

and carrying on all the purposes of ~~the~~ Order. The *Arcopagite* might indeed be changed, and the seat of the direction transferred to some other place; but the Minerval and his Mentor could meet as formerly, and a ride of a few miles into another State, would bring him to a Lodge, where the young would be amused, and the more advanced would be engaged in serious mischief. Weishaupt never liked children's play. He indulged Philo in it, because he saw him taken with such rattles; but his own projects were dark and solemn, and it was a relief to him now to be freed from that mummery. He soon found the bent of the person's mind on whom he had set his talons, and he says, that "no man ever
" escaped him whom he thought it worth while
" to secure." He had already filled the lists with enough of the young and gay, and when the present condition of the Order required sly and experienced heads, he no longer courted them by play-things. He communicated the ranks and the instructions by a letter, without any ceremony. The correspondence with Philo at the time of the breach with him shows the superiority of Spartacus. Philo is in a rage, provoked to find a pitiful professor discontented with the immense services which he had received from a gentleman of his rank, and treating him with autho-

city, and with disingenuity.—He tells Spartacus what still greater services he can do the Order, and that he can also ruin it with a breath.—But in the midst of this rage, he proposes a thousand modes of reconciliation. The smallest concession would make him hug Spartacus in his arms. But Spartacus is deaf to all his threats, and firm as a rock. Though he is conscious of his own vile conduct, he abates not in the smallest point his absolute authority—requires the most implicit submission, which he says “is due, not to
“ him, but to the Order, and without which the
“ Order must immediately go to ruin.”—He does not even deign to challenge Philo to do his worst, but allows him to go out of the Order without one angry word. This shows his confidence in the energy of that spirit of restless discontent, and that hankering after reform which he had so successfully spread abroad.

This had indeed arisen to an unparalleled height, unexpected even by the seditious themselves. This appeared in a remarkable manner by the reception given to the infamous letters on the constitution of the Prussian States.

The general opinion was, that Mirabeau was the author of the letters themselves, and it was perfectly understood by every person, that the translation into French was a joint contrivance
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of Mirabeau and Nicholai. I was assured of this by the British Minister at that Court. There are some blunders in respect of names, which an inhabitant of the country could hardly be guilty of, but are very consistent with the self-conceit and precipitancy of this Frenchman.—There are several instances of the same kind in two pieces, which are known for certain to be his, viz. the *Chronique scandaleuse* and the *Histoire secrete de la Cour de Berlin*. These letters were in every hand, and were mentioned in every conversation, even in the Prussian dominions—and in other places of the Empire they were quoted, and praised, and commented on, although some of their contents were nothing short of rebellion.

Mirabeau had a large portion of that self-conceit which distinguishes his countrymen. He thought himself qualified not only for any high office in administration, but even for managing the whole affairs of the new King. He therefore endeavoured to obtain some post of honour. But he was disappointed, and, in revenge, did every thing in his power to make those in administration the objects of public ridicule and reproach. His licentious and profligate manners were such as excluded him from the society of the people of the first classes, whom it behoved to pay some attention to personal dignity. His opinions were in the highest degree corrupted, and he openly pro-

essed Atheism. This made him peculiarly obnoxious to the King, who was determined to correct the disturbances and disquiets which had arisen in the Prussian States from the indifference of his predecessor in those matters. Mirabeau therefore attached himself to a junto of writers and scribblers, who had united in order to disseminate licentious principles, both in respect of religion and of government. His wit and fancy were great, and he had not perhaps his equal for eloquent and biting satire. He was therefore caressed by those writers as a most valuable acquisition to their Society. He took all this deference as his just due; and was so confident in his powers, and so foolish, as to advise, and even to admonish, the King. Highly obnoxious by such conduct, he was excluded from any chance of preferment, and was exceedingly out of humour. In this state of mind he was in a fit frame for Illumination. Spartacus had been eyeing him for some time, and at last communicated this honour to him through the intermedium of Mauvillon, another Frenchman, Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the Duke of Brunswick. This person had been most active during the formal existence of the Order, and had contributed much to its reception in the Protestant States—he remained long concealed. Indeed his Illumination was not known till the invasion of Holland by

by the French. Mauvillon then stepped forth, avowed his principles, and recommended the example of the French to the Germans." This encouragement brought even Philo again on the stage, notwithstanding his resentment against Spartacus, and his solemn declaration of having abjured all such societies.—These, and a thousand such facts, show that the seeds of licentious Cosmopolitism had taken deep root, and that cutting down the crop had by no means destroyed the baneful plant.—But this is not all—a new method of cultivation had been invented, and immediately adopted, and it was now growing over all Europe in another form.

I have already taken notice of the general perversion of the public mind, which co-operated with the schisms of Free Masonry in procuring a listening ear to Spartacus and his associates. It will not be doubted but that the machinations of the *Illuminati* increased this, even among those who did not enter into the Order. It was easier to diminish the respect for civil establishments in Germany than in almost any other country. The frivolity of the ranks and court-offices in the different confederated petty States made it impossible to combine dignity with the habits of a scanty income.—It was still easier to expose to ridicule and reproach those numberless abuses which the folly and the vices of men

had introduced into religion. The influence on the public mind which naturally attaches to the venerable office of a moral instructor, was prodigiously diminished by the continual disputes of the Catholics and Protestants, which were carried on with great heat in every little principality. The freedom of enquiry, which was supported by the state in Protestant Germany, was terribly abused, (for what will the folly of man not abuse?) and degenerated into a wanton licentiousness of thought, and a rage for speculation and scepticism on every subject whatever. The struggle, which was originally between the Catholics and the Protestants, had changed, during the gradual progress of luxury and immorality, into a contest between reason and superstition. And in this contest the denomination of superstition had been gradually extended to every doctrine which professed to be of divine revelation, and reason was declared to be, for certain, the only way in which the Deity can inform the human mind.

Some respectable Catholics had published works filled with liberal sentiments. These were represented as villanous machinations to inveigle Protestants. On the other hand, some Protestant Divines had proposed to imitate this liberality by making concessions which might enable a good Catholic to live more at ease among the Protestants, and might even accelerate an union of faiths.

faiths. This was hooted beyond measure, as Jesuitical, and big with danger. While the sceptical junto, headed by the editors of the *Deutsche Bibliothek* and the *Berlin Monatschrift*, were recommending every performance, that was hostile to the established faith of the country, Leuchtsenring was equally busy, finding Jesuits in every corner, and went about with all the inquietude of a madman, picking up anecdotes. Zimmerman, the respectable physician of Frederick King of Prussia, gives a diverting account of a visit which he had from Leuchtsenring at Hanover, all trembling with fears of Jesuits, and wishing to persuade him that his life was in danger from them. Nicholai was now on the hunt, and during this crusade Philo laid hands on him, being introduced to his acquaintance by Leuchtsenring, who was, by this time, cured of his zeal for Protestantism, and had become a disciple of Illuminatism. Philo had gained his good opinion by the violent attack which he had published on the Jesuits and Rosycrucians by the orders of Spartacus.—He had not far to go in gaining over Nicholai, who was at this time making a tour through the Lodges. The sparks of Illumination which he perceived in many of them pleased him exceedingly, and he very cheerfully received the precious secret from Philo.

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

Nicholai, on his return to Berlin, published many volumes of his discoveries. One would imagine that not a Jesuit had escaped him. He mentions many strange schismatics, both in religion and in Masonry—But he never once mentions an *Illuminatus*.—When they were first checked, and before the discovery of the secret correspondence, he defended them, and strongly reprobated the proceedings of the Elector of Bavaria, calling it vile persecution.—Nay, after the discovery of the letters found in Zwack's house, he persisted in his defence, vindicated the possession of the abominable receipts, and highly extolled the character of Weishaupt.—But when the discovery of papers in the house of Batz informed the public that he himself had long been an *Illuminatus*, he was sadly put to it to reconcile his defence with any pretensions to religion*.—Weishaupt

* He imprudently contended that the papers containing the system and doctrines of Illumanism, came to him at Berlin, from an unknown hand. But no one believed him—it was inconsistent with what is said of him in the secret correspondence. He had said the same thing concerning the

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

But before this, Nicholai had made to himself a most formidable enemy. The history of this contest is curious in itself, and gives us a very instructive picture of the machinations of that *conjuratiou des philosophes*, or gang of scribblers who were leagued against the peace of the world. The reader will therefore find it to our purpose. On the authority of a lady in Courland, a Countess von der Recke, Nicholai had accused Dr. Stark of Darmstadt (who made such a figure in Free Masonry) of Jesuitism, and of having even submitted to the *tonsure*. Stark was a most restless spirit—had gone through every mystery in Germany, Illuminatism excepted, and had ferreted out many of Nicholai's hidden transactions. He was also an unwearied book-maker, and dealt out these discoveries by degrees, keeping the eye of the pub-

the French translation of the Letters on the Constitution of the Prussian States. Fifty copies were found in his warehouse. He said that they had been sent from Strasburg, and that he had never sold one of them.—Supposing both these assertions to be true, it appears that Nicholai was considered as a very proper hand for dispersing such poison.

lic continually upon Nicholai. He had suspected his Illumination for some time past, and when the secret came out, by Spartacus's letter, where he boasts of his acquisition, calling Nicholai a most sturdy combatant, and saying that he was *contentissimus*, Stark left no stone unturned till he discovered that Nicholai had been initiated in all the horrid and most profligate mysteries of Illuminatism, and that Spartacus had at the very first entrusted him with his most darling secrets, and advised with him on many occasions *.

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* Of this we have complete proof in the private correspondence. Philo, speaking in one of his letters of the gradual change which was to be produced in the minds of their pupils from Christianity to Deism, says. "Nicholai informs me, that even the pious Zollikofer has now been convinced that it would be proper to set up a desecral church in Berlin." It is in vain that Nicholai says that his knowledge of the Order was only of what Weisshaupt had published; for Philo says that that corrected system had not been introduced into it when he quitted it in 1784. But Nicholai deserves no credit—he is one of the most scandalous examples of the operation of the principles of Weisshaupt. He procured admission into the Lodges of Free Masons and Rosycrucians, merely to act the dishonourable part of a spy, and he betrayed their secrets as far as he could. In the appendix to the 7th volume of his journey, he declaims against the Templar Masons, Rosycrucians, and Jesuits, for their blind submission to unknown superiors, for their superstitions, their priesthoods, and their base principles—and yet had been five years in a society in which all these were carried to the
greatest

This complete blasting of his moral character could not be patiently borne, and Nicholai was in his turn the bitter enemy of Stark; and, in the paroxysms of his anger, published every idle tale, although he was often obliged to contradict them in the next Review. In the course of this attack and defence, Dr. Stark discovered the revival of the Illuminati, or at least a society which carried on the same great work in a somewhat different way.

Dr. Stark had written a defence against one of Nicholai's accusations, and wished to have it printed at Leipzig. He therefore sent the manuscript to a friend, who resided there. This friend immediately proposed it to a most improper person, Mr. Pott, who had written an anonymous commentary on the King of Prussia's edict for the uniformity of religious worship in his dominions. This is one of the most shameless attacks on the established faith of the nation, and the authority and conduct of the Prince, that can be imagined. Stark's friend was ignorant of this,

greatest height. He remains true to the Illuminati alone, because they had the same object in view with himself and his atheistical associates. His defence of Protestantism is all a cheat, and perhaps he may be considered as an enemy equally formidable with Weishaupt himself. This is the reason why he occupies so many of these pages.

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and spoke to Pott, as the partner of the great publisher Walther. They, without hesitation, undertook the publishing; but when six weeks had passed over, Stark's friend found that it was not begun. Some exceptionable passages, which treated with disrespect the religion of Reason, were given as the cause of delay; and he was told that the author had been written to about them, but had not yet returned an answer. This was afterwards found to be false. Then a passage in the preface was objected to, as treating roughly a Lady in Courland, which Walther could not print, because he had connections with that court. The author must be entreated to change his expressions. After another delay, paper was wanting. The MS. was withdrawn. Walther now said that he would print it immediately, and again got it into his hands, promising to send the sheets as they came from the press. These not appearing for a long time, the agent made enquiry, and found that it was sent to Michaelis at Halle, to be printed there. The agent immediately went thither, and found that it was printing with great alterations, another title, and a guide or key, in which the work was perverted and turned into ridicule by a Dr. Bahrdt, who resided in that neighbourhood. An action of recovery and damages was immediately commenced at Leipzig, and after much contest, an interdict was put on Michaelis's edition,

tion, and a proper edition was ordered immediately from Walther, with security that it should appear before Bahrdt's key. Yet when it was produced at the next fair, the booksellers had been already supplied with the spurious edition; and as this was accompanied by the key, it was much more saleable ware, and completely supplanted the other.

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

would speedily produce by enlightening the nation. By and by he learned that such an Association did really exist, and that it was called the GERMAN UNION, for ROOTING OUT SUPERSTITION AND PREJUDICES, AND ADVANCING TRUE CHRISTIANITY. On enquiry, however, he found that this was to be a Secret Society, because it had to combat prejudices which were supported by the great of this world, and because its aim was to promote that general information which priests and despots dreaded above all things. This Association was accessible only through the reading societies, and oaths of secrecy and fidelity were required. In short, it appeared to be the old song of the Illuminati.

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

The first work that speaks expressly of the German Union, is a very sensible performance "*On the Right of Princes to direct the Religion of their Subjects.*" The next is a curious work, a sort of narrative *Dialogue on the Characters of Nicholai, Gedicke, and Bießer.* It is chiefly occupied with the contest with Dr. Stark, but in the 5th part, it treats particularly of the German Union.

About the same time appeared some farther account, in a book called *Archives of Fanaticism and Illuminatism.* But all these accounts are very vague and unsatisfactory. The fullest account is to be had in a work published at Leipzig by Goschen
the

the bookfeller. It is entitled, "*More Notes than Text, or the German Union of XXII, a new Secret Society for the Good of Mankind,*" Leipzig, 1789. The publisher says that it was sent him by an unknown hand, and that he published it with all speed, on account of the many mischiefs which this Society (of which he had before heard several reports,) might do to the world, and to the trade, if allowed to go on working in secret. From this work, therefore, we may form a notion of this redoubtable Society, and judge how far it is practicable to prevent such secret machinations against the peace and happiness of mankind.

There is another work, "*Further Information concerning the German Union, (Nâhere Beleuchtung der Deutsche Union,) also shewing how, for a moderate price, one may become a Scotch Free Mason.*" Frankfort and Leipzig, 1789. The author says that he had all the papers in his hands; whereas the author of *More Notes than Text* acknowledges the want of some. But very little additional light is thrown on the subject by this work, and the first is still the most instructive, and will chiefly be followed in the account which is now to be laid before the reader.

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

N^o I. is the first plan, printed on a single quarto page, and is addressed, *To all the Friends of Reason, of Truth, and of Virtue*. It is pretty well written, and states, among other things, that “because a great number of persons are
“labouring, with united effort, to bring Reason
“under the yoke, and to prevent all instruction,
“it is therefore necessary that there be a combination which shall work in opposition to
“them, so that mankind may not sink anew
“into irrecoverable barbarism, when Reason and
“Virtue shall have been completely subdued,
“overpowered by the restraints which are put
“on our opinions.”——“For this noble purpose
“a company of twenty-two persons, public instructors, and men in private stations, have
“united themselves, according to a plan which
“they have had under consideration for more
“than a year and a half, and which, in their
“opinion, contains a method that is fair and
“irresistible by any human power, for promoting the enlightening and forming of mankind,
“and that will gradually remove all the obstacles which superstition supported by force
“has hitherto put in the way.”

This address is intended for an enlisting advertisement, and, after a few insignificant remarks

on the Association, a rix-dahler is required along with the subscription of acquiescence in the plan, as a compensation for the expences attending this mode of intimation and consent.

Whoever pays the rix-dahler, and declares his wish to join the Association, receives in a few days, N° II. which is a form of the Oath of secrecy, also printed on a single 4to page. Having subscribed this, and given a full designation of himself, he returns it agreeably to a certain address; and soon after, he gets N° III. printed on a 4to sheet. This number contains what is called the Second Plan, to which all the subsequent plans and circular letters refer. A copy therefore of this will give us a pretty full and just notion of the Order, and its mode of operation. It is intitled,

The Plan of the Twenty-Two,

and begins with this declaration: " We have
 " united, in order to accomplish the aim of the
 " exalted Founder of Christianity, viz. the en-
 " lightening of mankind, and the dethronement
 " of superstition and fanaticism, by means of a
 " secret fraternization of all who love the work
 " of God.

" Our

“ Our first exertion, which has already been
 “ very extensive, consists in this, that, by means
 “ of confidential persons, we allow ourselves to
 “ be announced every where as a Society unit-
 “ ed for the above-mentioned purpose ; and we
 “ invite and admit into brotherhood with our-
 “ selves every person who has a sense of the im-
 “ portance of this matter, and wishes to apply
 “ to us and see our plans.

“ We labour first of all to draw into our Af-
 “ sociation all good and learned writers. This
 “ we imagine will be the easier obtained, as they
 “ must derive an evident advantage from it.
 “ Next to such men, we seek to gain the mas-
 “ ters and secretaries of the Post-offices, in or-
 “ der to facilitate our correspondence.

“ Besides these, we receive persons of every
 “ condition and station, excepting princes and
 “ their ministers. Their favourites, however,
 “ may be admitted, and may be useful by their
 “ influence in behalf of Truth and Virtue.

“ When any person writes to us, we send him
 “ an oath, by which he must abjure all treachery
 “ or discovery of the Association, till circum-
 “ stances shall make it proper for us to come
 “ forward and show ourselves to the world.
 “ When he subscribes the oath, he receives the
 “ plan, and if he finds this to be what satisfies
 “ his mind as a thing good and honourable, he

“ becomes our friend only in so far as he en-
 “ deavours to gain over his friends and ac-
 “ quaintances. Thus we learn who are really
 “ our zealous friends, and our numbers increase
 “ in a double proportion.

“ This procedure is to continue till Provi-
 “ dence shall so far bless our endeavours, that
 “ we acquire an active Brother and coadjutor in
 “ every place of note, where there is any lite-
 “ rary profession ; and for this purpose we have
 “ a secretary and proper office in the centre of
 “ the Association, where every thing is expe-
 “ dited, and all reports received. When this
 “ happy epoch arrives, we begin our second
 “ operation.” That is to say,

“ We intimate to all the Brotherhood in every
 “ quarter, on a certain day, *that THE GERMAN*
 “ *UNION has now acquired a consistence*, and we
 “ now divide the fraternised part of the nation
 “ into ten or twelve *Provinces* or *Dioceses*, each
 “ directed by its *Diocesan* at his office ; and these
 “ are so arranged in due subordination, that all
 “ business comes into the UNION-HOUSE as into
 “ the centre of the whole.

“ Agreeably to this manner of proceeding
 “ there are two classes of the Brotherhood, the
 “ *Ordinary* and the *Managing* Brethren. The
 “ latter alone know the aim of the Association,
 “ and all the means for attaining it ; and they
 “ alone

“ alone constitute the UNION, the name, and
 “ the connection of which is not intended to be
 “ at all conspicuous in the world.

“ To this end the business takes a new exter-
 “ nal form. The Brethren, to wit, speak not
 “ of the Union in the places where they reside,
 “ nor of a Society, nor of enlightening the
 “ people ; but they assemble, and act together
 “ in every quarter, merely as a LITERARY SO-
 “ CIETY, bring into it all the lovers of reading
 “ and of useful knowledge ; and such in fact are
 “ the *Ordinary Brethren*, who only know that
 “ an Association exists in their place of resi-
 “ dence for the encouragement of literary men,
 “ but by no means that it has any connection
 “ with any other similar Society, and that they
 “ all constitute one whole. But these Societies
 “ will naturally point out to the intelligent Bre-
 “ thren such persons as are proper to be selected
 “ for carrying forward the great work. For per-
 “ sons of a serious turn of mind are not mere
 “ loungers in such company, but show in their
 “ conversation the interest they take in real in-
 “ struction. And the cast of their reading, which
 “ must not be checked in the beginning in the
 “ smallest degree, although it may be gradually
 “ directed to proper subjects of information, will
 “ point out in the most unequivocal manner their
 “ peculiar ways of thinking on the important sub-

jects connected with our great object. Here, therefore, the active Brethren will observe in secret, and will select those whom they think valuable acquisitions to the sacred Union. They will invite such persons to unite with themselves in their endeavours to enlighten the rest of mankind, by calling their attention to profitable subjects of reading, and to proper books. Reading Societies, therefore, are to be formed in every quarter, and to be furnished with proper books. In this provision attention must be paid to two things. The taste of the public must be complied with, that the Society may have any effect at all in bringing men together who are born for somewhat more than just to look about them. But the general taste may, and must also be carefully and skilfully directed to subjects that will enlarge the comprehension, will fortify the heart, and, by habituating the mind to novelty, and to successful discovery, both in physics and in morals, will hinder the timid from being startled at doctrines and maxims which are singular, or perhaps opposite to those which are current in ordinary society. Commonly a man speaks as if he thought he was uttering his own sentiments, while he is only echoing the general sound. Our minds are dressed in a prevailing fashion as much as our bodies, and
“ with

“ with stuff as little congenial to sentiment, as a
 “ piece of woollen cloth is to the human skin.
 “ So careless and indolent are men, even in
 “ what they call serious conversation. Till re-
 “ flection becomes a habit, what is really a
 “ thought startles, however simple, and, if really
 “ uncommon, it astonishes and confounds. No-
 “ thing, therefore, can so powerfully tend to the
 “ improvement of the human character, as well-
 “ managed Reading Societies.

“ When these have been established in differ-
 “ ent places, we must endeavour to accomplish
 “ the following intermediate plans : 1. To intro-
 “ duce a general literary Gazette or Review,
 “ which, by uniting all the learned Brethren,
 “ and combining with judgment and address all
 “ their talents, and steadily proceeding accord-
 “ ing to a distinct and precise plan, may in
 “ time supplant every other Gazette, a thing
 “ which its intrinsic merit and comprehensive
 “ plan will easily accomplish. 2. To select a se-
 “ cretary for our Society, who shall have it in
 “ charge to commission the books which they
 “ shall select in conformity to the great aim of
 “ the Association, and who shall undertake to
 “ commission all other books for the curious in
 “ his neighbourhood. If there be a bookseller
 “ in the place, who can be gained over and

“ sworn into the Society, it will be proper to
 “ choose him for this office, since, as will be
 “ made more plain afterwards, the trade will
 “ gradually come into the plan, and fall into the
 “ hands of the Union.

