.
Tamerlane,	Lange.
Livius,	Badorffer.

Cicero,

Cicero,

Pfest.

Ajax,

Massenhausen, Count.

I have not been able to find who personated Minos, Euriphon, Celsius, Mahomet, Hercules, Socrates, Philippo Strozzi, Euclides, and some others who have been uncommonly active in carrying forward the great cause.

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

1. *Grosse Absicht des Illuminaten Ordens.*
2. — *Nachtrages (3.) an denselben.*
3. *Weisshaupt's improved System.*
4. *System des Illum. Ordens aus dem Original-schriften gezogen.*

I may now be permitted to make a few reflections on the accounts already given of this Order, which has so distinctly concentrated the casual and scattered efforts of its prompters, the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*, the *Philalcthes*, and *Amis Reunis* of France, and carried on the system of enlightening and reforming the world.

The great aim professed by the Order is to *make men happy*, and the means professed to be employed, as the only and surely effective, is *making them good*; and this is to be brought about by *enlightening the mind*, and *freeing it from the dominion of superstition and prejudices*. This purpose is effected

fectcd by its *producing a just and steady morality*. This done, and becoming universal, there can be little doubt but that the peace of society 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 morality, 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

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pleased

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—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 state of man would 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

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 relish those enjoyments. We also find that they may be enjoyed in peace and innocence. And lastly, we imagine that the villain, who, in the station 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 respect the comforts of cultivated Society, and teach us to protect the professors in the innocent enjoyment of them; that will enable us to perceive and admire the taste and elegance of Architecture and Gardening, without any wish 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. Luxurious taste, keen desires, and unbridled passions, would

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prompt

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, possession 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 casuistry must be employed instead of a just Morality ; and this must be defended or suggested, 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 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 stronger than patriotism and loyalty, which stand in his way. Observe that Weishaupt 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. Weishaupt 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 Octavius Augustus.” The names which he gives to several of his gang express their differences of sentiments. Pluto, 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

Spartacus employs powerful means. In the style of the Jesuits, (as he says,) he considers every mean as consecrated by the end for which it is employed, and he says with great truth,

“Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.”

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. But lest this should appear too selfish a motive, he says, “Had I fallen, my
“precious Order would have fallen with me;
“the Order which is to bless mankind. I should
“not again have been able to speak of virtue
“so as to make any lasting impression. My ex-
“ample might have ruined many young men.” This he thinks will excuse, nay sanctify 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 *Sta bene*, 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 Philo 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 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 with greediness.” 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~~ knew them to be unprincipled,

cipled, 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 mean 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 will spread. If they are active in insinuating their members into offices, and in keeping out others, (which the private correspondence shows 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 Weistaupt was a sincere Cosmo-polite, he had the pleasure of seeing “ his work prospering in his hands.”

It surely needs little argument now to prove, that the Order of Illuminati had for its immediate object the abolishing of Christianity, (at least this was the intention of the Founder,) with the sole view of overturning the civil government, by introducing universal dissoluteness and profligacy of manners, and then getting the assistance of the corrupted subjects to overthrow the throne. The whole conduct in the preparation and instruction of the Presbyter and *Regens* is directed to this point. Philo says, “ I have been at unwearying
 “ pains to remove the fears of some who imagine
 “ that our Superiors want to abolish Christianity;
 “ but by and by their prejudices will wear off,
 “ and they will be more at their ease. Were I
 “ to let them know that our General holds all
 “ Religion to be a lie, and uses even Deism, only
 “ to lead men by the nose—Were I to connect
 “ myself again with the Free Masons, and tell
 “ them our designs to ruin their Fraternity by
 “ this circular letter (a letter to the Lodge in
 “ Courland)—Were I but to give the least hint
 “ to any of the Princes of Greece (Bavaria)—No,
 “ my anger shall not carry me so far.—An Order,
 “ forsooth, which in this manner abuses human
 “ nature—which will subject men to a bondage
 “ more

“ more intolerable than Jesuitism—I could put
 “ it on a respectable 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,) so unquestionably danger-
 “ ous to the world, who would remain? What
 “ signifies the innocent ceremonies of the Priest’s
 “ degree, as I have composed it, in comparison
 “ with your maxim, that we may use for a good
 “ end those means which the wicked employ for
 “ a base purpose?”