“ And now, every eye can perceive the pro-
 “ gressive moral influence which the Union will
 “ acquire on the nation. Let us only conceive
 “ what superstition will lose, and what instruc-
 “ tion must gain by this; when, 1. In every
 “ Reading Society the books are selected by our
 “ Fraternity. 2. When we have confidential
 “ persons in every quarter, who will make it
 “ their serious concern to spread such perform-
 “ ances as promote the enlightening of mankind,
 “ and to introduce them even into every cot-
 “ tage. 3. When we have the loud voice of the
 “ public on our side, and since we are able,
 “ either to banish into the shade all the fanatical
 “ writings which appear in the reviews that are
 “ commonly read, or to warn the public against
 “ them; and, on the other hand, to bring into
 “ notice and recommend those performances
 “ alone which give light to the human mind.
 “ 4. When we by degrees bring the whole trade
 “ of bookselling into our hands, (as the good
 “ writers will send all their performances into
 “ the market through our means,) we shall
 “ bring

“ bring it about, that at last the writers who
 “ labour in the cause of superstition and restraint,
 “ will have neither a publisher nor readers. 5.
 “ When, lastly, by the spreading of our Fra-
 “ ternity, all good hearts and sensible men will
 “ adhere to us, and by our means will be put in
 “ a condition that enables them to work in silence
 “ upon all courts, families, and individuals in
 “ every quarter, and acquire an influence in the
 “ appointment of court-officers, stewards, secre-
 “ taries, parish-priests, public teachers, and pri-
 “ vate tutors.

“ Remark, That we shall speedily get the trade
 “ into our hands, (which was formerly the aim
 “ of the Association called the *Gelehrtenbuchhand-
 “ lung*), is conceivable by this, that every writer
 “ who unites with us immediately acquires a triple
 “ number of readers, and finds friends in every
 “ place who promote the sale of his performance ;
 “ so that his gain is increased manifold, and con-
 “ sequently all will quit the booksellers, and ac-
 “ cede to us by degrees. Had the above-named
 “ Association been constructed in this manner, it
 “ would, long ere now, have been the only shop
 “ in Germany.”

The book called *Fuller Information, &c.* gives
 a more particular account of the advantages held
 forth to the literary manufacturers of Germany
 by this Union for God's work. The class of lite-
 rary

rary Brothers, or writers by trade, was divided into *Mesopolites*, *Aldermen*, *Men*, and *Cadets*.

The **MESOPOLITES**, or *Metropolitans*, are to be attached to the archive-office, and to be taken care of in the Union-house, when in straits through age or misfortune. They will be occupied in the department of the sciences or arts, which this Association professes principally to cherish. They are also Brethren of the third degree of Scotch Free Masonry, a qualification to be explained afterwards. The Union-house is a building which the ostensible Founder of the Union professed to have acquired, or speedily to acquire at ———, through the favour and protection of a German Prince, who is not named.

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

The members who are designed simply **MEN**, are Brethren of the second rank of Masonry, and have also a definite scientific occupation assigned them.

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

Every

Every member is bound to bring the productions of his genius to market through the Union. An Alderman receives for an original work 80 per cent. of the returns, and 70 for a translation. The member of the next class receives 60, and the Cadet 50. As to the expence of printing, the Alderman pays nothing, even though the work should lie on hand unfold; but the *Man* and the *Cadet* must pay one half. Three months after publication at the fairs an account is brought in, and after this, yearly, when and in what manner the author shall desire.

In every diocese will be established at least one Reading Society, of which near 800 are proposed. To each of these will a copy of an *Alderman's* work be sent. The same favour will be shown to a dissertation by a *Man*, or by a *Cadet*, provided that the manuscript is documented by an Alderman, or formally approved by him upon serious perusal. This *imprimatur*, which must be considered as a powerful recommendation of the work, is to be published in the *General Review* or *Gazette*. This is to be a vehicle of political as well as of literary news; and it is hoped that, by its intrinsic worth, and the recommendation of the members, it will soon supplant all others. (With respect to affairs of the Union, a sort of cypher was to be employed in it. Each Diocesan was there designed by a letter, of a size that marked

marked his rank, and each member by a number. It was to appear weekly, at the very small price of five-and-twenty shillings.)—But let us return to the plan.

When every thing has been established in the manner set forth above, the Union will assume the following republican form (the reader always recollecting that this is not to appear to the world, and to be known only to the *managing* Brethren).

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

N° IV. contains a list of the German Union, which the sender received in manuscript. Here we find many names which we should not have expected, and miss many that were much more likely to have been partners in this patriotic scheme. There are several hundred names, but very few designations; so that it is difficult to point out the individuals to the public. Some however are designed, and the writer observes that names are found, which, when applied to some individuals whom he knows, accord surprisingly with the anecdotes that are to be seen in the

the

the private correspondence of the Illuminati, and in the romance called *Materials for the History of Socratism (Illuminatism) **. It is but a disagreeable remark, that the list of the Union contains the names of many public teachers, both from the pulpit, and from the academic chair in all its degrees; and among these are several whose cyphers shew that they have been active hands. Some of these have in their writings given evident proofs of their misconception of the simple truths, whether dogmatical or historical, of revealed religion, or of their inclination to twist and manufacture them so as to chime in with the religion and morality of the Sages of France. But it is more distressing to meet with unequivocal names of some who profess in their writings to consider these subjects as an honest man

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

should

should consider them, that is, according to the plain and common sense of the words; whereas we have demonstrative proofs that the German Union had the diametrically opposite purpose in view. The only female in the list is the *Grafin von der Recke*, the Lady who gave Dr. Stark of Darmstadt so much trouble about his *Tonsure*. This Lady, as we have already seen, could not occupy herself with the frivolities of dress, flirtation, or domestic cares. "*Femina fronte patet, vir pectore.*" She was not pleased however at finding her name in such a Plebeian list, and gave oath, along with Biester at the centre, that she was not of the Association. 'I see that the public was not satisfied with this denial. The Lady has published some more scandal against Stark since that time, and takes no notice of it; and there have appeared many accounts of very serious literary connections between these two persons and the man who was afterwards discovered to be the chief agent of the Union.

N° V. is an important document. It is a letter addressed to the sworn members of the Union, reminding the beloved fellow-workers that "the bygone management of the business has been expensive, and that the XXII. do not mean to make any particular charge for their own compensation. But that it was necessary that all and each of the members should know pre-
"cifully

“ ciscly the object of the Association, and the
 “ way which mature consideration had pointed
 “ out as the most effectual method of attaining
 “ this object. Then, and not till then, could
 “ the worthy members act by one plan, and
 “ consequently with united force. To accom-
 “ plish this purpose, one of their number had
 “ composed a *Treatise on Instruction, and the*
 “ *means of promoting it* *.” This work has been
 revised by the whole number, and may be con-
 sidered as the result of their deepest reflection.
 They say, that it would be a signal misfortune
 should this Association, this undertaking, so im-
 portant for the happiness of mankind, be cramped
 in the very beginning of its brilliant progress.
 They therefore propose to print this work, this
 Holy Scripture of their faith and practice, by sub-
 scription. (They here give a short account of the
 work.) And they request the members to encour-
 age the work by subscribing, and by exerting more
 than their usual activity in procuring subscriptions,
 and in recommending the performance in the

* *Ueber AUFFKLÄRUNG und deren Beförderungs-Mittel.*
 The only proper translation of this word would be, *clearing*
up, or enlightening. *Instruction* seems the single word that
 comes nearest to the precise meaning of *Auffklärung*, but is
 not synonymous.

newspapers. Four persons are named as Diocessans, who are to receive the money, which they beg may be speedily advanced in order to purchase paper, that the work may be ready for the first fair (Easter 1788).

Nº VI. is a printed paper (as is Nº V.) without date, farther recommending the Essay on Instruction. Nº VII. is in manuscript, without date. It is addressed to "a worthy man," intimating that the like are sent to others, to whom will also speedily be forwarded an improved plan, with a request to cancel or destroy the former contained in Nº III. It is added, that the Union now contains, among many others, more than two hundred of the most respectable persons in Germany, of every rank and condition, and that in the course of the year, (1788) a general list will be sent, with a request that the receiver will point out such as he does not think worthy of perfect confidence. It concludes with another recommendation of the book on *Instruction*, on the returns from which first work of the German Union the support of the secretary's office is to depend.

Accordingly Nº VIII. contains this plan, but it is not entitled *The improved Plan*. Such a denomination would have called in doubt the infallibility of the XXII. It is therefore called *The Progressive* (Vorläufig) plan, a title which leaves room for every subsequent change. It differs
from

from the former only in some unimportant circumstances. Some expressions, which had given offence or raised suspicions, are softened or cancelled. Two copies of this, which we may call A and B, are given, differing also in some circumstances.

“ The great aim of the German Union is the
 “ good of mankind, which is to be attained only
 “ by means of mental Illumination (*Aufklärung*)
 “ and the dethroning of fanaticism and moral
 “ despotism.” Neither paper has the expression
 which immediately followed in the former plan,
 “ that this had been the aim of the exalted Founder
 “ of Christianity.” The paper A refers, on the
 present subject, to a dissertation printed in 1787
 without a name, *On the Freedom of the Press, and
 its Limitation*. This is one of the most licentious
 pieces that has been published on the subject, not
 only enforcing the most unqualified liberty of
 publishing every thing a man pleases, but ex-
 emplifying it in the most scandalous manner;
 libelling characters of every sort, and persons of
 every condition, and this frequently in the most
 abusive language, and expressions so coarse, as
 shewed the author to be either habituated to the
 coarsest company, or determined to try boldly
 once for all, what the public eye can bear. The
 piece goes on: “ The Union considers it as a
 “ chief part of its secret plan of operation, to in-
 “ clude

“ clude the trade of bookfelling in their circle.
 “ By getting hold of this, they have it in their
 “ power to increase the number of writings which
 “ promote instruction, and to lessen that of those
 “ which mar it, since the authors of the latter
 “ will by degrees lose both their publishers and
 “ their readers. That the present bookfellers
 “ may do them no harm, they will by degrees
 “ draw in the greater part of them to unite
 “ with them.”—The literary newspaper is here
 strongly insisted on, and, in addition to what
 was said in the former plan, it is said, “ that
 “ they will include political news, as of mighty
 “ influence on the public mind, and as a subject
 “ that merits the closest attention of the moral
 “ instructor. For what illumination is that
 “ mind susceptible of, that is so blinded by the
 “ prejudice created and nursed by the habits of
 “ civil subordination, that it worships stupidity
 “ or wickedness under a coronet, and neglects
 “ talents and virtue under the bearskin cap of
 “ the boor? We must therefore represent poli-
 “ tical transactions, and public occurrences, not
 “ as they affect that artificial and fantastical
 “ creature of imagination that we see every
 “ where around us, wheeled about in a chariot,
 “ but as it affects a MAN, rational, active, free-
 “ born man. By thus stripping the transaction
 “ of all foreign circumstances, we see it as it af-
 “ fects,

“fects, or ought to affect, ourselves. Be assured
 “that this new form of political intelligence will
 “be highly interesting, and that the Gazette of
 “the Union will soon supersede all others,
 “and, of itself, will defray all our necessary ex-
 “pences.”

This is followed by some allusions to a secret correspondence that is quick, unsusceptible of all discovery or treachery, and attended with no expence, by which the business of the secret plan (*different from either of those communicated to the sworn Brethren at large*) is carried on, and which puts the members in a condition to learn every thing that goes on in the world, for or against their cause, and also teaches them to know mankind, to gain an influence over all, and enables them effectually to promote their best subjects into all offices, &c. and finally, from which every member, whether statesman, merchant, or writer, can draw his own advantages. Some passages here and in another place make me imagine that the Union hoped to get the command of the post-offices, by having their Brethren in the direction.

It is then said, that “it is supposed that the
 “levy will be sufficiently numerous in the spring
 “of the ensuing year. When this takes place, a
 “general synod will be held, in which the plan
 “of secret operations will be finally adjusted, and
 “accommodated to local circumstances, so as to

“ be digested into a law that will need no farther alteration. A proper person will set off from this synod, with full powers, to visit every quarter where there are sworn Brethren, and he will there establish a Lodge after the ancient simple ritual, and will communicate verbally the *plan of secret operation*, and certain instructions. These Lodges will then establish a managing fund or box. Each Lodge will also establish a Reading Society, under the management of a bookseller residing in the place, or of some person acquainted with the mechanical conduct of things of this nature. There must also be a collector and agent, (*Expéditeur*,) so that in a moment the Union will have its offices or *comptoirs* in every quarter, through which it carries on the trade of book-selling, and guides the ebb and flow of its correspondence. And thus the whole machine will be set in motion, and its activity is all directed from the centre.”

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

N° IX. is a printed circular letter to the sworn Brethren, and is subscribed “ by their truly associated Brother Barthels, *Oberamtzman* (first bailiff)

“ bailiff) for the King of Prussia, at Halle on the
“ Saal.”

“ In this letter the Brethren are informed that
“ the XXII. were wont to meet sometimes at-
“ Halle, and sometimes at Berlin. But una-
“ voidable circumstances oblige them not only
“ to remain concealed for some time, but even
“ to give up their relation to the Union, and
“ withdraw themselves from any share in its pro-
“ ceedings. These circumstances are but tem-
“ porary, and will be completely explained in
“ due time. They trust, however, that this ne-
“ cessary step on their part will not abate the zeal
“ and activity of men of noble minds, engaged
“ in the cause by the conviction of their own
“ hearts. They have therefore communicated
“ to their worthy Brother BARTHELS all ne-
“ cessary informations, and have unanimously
“ conferred on him the direction of the secre-
“ tary’s office, and have provided him with every
“ document and mean of carrying on the cor-
“ respondence. He has devoted himself to the
“ honourable office, giving up all other employ-
“ ments. They observe that by this change in
“ the manner of proceeding, the Association is
“ freed from an objection made with justice to all
“ other secret societies, namely, that the mem-
“ bers subject themselves to blind and unquali-
“ fied submission to unknown superiors.”—“ The

“ Society is now in the hands of its own avowed
 “ members. Every thing will soon be arranged
 “ according to a constitution purely republican,
 “ a Diocesan will be chosen, and will direct in
 “ every province, and report to the centre every
 “ second month, and instructions and other in-
 “ formations will issue in like manner from the
 “ centre.

“ If this plan shall be approved of by the Affo-
 “ ciated, H. Barthels will transmit to all the Dio-
 “ ceses general lists of the Union, and the PLAN
 “ OF SECRET OPERATION, the result of deep
 “ meditation of the XXII. and admirably calcu-
 “ lated for carrying on with irresistible effect
 “ their noble and patriotic plan. To stop all
 “ cabal, and put an end to all slander and sus-
 “ picion, H. Barthels thinks it proper that the
 “ Union shall step forward, and declare itself to
 “ the world, and openly name some of its most
 “ respectable members. The public must how-
 “ ever be informed only with respect to the *ex-*
 “ *terior* of the Society, for which purpose he had
 “ written a sheet to be annexed as an appendix
 “ to the work, ON INSTRUCTION, declaring
 “ that to be the work of the Society, and a suf-
 “ ficient indication of its most honourable aim.
 “ He desires such members as choose to share
 “ the honour with him, to send him their names
 “ and proper designations, that they may appear
 “ in

“ in that Appendix. And, lastly, he requests
 “ them to instruct him, and co-operate with him,
 “ according to the concerted rules of the Union,
 “ in promoting the cause of God and the happiness of mankind.”

The Appendix now alluded to makes No. X. of the packet sent to the Bookseller Goschen of Leipzig, and is dated December 1788. It is also found in the book *On Instruction*, &c. printed at Leipzig in 1789, by Walthier. Here, however, the Appendix is dated January 1789. This edition agrees in the main with that in the book from which I have made such copious extracts, but differs in some particulars that are not unworthy of remark.

In the packet it is written, “ *The Undersigned,*
 “ *as Member and Agent of the German Union,*
 “ in order to rectify several mistakes and injurious slanders and accusations, thinks it necessary that the public itself should judge of their object and conduct.”—Towards the end it is said, “ and all who have any doubts may apply to those named below, and are invited to write to them.” No names however are subjoined.—In the Appendix to the book it is only said, “ the agent of the German Union,” &c. and “ persons who wish to be better informed may write to the agent, under the address,

“ *To the German Union*—under cover to the shop
“ of Walther, bookseller in Leipzig.”—Here too
there are no names, and it does not appear that
any person has chosen to come from behind the
curtain*.

There has already been so much said about *Enlightening*, that the reader must be almost tired of it. He is assured in this performance that the Illumination proposed by the Union is not that of the *Wolfenbüttele Fragments*, nor that of HORUS, nor that of *Bahrdt*. The *Fragments* and *Horus* are books which aim directly, and without any concealment, to destroy the authority of our Scriptures, either as historical narrations or as revelations of the intentions of providence and of the future prospects of man. The Theological writings of *Bahrdt* are gross perversions, both of the sense of the text, and of the moral instructions contained in it, and are perhaps the most exceptionable performances on the subject. They are stigmatised as absurd, and coarse, and indecent,

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

even by the writers on the same side; yet the work recommended so often, as containing the elements of that Illumination which the world has to expect from the Union, not only coincides in its general principles with these performances, but is almost an abstract of some of them, particularly of his *Popular Religion*, his *Paraphrase on the Sermon on the Mount*, and his MORALITY OF RELIGION. We have also seen that the book on the Liberty of the Press is quoted and recommended as an elementary book. Nay both the work on Instruction and that on the Liberty of the Press are now known to be Bahrdt's.

But these principles, exceptionable as they may be, are probably not the worst of the institution. We see that the *outside* alone of the Union is to be shewn to the public. Barthels felicitates the public that there is no subordination and blind obedience to unknown Superiors, yet, in the same paragraph, he tells us that there is a secret plan of operations, that is known only to the Centre and the Confidential Brethren. The author of *Fuller Information* says that he has this plan, and would print it, were he not restrained by a promise *. He gives us enough however to show us that the higher mysteries of the Union are precisely the same with those of the Illuminati, Christi-

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

amity is expressly said to have been a Mystical Association, and its founder the Grand Master of a Lodge. The Apostles, Peter, James, John, and Andrew, were the ELECT, and Brethren of the Third Degree, and initiated into all the mysteries. The remaining Apostles were only of the Second Degree; and the Seventy-two were of the First Degree. Into this degree ordinary Christians may be admitted, and prepared for further advancement. The great mystery is, that J——C—— was a NATURALIST, and taught the doctrine of a Supreme Mind, the Spectator, but not the Governor of the World, pretty nearly in the sense of the Stoics. The Initiated Brethren were to be instructed by reading proper books. These particularly recommended are *Bafedow's Practical Knowledge*, *Eberhard's Apology for Socrates*, *Bahrdt's Apology for Reason*, *Steinbardt's System of Moral Education*, *Meiner's Ancient Mysteries*, *Bahrdt's Letters on the Bible*, and *Bahrdt's Completion of the Plan and Aim of J——C——*. These books are of the most Antichristian character, and some of them aim at shaking off all moral obligation whatever.

Along with these religious doctrines, are inculcated the most dangerous maxims of civil conduct. The despotism that is aimed at over the minds of men, and the machinations and intrigues for obtaining possession of places of trust and influence,

fluence, are equally alarming; but being perfectly similar to those of the Illuminati, it is needless to mention them.

The chief intelligence that we get from this author is that the CENTRE of the Union is at a house in the neighbourhood of Halle. It is a sort of tavern, in a vineyard immediately without the city. This was bought by DOCTOR KARL FRIEDERICH BAHRDT, and fitted up for the amusement of the University Students. He calls it BAHRDT'S RUHE (Bahrds's Repose). The author thinks that this must have been the work of the Association, because Bahrds had not a farthing, and was totally unable for such an undertaking. He may however have been the contriver of the institution. He has never affirmed or denied this in explicit terms; nor has he ever said who are the XXII. coadjutors. Wucherer, an eminent bookseller at Vienna, seems to have been one of the most active hands, and in one year admitted near 200 members, among whom is his own shoemaker. He has published some of the most profligate pamphlets which have yet appeared in Germany.

The publication of the list of members alarmed the nation; persons were astonished to find themselves in every quarter in the midst of villains who were plotting against the peace and happiness of the country, and destroying every sentiment of religion,

religion, morality, or loyalty. Many persons published in the newspapers and literary journals affirmations and proofs of the false insertion of their names. Some acknowledged that curiosity had made them enter the Association, and even continue their correspondence with the Centre, in order to learn something of what the Fraternity had in view, but declared that they had never taken any part in its proceedings. But, at the same time, it is certain that many Reading Societies had been set up, during these transactions, in every quarter of Germany, and that the ostensible managers were in general of very suspicious characters, both as to morals and loyalty. The Union had actually set up a press of their own at Calbe, in the neighbourhood of Halberstadt. Every day there appeared stronger proofs of a combination of the Journalists, Reviewers, and even of the publishers and booksellers, to suppress the writings which appeared in defence of the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of the States of Germany. The extensive literary manufacture of Germany is carried on in such a manner that it is impossible for any thing less than the joint operation of the whole federated powers to prevent this. The spirit of freethinking and innovating in religious matters had been remarkably prevalent in the dominions of the King of Prussia, having been much encouraged by the indifference

indifference of the late King. One of the vilest things published on this occasion was an abominable farce, called the *Religion Edict*. This was traced to Bahrdt's Ruhe, and the Doctor was arrested, and all his papers seized and ransacked. The civil Magistrate was glad of an opportunity of expiscating the German Union, which common fame had also traced hither. The correspondence was accordingly examined, and many discoveries were made, which there was no occasion to communicate to the public, and the prosecution of the business of the Union was by this means stopped. But the persons in high office at Berlin agree in saying that the Association of writers and other turbulent persons in Germany has been but very faintly hit by this blow, and is almost as active as ever.

THE German Union appears a mean and precipitate Association. The Centre, the Archives, and the Secretary are contemptible. All the Archives that were found were the plans and lists of the members and a parcel of letters of correspondence. The correspondence and other business was managed by an old man in some very inferior office or judicatory, who lived at bed and board in Bahrdt's house for about six shillings a-week, having a chest of papers and a writing-desk in the corner of the common room of the house.

• Bahrdt

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

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

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The plan of operation of the XXII. was gradually unfolded to him, and he got solemn promises of being made acquainted with his colleagues—But he now found, that after he had so essentially served their noble cause, he was dropped by them in the hour of danger, and thus was made the sacrifice for the public good. The last packet which he received was a request from a *Friend to the Union* to print two performances sent him, with a promise of 100 dahlers for his trouble—These were the abominable farce called the *Religion Edict*, and some Dissertations on that Royal Proclamation.

He then gives an account of his system of Free Masonry, not very different from Weishaupt's Masonic Christianity—and concludes with the following abstract of the advantages of the Union—Advancement of Science—A general interest and concern for Arts and Learning—Excitement of Talents—Check of Scribbling—Good Education—Liberty—Equality—Hospitality—Delivery of many from Misfortunes—Union of the Learned—and at last—perhaps—Amen.

What the meaning of this enigmatical conclusion is we can only guess—and our conjectures cannot be very favourable.

The narration, of which this is a very short index, is abundantly entertaining; but the opinion of the most intelligent is, that it is in a great measure fictitious,

fiction, and that the contrivance of the Union is mostly his own. Although it could not be legally proved that he was the author of the farce, every person in court was convinced that he was, and indeed it is perfectly in Bahrdr's very singular manner.—This invalidates the whole of his story—and he afterwards acknowledges the farce (at least by implication) in several writings, and boasts of it.

For these reasons I have omitted the narration in detail. Some information, however, which I have received since, seems to confirm his account, while it diminishes its importance. I now find that the book called *Fuller Information* is the performance of a clergyman called *Schutz*, of the lowest class, and by no means of an eminent character.—Another performance in the form of a dialogue between X, Y, and Z, giving nearly the same account, is by Pott, the dear friend of Bahrdr and of his Union, and author of the Commentary on the Edict. Schutz got his materials from one Roper, an expelled student of debauched morals, who subsisted by copying and vending filthy manuscripts. Bahrdr says, that he found him naked and starving, and, out of pity, took him into his house, and employed him as an amanuensis. Roper stole the papers at various times, taking them with him to Leipzig, whither he went on pretence of sickness. At last Schutz and he went
to

to Berlin together, and gave the information on which Bahrdrf was put in prison. In short they all appear to have been equally profligates and traitors to each other, and exhibit a dreadful, but I hope a useful picture of the influence of this Illumination which so wonderfully fascinates Germany.

This is all the direct information that I can pick up of the founder and the proceedings of the German Union. The project is coarse, and palpably mean, aiming at the dahlers of entry-money and of annual contribution, and at the publication and profitable sale of Dr. Bahrdrf's books. This circumstance gives it strong features of its parentage.—Philo speaks of Bahrdrf in his *Final Declaration* in terms of contempt and abhorrence. There is nothing ingenious, nothing new, nothing enticing, in the plans; and the immediate purpose of indulging the licentious taste of the public comes so frequently before the eye, that it bears all the marks of that grossness of mind, precipitancy, and impatient oversight that are to be found in all the voluminous writings of Dr. Bahrdrf.—Many in Germany, however, ascribe the Union to Weishaupt, and say that it is the Illuminati working in another form. There is no denying that the principles, and even the manner of proceeding, are the same in every essential circumstance. Many paragraphs of the declama-

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tions circulated through Germany with the plans, are transcribed verbatim from Weishaupt's *Corrected System of Illuminatism*. Much of the work *On Instruction, and the Means for promoting it*, is very nearly a copy of the same work, blended with slovenly extracts from some of his own writings—There is the same series of delusions from the beginning, as in Illuminatism—Free Masonry and Christianity are compounded—first with marks of respect—then Christianity is twisted to a purpose foreign from it, but the same with that aimed at by Weishaupt—then it is thrown away altogether, and Natural Religion and Atheism substituted for it—For no person will have a moment's hesitation in saying, that this is the creed of the author of the books *On Instruction* and *On the Liberty of the Press*. Nor can he doubt that the political principles are equally anarchical with those of the Illuminati.—The endeavours also to get possession of public offices, of places of education—of the public mind, by the Reading Societies, and by publications—are so many transcripts from the Illuminati.—Add to this, that Dr. Bahrdt was an *Illuminatus*—and wrote the *Better than Horus*, at the command of Weishaupt.—Nay, it is well known that Weishaupt was twice or thrice at Bahrdt's Ruhe during those transactions, and that he zealously promoted the formation of Reading Societies in several places.—But I am

rather of the opinion that Weishaupt made those visits in order to keep Dr. Bahrdt within some bounds of decency, and to hinder him from hurting the cause by his precipitancy, when spurred on by the want of money. Weishaupt could not work in such an unskilful manner. But he would be very glad of such help as this coarse tool could give him—and Bahrdt gave great help; for, when he was imprisoned and his papers seized, his Archives, as he called them, shewed that there were many Reading Societies which his project had drawn together. The Prussian States had above thirty, and the number of Readers was astonishingly great—and it was found, that the pernicious books had really found their way into every hut.—Bahrdt, by descending a story lower than Weishaupt, has greatly increased the number of his pupils.

But, although I cannot consider the German Union as a formal revival of the Order under another name, I must hold those *United*, and the members of those Reading Societies, as *Illuminati* and *Minervals*. I must even consider the Union as a part of Spartacus's work. The plans of Weishaupt were partly carried into effect in their different branches—they were pointed out, and the way to carry them on are distinctly described in the private correspondence of the Order.—It required little genius to attempt them in imitation.

Bahrdr made the attempt, and in part succeeded. Weisshaupt's hopes were well founded—The leaven was not only distributed, but the management of the fermentation was now understood, and it went on apace.

It is to be remarked, that nothing was found among Bahrdr's papers to support the story he writes in his diary—no such correspondences—but enough for detecting many of these societies. Many others however were found unconnected with Bahrdr's Ruhe, not of better character, either as to Morality or Loyalty, and some of them considerable and expensive; and many proofs were found of a combination to force the public to a certain way of thinking, by the management of the Reviews and Journals. The extensive dealings of Nicholai of Berlin gave him great weight in the book-making trade, which in Germany surpasses all our conceptions. The catalogues of *new* writings in sheets, which are printed twice a year for each of the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort, would astonish a British reader by the number. The booksellers meet there, and at one glance see the whole republic of literature, and, like Roman senators, decide the sentiments of distant provinces. By thus seeing the whole together, their speculations are national, and they really have it in their power to give what turn they please to the literature and to the sentiments
of

of Germany. Still however they must be induced by motives. The motive of a merchant is gain, and every object appears in his eye something by which money may be made. Therefore in a luxurious and voluptuous nation, licentious and free-thinking books will abound.* The writers suggest, and the bookfellers think how the thing will tickle. Yet it must not be inferred from the prevalence of such books, that such is the common sense of mankind, and that the writings are not the corrupters, but the corrupted, or that they are what they ought to be, because they please the public. •We need only push the matter to an extremity, and its cause appears plain. Filthy prints will always create a greater crowd before the shop-window than the finest performances of Woollett. Licentious books will be read with a fluttering eagerness, as long as they are not universally permitted ; and pitiable will be the state of the nation when their number makes them familiar and no longer captivating.

But although it must be confessed that great encouragement was given to the sceptical, infidel, and licentious writings in Germany, we see that it was still necessary to practise seduction. The *Religionist* was made to expect some engaging exhibition of his faith. The *Citizen* must be told that his civil connections are respected, and will be improved ; and *all* are told that good manners

or virtue is to be supported. Man is supposed to be, in very essential circumstances, what he wishes to be, and feels he ought to be : and he is corrupted by means of falsehood and trick. The principles by which he is wheedled into wickedness in the first instance, are therefore such as are really addressed to the general sentiments of mankind : these therefore should be considered as more expressive of the public mind than those which he afterwards adopts, after this artificial education. Therefore Virtue, Patriotism, Loyalty, Veneration for true and undefiled Religion, are really acknowledged by those corrupters to be the *prevailing* sentiments ; and they are good if this prevalence is to be the test of worth. The mind that is otherwise affected by them, and hypocritically uses them in order to get hold of the uninitiated, that he may in time be made to cherish the contrary sentiments, cannot be a good mind, notwithstanding any pretensions it may make to the love of mankind.

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

proceedings of the Union is no exception. No pious fraud *whatever* must be used, and pure religion must be presented to the view without all disguise.

“ The more fair Virtue’s seen, the more she
“ charms.

“ Safe, plain, and easy, are her artless ways.

“ With face erect, her eyes look strait before ;

“ For dauntless is her march, her step secure.

“ Not so pale Fraud—now here she turns, now
“ there,

“ Still seeking darker shades, secure in none,

“ Looks often back, and wheeling round and
“ round,

“ Sinks headlong in the danger she would shun.”

The mean motive of the Protestant Sceptic is as inconsistent with our notions of honesty as with our notions of honour ; and our suspicions are justly raised of the character of Dr. Bahrdt and his associates, even although we do not suppose that their aim is the total abolishing of religion. With propriety therefore may we make some enquiry about their lives and conduct. Fortunately this is easy in the present instance. A man that has turned every eye upon himself can hardly escape observation. But it is not so easy to get fair information. The peculiar situation of Dr. Bahrdt, and the cause between him

and the public, are of all others the most productive of mistake, misrepresentation, obloquy, and injustice. But even here we are fortunate. Many remarkable parts of his life are established by the most respectable testimony, or by judicial evidences; and, to take all sure, he has written his own life. I shall insert nothing here that is not made out by the two last modes of proof, resting nothing on the first, however respectable the evidence may be. But I must observe, that his life was also written by his dear friend Pott, the partner of Walther the bookseller. The story of this publication is curious, and it is instructive.

Bahrdrf was in prison, and in great poverty. He intended to write his own life, to be printed by Walther, under a fictitious name, and in this work he intended to indulge his spleen and his dislike of all those who had offended him, and in particular all priests, and rulers, and judges, who had given him so much trouble. He knew that the strange, and many of them scandalous anecdotes, with which he had so liberally interlarded many of his former publications, would set curiosity on tiptoe, and would procure a rapid sale as soon as the public should guess that it was his own performance, by the singular but significant name which the pretended author would assume. He had almost agreed with Walther for a thousand dahlers, (about £. 200), when
he

he was imprisoned for being the author of the farce so often named, and of the commentary on the *Religion Edict*, written by Pott, and for the proceedings of the German Union. He was refused the use of pen and ink. He then applied to Pott, and found means to correspond with him, and to give him part of his life already written, and materials for the rest, consisting of stories, and anecdotes, and correspondence. Pott sent him several sheets, with which he was so pleased, that they concluded a bargain. Bahrdt says, that Pott was to have 400 copies, and that the rest was to go to the maintenance of Bahrdt and his family, consisting of his wife, daughter, a Christina and her children who lived with them, &c. Pott gives a different account, and the truth was different from both, but of little consequence to us. Bahrdt's papers had been seized, and searched for evidence of his transactions, but the strictest attention was paid to the precise points of the charge, and no paper was abstracted which did not relate to these. All others were kept in a sealed room. Pott procured the removal of the seals, and got possession of them. Bahrdt says that his wife and daughter came to him in prison, almost starving, and told him that now that the room was opened, Pott had made an offer to write for their support, if he had the use of these papers—that this was the conclusion

conclusion of the bargain, and that Pott took away all the papers. N.B. Pott was the associate of Walther, who had great confidence in him (*Anecdotenbuch für meinen lieben Amtsbrüder*, p. 400.) and had conducted the business of Stark's book, as has been already mentioned. No man was better known to Bahrdt, for they had long acted together as chief hands in the Union. He would therefore write the life of its founder *con amore*, and it might be expected to be a rare and tickling performance. And indeed it was. The first part of it only was published at this time; and the narration reaches from the birth of the hero till his leaving Leipzig in 1768. The attention is kept fully awake, but the emotions which successively occupy the mind of the reader, are nothing but strong degrees of aversion, disgust, and horror. The figure set up to view is a monster, a man of talents indeed, and capable of great things; but lost to truth, to virtue, and even to the affectation of common decency.—In short, a shameless profligate. —Poor Bahrdt was astonished,—stared—but, having his wits about him, saw that this life would sell, and would also sell another. Without loss of time, he said that he would hold Pott to his bargain—but he reckoned without his host. “No, no,” said Pott, “you are not the
“man I took you for—your correspondence was
“put

“ put into my hands—I saw that you had de-
 “ ceived me, and it was my duty, as a man
 “ *who loves truth above all things*, to hinder you
 “ from deceiving the world. I have not writ-
 “ ten the book you desired me. I did not work
 “ for you, but for myself—therefore you get
 “ not a groschen.” “Why, Sir,” said Bahrdt,
 “ we both know that this won’t do. You and
 “ I have already tried it. You received Stark’s
 “ manuscript, to be printed by Walther—Wal-
 “ ther and you sent it hither to Michaelis, that I
 “ might see it during the printing. I wrote an
 “ illustration and a key, which made the fellow
 “ very ridiculous, and they were printed toge-
 “ ther, with one title page.—You know that we
 “ were cast in court.—Walther was obliged to
 “ print the work as Stark first ordered, and we
 “ lost all our labour.—So shall you now, for I
 “ will commence an action this instant, and let
 “ me see with what face you will defend your-
 “ self, within a few weeks of your last appear-
 “ ance in court.” Pott said, “ You may try
 “ this. My work is already sold, and dispersed
 “ over all Germany—and I have no objection to
 “ begin yours to-morrow—believe me, it will
 “ sell.” Bahrdt pondered—and resolved to write
 one himself.

This is another specimen of the *Union*.

DR.

DR. CARL FRIEDRICH BAHRDT was born in 1741. His father was then a parish minister, and afterwards Professor of Theology at Leipzig, where he died in 1775. The youth, when at College, enlisted in the Prussian service as a hussar, but was bought off by his father. He was M. A. in 1761. He became catechist in his father's church, was a popular preacher, and published sermons in 1765, and some controversial writings, which did him honour—But he then began to indulge in conviviality, and in anonymous pasquinades, uncommonly bitter and offensive. No person was safe—Professors—Magistrates—Clergymen—had his chief notice—also students—and even comrades and friends. (Bahrtdt says, that these things might cut to the quick, but they were all just.) Unluckily his temperament was what the atomical philosophers (who can explain every thing by æthers and vibrations) call sanguine. He *therefore* (his own word) was a passionate admirer of the ladies. Coming home from supper he frequently met a young Miss in the way to his lodgings, neatly dressed in a rose-coloured silk jacket and train, and a sable bonnet, costly, and like a lady. One evening, (after some old Rhenish, as he says,) he saw the lady home. Some time after, the mistress of the house, Madam Godschusky, came into his room, and said that the poor maiden was pregnant.

pregnant. He could not help that—but it was very unfortunate, and would ruin him if known.—He therefore gave the old lady a bond for 200 dahlers, to be paid by instalments of twenty-five.——“The girl was sensible, and good, and as he “had already paid for it, and her conversation “was agreeable, he did not discontinue his acquaintance.” A comrade one day told him, that one Bel, a magistrate, whom he had lampooned, knew the affair, and would bring it into court, unless he immediately retired the bond. This bond was the only evidence, but it was enough. Neither Bahrdt nor his friend could raise the money. But they fell on another contrivance. They got Madam Godschusky to meet them at another house, in order to receive the money. Bahrdt was in a closet, and his comrade wore a sword. The woman could not be prevailed on to produce the bond till Bahrdt should arrive, and the money be put into her hands, with a present to herself. The comrade tried to flutter her, and, drawing his sword, shewed her how men fenced—made passes at the wall—and then at her—but she was too firm—he then threw away his sword, and began to try to force the paper from her. She defended herself a good while, but at length he got the paper out of her pocket, tore it in pieces, opened
the

the closet door, and said, "There you b—, "there is the honourable fellow whom you and "your wh— have bullied—but it is with me "you have to do now, and you know that I can "bring you to the gallows." There was a great squabble to be sure, says B. but it ended, and I thought all was now over.—But Mr. Bel had got word of it, and brought it into court the very day that Bahrtdt was to have made some very reverend appearance at church—In short, after many attempts of his poor father to save him, he was obliged to send in his gown and band, and to quit the place. It was some comfort, however, that Madam Godschusky and the young Miss did not fare much better. They were both imprisoned. Madam G. died some time after of some shocking disease. The court-records give a very different account of the whole, and particularly of the scuffle; but Bahrtdt's story is enough.

Bahrtdt says, that his father was severe—but acknowledges that his own temperament was hasty, (why does not his father's temperament excuse something? *Vibratuncule* will explain every thing or nothing.) "Therefore (again) I sometimes "forgot myself.—One day I laid a loaded pistol "on the table, and told him that he should meet "with that if he went on so. But I was only "seventeen."

Dr.

Dr. Bahrdt was, of course, obliged to leave the place. His friends, and Semler in particular, an eminent theological writer, who had formed a very favourable opinion of his uncommon talents, were assiduous in their endeavours to get an establishment for him. But his high opinion of himself, his temper, impetuous, precipitant, and overbearing, and a bitter satirical habit which he had freely indulged in his outset of life, made their endeavours very ineffectual.

At last he got a professorship at Erlangen, then at Erfurth, and in 1771, at Gießen. But in all these places he was no sooner settled than he got into disputes with his colleagues and with the established church, being a strenuous partizan of the innovations which were attempted to be made in the doctrines of Christianity. In his anonymous publications, he did not trust to rational discussion alone, but had recourse to ridicule and personal anecdotes, and indulged in the most cutting farcisms and gross scurrility. —Being fond of convivial company, his income was insufficient for the craving demand, and as soon as he found that anecdote and slander always procured readers, he never ceased writing. He had wonderful readiness and activity, and spared neither friends nor foes in his anonymous performances. But this could not last, and his avowed theological writings were such

such as could not be suffered in a Professor of Divinity. The very students at Gießen were shocked with some of his liberties. After much wrangling in the church judicatories he was just going to be dismissed, when he got an invitation to Marschlins in Switzerland to superintend an academy. He went thither about the year 1776, and formed the seminary after the model of Basedow's Philanthropine, or academy, at Dessau, of which I have already given some account. It had acquired some celebrity, and the plan was peculiarly suited to Bahrdt's taste, because it left him at liberty to introduce any system of religious or irreligious opinions that he pleased. He resolved to avail himself of this liberty, and though a clergyman and Doctor of Theology, he would outstrip even Basedow, who had no ecclesiastical orders to restrain him. But he wanted the moderation, the prudence, and the principle of Basedow. He had, by this time, formed his opinion of mankind, by meditating on the feelings of his own mind. His theory of human nature was simple—"The leading propensities, says he, of the human mind are three—Instinctive liberty (*Freyheitstriebe*)—instinctive activity (*Triebe für Thätigkeit*)—and instinctive love (*Liebes triebe*).” I do not wish to misunderstand him, but I can give no other translation.—“If a man is obstructed in the exercise

“ercise of any of these propensities, he suffers
 “an injury.—The business of a good education
 “therefore is to teach us how they are to be en-
 “joyed in the highest degree.”

We need not be surprised although the Doctor should find it difficult to manage the Cyclopaedia in his Philanthropine in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the neighbourhood, which was habituated to very different sentiments.—Accordingly he found his situation as uncomfortable ‘as at Gießen. He says, in one of his latest performances, “that the Grisons were a strong
 “instance of the immense importance of educa-
 “tion. They knew nothing but their handi-
 “crafts, and their minds were as coarse as their
 “persons.” He quarrelled with them all, and was obliged to abscond after lying some time in arrest.

He came to Durkheim or Turkheim, where his father was or had been minister. His literary talents were well known.—After some little time he got an association formed for erecting and supporting a Philanthropine or house of education. A large fund was collected, and he was enabled to travel into Holland and England, to engage pupils, and was furnished with proper recommendations.—On his return the plan was carried into execution. The castle or residence of Count Leining Hartzburgh at Heidesheim, having gardens,
 z park,

park, and every handsome accommodation, had been fitted up for it, and it was consecrated by a solemn religious festival in 1778.

But his old misfortunes pursued him. He had indeed no colleagues to quarrel with, but his avowed publications became every day more obnoxious—and when any of his anonymous pieces had a great run, he could not stifle his vanity and conceal the author's name.—Of these pieces, some were even shocking to decency.—It was indifferent to him whether it was friend or foe that he abused; and some of them were so horribly injurious to the characters of the most respectable men in the state, that he was continually under the correction of the courts of justice. There was hardly a man of letters that had ever been in his company who did not suffer by it. For his constant practice was to father every new step that he took towards Atheism on some other person; and, whenever the reader sees, in the beginning of a book, any person celebrated by the author for sound sense, profound judgment, accurate reason, or praised for acts of friendship and kindness to himself, he may be assured that, before the close of the book, this man will convince Dr. Bahrdt in some private conversation, that some doctrine, cherished and venerated by all Christians, is a piece of knavish superstition. So lost was Dr. Bahrdt to all sense of shame. He said

said that he held his own opinions independent of all mankind, and was indifferent about their praise or their reproach.

Bahr^{dt}'s licentious, very licentious life, was the cause of most of these enormities. No income could suffice, and he wrote for bread. The artful manner in which the literary manufacture of Germany was conducted, made it impossible to hinder the rapid dispersion of his writings over all Germany; and the indelicate and coarse maw of the public was as ravenous as the sensuality of Dr. Bahr^{dt}, who really battened in the Epicurean fly. The consequence of all this was that he was obliged to fly from Heidelberg, leaving his sureties in the *Philanthropine* to pay about 14,000 dahlers, besides debts without number to his friends. He was imprisoned at Dienheim, but was released I know not how, and settled at Halle. There he sunk to be a keeper of a tavern and billiard-table, and his house became the resort and the bane of the students in the University — He was obliged therefore to leave the city. He had somehow got funds which enabled him to buy a little vineyard, prettily situated in the neighbourhood. This he fitted up with every accommodation that could invite the students, and called it *Bahr^{dt}'s Ruhe*. We have already seen the occupations of Dr. B. in this *Euen Retiro* — Can we call it *otium*

rum dignitate? Alas, no! He had not lived two years here, bustling and toiling for the German Union, sometimes without a bit of bread—when he was sent to prison at Halle, and then to Magdeburg, where he was more than a year in jail. He was set at liberty, and returned to *Bahrds's Ruhe*, not, alas, to live at ease, but to lie down on a sickbed, where, after more than a year's suffering increasing pain, he died on the 23d of April 1793, the most wretched and loathsome victim of unbridled sensuality.

The account of his case is written by a friend, a Dr. Jung, who professes to defend his memory and his principles. The medical description melted my heart, and I am certain would make his bitterest enemy weep. Jung repeatedly says that the case was not venereal, calls it the vineyard disease—the quicksilver disease, (he was dying of an unconquerable salivation,)—and yet, through the whole of his narration, relates symptoms and sufferings, which, as a medical man, he could not possibly mean to be taken in any other sense than as effects of pox. He meant to please the enemies of poor Bahrds, knowing that such a man could have no friends, and being himself ignorant of what friendship or goodness is. The fate of this poor creature affected me more than any thing I have read of a great while. All his open enemies put together have not said so much ill
of

of him as his trusted friend Pott, and another confident, whose name I cannot recollect, who published in his lifetime an anonymous book called *Bahrdt with the iron brow*—and this fellow Jung, under the absurd mask of friendship, exhibited the loathsome carcass for a florin, like a malefactor's at Surgeons Hall. Such were the fruits of the German Union, of that Illumination that was to refine the heart of man, and bring to maturity the seeds of native virtue, which are choaked in the hearts of other men by superstition and despotism. We see nothing but mutual treachery and base desertion.