Brutus writes, “ Numenius now acquiesces in
 “ the mortality of the soul; but, I fear we shall
 “ lose Ludovicus Bavarus. He told Spartacus,
 “ that he was mistaken when he thought that he
 “ had swallowed his stupid Masonry. No, he saw
 “ the trick, and did not admire the end that re-
 “ quired it. I don’t know what to do; a *Sta*
 “ *bene* 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
 “ propriety, for the same reason, and by the same
 “ right, that any government in the world pos-
 “ sesses it: for the Order comes in their place,
 “ making them unnecessary. When things can-
 “ not be otherwise, and ruin would ensue if the
 “ Association did not employ this mean, the
 “ Order must, as well as public rulers, employ

“ it for the good of mankind ; therefore for its
 “ own preservation.” (N. B. Observe here the
 casuistry.) “ 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, await-
 “ ed 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 Weishaupt’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 own firmness, and indeed by his superior talents and disinterestedness in other respects, and his unwearied activity, he employed jesuitical tricks, causing them to fall out with each other, setting them as spies on each other, and separating any two 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,

mand. This caused Philo to quit the Order, and made *Baffus, Von 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 so 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 surely dangerous and detestable; namely, to overturn the present constitutions of the European States, in order to introduce a chimera which the history of mankind shows to be contrary to the nature of man.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque revertet.

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; dissoluteness of manners alone can bring men to think of it.

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; their Illumination must be a bewildering blaze, and totally ineffectual 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 Illuminatism is one of the explanations of Free Masonry; 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,

fore, 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 really 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 selfish, or mean, or impetuous passions, are to be wheedled into candid sentiments, or a generous conduct, as a froward child may sometimes be made gentle and tractable by a rattle or humming-top, betrays 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 instruction 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 *Areopagitæ* 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,

men they were represented to be,—it 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 worst 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 rescripts which they required of him on pretence of their learning his own character, and of his learning how to know the characters of other men. In these rescripts 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

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 lesson. Mason Lodges, however, were the most likely places for finding and enlisting members. Young men, warmed by declamations teeming with the flimsy moral cant of Cosmo-politism, are in the proper frame of mind for this Illumination. It now appears also, that the dissensions in Free Masonry must have had great influence in promoting this scheme of Weisshaupt's, which was, in many particulars, so unpromising, because it presupposes

poses such a degradation of the mind. But when the schismatics in Masonry disputed with warmth, trifles came to acquire unspeakable importance. The hankering after wonder was not in the least abated by 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 still *chose* 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 proffer was enticing. He laid before them a scheme which was somewhat feasible, was magnificent, surpassing 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 inconsistency 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 effective
" tual 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,

“ out, either by argument or experience. And
“ then, we can so change notions by merely
“ changing a word. What more contemptible than
“ *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 *Curfus Academicus*. Those who did not, because they did not like them, got a *Sta bene*; they were not fit for advancement. The numbers however were great; 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 just come of age. Men in an easy situation in life could not brook the employment of a spy, which is base, cowardly, and corrupting, and has in all ages and countries degraded the person who engages in it. Can the person be called wise

who thus enslaves himself? Such persons give up the right of private judgment, and rely on their unknown Superiors with the blindest and most abject confidence. For their sakes, and to rivet still faster their own fetters, they engage in the most corrupting of all employments—and for what?—To learn something more of an Order, of which every degree explodes the doctrine of a former one. Would it have hurt the young *Illuminatus* to have it explained to him all at once? Would not this fire his mind—when he sees with the same glance the great object, and the fitness of the means for attaining it? Would not the exalted characters of the Superiors, so much excelling himself in talents, and virtue, and happiness, (otherwise the Order is good for nothing,) warm his heart, and fill him with emulation, since he sees in them, that what is so strongly preached to him is an attainable thing? No, no—it is all a trick; he must be kept like a child, amused with rattles, and stars, and ribands—and all the satisfaction he obtains is, like the Masons, the diversion of seeing others running the same gauntlet.