I do not concern myself with the gradual perversion of Dr. Bahrdt's moral and religious opinions. But he affected to be the enlightener and reformer of mankind; and affirmed, that all the mischiefs in life originated from despotism supported by superstition. "In vain," says he, "do we complain of the inefficacy of religion. All positive religion is founded on injustice. No Prince has a right to prescribe or sanction any such system. Nor would he do it, were not the priests the firmest pillars of his tyranny, and superstition the strongest fetters for his subjects. He dares not show Religion as she is, pure and undefiled—She would charm the eyes and the hearts of mankind, would immediately produce true morality, would open

“ the eyes of freeborn man, would teach him
 “ what are his rights, and who are his oppres-
 “ sors, and Princes would vanish from the face
 “ of the earth.”

Therefore, without troubling ourselves with the truth or falsehood of his religion of Nature, and assuming it as an indisputable point, that Dr. Bahrdt has seen it in this natural and so effective purity, it is surely a very pertinent question, “ Whether has the sight produced on his mind
 “ an effect so far superior to the acknowledged
 “ faintness of the impression of Christianity on
 “ the bulk of mankind, that it will be prudent
 “ to adopt the plan of the German Union, and
 “ at once put an end to the divisions which so un-
 “ fortunately alienate the minds of professing
 “ Christians from each other ?” The account here given of Dr. Bahrdt’s life seems to decide the question.

But it will be said that I have only related so many instances of the quarrels of Priests and their slavish adherents with Dr. Bahrdt. Let us view him in his ordinary conduct, not as the Champion and Martyr of Illumination, but as an ordinary citizen, a husband, a father, a friend, a teacher of youth, a clergyman.

When Dr. Bahrdt was a parish-minister, and president of some inferior ecclesiastical district, he was empowered to take off the censures of
 the

the church from a young woman who had born, a bastard child. By violence he again reduced her to the same condition, and escaped censure, by the poor girl's dying of a fever before her pregnancy was far advanced, or even legally documented. Also, on the night of the solemn farce of consecrating his Philanthropine, he debauched the maid-servant, who bore twins, and gave him up for the father. The thing, I presume, was not judicially proved, otherwise he would have surely been disgraced; but it was afterwards made evident, by the letters which were found by Pott, when he undertook to write his life. A series of these letters had passed between him and one Graf a steward, who was employed by him to give the woman the small pittance by which she and the infants were maintained. Remonstrances were made when the money was not advanced; and there are particularly letters about the end of 1779, which show that Bahrdt had ceased giving any thing. On the of February 1780, the infants (three years old) were taken away in the night, and were found exposed, the one at Ufstein, and the other at Worms, many miles distant from each other, and almost frozen, to death. The first was discovered by its moans, by a shoemaker in a field by the road-side, about six in the morning; the other was found by two girls between the hedges in a lane, set between two great

stones, past all crying. The poor mother travelled up and down the country in quest of her infants, and hearing these accounts, found them both, and took one of them home; but not being able to maintain both, when Bahrdt's commissioner refused contributing any more, it remained with the good woman who had taken it in *.

Bahrdt was married in 1772 while at Gießen; but after wasting the greatest part of his wife's little fortune left her by a former husband, he was provoked, by losing 1000 florins (about 110*l.*) in the hands of her brother who would not pay it up. After this he used her very ill, and speaks very contemptuously of her in his own account of his life, calling her a dowdy, jealous, and every thing contemptible. In two infamous novels, he exhibits characters, in which she is represented in a most cruel manner; yet this woman (perhaps during the honey-moon) was enticed by him one day into the bath, in the pond of the garden of the Philanthropine at Heidesheim, and there, in the sight of all the pupils, did he (also undressed) toy with his naked wife in the water. When at Halle, he used the poor woman extremely ill, keeping a mistress in the house,

* This is worse than Rousseau's conduct, who only sent his children to the Foundling hospital, that he might never know them again. (See his Confessions)

and

and giving her the whole command of the family, while the wife and daughter were confined to a separate part of it. When in prison at Magdeburgh, the strumpet lived with him, and bore him two children. He brought them all to his house when he was set at liberty. Such barbarous usage made the poor woman at last leave him and live with her brother. The daughter died about a year before him, of an overdose of laudanum given by her father, to procure sleep when ill of a fever. He ended his own wretched life in the same manner, unable, poor man, to bear his distress, without the smallest compunction or sorrow for his conduct; and the last thing he did was to send for a bookseller, (Vipink of Halle, who had published some of his vile pieces,) and recommend his strumpet and her children to his protection, without one thought of his injured wife.

I shall end my account of this profligate monster with a specimen of his way of using his friends.

“Of all the acquisitions which I made in Eng-
 “land, Mr. — (the name appears at full
 “length) was the most important. This person
 “was accomplished in the highest degree. With
 “sound judgment, great genius, and correct taste,
 “he was perfectly a man of the world. He was
 “my friend, and the only person who warmly in-
 “terested

“terested himself for my institution. To his warm
“and repeated recommendations I owe all the
“pupils I got in England, and many most re-
“spectable connections; for he was universally
“esteemed as a man of learning and of the most
“unblemished worth. He was my friend, my
“conductor, and I may say my preserver, for
“when I had not bread for two days, he took
“me to his house, and supplied all my wants.
“This gentleman was a clergyman, and had a
“small but genteel and selected congregation, a
“flock which required strong food. My friend
“preached to them pure natural religion, and
“was beloved by them. His sermons were ex-
“cellent, and delivered with native energy and
“grace, because they came from the heart. I
“had once the honour of preaching for him.
“But what a difference—I found myself afraid—
“I feared to speak too boldly, because I did not
“know where I was, and thought myself speak-
“ing to my crouching countrymen. But the
“liberty of England opens every heart, and
“makes it accessible to morality. I can give a
“very remarkable instance.

“The women of the town in London do not,
“to be sure, meet with my unqualified appro-
“bation in all respects. But it is impossible not to
“be struck with the propriety and decency of their
“manners, so unlike the clownish impudence of
“our

“ our German wh—. I could not distinguish
“ them from modest women, otherwise than by
“ their greater attention and eagerness to shew
“ me civility. My friend used to laugh at my
“ mistakes, and I could not believe him when he
“ told me that the lady who had kindly shewed
“ the way to me, a foreigner, was a votary of
“ Venus. He maintained that English liberty
“ naturally produced morality and kindness. I
“ still doubted, and he said that he would con-
“ vince me by my own experience. These girls
“ are to be seen in clouds every evening in every
“ quarter of the town. Although some of them
“ may not have even a shift, they come out in the
“ evening dressed like princesses, in hired clothes,
“ which are entrusted to them without any fear
“ of their making off with them. Their fine
“ shape, their beautiful skin, and dark brown
“ hair, their bosoms, so prettily set off by their
“ black silk dress, and above all, the gentle
“ sweetness of their manners, makes an impres-
“ sion in the highest degree favourable to them.
“ They civilly offer their arm, and say, “ My
“ dear, will you give me a glass of wine.” If you
“ give them no encouragement, they pass on, and
“ give no farther trouble. I went with my
“ friend to Covent Garden, and after admiring
“ the innumerable beauties we saw in the piazzas,
“ we gave our arm to three very agreeable girls,
“ and

“ and immediately turned into a temple of the
“ Cytherean Goddess, which is to be found at
“ every second door of the city, and were shown
“ into a parlour elegantly carpeted and furnished,
“ and lighted with wax, with every other accom-
“ modation at hand. My friend called for a
“ pint of wine, and this was all the expence, for
“ which we received so much civility. The con-
“ versation and other behaviour of the ladies
“ was agreeable in the highest degree, and *not*
“ *a word* passed that would have distinguished
“ them from nuns, or that was not in the highest
“ degree mannerly and elegant. We parted in
“ the street—and such is the liberty of England,
“ that my friend ran not the smallest risk of suf-
“ fering either in his honour or usefulness.—
“ Such is the effect of freedom.”

We may be sure, the poor man was astonished when he saw his name before the public as one of the enlighteners of Christian Europe. He is really a man of worth, and of the most irreproachable character, and knew that whatever might be the protection of British liberty, such conduct would ruin him with his own hearers, and in the minds of all his respectable countrymen. He therefore sent a vindication of his character from this slanderous abuse to the publishers of the principal newspapers and literary journals in Germany. The vindication is complete, and B. is convicted
of

of having related what he *could not possibly have seen*. It is worthy of remark, that the vindication did not appear in the *Berlin Monatsschrift*, nor in any of the Journals which make favourable mention of the performances of the Enlighteners.

“Think not, indignant reader,” says Arbuthnot, “that this man’s life is useless to mortals.” It shows in a strong light the falsity of all his declamations in favour of his so much praised natural religion and universal kindness and humanity. No man of the party writes with more persuasive energy, and, though his petulance and precipitant self-conceit lead him frequently astray, no man has occasionally put all the arguments of these philosophers in a clearer light; yet we see that all is false and hollow. He is a vile hypocrite, and the real aim of all his writings is to make money, by fostering the sensual propensities of human nature, although he sees and feels that the completion of the plan of the German Union would be an event more destructive and lamentable than any that can be pointed out in the annals of superstition. I will not say that all partisans of Illumination are hogs of the sty of Epicurus like this wretch. But the reader must acknowledge that, in the institution of Weishaupt, there is the same train of sensual indulgence laid along the whole, and that purity of heart and life is no part of the morality that is held forth as the perfection of human

human nature. The final abolition of Christianity is undoubtedly one of its objects—whether as an end of their efforts, or as a mean for the attainment of some end still more important. Purity of heart is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Christian morality. Of this Dr. Bahrdt seems to have had no conception; and his institution, as well as his writings, show him to have been a very coarse sensualist. But his taste, though coarse, accorded with what Weishaupt considered as a ruling propensity, by which he had the best chance of securing the fidelity of his subjects.—Craving desires, beyond the bounds of our means, were the natural consequences of indulgence—and since the purity of Christian morality stood in his way, his first care was to clear the road by rooting it out altogether—What can follow but general dissoluteness of manners?

Nothing can more distinctly prove the crooked politics of the Reformers than this. It may be considered as the mainspring of their whole machine. Their pupils were to be led by means of their sensual appetites, and the aim of their conductors was not to inform them, but merely to lead them; not to reform, but to rule the world.—They would reign, though in hell, rather than serve in heaven.—Dr. Bahrdt was a true Apostle of Illuminatism; and though his torch was made of the grossest materials, and “served only to discover

“sights of woe,” the horrid glare darted into every corner, rousing hundreds of filthy vermin, and directing their flight to the rotten carrion where they could best deposit their poison and their eggs; in the breasts, to wit, of the sensual and profligate, there to fester and burst forth in a new and filthy progeny; and it is astonishing what numbers were thus roused into action. The scheme of Reading Societies had taken prodigiously, and became a very profitable part of the literary trade of Germany. The booksellers and writers soon perceived its importance, and acted in concert.

I might fill a volume with extracts from the criticisms which were published on the *Religion Edict* so often mentioned already. The Leipzig catalogue for one year contained 173. Although it concerned the Prussian States alone, these appeared in every corner of Germany; nay, also in Holland, in Flanders, in Hungary, in Switzerland, in Courland, and in Livonia. This shows it to have been the operation of an Associated Band, as was intimated to the King with so much petulance by Mirabeau. There was (past all doubt) such a combination among the innumerable scribblers who supplied the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfurt. Mirabeau calls it a *Conjuration des Philosophes*, an expression very clear to himself, for the myriads of garreteers who have

have long fed the craving mouth of Paris ("always thirsting after some new thing") called themselves philosophers, and, like the gangs of St. Giles's, conversed with each other in a cant of their own, full of *morale*, of *energie*, of *bienveillance*, &c. &c. &c. unintelligible or misunderstood by other men, and used for the purpose of deceit. While Mirabeau lived too, they formed a *Conjuration*. The 14th of July 1790, the most solemn invocation of the Divine presence ever made on the face of this earth, put an end to the propriety of this appellation; for it became necessary (in the progress of political Illumination) to declare that oaths were nonsense, because the invoked was a creature of the imagination, and the grand federation, like Weisshaupt and Bahrdt's Masonic Christianity, is declared, to those initiated into the higher mysteries, to be a lie. But if we have no longer a *Conjuration des Philosophes*, we have a gang of scribblers that has got possession of the public mind by their management of the literary journals of Germany, and have made licentious sentiments in politics, in morals, and in religion, as familiar as were formerly the articles of ordinary news. All the sceptical writings of England put together will not make half the number that have appeared in Protestant Germany during the last twelve or fifteen years. And, in the Criticisms on the Edict, it is hard to say whether

whether infidelity 'or disloyalty fills the most pages.

To such a degree had the Illuminati carried this favourite and important point that they obtained the direction even of those whose office it was to prevent it. There is at Vienna, as at Berlin, an office for examining and licensing writings before they can have their course in the market. This office publishes annually an index of forbidden books. In this index are included the account of the last *Operations of Spartacus and Philo in the Order of Illuminati*, and a dissertation on *The Final Overthrow of Free Masonry*, a most excellent performance, showing the gradual corruption and final perversion of that society to a seminary of sedition. Also the *Vienna Magazine of Literature and Arts*, which contains many accounts of the interferences of the Illuminati in the disturbances of Europe. The Censor who occasioned this prohibition was an *Illuminatus*, named *Retzer*. He makes a most pitiful and Jesuitical defence, showing himself completely versant in all the chicane of the *Illuminati*, and devoted to their Infidel principles. (See *Rel. Begebenh.* 1795. p. 493.)

There are two performances which give us much information respecting the state of moral and political opinions in Germany about this time. One of them is called, *Proofs of a hidden Combination to destroy the Freedom of Thought and*

Writing in Germany. These proofs are general, taken from many concurring circumstances in the condition of German literature. They are convincing to a thinking mind, but are too abstracted to be very impressive on ordinary readers. The other is the *Appeal to my Country*, which I mentioned in page 84. This is much more striking, and, in each branch of literature, gives a progressive account of the changes of sentiment, all supported by the evidence of the books themselves. The author puts it past contradiction, that in every species of literary composition into which it was possible, without palpable absurdity, to introduce licentious or seditious principles, it was done. Many romances, novels, journeys through Germany and other countries*, are written on purpose to attach praise or reproach to certain sentiments, characters, and pieces of conduct. The Prince, the nobleman, is made despotic, oppressive, unfeeling, or ridiculous—the poor, and the men of talents, are unfortunate and neglected—and here and there a fictitious Graf or Baron is made a divinity, by philanthropy expressed in romantic charity and kindness, or ostentatious indifference for the little honours which

* A plan adopted within these few years in our own country, which, if prosecuted with the same industry with which it has been begun, will soon render our circulating Libraries so many Nurseries of Sedition and Impiety. (See *Travels into Germany* by Este.

are so precious in the eyes of a German.—In short, the system of Weishaupt and Knigge is carried into vigorous effect over all. In both these performances, and indeed in a vast number of other pieces, I see that the influence of Nicholai is much commented on, and considered as having had the chief hand in all those innovations.

Thus I think it clearly appears, that the suppression of the Illuminati in Bavaria and of the Union in Brandenburg, were insufficient for removing the evils which they had introduced. The Elector of Bavaria was obliged to issue another proclamation in November 1790, warning his subjects of their repeated machinations, and particularly enjoining the Magistrates to observe carefully the assemblies in the Reading Societies, which were multiplying in his States. A similar proclamation was made and repeated by the Regency of Hanover, and it was on this occasion that Mauvillon impudently avowed the most anarchical opinions.—But Weishaupt and his agents were still busy and successful. The habit of plotting had formed itself into a regular system. Societies now acted every where in secret, in correspondence with similar societies in distant places. And thus a mode of co-operation was furnished to the discontented, the restless, and the unprincipled in all places, without even the trouble of

formal initiations, and without any external appearances by which the existence and occupations of the members could be distinguished. The Hydra's teeth were already sown, and each grew up, independent of the rest, and soon sent out its own offsets.—In all places where such secret practices were going on, there did not fail to appear some individuals of more than common zeal and activity, who took the lead, each in his own circle. This gave a consistency and unity to the operations of the rest, and they, encouraged by this co-operation, could now attempt things which they would not have otherwise ventured on. It is not till this state of things obtains, that this influence becomes sensible to the public. Philo, in his public declaration, unwarily lets this appear. Speaking of the numerous little societies in which their principles were cultivated, he says, “we thus begin to be formidable.” It may now alarm—but it is now too late. The same germ is now sprouting in another place.

I must not forget to take notice that about this time (1787 or 1788), there appeared an invitation from a Baron or Prince S——, Governor of the Dutch fortrefs H——, before the troubles in Holland, to form a society *for the protection of Princes*.—The plan is expressed in very enigmatical terms, but such as plainly shew it to be
merely

merely an odd title, to catch the public eye; for the Association is of the same seditious kind with all those already spoken of, viz. professing to enlighten the minds of men, and making them imagine that all their hardships proceed from superstition, which subjects them to useless and crafty priests; and from their own indolence and want of patriotism, which make them submit to the mal-administration of ministers. The Sovereign is supposed to be innocent, but to be a cypher, and every magistrate, who is not chosen by the people actually under him, is held to be a despot, and is to be bound hand and foot.—Many circumstances concur to prove that the projector of this insidious plan is the Prince Salms, who so assiduously fomented all the disturbances in the Dutch and Austrian Netherlands. He had, before this time, taken into his service Zwack, the Cato of the Illuminati. The project had gone some length when it was discovered and suppressed by the States.

Zimmerman, who had been President of the Illuminati in Mannheim, was also a most active person in propagating their doctrines in other countries. He was employed as a missionary, and erected some Lodges even in Rome—also at Neufchatel—and in Hungary. He was frequently seen in the latter place by a gentleman of my acquaintance, and preached up all the ostensible

doctrines of Illuminatism in the most public manner, and made many profelytes. But when it was discovered that their real and fundamental doctrines were different from those which he professed in order to draw in profelytes, Zimmerman left the country in haste.—Some time after this he was arrested in Prussia for seditious harangues—but he escaped, and has*not been heard of since.—When he was in Hungary he boasted of having erected above an hundred Lodges in different parts of Europe, some of which were in England.

That the Illuminati and other hidden Cosmopolitical societies had some influence in bringing about the French Revolution, or at least in accelerating it, can hardly be doubted. In reading the secret correspondence, I was always surprised at not finding any Reports from France, and something like a hesitation about establishing a mission there; nor am I yet able thoroughly to account for it. But there is abundant evidence that they interfered, both in preparing for it in the same manner as in Germany, and in accelerating its progress. Some letters in the Brunswick Journal from one *Campe*, who was an inspector of the seminaries of education, a man of talents,

talents, and an *Illuminatus*, put it beyond doubt. He was residing in Paris during its first movements, and gives a minute account of them, lamenting their excesses, on account of their imprudence, and the risk of shocking the nation, and thus destroying the project, but justifying the motives, on the true principles of Cosmopolitism. The Vienna *Zeitschrift* and the Magazine of Literature and Fine Arts for 1790, and other pamphlets of that date, say the same thing in a clearer manner. I shall lay together some passages from such as I have met with, which I think will shew beyond all possibility of doubt that the Illuminati took an active part in the whole transaction, and may be said to have been its chief contrivers. I shall premise a few observations, which will give a clearer view of the matter.

CHAP. IV.

The French Revolution.

DURING these dissensions and discontents, and this general fermentation of the public mind in Germany, political occurrences in France gave exercise and full scope for the operation of that spirit of revolt which had long growled in secret in the different corners of that great empire. The Cosmo-political and sceptical opinions and sentiments so much cultivated in all the Lodges of the *Philalethes* had by this time been openly professed by many of the sages of France, and artfully interwoven with their statistical economics. The many contests between the King and the Parliament of Paris about the registration of his edicts, had given occasion to much discussion, and had made the public familiarly acquainted with topics altogether unsuitable to the absolute monarchy of France.

This

This acquaintance with the natural expectations of the subject, and the expediency of a candid attention on the part of Government to these expectations, and a view of Legislation and Government founded on a very liberal interpretation of all these things, was prodigiously promoted by the rash interference of France in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies. In this attempt to ruin Britain, even the court of France was obliged to preach the doctrines of Liberty, and to take its chance that Frenchmen would consent to be the only slaves. But their officers and soldiers who returned from America, imported the American principles, and in every company found hearers who listened with delight and regret to their fascinating tale of American independence. During the war, the Minister, who had too confidently pledged himself for the destruction of Britain, was obliged to allow the Parisians to amuse themselves with theatrical entertainments, where English law was represented as oppression, and every fretful extravagance of the Americans was applauded as a noble struggle for native freedom.—All wished for a taste of that liberty and equality which they were allowed to applaud on the stage : but as soon as they came from the theatre into the street, they found themselves under all their former restraints. The sweet charm

charm had found its way into their hearts, and all the luxuries of France became as dull as common life does to a fond girl when she lays down her novel.

In this irritable state of mind a spark was sufficient for kindling a flame. To import this dangerous delicacy of American growth, France had expended many millions, and was drowned in debts. The mad prodigality of the Royal Family and the Court had drained the treasury, and forestalled every livre of the revenue. The edicts for new taxes and forced loans were most unwelcome and oppressive.

The *Avocats au parlement* had nothing to do with state-affairs, being very little more than barristers in the highest court of justice; and the highest claim of the Presidents of this court was to be a sort of humble counsellors to the King in common matters. It was a very strange inconsistency in that ingenious nation to permit such people to touch on those state-subjects; for, in fact, the King of France was an absolute Monarch, and the subjects were slaves. This is the result of all their painful research, notwithstanding that glimmerings of natural justice and of freedom are to be met with in their records. There could not be found in their history so much as a tolerable account of the manner of calling

calling the nation together, to learn from the people how their chains would best please their fancy. But all this was against nature, and it was necessary that it should come to an end, the first time that the Monarch confessed that he could not do every thing unless they put the tools into his hands. As things were approaching gradually but rapidly to this condition, the impertinent interference (for so a Frenchman, subject of the Grand Monarch, *must* think it) of the advocates of the Parliament of Paris was popular in the highest degree ; and it must be confessed, that in general it was patriotic, however inconsistent with the constitution. They felt themselves pleading the cause of humanity and natural justice. This would embolden honest and worthy men to speak truth, however unwelcome to the court. In general, it must also be granted that they spoke with caution and with respect to the sovereign powers ; and they had frequently the pleasure of being the means of mitigating the burdens of the people. The Parliament of Paris, by this conduct, came to be looked up to as a sort of mediator between the King and his subjects ; and as the avocats saw this, they naturally rose in their own estimation far above the rank in which the constitution of their government had placed them. For it must always be kept in mind, that the robe was never considered as the dress of a Nobleman, although

although the cassock was. An advocate was merely not a roturier; and though we can hardly conceive a profession more truly honourable than the dispensing of distributive justice, nor any skill more congenial to a rational mind than that of the practical morality which we, in theory, consider as the light by which they are always conducted; and although even the artificial constitution of France had long been obliged to bow to the dictates of nature and humanity, and to confer nobility, and even title, on such of the professors of the municipal law as had, by their skill and their honourable character, risen to the first offices of their profession, yet the Noblesse de la Robe never could incorporate with the Noblesse du Sang, nor even with the Noblesse de l'Epée. The descendants of a Marquis de la Robe never could rise to certain dignities in the church and at court. The *avocats de parlement* felt this, and smarted under the exclusion from court-honours; and though they eagerly courted such nobility as they could attain, they seldom omitted any opportunity that occurred during their junior practice, of exposing the arrogance of the Noblesse, and the dominion of the court. This increased their popularity, and in the present situation of things, being certain of support, they went beyond their former cautious bounds, and introduced in their pleadings, and particularly in their joint remonstrances

frances, against the registration of edicts, all the wire-drawn morality, and cosmo-political jurisprudence, which they had so often rehearsed in the Lodges, and which had of late been openly preached by the economists and philosophers.