Weishaupt acknowledges that the great influence of the Order may be abused. Surely, in no way so easily or so fatally as by corrupting or seductive lessons in the beginning. The mistake or error of the pupil is undiscoverable by himself, (according to the genuine principles of Illumination,) for

for the pupil must believe his Mentor to be infallible—with him alone he is connected—his lessons only must he learn. Who can tell him that he has gone wrong—or who can set him right?

Here, therefore, there is confusion and deficiency. There must be some standard to which appeal can be made; but this is inaccessible 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 *QUIBUS 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 instruction

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, and he becomes wise and good without any express study 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, Jewish, 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 incontrollable power, and may perhaps make use 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 conduct themselves by the principles

ciples and dictates of common sense and prudence, and who have the ordinary share 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 superintendence and providence of God, who consider themselves as creatures whom he has made, and whom he cares for, as the subjects of his moral government, this Order must appear with every character 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 Artist 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 Minervals and the *Illuminati Minores*, 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 the Order, the principles of universal liberty and equality—it is therefore rejected

jected 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 displeased with a most 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 the goodly scene,—and then closes his *Principles of Natural Philosophy* with this reflection (his *Scholium generale*):

“ 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, con-
 “ structed 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
 “ government, he is called the Lord God—Παντο-
 “ κράτωρ ; 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 soul of the world, but of his ser-
 “ vants. The supreme God is a Being eternal,
 “ infinite, absolutely perfect. But a being, how-
 “ ever perfect, without government, is not God ;
 “ for we say, *my* God, *your* God, the God of
 “ Israel. We cannot say *my* eternal, *my* infinite.
 “ We may have some notions indeed of his at-
 “ tributes, 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

“ Therefore we know God only by his attributes. What are these? The wise and excellent contrivance, 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. Delaplace, one of the most brilliant ornaments of the French academy of sciences. He has lately published the *Système du Monde*, a most beautiful compend of astronomy and of the Newtonian philosophy. Having finished his work with the same 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 sits 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, forsooth, that all this
 “ is for us, and that the stars influence our desti-
 “ nies! 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 disco-
 “ veries we have made richly repay this humble
 “ situation. Let us cherish these with care, as
 “ the delight of thinking beings—they have de-
 “ stroyed 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 ex-
 “ perience has shown us that these laws are
 “ never totally extinct.”

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 happi-
 “ ness,”

“ nefs,” can only be those by which we are made to think too highly of ourselves. “ Inhabitants of this pepper-corn, we think ourselves 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 miserable, according as we accede or not to this subjugation to opinions which enslave us. But truth and justice have broken these bonds.”—But where is the force of the argument which entitles this perfecter of the Newtonian philosophy to exult so much? It all rests on this, That this earth is but as a grain of mustard-seed. 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 arises the absurdity of the intellectual inhabitants of this pepper-corn being a proper object of attention? It is because our shallow comprehensions cannot, at the same glance, see an extensive scene, and perceive its most minute detail.

David, a King, and a soldier, had some notions of this kind. The heavens, it is true, pointed out to him a Maker and Ruler, which is more than they seem to have done to the Gallic philosopher; but David was afraid that he would be forgotten in the crowd, and cries out, “ Lord!

“ what

“ what is man, that thou art mindful of *him* ?” But David gets rid of his fears, not by becoming a philosopher, and discovering all this to be absurd,—he would still be forgotten,—he at once thinks of what he is—a noble creature—high in the scale of nature. “ But,” says he, “ I “ had forgotten myself. Thou hast made man “ but a little lower than the angels—thou hast “ crowned him with glory and honour—thou “ hast put all things under his feet.” Here are exalted sentiments, fit for the creature whose ken pierces through the immensity of the visible universe, and who sees his relation to the universe, being nearly allied to its Sovereign, and capable of rising continually in his rank, by cultivating those talents which distinguish 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 degrad-
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ing 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 must be made perfect through sufferings, which shall 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-failing sources of pure and unfading 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 enthusiastical 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 declamation in a sermon by persons of the trade, who are trained up to finessè, by which they allure and tickle weak minds.