A signal was given to the nation for engaging "en masse" in political discussion. The *Notables* were called upon to come and advise the King; and the points were laid before them, in which his Majesty (infallible till now) acknowledged his ignorance or his doubts. But who were the *Notables*? Were they more knowing than the King, or less in need of instruction? The nation thought otherwise; nay, the court thought otherwise; for, in some of the royal proclamations on this occasion, men of letters were invited to assist with their counsels, and to give what information their reading and experience should suggest as to the best method of convoking the *States General*, and of conducting their deliberations. When a Minister thus solicits advice from all the world how to govern, he most assuredly declares his own incapacity, and tells the people that now they must govern themselves. This however was done, and the Minister, Neckar, the Philosopher and Philanthropist of Geneva, set the example, by sending in *his* opinion, to be laid on the council-table with the rest. On this signal, counsel poured in from every garret, and the press groaned

groaned with advice in every shape. Ponderous volumes were written for the Bishop or the Duke ; a handsome 8vo for the *Notable* Officer of eighteen ; pamphlets and single sheets for the loungers in the *Palais Royal*. The fermentation was astonishing ; but it was no more than should have been expected from the most cultivated, the most ingenious, and the least bashful nation on earth. All wrote, and all read. Not contented with bringing forth all the fruits which the Illumination of these bright days of reason had raised in such abundance in the conservatories of the *Philalethes*, and which had been gathered from the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Raynal, &c. the patriotic counsellors of the Notables had ransacked all the writings of former ages. They discovered THAT FRANCE HAD ALWAYS BEEN FREE ! One would have thought that they had travelled with Sir John Mandeville in that country where even the speeches of former times had been frozen, and were now thawing apace under the beams of the sun of Reason. For many of these essays were as incongruous and mal-à-propos as the broken sentences recorded by Mr. Addison in the *Spectator*. A gentleman who was in Paris at this time, a person of great judgment, and well informed in every thing respecting the constitution and present condition of his country, assured me that this invitation, followed by the memorial

memorial of Mr. Neckar, operated like an electrical shock. In the course of four or five days, the appearance of Paris was completely changed. Every where one saw crowds staring at papers pasted on the walls—breaking into little parties—walking up and down the streets in eager conversation—adjourning to coffee-houses—and the conversation in all companies turned to politics alone; and in all these conversations, a new vocabulary, where every second word was Morality, Philanthropy, Toleration, Freedom, and Equalisation of property. Even at this early period persons were listened to without censure, or even surprise, who said that it was nonsense to think of reforming their government, and that it must be completely changed. In short, in the course of a month, a spirit of licentiousness and a rage for innovation had completely pervaded the minds of the Parisians. The most conspicuous proof of this was the unexpected fate of the Parliament. It met earlier than usual, and to give greater eclat to its patriotic efforts, and completely to secure the gratitude of the people, it issued an arret on the present state of the nation, containing a number of resolutions on the different leading points of national liberty. A few months ago these would have been joyfully received as the Magna Charta of Freedom, and really contained all that a wise people should desire; but because the Parliament had

had some time before given it as their opinion as the constitutional counsel of the Crown, that the States should be convoked on the principles of their last meeting in 1614, which preserved the distinctions of rank, all their past services were forgotten—all their hard struggle with the former administration, and their unconquerable courage and perseverance, which ended only with their downfall, all were forgotten; and those distinguished members whose zeal and sufferings ranked them with the most renowned heroes and martyrs of patriotism, were now regarded as the contemptible tools of 'Aristocracy. The Parliament now set, in a fiery troubled sky,—to rise no more.

Of all the barristers in the Parliament of Paris, the most conspicuous for the display of the enchanting doctrines of Liberty and Equality was Mr. Duval, son of an Avocat in the same court, and ennobled about this time under the name of Desprésmesnil. He was member of a Lodge of the *Amis Reunis* at Paris, called the *Contract Social*, and of the Lodge of *Chevaliers Bienfaisants* at Lyons. His reputation as a barrister had been prodigiously increased about this time by his management of a cause, where the descendant of the unfortunate General Lally, after having obtained the restoration of the family-honours, was striving to get back some of the estates.

estates. Mr. Lally Tollendahl had even trained himself to the profession, and pleaded his own cause with astonishing abilities. But Desprésmenil had near connections with the family which was in possession of the estates, and opposed him with equal powers, and more address. He was on the side which was most agreeable to his favourite topics of declamation, and his pleadings attracted much notice both in Paris and in some of the provincial Parliaments. I mention these things with some interest, because this was the beginning of that marked rivalry between Lally Tollendahl and Desprésmenil, which made such a figure in the journals of the National Assembly. It ended fatally for both. Lally Tollendahl was obliged to quit the Assembly, when he saw it determined on the destruction of the monarchy and of all civil order, and at last to emigrate from his country with the loss of all his property, and to subsist on the kindness of England. Desprésmenil attained his meridian of popularity by his discovery of the secret plan of the Court to establish the *Cour plénier*e, and ever after this took the lead in all the strong measures of the Parliament of Paris, which was now overstepping all bounds of moderation or propriety, in hopes of preserving its influence after it had rendered itself impotent by an unguarded stroke. Desprésmenil was the first martyr of that Liberty

and Equality which it was now boldly preaching, having voluntarily surrendered himself a prisoner to the officer sent to demand him from the Parliament. He was also a martyr to any thing that remained of the very shadow of liberty after the Revolution, being guillotined by Robespierre.

I have already mentioned the intrigues of Count Mirabeau at the Court of Berlin, and his seditious preface and notes on the anonymous letters on the Rights of the Prussian States. He also, while at Berlin, published an *Essai sur la Secte des Illuminés*, one of the strangest and most impudent performances that ever appeared. He there describes a sect existing in Germany, called the *Illuminated*, and says, that they are the most absurd and gross fanatics imaginable, waging war with every appearance of Reason, and maintaining the most ridiculous superstitions. He gives some account of these, and of their rituals, ceremonies, &c. as if he had seen them all. His sect is a confused mixture of Christian superstitions, Rosycrucian nonsense, and every thing that can raise contempt and hatred. But no such Society ever existed, and Mirabeau confided in his own powers of deception, in order to screen from observation those who were known to be Illuminati, and to hinder the rulers from attending to their real machinations, by means of this

Ignis

Ignis fatuus of his own brain. He knew perfectly that the Illuminati were of a stamp diametrically opposite: for he was illuminated by Mauvillon long before.—He gained his point in some measure, for Nicholai and others of the junto immediately adopted the whim, and called them *Obscuranten*, and joined with Mirabeau in placing on the list of *Obscuranten* several persons whom they wished to make ridiculous.

Mirabeau was not more discontented with the Court of Berlin for the small regard it had testified for his eminent talents, than he was with his own Court, or rather with the minister Calonne, who had sent him thither. Calonne had been greatly dissatisfied with his conduct at Berlin, where his self-conceit, and his private projects, had made him act in a way almost contrary to the purposes of his mission. Mirabeau was therefore in a rage at the minister, and published a pamphlet, in which his celebrated memorial on the state of the nation, and the means of relieving it, was treated with the utmost severity of reproach; and in this contest his mind was wrought up to that violent pitch of opposition which he ever after maintained. To be noticed, and to lead, were his sole objects—and he found that taking the side of the discontented was the best field for his eloquence and restless ambition.—Yet there was no man that was more

devoted to the principles of a court than Count Mirabeau, provided he had a share in the administration; and he would have obtained it, if any thing moderate would have satisfied him—but he thought nothing worthy of him but a place of active trust, and a high department. For such offices all knew him to be totally unfit. He wanted knowledge of great things, and was learned only in the bustling detail of intrigue, and at any time would sacrifice every thing to have an opportunity of exercising his brilliant eloquence, and indulging his passion for satire and reproach.—The greatest obstacle to his advancement was the abject worthlessness of his character. What we usually call profligacy, viz, debauchery, gaming, impiety, and every kind of sensuality, were not enough—he was destitute of decency in his vices—tricks which would disgrace a thiefcatcher, were never boggled at in order to supply his expences.—For instance—His father and mother had a process of separation—Mirabeau had just been liberated from prison for a gross misdemeanour, and was in want of money—He went to his father, sided with him in invectives against his mother, and, for 100 guineas, wrote his father's memorial for the court.—He then went to his mother, and by a similar conduct got the same sum from her,—and both memorials were presented. Drink-
ing

ing was the only vice in which he did not indulge—his exhausted constitution did not permit it. His brother the Viscount, on the contrary, was apt to exceed in jollity. One day the Count said to him, “How can you, Brother, so expose yourself?”—“What!” says the Viscount, “how insatiable you are—Nature has given you every vice, and having left me only this one, you grudge it me.”—When the elections were making for the States-General, he offered himself a candidate in his own order at Aix—But he was so abhorred by the Noblesse, that they not only rejected him, but even drove him from their meetings. This affront settled his measures, and he determined on their ruin. He went to the Commons, disclaimed his being a gentleman, set up a little shop in the market-place of Aix, and sold trifles—and now, fully resolved what line he should pursue, he courted the Commons, by joining in all their excesses against the Noblesse, and was at last returned a member of the Assembly.

From this account of Mirabeau we can easily foretel the use he would make of the Illumination which he had received in Germany. Its grand truths and just morality seem to have had the same effects on his mind as on that of Weismaupt or Bahrdt.

In the year 1786, Mirabeau, in conjunction with the Duke de Lauzun and the Abbé Perigord,

afterwards Bishop of Autun, (the man so puffed in the National Assemblies as the brightest pattern of humanity), reformed a Lodge of Philalethes in Paris, which met in the Jacobin College or Convent. It was one of the *Amis Reunis*, which had now rid itself of all the insignificant mysticism of the sect. This was now become troublesome, and took up the time which would be much better employed by the *Chevaliers du Soleil*, and other still more refined champions of reason and universal citizenship. Mirabeau had imparted to it some of that Illumination which had beamed upon him when he was in Berlin. In 1788 he and the Abbé were Wardens of the Lodge. They found that they had not acquired all the dexterity of management that he understood was practised by his Brethren in Germany, for keeping up their connection, and conducting their correspondence. A letter was therefore sent from this Lodge, signed by these two gentlemen, to the Brethren in Germany, requesting their assistance and instruction. In the course of this year, and during the sitting of the Notables, A DEPUTATION WAS SENT from the German Illuminati to catch this glorious opportunity of carrying their plan into full execution with the greatest eclat.

Nothing can more convincingly demonstrate the early intentions of a party, and this a great party, in France to overturn the constitution completely,

pletely, and plant a democracy or oligarchy on its ruins. The Illuminati had no other object. They accounted all Princes usurpers and tyrants, and all privileged orders as their abettors. They intended to establish a government of Morality, as they called it, (*Sittenregiment*), where talents and character (to be estimated by their own scale, and by themselves) should alone lead to preferment. They meant to abolish the laws which protected property accumulated by long continued and successful industry, and to prevent for the future any such accumulation. They intended to establish universal Liberty and Equality, the imprescriptible Rights of Man, (at least they pretended all this to those who were neither Magi nor Regentes). And, as necessary preparations for all this, they intended to root out all religion and ordinary morality, and even to break the bonds of domestic life, by destroying the veneration for marriage-vows, and by taking the education of children out of the hands of the parents. *This was all that the Illuminati could teach,* and THIS WAS PRECISELY WHAT FRANCE HAS DONE.

I cannot proceed in the narration without defiling the page with the detested name of *Orleans*, stained with every thing that can degrade or disgrace human nature. He only wanted Illumination, to shew him in a system all the opinions, dis-

positions, and principles which filled his own wicked heart. This contemptible being was illuminated by Mirabeau, and has shown himself the most zealous disciple of the Order. In his oath of allegiance he declares, "That the interests and
 " the object of the Order shall be rated by him
 " above all other relations, and that he will serve
 " it with his honour, his fortune, and his blood."
 —He has kept his word, and has sacrificed them all—And he has been treated in the true spirit of the Order—used as a mere tool, cheated and ruined.—For I must now add, that the French borrowed from the Illuminati a maxim, unheard of in any other association of banditti, viz. that of cheating each other. As the managers had the sole possession of the higher mysteries, and led the rest by principles which they held to be false, and which they employed only for the purpose of securing the co-operation of the inferior Brethren, so Mirabeau, Sieyes, Pethion, and others, led the Duke of Orleans at first by his wicked ambition, and the expectation of obtaining that crown which they intended to break in pieces, that they might get the use of his immense fortune, and of his influence on the thousands of his depending sycophants, who ate his bread and pandered to his gross appetites. Although we very soon find him acting as an *Illuminatus*, we cannot suppose him so lost to common sense as to contribute his fortune, and
 risk

risk his life, merely in order that the one should be afterwards taken from him by law, and the other put on a level with that of his groom or his pimp. He surely hoped to obtain the crown of his indolent relation. And indeed Mirabeau said to Bergasse, that "when the project was mentioned to the Duke of Orleans, he received it with all possible graciousness," (*avec toute la grace imaginable*). During the contests between the Court and the Parliament of Paris, he courted popularity with an indecency and folly that nothing can explain but a mad and fiery ambition, which blinded his eyes to all consequences. This is put out of doubt by his behaviour at Versailles on the dreadful 5th and 6th of October 1789. The depositions at the Chatelet prove in the most incontestible manner, that during the horrors of those two days he was repeatedly seen, and that whenever he was recognised by the croud, he was huzzaed with *Vive Orleans, Vive notre Roi Orleans, &c.* — He then withdrew, and was seen in other places. While all about the unfortunate Royal Family were in the utmost concern for their fate, he was in gay humour, chatting on indifferent subjects. His last appearance in the evening of the 5th was, about nine o'clock, conversing in a corner with men disguised in mean dress, and some in women's clothes; among whom were Mirabeau, Barnave, Duport, and other deputies of the Republican

publican party—and these men were seen immediately after, concealed among the lines of the *Regiment de Flandre*, the corruption of which they had that day completed. He was seen again next morning conversing with the same persons in women's dress. And when the insulted Sovereign was dragged in triumph to Paris, Orleans was again seen, skulking in a balcony behind his children, to view the procession of devils and furies; anxiously hoping all the while that some disturbance would arise in which the King might perish. — I should have added that he was seen in the morning at the top of the stairs, pointing the way with his hand to the mob, where they should go, while he went by another road to the King. In short he went about trembling like a coward, waiting for the explosion which might render it safe for him to shew himself. Mirabeau said of him, “The fellow carries a loaded pistol in his bosom, but will never dare to pull the trigger.” He was saved, notwithstanding his own folly, by being joined in the accusation with Mirabeau, who could not rescue himself without striving also for Orleans, whom he despised, while he made use of his fortune.—In short, Orleans was but half illuminated at this time, and hoped to be King or Regent.

Yet he was deeply versed in the preparatory lessons of Illuminatism, and well convinced of its fundamental truths. He was well assured of the
great

great influence of the women in society, and he employed this influence like a true disciple of Weishaupt. Above three hundred nymphs from the purlieus of the Palais Royal were provided with ecus and Louis d'ors, by his grand procureur the Abbé Sieyes, and were sent to meet and to illuminate the two battalions of the *Regiment de Flandre*, who were coming to Versailles for the protection of the Royal Family. The privates of one of these regiments came and informed their officers of this attempt made on their loyalty.—45,000 l. livres were given them at St. Denys, to make them disband themselves—and the poor lads were at first dazzled by the name of a sum that was not familiar to them—but when some thinking head among them told them that it only amounted to two Louis d'ors a piece, they disclosed the bribery. They were then offered 90,000, but never saw it. (Depositions at the Chatelet, N° 317.) Mademoiselle Therouane, the *favorita* of the day at the Palais Royal, was the most active person of the armed mob from Paris, dressed *en Amazonne*, with all the elegance of the opera, and turned many young heads that day which were afterwards taken off by the guillotine. The Duke of Orleans acknowledged, before his death, that he had expended above 50,000 l. sterling in corrupting the *Gardes Françaises*. The armed mob which came from Paris to Versailles on the 5th of October,

ber, importuning the King for bread, had their pockets filled with crown-pieces; and Orleans was seen on that day by two gentlemen, with a bag of money so heavy that it was fastened to his clothes with a strap, to hinder it from being oppressive, and to keep it in such a position that it should be accessible in an instant. (See the Depositions at the Chatelet, N° 177.)

But such was the contempt into which his gross profligacy, his cowardice, and his niggardly disposition, had brought him with all parties, that, if he had not been quite blinded by his wicked ambition, and by his implacable resentment of some bitter taunts he had gotten from the King and Queen, he must have seen very early that he was to be sacrificed as soon as he had served the purposes of the faction. At present, his assistance was of the utmost consequence. His immense fortune, much above three millions sterling, was almost exhausted during the three first years of the Revolution. But (what was of more consequence) he had almost unbounded authority among the Free Masons.

In this country we have no conception of the authority of a National Grand Master. When Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by great exertions among the jarring sects in Germany, had got himself elected Grand Master of the *Streit Obserwanz*, it gave serious alarm to the Emperor,
and

and to all the Princes of Germany, and contributed greatly to their connivance at the attempts of the *Illuminati* to discredit that party. In the great cities of Germany, the inhabitants paid more respect to the Grand Master of the Masons than to their respective Princes. The authority of the D. of Orleans in France was still greater, in consequence of his employing his fortune to support it. About eight years before the Revolution he had (not without much intrigue and many bribes and promises) been elected Grand Master of France, having under his directions all the *Improved* Lodges. The whole Association was called the *Grand Orient de la France*, and in 1785 contained 266 of these Lodges; (see *Freymaurerische Zeitung*, Newwied 1787.) Thus he had the management of all those Secret Societies; and the licentious and irreligious sentiments which were currently preached there, were sure of his hearty concurrence. The same intrigue which procured him the supreme chair, must have filled the Lodges with his dependents and emissaries, and these men could not better earn their pay, than by doing their utmost to propagate infidelity, immorality, and impurity of manners.

But something more was wanted: Disrespect for the higher Orders of the State, and disloyalty to the Sovereign.—It is not so easy to conceive

how these sentiments, and particularly the latter, could meet with toleration and even encouragement; in a nation noted for its professions of veneration for its Monarch, and for the pride of its Noblesse. Yet I am certain that such doctrines were habitually preached in the Lodges of *Philalethes*, and *Amis Reunis de la Verité*. That they should be very current in Lodges of low-born Literati, and other Brethren in inferior stations, is natural, and I have already said enough on this head. But the French Lodges contained many gentlemen in easy, in affluent circumstances. I do not expect such confidence in my assertions, that even in these the same opinions were very prevalent. I was therefore much pleased with a piece of information which I got while these sheets were printing off, which corroborates my assertions.

This is a performance called *La voile retirée, ou le Secret de la Revolution expliqué par la Franc-Maçonnerie*. It was written by a Mr. Lefranc, President of the Seminary of the *Eudists* at Caen in Normandy, and a second edition was published at Paris in 1792. The author was butchered in the massacre of September. He says, that on the death of a friend, who had been a very zealous Mason, and many years Master of a respectable Lodge, he found among his papers a collection of Masonic writings, containing the rituals, catechisms,

catechisms, and symbols of every kind, belonging to a long train of degrees of Free Masonry, together with many discourses delivered in different Lodges, and minutes of their proceedings. The perusal filled him with astonishment and anxiety. For he found that doctrines were taught, and maxims of conduct were inculcated, which were subversive of religion and of all good order in ~~the state~~; and which not only countenanced disloyalty and sedition, but even invited to it. He thought them so dangerous to the state, that he sent an account of them to the Archbishop of Paris long before the Revolution, and always hoped that that Reverend Prelate would represent the matter to his Majesty's Ministers, and that they would put an end to the meetings of this dangerous Society, or would at least restrain them from such excesses. But he was disappointed, and therefore thought it his duty to lay them before the public *.

Mr.

* This remissness of those about the throne is wonderful. Barruel says, that a Nobleman, who had been disgusted with what he saw in the Lodges, reported it to the Minister, saying that this was his duty, though it might probably lodge him in the Bastille. The Minister turned on his heel, and said with a smile "Be easy—you shall not go to the Bastille—nor will the Free Masons disturb the state." — It appears, however, that the too confident Monarch had been informed of those dangerous

Mr. Lefranc says expressly, that this shocking perversion of Free Masonry to seditious purposes was, in a great measure, but a late thing, and was chiefly brought about by the agents of the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans. He was, however, of opinion that the whole Masonic Fraternity was hostile to Christianity and to good morals, and that it was the contrivance of the great schismatic Faustus Socinus, who, being terrified by the fate of Servetus at Geneva, fell on this method of promulgating his doctrines among the great in secret. This opinion is but ill supported, and is incomparable with many circumstances in Free Masonry—But it is out of our way at present. Mr. Lefranc then takes particular notice of the many degrees of Chivalry cultivated in the Lodges, and shows how, by artful changes in the successive explanations of the same symbols, the doctrines of Christianity, and of all revealed Religion, are completely exploded, and the *Philosophe Inconnu* becomes at last a professed Atheist.—He then takes notice

dangerous proceedings.—But he did not know the change which had been produced in the minds of his subjects till his return from Varennes. Then he said to a person in his confidence “How came I not to believe all this—I was informed of it all eleven years ago (1781) why did not I believe it?”

of

of the political doctrines which are in like manner gradually unfolded, by which "patriotism" and loyalty to the Prince are declared to be "narrow principles, inconsistent with universal benevolence, and with the native and imprescriptible rights of man, civil subordination is actual oppression, and Princes are *ex officio* usurpers and tyrants." These principles he fairly deduces from the Catechisms of the *Chevalier du Soleil*, and of the *Philosophe Inconnu*. He then proceeds to notice more particularly the intrigues of the Duke of Orleans. From these it appears evident that his ambitious views and hopes had been of long standing, and that it was entirely by his support and encouragement that seditious doctrines were permitted in the Lodges. Many noblemen and gentlemen were disgusted and left these Lodges, and advantage was taken of their absence to *improve* the Lodges still more, that is, to make them still more anarchical and seditious. Numbers of paltry scribblers who haunted the Palace Royal, were admitted into the Lodges, and there vented their poisonous doctrines. The Duke turned his chief attention to the French guards, introducing many of the privates and inferior officers into the obscure and even the more respectable Lodges, so that the officers were frequently disgusted in the Lodges by the insolent behaviour of their own soldiers, under

the mask of Masonic Brotherhood and Equality—and this behaviour became not unfrequent even out of doors. He asserts with great confidence that the troops were much corrupted by these intrigues—and that when they sometimes declared, on service, that they would not fire *on their Brethren*, the phrase had a particular reference to their Masonic Fraternity, because they recognised many of their Brother Masons in every crowd.—And the corruption was by no means confined to Paris and its neighbourhood, but extended to every place in the Kingdom where there was a Municipality and a Mason Lodge.