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

“Sink and flounder in their cells of lead”

——Peace to all such;——but to the “*felices ac*”
 “*mæ, quibus hæc cognoscere cura*,”—to those who
 have enjoyed the pleasures of science, who have
 been successful—who have made discoveries—
 who have really illuminated the world—to the
 Bacons, the Newtons, the Lockes.—Allow me
 to mention one, Daniel Bernoulli, the most ele-
 gant mathematician, the only philosopher, and
 the most worthy man, of that celebrated family.
 He said to a gentleman, (Dr. Staehling,) who
 repeated it to me, that “when reading some of
 “those wonderful guesses of Sir Isaac Newton,
 “the subsequent demonstration of which has
 “been the chief source of fame to his most ce-
 “lebrated commentators—his mind has some-
 “times been so overpowered by thrilling emo-
 “tions, that he has wished that moment to be
 “his last; and that it was this which gave him
 “the clearest conception of the happiness of
 “heaven.” If 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

what we call wisdom in the works of Nature, is always the nice adaptation of means for producing *beneficent* 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 combination hired by despots to enslave us. I will take another man, a gentleman of rank and family, a soldier, who often signalled 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 garrison. I would desire the reader to peruse the conclusion of Sir Kenhelm Digby's *Treatise 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 manly 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 sleep of death. If he thinks that they are—he is in the proper frame for initiation into Spartacus's higher mysteries. He may be either MAGUS or RLX.

Were

Were this a proper place for considering the question as a question of science or truth, I would say, that every man who has been a *successful* student of Nature, and who will rest his conclusions on the same maxims of probable reasoning that have procured him success in his past researches, will consider it as next to certain that there is another state of existence for rational man. For he must own, that if this be not the case, there is a most singular exception to a proposition which the whole course of his experience has made him consider as a truth founded on universal induction, viz. that *Nature accomplishes all her plans*, and that every class of beings attains all the improvement of which it is capable. Let him but turn his thoughts inward, he will feel that his intellect is capable of improvement, in comparison with which Newton is but a child. I could pursue this argument very far, and (I think) warm the heart of every man whom I should wish to call my friend.

What opinion will be formed of this Association by the modest, the lowly-minded, the candid, who acknowledge that they too often feel the superior force of present and sensible pleasures, by which their minds are drawn off from the contemplation of what their consciences tell them to be right,—to be their dutiful and filial sentiments

sentiments and emotions respecting their great and good Parent—to be their dutiful and neighbourly affections, and their proper conduct to all around them—and which diminish their veneration for that purity of thought and moderation of appetite which becomes their noble natures? What must *they* think of this Order? Conscious of frequent faults, which would offend themselves if committed by their dearest children, they look up to their Maker with anxiety—are grieved to have so far forgotten their duty, and fearful that they may again forget it. Their painful experience tells them that their reason is often too weak, their information too scanty, or its light is obstructed by passion and prejudices, which distort and discolour every thing; 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

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 wished-for assistances; and, unfortunately, there have been enthusiasts, or villains, who have taken advantage of this universal wish 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 and the wicked.—But I wish 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
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the simplicity of its morality, comprehended in one sentence, "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. Here 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 of 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 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 free 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 proposers have found it necessary to destroy the grounds of morality, by permitting the most wicked 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
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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 distresses of every kind by the *pouvoir revolutionnaire*, 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 enlist 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 saviours 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

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into that insignificance or slavery 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 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 waive 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 necessary of life, or even of a mere conveniency—every thing is ornamented—it must 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 acquirements 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

ing manner. All have it in some degree, and it is very conceivable that, in some, it may constitute the chief object of attention. If this 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 class of people, who must labour all day, is it not the chief object of all to procure *perceptible pleasure* in one way or another? The sober and busy struggle in the thoughts and hopes of getting the means of enjoying the *comforts* of life without farther labour—and many have no other object than pleasure.

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 connected 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 or talents in the sex to justify it. This sentiment respecting the sex is necessary, in order to rear so helpless, so nice, and so improvable a creature as man; without it, the long abiding task could not be performed:—and I think that I may venture to say that

it is performed in the different states 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 set the brightest pattern of every thing that is excellent. But if the men are nice and fastidious 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. If 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 descanting at 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 uncom-

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mon 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 modest ; 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 civilised 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 relish.”