Mr. Lefranc then turns our attention to many peculiarities in the Revolution, which have a resemblance to the practices in Free Masonry. Not only was the arch rebel the Duke of Orleans the Grand Master, but the chief actors in the Revolution, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, and others, were distinguished office-bearers in the great Lodges. He says that the distribution of France into departments, districts, circles, cantons, &c. is perfectly similar, with the same denominations, to a distribution which he had remarked in the correspondence of the Grand Orient*.—The

* I cannot help observing, that it is perfectly similar to the arrangement and denominations which appear in the secret correspondence of the Bavarian Illuminati.

President's hat in the National Assembly is copied from that of a *Ties Venerable Grand Maître*.—The scarf of a municipal Officer is the same with that of a Brother Apprentice.—When the Assembly celebrated the Revolution in the Cathedral, they accepted of the highest honours of Masonry by passing under the *Arch of Steel*, formed by the drawn swords of two ranks of Brethren.—Also it is worthy of remark, that the National Assembly protected the meetings of Free Masons, while it peremptorily prohibited every other private meeting. The obligation of laying aside all stars, ribbands, crosses, and other honourable distinctions under the pretext of Fraternal Equality, was not merely a prelude, but was intended as a preparation for the destruction of all civil distinctions, which took place almost at the beginning of the Revolution,—and the first proposal of a surrender, says Mr Lefranc, *was made by a zealous Mason*.—He farther observes, that the horrible and sanguinary oaths, the daggers, death-heads, cross-bones, the imaginary combats with the murderers of Hiram, and many other gloomy ceremonies, have a natural tendency to harden the heart, to remove its natural disgust at deeds of horror, and have paved the way for those shocking barbarities which have made the name of Frenchman abhorred over all Europe. These deeds were indeed perpetrated by a mob of fanatics; but the

principles were promulgated and fostered by persons who style themselves philosophers.

I see more evidence of these important facts in another book just published by an emigrant gentleman (Mr. Latocnaye). He confirms my repeated assertions, that all the irreligious and seditious doctrines were the subjects of perpetual harangues in the Mason Lodges, and that all the principles of the Revolution, by which the public mind was as it were set on fire, were nothing but enthusiastic amplifications of the common-place cant of Free Masonry, and arose naturally out of it. He even thinks "that this
 " *must of necessity* be the case in every country
 " where the minds of the lower classes of the
 " State are in any way considerably fretted
 " or irritated; it is almost impossible to avoid
 " being drawn into this vortex, whenever a
 " discontented mind enters into a Mason Lodge
 " The stale story of brotherly love, which at
 " another time would only lull the hearer asleep,
 " now makes him prick up his ears, and listen
 " with avidity to the silly tale, and he cannot
 " hinder fretting thoughts from continually
 " rankling in his mind."

Mr. Latocnaye says expressly, "That notwithstanding the general contempt of the public for
 " the Duke of Orleans, his authority as Grand
 " Master of the Masons gave him the greatest
 " opportunity

“ opportunity that a seditious mind could desire
 “ for helping forward the Revolution. He had
 “ ready to his hand a connected system of hid-
 “ den Societies, protected by the State, habitu-
 “ ated to secrecy and artifice, and already tinged
 “ with the very enthusiasm which he wished to
 “ inspire. In these he formed political commit-
 “ tees, into which only his agents were admit-
 “ ted. He filled the Lodges with the French
 “ guards, whom he corrupted with money and
 “ hopes of preferment, and by means of the
 “ Abbé Sieyès, and other emissaries, they were
 “ harangued with all the sophistical declamation
 “ or cant of Masonry.”

Mr Latocnaye says, that all this was peculiar to the Lodges of the Grand Orient; but that there were many (not very many, if we judge by the Neuvième almanac, which reckons only 289 in all France in 1784, of which 266 were of the Grand Orient) Lodges who continued on the old plan of amusing themselves with a little solemn trifling. He coincides with Mr. Lefranc in the opinion that the awful and gloomy rituals of Masonry, and particularly the severe trials of confidence and submission, must have a great tendency to harden the heart, and fit a man for atrocious actions. No one can doubt of this who reads the following instance :

“ A candidate for reception into one of the
 “ highest Orders, after having heard many threat-

“enings denounced against all who should
 “betray the Secrets of the Order, was con-
 “ducted to a place where he saw the dead bo-
 “dies of several who were said to have suffered
 “for their treachery. He then saw his own
 “brother tied hand and foot, begging his
 “mercy and intercession. He was informed
 “that this person was about to suffer the pu-
 “nishment due to this offence, and that it was
 “reserved for him (the candidate) to be the in-
 “strument of this just vengeance, and that this
 “gave him an opportunity of manifesting that
 “he was completely devoted to the Order. It
 “being observed that his countenance gave signs
 “of inward horror, (the person in bonds im-
 “ploring his mercy all the while) he was told,
 “that in order to spare his feelings, a bandage
 “should be put over his eyes. A dagger was
 “then put into his right hand, and being hood-
 “winked, his left hand was laid on the palpitat-
 “ing heart of the criminal, and he was then or-
 “dered to strike. He instantly obeyed; and
 “when the bandage was taken from his eyes, he
 “saw that it was a lamb that he had stabbed.
 “Surely such trials and such wanton cruelty are
 “fit only for training conspirators.”

Mr. Latocnaye adds, that “when he had been
 “initiated, an old gentleman asked him what
 “he thought of the whole?” He answered, “A
 “great

“great deal of noise, and much nonsense.”
 “Nonsense,” said the other, “don’t judge so
 “rashly, young man; I have worked these twenty-
 “five years, and the farther I advanced, it in-
 “terested me the more; but I stopped short, and
 “nothing shall prevail on me to advance a step
 “farther.” In another conversation the gentle-
 man said, “I imagine that my stoppage was ow-
 “ing to my refusal about nine years ago, to listen
 “to some persons who made to me, out of the
 “Lodge, proposals which were seditious and hor-
 “rible; for ever since that time I have remarked,
 “that my higher Brethren treat me with a much
 “greater reserve than they had done before;
 “and that, under the pretext of further instruc-
 “tion, they have laboured to confute the no-
 “tions which I had already acquired, by giving
 “some of the most delicate subjects a different
 “turn. I saw that they wanted to remove some
 “suspensions which I was beginning to form con-
 “cerning the ultimate scope of the whole.”

I imagine that these observations will leave no
 doubt in the mind of the reader with respect to
 the influence of the secret Fraternity of Free Ma-
 sonry in the French Revolution, and that he will
 allow it to be highly probable that the infamous
 Duke of Orleans had, from the beginning, enter-
 tained hopes of mounting the throne of France.

It is not my province to prove or disprove this point, only I think it no less evident, from many circumstances in the transactions of those tumultuous days, that the active leaders had quite different views, and were impelled by fanatical notions of democratic felicity, or, more probably, by their own ambition to be the movers of this vast machine, to overturn the ancient government, and erect a republic, of which they hoped to be the managers *. Mirabeau had learned when in Germany that the principles of anarchy had been well digested into a system, and therefore wished for some instruction as to the subordinate detail of the business, and for this purpose requested a deputation from the *Illuminati*.

* The depositions at the Chatelet, which I have already quoted, give repeated and unequivocal proofs, that he, with a considerable number of the deputies of the National Assembly, had formed this plot before the 5th of October 1789. That trial was conducted in a strange manner, partly out of respect for the Royal Family, which still had some hearts affectionately attached to it, and to the monarchy, and partly by reason of the fears of the members of this court. There was now no safety for any person who differed from the opinion of the frantic populace of Paris. The chief points of accusation were written in a schedule which is not published, and the witnesses were ordered to depose on these in one general Yes or No; so that it is only the least important part of the evidence that has been printed. I am well informed that the whole of it is carefully preserved, and will one day appear.

In

In such a cause as this, we may be certain that no ordinary person would be sent. One of the deputies was Amelius, the next person in the order to Spartacus and Philo. His worldly name was Johann. J. C. Bode, at Weimar, privy-counsellor to the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. (See *Fragmente der Biographie des verstorbenen Freyherr Bode in Weimar, mit zuverlässigen Urkunden*, 8vo. Rom. 1795. See also *Endliche Shuckfall der Freymaurerey*, 1794; also *Wiener Zeitschrift für* 1793).—This person has played a principal part in the whole scheme of Illumination. He was a person of considerable and showy talents as a writer. He had great talents for conversation, and had kept good company. With respect to his mystical character, his experience was great. He was one of the Templar Masons, and among them was *Eques à Liliis Convallium*. He had speculated much about the origin and history of Masonry, and when at the Willemstad convention, was converted to Illuminatism. He was the great instigator of Nicolai, Geddicke, and Bießer, to the hunt after Jesuits which so much occupied them, and suggested to Nicolai his journey through Germany. Leuchtsenring, whom I mentioned before, was only the letter-carrier between Bode and these three authors. He was just such a man as Weishaup wished for; his head filled with Masonic

fantasies,

fanaticism, attaching infinite importance to the frivolities of Masonry, and engaged in an enthusiastic and fruitless research after its origin and history. He had collected, however, such a number of archives (as they were called) of Free Masonry, that he sold his manuscript to the Duke of Saxe Gotha, (into whose service Weishaaupt engaged himself when he was driven from Bavaria), for 1500 dahlers. This little anecdote shows the high importance attributed to those matters by persons of whom we should expect better things. Bode was also a most determined and violent materialist. Besides all these qualities, so acceptable to the Illuminati, he was a discontented Templar Mason, having been repeatedly disappointed of the preferment which he thought himself entitled to. When he learned that the first operations of the Illuminati were to be the obtaining the sole direction of the Mason Lodges, and of the whole Fraternity, his hopes revived of rising to some of the Commanderies, which his enthusiasm, or rather fanaticism, had made him hope to see one day regained by the Order.—but when he found that the next and favourite object was to root out the *Sacred Observance* altogether, he started back. But Philo saw that the understanding (shall we call it ?) that can be dazzled with one whim, may be dazzled with another, and he now attached him to Illuminatism,

minatism, by a magnificent display of a world ruled by the Order, and conducted to happiness by means of Liberty and Equality. This did the business, as we see by the private correspondence, where Philo informs Spartacus of his first difficulties with Amelius. Amelius was gained over in August 1782, and we see by the same correspondence, that the greatest affairs were soon entrusted to him—he was generally employed to deal with the great. When a Graf or a Baron was to be wheedled into the Order, Amelius was the agent.—He was also the chief operator in all their contests with the Jesuits and the Rosycrucians. It was also Bode that procured the important accession of Nicholai to the Order. This he brought about through Leuchtsenring; and lastly, his numerous connections among the Free Masons, together with Knigge's influence among them, enabled the Illuminati to worm themselves into every Lodge, and at last gave them almost the entire command of the Fraternity.

Such was the first of the deputies to France. The other was a Mr. Buffiche, called in the Order Bayard; therefore probably a man of respectable character; for most of Spartacus's names were significant like his own. He was a military man, Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of Hesse-Darmstadt. This man also was a discontented Templar Mason, and his name in that Fraternity had

had been *Eques a Fontibus Eremi*. He was illuminated by Knigge. He had also been unsuccessful both at court and in the field, in both of which situations he had been attempting to make a distinguished figure. He, as well as Bode, were immersed in debts. They were therefore just in the proper temper for Cosmo-political enterprise.

They went to Paris in the end of 1788, while the Notables were sitting, and all Paris was giving advice. The alarm that was raised about Animal Magnetism, which was indeed making much noise at that time, and particularly in Paris, was assigned by them as the great motive of the journey. Bode also said that he was anxious to learn what were the corrections made on the system of the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*. They had taken that name at first, to screen themselves from the charges against them under the name of Templars. They had corrected something in their system when they took the name *Philalèthes*. And now when the Schisms of the *Philalèthes* were healed, and the Brethren again united under the name of *Amis Réunis*, he suspected that Jesuits had interfered; and because he had heard that the principles of the *Amis Réunis* were very noble, he wished to be more certain that they were purged of every thing Jesuitical.

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The deputies accordingly arrived at Paris, and immediately obtained admission into these two Fraternities *. They found both of them in the ripest state for Illumination, having shaken off all the cabalistical, chemical, and mystical whims that had formerly disturbed them, and would now take up too much of their time. They were now cultivating with great zeal the philosophico-political doctrines of universal citizenship. Their leaders, to the number of twenty, are mentioned by name in the Berlin Monatschrift for 1785, and among them are several of the first actors in the French Revolution. But this is nothing distinctive, because persons of all opinions were Masons.

* To prevent interruptions, I may just mention here the authorities for this journey and co-operation of the two deputies.

1. *Ein wichtiger Aufschluss über ein noch wenig bekannte Veranlassung der Französischen Revolution*, in the Vienna Zeitschrift for 1793, p. 145.

2. *Endliche Schlussfall des Freymaurer-Ordens*, 1794, p. 19.

3. *Neueste Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo*, Munich, 1793. p. 151—154.

4. *Historische Nachrichten über die Franc Revolution 1792*, von Girtanner, var. loc.

5. *Revolutions Almanach für 1792—4*, Göttingen, var. loc.

6. *Beytrage zur Biographie des verstorbenen Frey-Heinr. v. Bode*, 1794.

7. *Magazin des Literatur et Kunst*, for 1792, 3, 4, &c. &c.

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The *Amis Reunis* were little behind the Illuminati in every thing that was irreligious and anarchical, and had no inclination for any of the formalities of ritual, &c. They were already fit for the higher mysteries, and only wanted to learn the methods of business which had succeeded so well in spreading their doctrines and maxims over Germany. Besides, their doctrines had not been digested into a system, nor had the artful methods of leading on the pupils from bad to worse been practised. For hitherto, each individual had vented in the Lodges his own opinions, to unburden his own mind, and the Brethren listened for instruction and mutual encouragement. Therefore, when Spartacus's plan was communicated to them, they saw at once its importance, in all its branches, such as the use of the Mason Lodges, to fish for Minervals—the rituals and ranks to entice the young, and to lead them by degrees to opinions and measures which, at first sight, would have shocked them. The firm hold which is gotten of the pupils, and indeed of all the inferior classes, by their reports in the course of their pretended training in the knowledge of themselves and of other men—and, above all, the provincial arrangement of the Order, and the clever subordination and entire dependence on a select band or Pandæmonium at Paris, which should inspire and direct the whole.—I think,

(although

(although I have not express assertions of the fact,) from the subsequent conduct of the French revolvers, that even at this early period, there were many in those societies who were ready to go every length proposed to them by the Illuminati, such as the abolition of royalty, and of all privileged orders, as tyrants by nature, the annihilation and robbery of the priesthood, the rooting out of Christianity, and the introduction of Atheism, or a philosophical chimera which they were to call Religion. Mirabeau had often spoken of the last branch of the Illuminated principles, and the conversations held at Versailles during the awful pauses of the 5th of October, (which are to be seen in the evidence before the Chatelet in the Orleans process,) can hardly be supposed to be the fancies of an accidental mob.

Mirabeau was, as I have said, at the head of this democratic party, and had repeatedly said, that the only use of a King was to serve as a pageant, in order to give weight to public measures in the opinion of the populace.—And Mr. Latocnaye says, that this party was very numerous, and that immediately after the imprudent or madlike invitation of every scribbler in a garret to give his advice, the party did not scruple to speak their sentiments in public, and that they were encouraged in their encomiums on the advantages

vantages of a virtuous republican government by Mr. Necker, who had a most extravagant and childish predilection for the constitution of Geneva, the place of his nativity, and was also much tinged with the Cosmo-political philosophy of the times. The King's brothers, and the Princes of the blood, presented a memorial to his Majesty, which concluded by saying, that "the effervescence of the public opinions had come to such a height that the most dangerous principles, imported from foreign parts, were avowed in print with perfect impunity—that his Majesty had unwarily encouraged every fanatic to dictate to him, and to spread his poisonous sentiments, in which the rights of the throne were not only disrespected, but were even disputed—that the rights of the higher classes in the state ran a great risk of being speedily suppressed, and that nothing would hinder the sacred right of property from being ere long invaded, and the unequal distribution of wealth from being thought a proper subject of reform."

When such was the state of things in Paris, it is plain that the business of the German deputies would be easily transacted. They were received with open arms by the *Philalethes*, the *Amis de la Vérité*, the *Social Contract*, &c. and in the course of a very few weeks in the end of 1788,

and

and the beginning of 1789, (that is, before the end of March,) the whole of the Grand Orient, including the *Philaletes*, *Amis Reunis*, *Martinistes*, &c. had the secrets of Illumination communicated to them. The operation naturally began with the Great National Lodge of Paris, and those in immediate dependence on it. It would also seem, from many circumstances that occurred to my observation, that the Lodges in Alsace and Lorraine were illuminated at this time, and not long before, as I had imagined. Strasburg I know had been illuminated long ago, while Philo was in the Order. A circumstance strikes me here as of some moment. The sects of *Philaletes* and *Amis Reunis* were refinements engrafted on the system of the *Chevaliers Bienfaisans* at Lyons. Such refinements never fail to be considered as a sort of heresy, and the professors will be beheld with a jealous and unfriendly eye by some, who will pride themselves on adhering to the old faith. And the greater the success of the heresy, the greater will be the animosity between the parties.—May not this help to explain the mutual hatred of the Parisians and the Lyonnois, which produced the most dreadful atrocities ever perpetrated on the face of the earth, and made a shambles and a desert of the finest city of France?

The first proceeding by the advice of the deputies was the formation of a Political Committee in every Lodge. This committee corresponded with the distant Lodges, and in it were discussed and settled all the political principles which were to be inculcated on the members. The author of the *Neueste Arbeitung* says expressly, that “ he “ was thoroughly instructed in this, that it was “ given in charge to these committees to frame “ general rules, and to carry through the great “ plan (*grand œuvre*) of a general overturning “ of religion and government.” The principal leaders of the subsequent Revolution were members of these committees. Here were the plans laid, and they were transmitted through the kingdom by the Corresponding Committees.

Thus were the stupid Bavarians (as the French were once pleased to call them) their instructors in the art of overturning the world. The French were indeed the first who put it in practice. These committees arose from the Illuminati in Bavaria, who had by no means given over working, and these committees produced the Jacobin club. It is not a frivolous remark, that the Masonic phrase of the persons who wish to address the Brethren, “ (*F. S. je demande la parole*, which the F. S. reports to the V. G. M. and which he announces “ to the Brethren thus, “ *Mes freres, frere tel*
“ *demande*

“ *demande la parole, la parole lui est accordée,*”) is exactly copied by the Jacobin Club. There is surely no natural connection between Free Masonry and Jacobinism—but we see the link—Illuminatism.—

The office-bearers of one of the Lodges of Philalethes in Paris were *Martin, Willermooz*, (who had been deputy from the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants* to the Willemstad Convention,) *Chappe, Minet, de la Henriere*, and *Savatier de l'Ange**. In another (the *Contrat Social*) the Political Committee consisted of *La Fayette, Condorcet, Pethion, d'Orleans, Abbé Barthois, d'Aguillon, Bailly, Marq. de la Salle, Despresmenil*. This particular Lodge had been founded and conducted by one *De Leuvre*, an adventurer and cheat of the first magnitude, who sometimes made a figure, and at other times was without a shilling. At this very time he was a spy attached to the office of the police of Pa-

* *Minet* was (I think) at this time a player. He was son of a surgeon at Nantes—robbed his father and fled—enlisted in Holland—deserted and became smuggler—was taken and burnt in the hand—became player, and married an actress—then became priest—and was made Bishop of Nantes by *Couffard* in discharge of a debt of 500 l. Mr. Latocnaye often saw *Couffard* kneel to him for benediction. It cannot be supposed that he was much venerated in his pontificals in his native city—It seems *Minet, Minet*, is the call of the children to a kitten—This was prohibited at Nantes, and many persons whipped for the freedom used with his name.

ris*. The *Duke of Orleans* was Warden of the Lodge. The *Abbé Sieyès* was a Brother Orator, but not of this Lodge, nor (I think) of the former. It was probably of the one conducted by Mirabeau and the Abbé Perigord. But it appears from the piece from which I am at present borrowing, that Sieyès was present in the meetings of both Lodges, probably as visiting Brother, employed in bringing them to common measures. I must observe, that the subsequent conduct of some of these men does not just accord with my conjecture, that the principles of the Illuminati were adopted in their full extent. But we know that all the Bavarian Brethren were not equally illuminated, and it would be only copying their teachers if the cleverest of these their scholars should hold a *sanctum sanctorum* among themselves, without inviting all to the conference. Observe too that the chief lesson which they were now taking from the Germans was *the method of doing business*, of manag-

* I am told that he now (or very lately) keeps the best company, and lives in elegance and affluence in London.

Augur, sibi emobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit

Graculus furcens, in calum jusservis, ibit†.

Ingenium velox auidacia perdita, sermo

Promptus. —

Juvenal.

† All sciences a hungry Frenchman knows,

And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes.

Johnson's Translation.

ing

ing their correspondence, and of procuring and training pupils. A Frenchman does not think that he needs instruction in any thing like principle or science. He is ready on all occasions to be the instructor.

Thus were the Lodges of France converted in a very short time into a set of secret affiliated societies, corresponding with the mother Lodges of Paris, receiving from thence their principles and instructions, and ready to rise up at once when called upon, to carry on the great work of overturning the state.