And these are they whom Weishaupt 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 Weishaupt—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 Mr. 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 task which hurts their loveliness ? What is this but selfishness, or as if they had no virtues worth cultivating ? Their *business* 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.

fary. Every thing is prescribed to them *because it makes them more lovely*—even their moral lessons are enforced by this argument, and Miss Woolstoncraft 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 puts her sisters 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 deserving 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 chace 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 send 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

a woman left with a family, and the shattered remains of a fortune, lost perhaps by dissipation or by indolence—and how seldom, how very seldom, do we see 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 a son 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!) mothers denouncing their sons, as bad citizens and traitors. Mark too what return the women have met with for all their horrid services, where, to express their sentiments of civism and abhorrence of royalty, they threw
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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 act 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 women 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 Tallien 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, *à 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

* 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.

and-honorary offices in Britain, three times told, amount to*. Was not their abominable farce in the church of Notre Dame a bait of the same kind, in the true spirit of Weishaupt's *Eroterion*? "We do not," said the high priest, "call you to the 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 should 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 Desmoulines, in his speech against the Brissotins.) But what will be the end of all this? The fondlings of the wealthy will be

* Between the 10th of August 1792, and the 1st of January 1794, upwards of 200 new Plays were acted on the Parisian Theatres. Their immorality and barbarism exceed all conception. All the voluptuous sensuality of ancient Rome was brought on the stage. No decoration was spared that could dazzle the eye, and the dialogue and representation were calculated for inflaming the passions and nourishing the hatred of all subordination. BARRERE, *the virtuous BARRERE*, frequently said from the Tribune of the Convention, "The insipid and simpering Racine only softens the heart. Crebillon, Crebillon without breeches—this is the writer that suits Republicans." (Montgaillard *Etat de la France*.)

pampered

pampered in all the indulgences which fastidious voluptuousness finds necessary for varying or enhancing its pleasures ; but they will either be slighted as toys, or they will be immured ; and the companions of the poor will be drudges and slaves.

I am fully persuaded that it was the enthusiastic admiration of Grecian democracy that recommended to the French nation the dress *à la Grecque*, which exhibits, not the elegant, ornamented beauty, but the alluring female, fully as well as Madame Tallien's dress *à la Sauvage*. It was no doubt with the same adherence to *serious principle*, that Mademoiselle Therouanne was most beautifully dressed *à l'Amazonne* on the 5th of October 1789, when she turned the heads of so many young officers of the regiments at Versailles. The Cytherea, the *hominum divumque voluptas*, at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, was also dressed *à la Grecque* there is a most evident and characteristic change in the whole system of female dress in France. The *Filles de l'Opera* always gave the *ton*, and were surely withheld by no rigid principle. They sometimes produced very extravagant and fantastic forms, but these were almost always in the style of the highest ornament, and they trusted, for the rest of the impression which they wished to make, to the fascinating expression of elegant movements. This indeed was wonderful, and hardly conceivable by
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any who have not seen a grand ballet performed by good actors. I have shed tears of the most sincere and tender sorrow during the exhibition of Antigone, set to music by Traetta, and performed by Madame Meilcour and S^{rs} Torelli, and Zantini. I can easily conceive the impression to be still stronger, though perhaps of another kind, when the former superb dresses are changed for the expressive simplicity of the Grecian. I cannot help thinking that the female ornaments in the rest of Europe, and even among ourselves, have less elegance since we lost the sanction of the French court. But see how all this will terminate, when we shall have brought the sex so low, and will not even wait for a Mahometan paradise. What can we expect but such a dissoluteness of manners, that the endearing ties of relation and family, and mutual confidence within doors, will be slighted, and will cease; and every man must stand up for himself, single and alone?

Fœcunda culpe sæcula nuptias

Primum inquinavêre, et genus, et domos.

Hoc fonte 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 matrons, on the merits of a naked gladiator or wrestler? Have we not enough of this already with our vaulters and posture-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 moralist Horace, who had the art—*ridendo dicere 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 low-born Statesmen and Generals of France may in this respect be set on a level with a Colbert or a Condé. 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 sisters (for we need not speak of the

the manner in which he expected that this would promote his plan—this is abundantly plain). It was by destroying their moral sentiments, and their sentiments of religion. Recollect what is the recommendation that the Atheist Minos gives of his step daughters, when he speaks of them as proper persons for the Lodge of Sisters. “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 *disgusted*. This 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 instinctive 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 dim-sighted 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

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the terms of decency, modesty, and the disapprobation of every thing that violates those feelings, the women only show female coyness? Then are they very blind instructors. But they are not so blind. The account given of the initiation of a young Sister at Frankfort, under the feigned name *Psycharion*, 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 strumpet. 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 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 assisted, even in the discharge of their moral duties, and still more, the sentiments which are purely religious, and have no reference to any
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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 far 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 exceeding; 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 assistances for the knowledge and discharge of their duties. There is nothing so unlike that general modesty
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of thought, and that diffidence, which we are disposed to think the character of the female mind. I 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 shall once adopt the belief that this life is our all, then the true maxim of rational conduct will be, to “eat and to drink, since to-morrow 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 stronger 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 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 desires by which the race is continued. As I observed already, such a distinction is indispensably necessary. There
must

must be a *moral* connection, in order that the human species may be a race of rational creatures, improvable, 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 starves, 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, she 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, 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 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 fantastical. 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—
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and I think that even here there is a perceptible superiority of the female rank in those countries where the purest Christianity prevails. We must however take our measures or proportions from a numerous class, but also a class in somewhat of easy 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 bastardy, 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 numberless panegyrics of the sex, to be found both in prose and verse—I can find little, very little indeed, where woman is treated with respect—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 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 possemus Quirites esse, omnes
 “ eâ molestiâ careremus. Sed quoniam ita na-
 “ tura tradidit, ut nec cum illis commodè, nec
 “ sine illis ullo modo vivi posset, salutis perpetuæ
 “ potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum.”

Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. I. 6.

What does Ovid, the great panegyrist of the sex, say for his beloved daughter, whom he had
 praised

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—*Domsida*—not a Gadabout.—Search Apuleius, where you will find many female characters in *abstracto*—You will find that his little Photis (a cook-maid and strumpet) was nearest to his heart, after all his philosophy. Nay, in his pretty story of Cupid and Psyche, which the very wise 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 finest opportunity, nay, almost made it necessary for him to insert whatever can ornament the female character; 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 wise man 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
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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 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 she also was in the times of Christianity, and was the intimate friend of Syncellus and other Christian Bishops.

It

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 wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.

“ Neither her outside, form'd so fair, —
 “ So much delights me, as *those* graceful acts,
 “ *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 seat
 “ Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
 “ About her, as a guard angelic plac'd.”

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 insisted 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
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thing proper, and worthy of a mind attentive to great things.—But, in Christianity, it is insisted 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 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 Monastic 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 *enjoin* 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-contract,
weakens

weakens them in the most effectual manner. Purity of manners is its 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 where 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 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

And with respect to the men, is it not egregious folly to encourage any thing that can tend to blast 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, "*Mens sana in corpore sano*,"—but it is equally true,

"*Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus.*"

If therefore, instead of professedly 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 state
Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe."

Should

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

- " O ! fairest of creation ! last and best
- " Of all God's works, creature in whom exselt'd
- " Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd,
- " *Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet !*
- " How art thou lost,—and now to death devote?—
- " And *me* with *thee* hast ruin'd; for with thee
- " Certain my resolution is to die."



CHAP. III.

The German Union.

WHEN such a fermentation had been excited in the public mind, it cannot be supposed that the formal suppression of the Order of the Illuminati in Bavaria, and in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, by the reigning Princes, would bring all to rest again. By no means. The minds of men were predisposed for a change by the restless spirit of speculation in every kind of inquiry, and the leaven had been carefully and skilfully disseminated in every quarter of the empire, and even in foreign countries. Weishaupt said, on good grounds, that “if the Order should be discovered and suppressed, he would restore it with tenfold energy in a twelvemonth.” Even in those states where it was formally abolished, nothing could hinder the enlisting new members, and