Hence it has arisen that the French aimed, in the very beginning, at overturning the whole world. In all the revolutions of other countries, the schemes and plots have extended no farther than the nation where they took their rise. But here we have seen that they take in the whole world. They have repeatedly declared this in their manifestos, and they have declared it by their conduct. This is the very aim of the Illuminati.—Hence too may be explained how the revolution took place almost in a moment in every part of France. The revolutionary societies were early formed, and were working in secret before the opening of the National Assembly, and the whole nation changed, and changed again, and again, as if by beat of drum. Those duly initiated in this mystery of iniquity were ready every where at a

call. And we see Weisshaupt's wish accomplished in an unexpected degree, and the debates in a club giving laws to solemn assemblies of the nation, and all France bending the neck to the city of Paris. The members of the club are Illuminati, and so are a great part of their correspondents.—Each operates in the state as a Minerval would do in the Order, and the whole goes on with systematic regularity. The famous Jacobin Club was just one of those Lodges, as has been already observed; and as, among individuals, one commonly takes the lead, and contrives for the rest, so it has happened on the present occasion, that this Lodge, supported by Orleans and Mirabeau, was the one that stepped forth and shewed itself to the world, and thus became the oracle of the party; and all the rest only echoed its discourses, and at last allowed it to give law to the whole, and even to rule the kingdom. It is to be remarked too that the founders of the club at Mentz were Illuminati, (*Relig. Regebenh.* 1793. p. 448.) before the Revolution, and corresponded with another Lodge at Strasburg; and these two produced mighty effects during the year 1790. In a performance called *Mémoires Posthumes de Gustine* it is said that when that General was bending his course to Holland, the Illuminati at Strasburg, Worms, and Spire immediately formed clubs, and invited him into that quarter, and, by going to Mentz and encouraging

couraging their Brethren in that city, they raised a party against the garrison, and actually delivered up the place to the French army.

A little book, just now printed with the title *Paragraphen*, says, that Zimmerman, of whom I have spoken more than once, went to France to preach liberty. He was employed as a missionary of Revolution in Alsace, where he had formerly been a most successful missionary of Illuminatism. Of his former proceedings the following is a curious anecdote. He connected himself with a highly accomplished and beautiful woman, whose conversation had such charms, that he says she gained him near a hundred converts in Spire alone. Some persons of high rank, and great exterior dignity of character, had felt more tender impressions—and when the lady informed them of certain consequences to their reputation, they were glad to compound matters with her friend Mr. Zimmerman, who either passed for her husband, or took the scandal on himself. He made above 1500 Louis d'ors in this way. When he returned, as a preacher of Revolution, he used to mount the pulpit with a sabre in his hand, and bawl out, “Behold, Frenchmen, this is your God. This alone can save you.” The author adds, that when Custine broke into Germany, Zimmerman got admission to him, and engaged to deliver Manheim into his hands.

To gain this purpose, he offered to set some corners of the city on fire, and assured him of support. Custine declined the offer.—Zimmerman appeared against him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and accused him of treachery to his cause.—Custine's answer is remarkable. “Hardly,” said he, “had I set my foot in Germany, when this man, and all the fools of his country, besieged me, and would have delivered up to me their towns and villages—What occasion had I to do any thing to Mannheim, when the Prince was neutral?” Zimmerman found his full account in Robespierre's bloody sway—but the short term of his atrocities was also the whole of Zimmerman's career. He was arrested, but again liberated, and soon after again imprisoned, after which I can learn no more of him. The same thing is positively asserted in another performance, called *Cri de la Raison*, and in a third, called *Les Masques arrachées*. Observe too, that it is not the clubs merely that are accused of this treachery, but the Illuminati. *De la Méthode* also, in his preface to the *Journal de Physique* for 1790, says expressly, that “the cause and arms of France were powerfully supported in Germany by a sect of philosophers called the Illuminated.” In the preface to the *Journal* for 1792, he says, that “Letters and deputations were received by the Assembly”

“ bly from several Corresponding Societies in
 “ England, felicitating them on the triumph of
 “ Reason and Humanity, and promising them
 “ their cordial assistance.” He read some of
 these manifestos, and says, that, “ one of them
 “ recommended strongly the political education
 “ of the children, who should be taken from the
 “ parents, and trained up for the state.” Another lamented the baleful influence of property, saying that “ the efforts of the Assembly would
 “ be fruitless, till the fence was removed with
 “ which the laws so anxiously secured inordinate
 “ wealth. They should rather be directed to the
 “ support of talents and virtue; because pro-
 “ perty would always support itself by the too
 “ great influence which it had in every corrupted
 “ state. The laws should prevent the too great
 “ accumulation of it in particular families.”——

In short, the counsel was almost verbatim what the Abbé Cossandey declared to have been the doctrine preached in the meetings of the Illuminati, which terrified him and his colleagues, and made them quit the Association. Anacharsis Cloots, born in Prussian Westphalia, a keen Illuminatus, came to Paris for the express purpose of forwarding the *great work*, and by intriguing in the style of the Order, he got himself made one of the Representatives of the Nation. He seems to have been one of the completest fanatics

natics in Cosmo-politism, and just such a tool as Weishaupt would choose to employ for a coarse and arduous job. He broke out at once into all the silly extravagance of the unthinking herd, and his whole language is just the jargon of Illumination. Citizen of the world—Liberty and Equality, the imprescriptible Rights of Man—Morality, dear Morality—Kings and Priests are useless things—they are Despots and Corrupters, &c.—He declared himself an atheist, and zealously laboured to have atheism established by law. He conducted that farcical procession in the true style of the most childish ritual of Philo, where counterfeited deputies from all quarters of the world, in the dresses of their countries, came to congratulate the nation for its victory over Kings and Priests. It is also worthy of remark, that by this time Leuchtsenring, whom we have seen so zealous an *Illuminatus*, after having been as zealous a Protestant, tutor of Princes, Hofrath and Hofmeister, was now a secretary or clerk in one of the Bureaus of the National Assembly of France.

I may add as a finishing touch, that the National Assembly of France was the only body of men that I have ever heard of who openly and systematically proposed to employ assassination, and to institute a band of patriots, who should exercise this profession either by sword, pistol, or poison ;—

poison;—and though the proposal was not carried into execution, it might be considered as the sentiments of the meeting; for it was only delayed till it should be considered how far it might not be imprudent, because they might expect reprisals. The Abbé Dubois engaged to poison the Comte d'Artois; but was himself robbed and poisoned by his accomplices.—There were strong reasons for thinking that the Emperor of Germany was poisoned—and that Mirabeau was thus treated by his pupil Orleans,—also Madame de Favras and her son.—This was copying the Illuminati very carefully.

After all these particulars, can any person have a doubt that the Order of Illuminati formally interfered in the French Revolution, and contributed greatly to its progress? There is no denying the insolence and oppression of the Crown and the Nobles, nor the misery and slavery of the people, nor that there were sufficient provocation and cause for a total change of measures and of principles. But the rapidity with which one opinion was declared in every corner, and that opinion as quickly changed, and the change announced every where, and the perfect conformity of the principles, and sameness of the language, even in arbitrary trifles, can hardly be explained in any other way. It may indeed be said “*que les beaux genies se rencontrent*,—that wits jump. The principles are
“ the

“ the same, and the conduct of the French has
 “ been such as the Illuminati would have exhi-
 “ bited ; but this is all—the Illuminati no longer
 “ existed.” Enough has been said on this last
 point already.—The facts are as have been nar-
 rated. The Illuminati continued *as an Order*, and
 even held assemblies, though not so frequently
 nor so formally as before, and though their *Areop-
 agus* was no longer at Munich. But let us hear
 what the French themselves thought of the
 matter.

In 1789, or the beginning of 1790, *a manifesto*
was sent from the GRAND NATIONAL LODGE of
Free Masons (so it is entitled) *at Paris, signed by*
the Duke of Orleans as Grand Master, addressed
and sent to the Lodges in all the respectable cities of
Europe, exhorting them to unite for the support of
the French Revolution, to gain it friends, defenders,
and dependents ; and according to their opportuni-
ties, and the practicability of the thing, to kindle
and propagate the spirit of revolution through all
lands. This is a most important article, and de-
 serves a very serious attention. I got it first of all
 in a work called, *Hochste wichtige Erinnerun-*
gen zur rechten Zeit uher einige der allerern-
sthaftesten Angelegenheiten dieses Zeitalters, von
*L. A. Hoffmann, Vienna, 1795 **.

* Most important Memorandums, in proper Season, con-
 cerning one of the most serious Occurrences of the present
 Age, by L. A. Hoffmann, Vienna, 1795.

The

The author of this work says, "That every
 " thing he advances in these memorandums is
 " consistent with his own personal knowledge,
 " and that he is ready to give convincing proofs
 " of them to any respectable person who will
 " apply to him personally. He has already given
 " such convincing documents to the Emperor,
 " and to several Princes, that many of the machi-
 " nations occasioned by this manifesto have been
 " detected and stopped, and he would have no
 " scruple at laying the whole before the public,
 " did it not unavoidably involve several worthy
 " persons who had suffered themselves to be
 " misled, and heartily repented of their errors."
 He is naturally (being a Catholic) very severe
 on the Protestants, (and indeed he has much
 reason,) and by this has drawn on himself many
 bitter retorts. He has however defended him-
 self against all that are of any consequence to his
 good name and veracity, in a manner that fully
 convinces any impartial reader, and turns to the
 confusion of the slanderers.

Hoffmann says, that " he saw some of those
 " manifestos ; that they were not all of one tenor,
 " some being addressed to friends, of whose sup-
 " port they were already assured." One very im-
 portant article of their contents is *Earnest exhorta-*
tions to establish in every quarter secret schools of
political education, and schools for the public educa-
tion of the children of the people, under the direction
of

of well-principled masters; and offers of pecuniary assistance for this purpose, and for the encouragement of writers in favour of the Revolution, and for indemnifying the patriotic booksellers who suffer by their endeavours to suppress publications which have an opposite tendency. We know very well that the immense revenue of the Duke of Orleans was scattered among all the rabble of the *Palais Royal*. Can we doubt of its being employed in this manner? Our doubts must vanish, when we see that not long after this it was publicly said in the National Assembly, "that this method was the most effectual for accomplishing their purpose of setting Europe in a flame." "But much 'expence,'" says the speaker, "will attend it, and much has already been employed, which cannot be named, because it is given in secret." The Assembly had given the Illumination war-hoop—"Peace with cottages, but war with palaces."—A *pouvoir revolutionnaire* is mentioned, which supercedes all narrow thoughts, all ties of morality. Lequinio publishes the most detestable book that ever issued from a printing press, *Les Prejugés vaincus*, containing all the principles, and expressed in the very words of Illuminatism.

Hoffmann says, that the French *Propaganda* had many emissaries in Vienna, and many friends whom he could point out. Mirabeau in particular had many connections in Vienna, and to the certain knowledge of Hoffmann, carried on
a great

a great correspondence in cyphers. The progress of Illumination had been very great in the Austrian States, and a statesman gave him accounts of their proceedings, (*qui font redresser les cheveux*,) which makes one's hair stand on end. "I no longer wonder," says he, "that the *Neueste Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo* was forbidden. O ye almighty *Illuminati*, what can you not accomplish by your serpent-like insinuation and cunning!" Your leaders say, "This book is dangerous, because it will teach wicked men the most refined methods of rebellion, and it must never get into the hands of the common people. They have said so with the most impudent face to some Princes, who did not perceive the deeper-laid reason for suppressing the book. The leaders of the *Illuminati* are, not without reason, in anxiety, lest the inferior classes of their own Society should make just reprisals for having been so basely tricked, by keeping them back, and in profound ignorance of their real designs; and for working on them, by the very goodness of their hearts, to their final ruin, and lest the Free Masons, whom they have also abused, should think of revenging themselves, when the matchless villany of their deceivers has been so clearly exposed. It is in vain for them to talk of the danger of instructing the people in the methods of fo-

"menting

“menting rebellion by this book. The aims
 “are too apparent, and even in the neighbour-
 “hood of Regensburg, where the strength of
 “the *Illuminati* lay, every person said aloud, that
 “the Illuminatism discovered by this book was
 “High Treason, and the most unheard-of at-
 “tempt to annihilate every religion and every
 “civil government.” He goes on: “In 1790
 “I was as well acquainted with the spirit of the
 “Illumination-system as at present, but only not
 “so documented by their constitutional acts, as it
 “is now by the *Neueste Arbeitung des Spartacus*
 “*und Philo*. My Masonic connections were for-
 “merly extensive, and my publication entitled
 “*Eighteen Paragraphs concerning Free Masonry*,
 “procured me more acquaintance with Free Ma-
 “sons of the greatest worth, and of *Illuminati*
 “equally upright, persons of respectability and
 “knowledge, who had discovered and repented
 “the trick and inveigling conduct of the Order.
 “All of us jointly swore opposition to the *Illumi-*
 “*nati*, and my friends considered me as a pro-
 “per instrument for this purpose. To whet my
 “zeal, they put papers into my hands which
 “made me shudder, and raised my dislike to the
 “highest pitch. I received from them lists of the
 “members, and among them saw names which
 “I lamented exceedingly. Thus stood matters
 “in 1790, when the French Revolution began
 “to

“ to take a serious turn. The intelligent saw in
 “ the open system of the Jacobins the complete
 “ hidden system of the Illuminati. We knew
 “ that this system included the whole world in
 “ its aims, and France was only the place of its
 “ first explosion. The Propaganda works in
 “ every corner to this hour, and its emissaries
 “ run about in all the four quarters of the world,
 “ and are to be found in numbers in every city
 “ that is a seat of government.”

“ He farther relates how they in Vienna
 “ wanted to enlist him, and, as this failed, how
 “ they have abused him even in the foreign
 “ newspapers.

“ I have personal knowledge (continues he)
 “ that in Germany a second Mirabeau, Mauvil-
 “ lon, had proposed in detail a plan of revolu-
 “ tion, entirely and precisely suited to the present
 “ state of Germany. This he circulated among
 “ several Free Mason Lodges, among all the Illu-
 “ minated Lodges which still remained in Ger-
 “ many, and through the hands of all the emis-
 “ saries of the Propaganda, who had been al-
 “ ready dispatched to the frontiers (*vorposten*) of
 “ every district of the empire, with means for
 “ stirring up the people.” (N. B. In 1792, Mau-
 villon, finding abundant support and encourage-
 ment in the appearance of things round him,
 when the French arms had penetrated every
 E E where,

where, and their invitations to revolt had met with so hearty a reception from the discontented in every state, came boldly forward, and in the Brunswick Journal for March 1792, declared that “he heartily rejoiced in the French Revolution, “wished it all success, and thought himself liable “to no reproach when he declared his hopes “that a similar revolution would speedily take “place in Germany.”)

In the Hamburg Political Journal, August, September, and October 1790, there are many proofs of the machinations of emissaries from the *Mason Lodges* of Paris among the German Free Masons—See pages 836, 963, 1087, &c. It appears that a club has taken the name of *Propaganda*, and meets once a week at least, in the form of a Mason Lodge. It consists of persons of all nations, and is under the direction of the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans. De Leutre is one of the Wardens. They have divided Europe into colonies, to which they give revolutionary names, such as the *Cap*, the *Pike*, the *Lantern*, &c. They have ministers in these colonies. (One is pointed out in Saxony, by marks which I presume are well understood.) A secret press was found in Saxe Gotha, furnished with German types, which printed a seditious work called the *Journal of Humanity*. This journal was found in the mornings lying in the streets and highways.

The house belonged to an *Illuminatus* of the name of Duport, a poor schoolmaster—he was associated with another in Strasburg, who was also an *Illuminatus*—His name was Meyer, the writer of the Strasburg Newspaper. He had been some time a teacher in Salzmann's academy, who we see was also an *Illuminatus*, but displeased with their proceedings almost at the first. (Private Correspondence)

“ I have personal knowledge, (continues Professor Hoffmann,) that in 1791, during the temporary dearth at Vienna, several of these emissaries were busy in corrupting the minds of the poor, by telling them that in like manner the court had produced a famine in Paris in 1789. I detected some of them, and exposed them in my *Patriotic Remarks on the present Dearth*, and had the satisfaction of seeing my endeavours of considerable effect.”

Surely these facts show that the Anarchists of France knew of the German *Illuminati*, and confided in their support. They also knew to what particular Lodges they could address themselves with safety and confidence.—But what need is there of more argument, when we know the zeal of the *Illuminati*, and the unhopcd-for opportunity that the Revolution had given them of acting with immediate effect in carrying on their great and darling work? Can we doubt that they

would eagerly put their hand to the plough? And, to complete the proof, do we not know from the lists found in the secret correspondence of the Order, that they already had Lodges in France, and that in 1790 and 1791, many Illuminated Lodges in Germany, viz. at Mentz, Worms, Spire, Frankfort, actually interfered, and produced great effects. In Switzerland too they were no less active. They had Lodges at Geneva and at Bern. At Bern two Jacobins were sentenced to several years imprisonment, and among their papers were found their patents of Illumination. I also see the fate of Geneva ascribed to the operations of Illuminati residing there by several writers—particularly by Girtanner, and by the Gottingen editor of the Revolution Almanac.

I conclude this article with an extract or two from the proceedings of the National Assembly and Convention, which make it evident that their principles and their practice are precisely those of the Illuminati, on a great scale.

When the assumption of the Duchy of Savoy as an 84th Department was debated, Danton said to the Convention,

“ In the moment that we send freedom to a
 “ nation on our frontier, we must say to them,
 “ “ You must have no more Kings”—for if we
 “ are surrounded by tyrants, their coalition puts
 “ our own freedom in danger.—When the
 “ French

“ French nation sent us hither, it created a great
“ committee for the general insurrection of the
“ people.”

On the 19th of November 1792 it was decreed,
“ That the Convention, in the name of the
“ French nation, tenders help and fraternity to
“ all people who would recover their liberty.”

On the 21st of November, the President of the
Convention said to the pretended deputies of the
Duchy of Savoy, “ Representatives of an inde-
“ pendent people, important to mankind was
“ the day when the National Convention of
“ France pronounced its sentence, *Royal dignity*
“ *is abolished*.—From that day many nations will
“ in future reckon the era of their political ex-
“ istence.—From the beginning of civil establish-
“ ments Kings have been in opposition to their
“ nations—but now they rise up to annihilate
“ Kings. —Reason, when she darts her rays into
“ every corner, lays open eternal truths—She
“ alone enables us to pass sentence on despots,
“ hitherto the scare-crow of other nations.”

But the most distinct exhibition of principle
is to be seen in a report from the diplomatic
committee, who were commissioned to deliberate
on the conduct which France was to hold with
other nations. On this report was founded the
decree of the 15th of December 1793. The Re-
porter addresses the Convention as follows :

“ The Committees of Finance and War ask in
 “ the beginning, What is the object of the war
 “ which we have taken in hand? Without all
 “ doubt the object is THE ANNIHILATION OF
 “ ALL PRIVILEGES, WAR WITH THE PALACES,
 “ PEACE WITH THE COTTAGES. These are the
 “ principles on which *your declaration of war* is
 “ founded. All tyranny, all privilege, must be
 “ treated as an enemy in the countries where we
 “ set our foot. This is the genuine result of our
 “ principles.—But it is not with Kings alone
 “ that we are to wage war—were these our sole
 “ enemies, we should only have to bring down
 “ ten or twelve heads. We have to fight with
 “ all their accomplices, with the privileged or-
 “ ders, who devour and have oppressed the people
 “ during many centuries.

“ We must therefore declare ourselves for a
 “ revolutionary power in all the countries into
 “ which we enter—(Loud applauses from the As-
 “ sembly)—Nor need we put on the cloak of hu-
 “ manity—we disdain such little arts.—We must
 “ clothe ourselves with all the brilliancy of reason,
 “ and all the force of the nation. We need not
 “ mask our principles—the despots know them
 “ already. The first thing we must do is to ring
 “ the alarm bell, for insurrection and uproar.—
 “ We must, in a solemn manner, let the people
 “ see the banishment of their tyrants and privi-
 “ leged

“leged casts—otherwise, the people, accustomed
 “to their fetters, will not be able to break their
 “bonds.—It will effect nothing, merely to excite
 “a rising of the people—this would only be giv-
 “ing them words, instead of standing by them.

“And since in this manner, we ourselves are
 “the Revolutionary Administration, all that is
 “against the rights of the people must be over-
 “thrown, at our entry—We must display our
 “principles by actually destroying all tyranny;
 “and our generals, after having chased away the
 “tyrants and their satellites, must proclaim to the
 “people that they have brought them happiness;
 “and then, on the spot, they must suppress tithes,
 “feudal rights, and every species of servitude.”

“But we shall have done nothing if we stop
 “here—Aristocracy still domineers—we must
 “therefore suppress all authorities existing in the
 “hands of the upper classes.—When the Revo-
 “lutionary Authority appears, there must no-
 “thing of the old establishment remain.—A po-
 “pular system must be introduced—every office
 “must be occupied by new functionaries—and
 “the Sans Culottes must every where have a share
 “in the Administration.

“Still nothing is done, till we declare aloud
 “the *precision* of our principles to such as want
 “only a half freedom.—We must say to them—
 “If you think of compromising with the privileg-
 “ed casts, we cannot suffer such dealing with

“ tyrants—They are our enemies, and we must
 “ treat them as enemies, because they are neither
 “ for Liberty nor Equality.—Show yourselves
 “ disposed to receive a free constitution—and the
 “ Convention will not only stand by you, but will
 “ give you permanent support ; we will defend
 “ you against the vengeance of your tyrants,
 “ against their attacks, and against their return.—
 “ Therefore abolish from among you the Nobles
 “ —and every ecclesiastical and military incor-
 “ poration. They are incompatible with Equali-
 “ ty.—Henceforward you are citizens, all equal
 “ in rights—equally called upon to rule, to de-
 “ fend, and to serve your country.—The agents
 “ of the French Republic will instruct and assist
 “ you in forming a free constitution, and assure
 “ you of happiness and fraternity.”

This Report was loudly applauded, and a de-
 cree formed in precise conformity to its princi-
 ples.—Both were ordered to be translated into
 all languages, and copies to be furnished to
 their generals, with orders to have them care-
 fully dispersed in the countries which they
 invaded.

And, in completion of these decrees, their
 armies found it easy to collect as many discon-
 tented or worthless persons in any country as suf-
 ficed for setting up a tree of liberty. This they
 held as a sufficient call for their interference.—
 Some times they performed this ceremony them-
 selves—

selves—a representation was easily made up in the same way—and then, under the name of a free constitution, the nation was forced to acquiesce in a form dictated at the point of the bayonet, in which they had not the smallest liberty to choose—and they were plundered of all they had, by way of compensating to France for the trouble she had taken.—And this they call Liberty.—It needs no comment.—

Thus have I attempted to prove that the present awful situation of Europe, and the general fermentation of the public mind in all nations, have not been altogether the natural operations of discontent, oppression, and moral corruption, although these have been great, and have operated with fatal energy; but that this political fever has been carefully and systematically heightened by bodies of men, who professed to be the physicians of the State, and, while their open practice employed cooling medicines, and a treatment which all approved, administered in secret the most inflammatory poisons, which they made up so as to flatter the diseased fancy of the patient. Although this was not a plan begun, carried on, and completed by the same persons, it was undoubtedly an uniform and consistent scheme, proceeding on the same unvaried principle, and France undoubtedly now smarts under all the woes of German Illumination.

I beg

I beg leave to suggest a few thoughts, which may enable us to draw some advantage from this shocking mass of information.

General Reflections.

I. I may observe, in the *first* place, and I beg it may be particularly attended to, that in all those villanous machinations against the peace of the world, the attack has been first made on the principles of Morality and Religion. The conspirators saw that till these are extirpated, they have no chance of success; and their manner of proceeding shews that they consider Religion and Morality as inseparably connected together. We learn much from this—*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*—They endeavour to destroy our religious sentiments, by first corrupting our morals.—They try to inflame our passions, that when the demands from this quarter become urgent, the restraints of Religion may immediately come in sight, and stand in the way.—They are careful, on this occasion, to give such a view of those restraints, that the real origin of them does not appear.—We are made to believe that they have been altogether the contrivance of priests and despots, in order to get the command of us.—

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They take care to support these assertions by facts, which, to our great shame, and greater misfortune, are but too numerous. Having now the passions on their side, they find no difficulty in persuading the voluptuary, or the discontented, that tyranny actually exerted, or resolved on in future, is the sole origin of religious restraint. He seeks no further argument, and gives himself no trouble to find any.—Had he examined the matter with any care, he would find himself just brought back to those very feelings of moral excellence and moral depravity that he wishes to get rid of altogether; and these would tell him that pure Religion does not lay a single restraint on us that a noble nature would not have laid on itself—nor enjoins a single duty which an ingenuous and warm heart would not be ashamed to find itself deficient in. He would then see that all the sanctions of Religion are fitted to his high rank in the scale of existence. And the more he contemplates his future prospects, the more they brighten upon his view, the more attainable they appear, and the more he is able to know what they may probably be. Having attained this happy state of mind (an attainment in the power of any kind heart that is in earnest in the enquiry) he will think that no punishment is too great for the unthankful and grovel-
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ing soul which can forego such hopes, and reject these noble proffers, for the comparatively frivolous and transitory gratifications of life. He is not frightened into worthy and virtuous conduct by fears of such merited punishment ; but, if not enticed into it by his high expectations, he is, at least, retained in the paths of virtue by a kind of manly shame.

But all this is overlooked, or is kept out of sight, in the instructions of Illuminatism. In these the eye must be kept always directed to the Despot. This is the bugbear, and every thing is made to connect with present or future tyranny and oppression — Therefore Religion is held out as a combination of terrors—the invention of the state-tools, the priests.—But it is not easy to fustle the suggestions of Nature—therefore no pains are spared to keep them down, by encreasing the uncertainty and doubts which arise in the course of all speculations on such subjects. Such difficulties occur in all scientific discussions.—Here they must be numerous and embarrassing—for in this enquiry we come near the first principles of things, and the first principles of human knowledge. The geometer does not wonder at mistakes even in *his* science, the most simple of all others.—Nor does the mechanic or the chemist reject all his science, because he cannot attain
clear

clear conceptions of some of the natural relations which operate in the phenomena under his consideration.—Nor do any of these students of nature brand with the name of fool, or knave, or bigot, another person who has drawn a different conclusion from the phenomenon.—In one point they all agree—they find themselves possessed of faculties which enable them to speculate, and to discover; and they find, that the operation of those faculties is quite unlike the things which they contemplate by their means—*and they feel a satisfaction in the possession of them, and in this distinction.*—But this seems a misfortune to our Illuminators. I have long been struck with this. If by deep meditation I have solved a problem which has baffled the endeavours of others, I should hardly thank the person who convinced me that my success was entirely owing to the particular state of my health, by which my brain was kept free from many irritations to which other persons are exposed. Yet this is the conduct of the Illuminated.—They are abundantly self-conceited; and yet they continually endeavour to destroy all grounds of self-estimation.—They rejoice in every discovery that is reported to them of some resemblance, unnoticed before, between mankind and the inferior creation, and would be happy to find that the resemblance is complete. It is very true, Mr.

Pope's

Pope's "Poor Indian, with untutor'd mind," had no objection to his dog's going to heaven with him:

" And thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
 " His faithful dog shall bear his company."

This is not an abject, but it is a modest sentiment. But our high-minded philosophers, who, with Beatrice in the play, "cannot brook obedience to a wayward piece of marble," if it be in the shape of a Prince, have far other notions of the matter. Indeed they are not yet agreed about it. Mr. de la Mettrie hopes, that before the enlightened Republic of France has got into its teens, he shall be able to tell his fellow citizens, in his *Journal de Physique*, that particular form of crystallization which men have been accustomed to call God.—Dr. Priestley again deduces all intelligence from elastic undulations, and will probably think, that his own great discoveries have been the quiverings of some fiery marble *miasma*. While Pope's poor Indian hopes to take his dog to heaven with him, these Illuminators hope to die like dogs, and that both soul and body shall be as if they never had been.

Is not this a melancholy result of all our Illumination? It is of a piece with the termination of the ideal Philosophy, viz. professed and total ignorance. Should not this make us start back and hesitate, before we pout like wayward children at
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the hardships of civil subordination, and before we make a sacrifice to our ill humour of all that we value ourselves for? Does it not carry ridicule and absurdity in its forehead?—Such assertions of personal worth and dignity, (always excepting Princes and Priests,) and such abject acknowledgments of worthlessness.—Does not this, of itself, show that there is some radical fault in the whole? It has all arisen from what they have called *Illumination*, and this turns out to be worse than darkness.—But we also know that it has all arisen from self-conceited discontent, and that it has been brought to its present state by the race of speculation. We may venture to put the question to any man's conscience—whether discontent did not precede his doubts about his own nature, and whether he has not *encouraged* the train of argument that tended to degrade him? “Thy wish was father, Harry, “to that thought.”—Should not this make us distrust, at least, the operations of this faculty of our mind, and try to moderate and check this darling propensity—It seems a misfortune of the age—for we see that it is a natural source of disturbance and revolution.

But here it will be immediately said, “What, “must we give over thinking—be no longer rational creatures, and believe every lie that is “told us?” By no means.—Let us be *really* rational creatures—and, taught by experience, let

us, in all our speculations on subjects which engage the passions, guard ourselves with the most anxious care against the risk of having our judgments warped by our desires.—There is no propensity of our nature of which the proper and modest indulgence is not beneficial to man, and which is not hurtful, when this indulgence is carried too far.—And if we candidly peruse the page of history, we shall be convinced that the abuse is great in proportion as the subject is important. What has been so ruinously perverted as the religious principle!—What horrid superstition has it not produced? The Reader will not, I hope, take it amiss that I presume to direct his attention to some maxims which ought to conduct a prudent man in his indulgence of a speculative disposition, and apply them to the case in hand.

Whoever will for a while call off his attention from the common affairs of life, the *Cursæ hominum, et rerum pondus manet*, and will but reflect a little on that wonderful principle within him, which carries him over the whole universe, and shows him its various relations—Whoever also remarks how very small a proportion his own individual existence bears to this immeasurable scene, cannot but feel an inexpressible pleasure in the contemplation of his own powers—He must rise in his own estimation, and be disposed to cherish with fondness this principle which so eminently raises him above all around him. Of all the sources
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of human vanity this is surely the most manly, the most excusable, and the most likely to be extravagantly indulged.—We may be certain that it will be so indulged, and that men will frequently speculate for the sake of speculation alone, and that they will have too much confidence in the results of this favourite occupation.—As there have been ages of indolent and abject credulity and superstition, it is next to certain that there are also times of wild and extravagant speculation—and when we see it becoming a sort of general passion, we may be certain that this is a case in point.

This can hardly be denied to be the character of the present day. It is not denied. On the contrary it is gloried in, as the prerogative of the 18th century. All the speculations of antiquity are considered as glimmerings (with the exceptions of a few brighter flashes) when compared with our present meridian splendor. We should therefore listen with caution to the inferences from this boasted Illumination. Also, when we reflect on what passes in our own minds, and on what we observe in the world, of the mighty influence of our desires and passions on our judgments, we should carefully notice whether any such warping of the belief is probable in the present case. That it is so is almost certain—for the general and immediate effect of this Illumination is to lessen or remove many restraints which the sanctions

of religion lay on the indulgence of very strong passions, and to diminish our regard for a certain purity or correctness of manners, which religion recommends, as the only conduct suited to our noble natures, and as absolutely necessary for attaining that perfection and happiness of which we are capable.—For surely if we take away religion, it will be wisdom “to eat and to drink, since to-morrow we die.” If, moreover, we see this Illumination extolled above all science, as friendly to virtue, as improving the heart, and as producing a just morality, which will lead to happiness both for ourselves and others, but perceive at the same time that these assertions are made at the expence of principles, which our natural feelings force us to venerate as supreme and paramount to all others, we may then be certain that our informer is trying to mislead and deceive us.—For all virtue and goodness, both of heart and conduct, is in perfect harmony, and there is no jarring or inconsistency. But we must pass this sentence on the doctrines of this Illumination. For it is a melancholy truth that they have been preached and recommended, for the most part, by clergymen, parish-ministers, who, in the presence of invoked Deity, and in the face of the world, have set their solemn seal to a system of doctrines directly opposite to those recommended in their writings; which doctrines they

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solemnly

solemnly profess to believe, and solemnly swear to inculcate.—Surely the informations and instructions of such men should be rejected.—Where shall we find their real opinions? in their solemn oaths?—or in these infidel dissertations?—In either case, they are deceivers, whether misled by vanity or by the mean desire of church-emoluments, or they are prostitutes, courting the society of the wealthy and sensual.—Honesty, like justice, admits of no degrees.—A man is honest, or he is a knave—and who would trust a knave?—But such men are unsuitable instructors for another reason—They are unwise;—for, whatever they may think, they are not respected as men of worth, but are inwardly despised as parasites by the rich, who admit them into their company and treat them with civility, for their own reasons. We take instructions not merely from the knowing,—the learned,²—but from the wise—not therefore from men who give such evidences of weakness.

Such would be the conduct of a prudent man, who listens to the instructions of another with the serious intention of profiting by them. In the present case, he sees plain proofs of degraded self-estimation, of dishonesty, and of mean motives. But the prudent man will go further—he will remark that dissolute manners, and actions which are inevitably subversive of the peace and

order, nay, of the very existence of society, are the natural and necessary consequences of irreligion. Should any doubt of this remain in his mind; should he sometimes think of an Epictetus, or one or two individuals of antiquity, who were eminently virtuous, without the influence of religious sanctions, he should recollect, that the Stoics were animated by the thought, that while the wise man was playing the game of life, the gods were looking on, and pleased with his skill. Let him read the beautiful account given by Dr. Smith of the rise of the Stoic philosophy, and he will see that it was an artificial, but noble, attempt of a few exalted minds, enthusiasts in virtue, aiming to steel their souls against the dreadful but unavoidable misfortunes to which they were continually exposed by the daily recurring revolutions in the turbulent democracies of ancient Greece. There a philosopher was this day a Magistrate, and the next day a captive and a slave. He would see, that this fair picture of mental happiness and independence was fitted for the contemplation of only a few choice spirits, but had no influence on the bulk of mankind. He must admire the noble characters who were animated by this manly enthusiasm, and who have really exhibited some wonderful pictures of virtuous heroism; but he will regret, that the influence of these manly, these natural principles, was not
more

more extensive. He will say to himself, "How will a whole nation act, when religious fancies are removed, and men are actuated by reason alone?"—He is not without instruction on this important subject. France has given an awful lesson to surrounding nations, by shewing them what is the natural effect of shaking off the religious principle, and the veneration for that pure morality which characterises Christianity. By a decree of the Convention, (June 6, 1794,) it is declared, that there is nothing criminal in the promiscuous commerce of the sexes, and therefore nothing that derogates from the female character, when woman forgets that she is the depositary of all domestic satisfaction,—that her honour is the sacred bond of social life,—that on her modesty and delicacy depend all the respect and confidence that will make a man attach himself to her society, free her from labour, share with her the fruits of all his own exertions, and work with willingness and delight, that she may appear on all occasions his equal, and the ornament of all his acquisitions. In the very argument which this selected body of senators has given for the propriety of this decree, it has degraded woman below all estimation. "It is to prevent her from murdering the fruit of unlawful love, by removing her shame, and by relieving her from the fear of want." The senators say, "the

“ Republic wants citizens, and therefore must
 “ not only remove this temptation of shame, but
 “ must take care of the mother while she nurses
 “ the child. It is the property of the nation,
 “ and must not be lost.” The woman all the
 while is considered only as the she-animal, the
 breeder of Sans Culottes. This is the *just* mora-
 lity of Illumination. It is really amusing (for
 things revolting to nature now amuse) to observe
 with what fidelity the principles of the *Illuminati*
 have expressed the sentiments which take posses-
 sion of a people who have shaken off the sanctions
 of religion and morality. The following is part of
 the address to *Psycharion* and the company men-
 tioned in page 257 : “ Once more, *Psycharion*, I
 “ indulge you with a look behind you to the
 “ flowery days of childhood. Now look forwards,
 “ *young woman !* the holy circle of the marriage-
 “ able (*mannbarren*) welcome you. — Young
 “ men, honour the young woman, the future
 “ breeder (*gebaererin*) !” Then, to all—“ Re-
 “ joice in the dawn of Illumination and of Free-
 “ dom. Nature at last enjoys her sacred never-
 “ fading rights. Long was her voice kept down
 “ by civil subordination ; but the days of your
 “ majority now draw nigh, and you will no
 “ longer, under the authority of guardians, ac-
 “ count it a reproach to consider with enlight-
 “ ened eyes the secret workshops of Nature, and
 “ to

“to enjoy your work and duty.” Minos thought this very fine, but it raised a terrible disturbance, and broke up the assembly.

Such are the effects of this boasted enlightening of the human mind with respect to religion and morality. Let us next consider what is the result of the mighty informations which we have got in respect of our social or political connections.

II. We have learned the sum total of this political Illumination, and see that, if true, it is melancholy, destructive of our present comforts, numerous as they are, and affords no prospect of redress from which we can profit, but on the contrary, plunges mankind into dissention, mutual injury, and universal misery, and all this for the *chance* only of prevailing in the contest, and giving our posterity a *chance* of going on in peace, if no change shall be produced, as in former times, by the efforts of ambitious men. But the Illumination appears to be partial, nay false. What is it? It holds out to the Prince nothing but the resignation of all his possessions, rights, and claims, sanctioned by the quiet possession of ages, and by all the feelings of the human heart which give any notion of right to his lowest subject. All these possessions and claims are discovered to have arisen from usurpations, and are therefore tyranny. It has been discovered, that all subordinate subjections were enforced, *therefore their continuance is*

slavery. But both of these historical assertions are in a great degree false, and the inferences from them are unreasonable. The world has gone on as we see it go on at present. Most principalities or sovereignties have arisen as we see personal authorities and influence arise every day among ourselves. Business for the whole must be done. Most men are sufficiently occupied by their private affairs, and they are indolent even in these—they are contented when another does the thing for them. There is not a little village, nor a society of men, where this is not seen every day. Some men have an enjoyment in this kind of vicarious employment. Other men like influence and power and thus are compensated for their trouble. Thus many petty managers of public affairs arise in every country. The mutual animosities of individuals, and still more, the animosities of tribes, clans, and different associations, give rise to another kind of superiors—to leaders, who direct the struggles of the rest, whether for offence or defence. The descendants of Israel said, “they wanted a man to go out before the people, like other nations.” As the small business of a few individuals requires a manager or a leader, so do some more general affairs of these petty superiors.—Many of these also are indolent enough to wish this trouble taken off their hands; and thus another rank of superiors arises, and a third, and so on, till a great State may be formed;

formed ; and in this gradation each class is a competent judge of the conduct of that class only which is immediately above it.

All this may arise, and has often arisen, from voluntary concession alone. This concession may proceed from various causes,—from confidence in superior talents—from confidence in great worth,—most generally from the respect or deference which all men feel for great possessions. This is frequently founded in self-interests and expectations of advantage ; but it is natural to man, and perhaps springs from our instinctive sympathy with the satisfaction of others—we are unwilling to disturb them, and even wish to promote them.

But this subordination may arise, and has often arisen, from other causes—from the love of power and influence, which makes some men *eager* to lead others, or even to manage their concerns. We see this every day, and it may be perfectly innocent. It often arises from the desire of gain of one kind or another.—This also may frequently be indulged with perfect innocence, and even with general advantage. Frequently, however, this subordination is produced by the love of power or of gain pushed to an immoderate degree of ambition, and rendered unjust.—Now there arise oppression, tyranny, sufferings, and slavery. Now appears an opposition between the rights or claims of the ruler and of
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the people. Now the rulers come to consider themselves as a different class, and their transactions are now only with each other.—Prince becomes the rival or the enemy of Prince; and in their contest one prevails, and the dominion is enlarged. This rivalry may have begun in any rank of superiors; even between the first managers of the affairs of the smallest communities, and it must be remarked that they only are the immediate gainers or losers in the contest, while those below them live at ease, enjoying many advantages of the delegation of their own concerns.

No human society has ever proceeded purely in either of these two ways, but there has always been a mixture of both.—But this process is indispensably necessary for the formation of a great nation, and for all the consequences that result only from such a coalition.—Therefore it is necessary for giving rise to all those comforts, and luxuries, and elegancies which are to be found only in great and cultivated states. It is necessary for producing such enjoyments as we see around us in Europe, which we prize so highly, and for which we are making all this stir and disturbance. I believe that no man who expects to be believed will positively assert that human nature and human enjoyments are not meliorated by this cultivation.—It seems to be the intention of nature, and, notwithstanding the follies and vices of many, we can
have

have little hesitation in saying that there are in the most cultivated nations of Europe, and even in the highest ranks of those nations, men of great virtue and worth, and of high accomplishment—Nor can we deny that such men are the finest specimens of human nature. Rousseau indeed wrote a whimsical pamphlet, in which he had the vanity to think that he had proved that all these fruits of cultivation were losses to humanity and to virtue—Yet Rousseau could not be contented with the society of the rude and unpolished, although he pretended that he was almost the sole worshipper of pure virtue.—He supported himself, not by assisting the simple peasant, but by writing music and luscious novels for the pampered rich.

This is the circumstance entirely overlooked, or artfully kept out of sight, in the boasted Illumination of these days. No attention is paid to the important changes which have happened in national greatness, in national connection, in national improvement—yet we never think of parting with any of the advantages, real or imaginary, which these changes have produced—nor do we reflect that in order to keep a great nation together—to make it act with equality, or with preponderancy, among other nations, the individual exertions must be concentrated, must be directed—and that this requires a ruler vested with supreme power, and *interested by some great and endearing motive*, such

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as hereditary possession of this power and influence, to maintain and defend this coalition of men.—All this is overlooked, and we attend only to the subordination which is indispensably necessary. Its grievances are immediately felt, and they are heightened tenfold by a delicacy or sensibility which springs from the great improvements in the accommodations and enjoyments of life, which the gradual usurpation and subsequent subordination have produced, and continue to support. But we are determined to have the elegance and grandeur of a palace without the prince.—We will not give up any of our luxuries and refinements, yet will not support those high ranks and those nice minds which produced them, and which must continue to keep them from degenerating into barbarous simplicity and coarse sensuality.—We would keep the philosophers, the poets, the artists but not the Mæcenases.—It is very true that in such a state there would be no *Conjuration des Philosophes*, for in such a state this vermin of *philosophes* and scribblers would not have existed.—In short, we would have what is impossible.

I have no hesitation in saying, that the British Constitution is the form of a government *for a great and refined nation*, in which the ruling sentiments and propensities of human nature seem most happily blended and balanced. There is no occasion to vaunt it as the ancient rights of Bri-

tons, the wisdom of ages, &c. It has attained its present pitch of perfection by degrees, and this not by the efforts of wisdom, but by the struggles of vice and folly, working on a rich fund of good nature, and of manly spirit, that are conspicuous in the British character. I do not hesitate to say that it is the *only* form of government which will admit and give full exercise to all the respectable propensities of our nature, with the least chance of disturbance, and the greatest probability of man's arriving at the highest pitch of improvement in every thing that raises him above the beasts of the field. Yet there is no part of it that may not, that is not abused, by pushing it to an improper length, and the same watchful care is necessary for preserving our inestimable blessings that was employed in acquiring them.—This is to be done, not by flying at once to an abstract theory of the rights of man.—There is an evident folly in this procedure. What is this theory? It is the best general sketch that we can draw of social life, deduced from our knowledge of human nature.—And what is this knowledge? It is a well digested abstract, or rather a declaration of *what we have observed* of human actions. What is the use therefore of this intermediate picture, this theory of the rights of man?—It has a chance of being unlike the original—it must certainly have imperfections.—Therefore it can be of no use to us.—We should go at once to the original—we should

should consider how men *have acted*—what *have* been their mutual expectations—their fond propensities—what of these are inconsistent with each other—what are the degrees of indulgence which *have been* admitted in them all without disturbance—I will venture to say that whoever does this, will find himself imperceptibly led to contemplate a mixed hereditary monarchy, and will figure to himself a parliament of King, Lords, and Commons, all looking at each other with somewhat of a cautious or jealous eye, while the rest of the nation are sitting, “each under his own vine, and “under his own fig-tree, and there is none to “make him afraid;”—in one word, the Constitution of Great Britain.

A most valuable result of such contemplation will be a thorough conviction that the grievance which is most clamorously insisted on is the inevitable consequence of the liberty and security which we enjoy. I mean ministerial corruption with all the dismal tale of placemen, and pensioners, and rotten boroughs, &c. &c. These are never seen in a despotic government—there they are not wanted—nor can they be very apparent in an uncultivated and poor state—but in a luxurious nation, where pleasures abound, where the returns of industry are secure; here an individual looks on every thing as his own acquisition—he does not *feel* his relation to the state—has no patriotism—thinks that he would be much happier if the
state

state would let him alone.—He is fretted by the restraints which the public weal lays on him—therefore government and governors appear as checks and hindrances to his exertions—hence a general inclination to resist administration.—Yet public business must be done, that we may lie down and rise again in safety and peace.—Administration must be supported—there are always persons who wish to possess the power that is exercised by the present ministers, and would turn them out.—How is all this to be remedied?—I see no way but by applying to the selfish views of individuals—by rewarding the friends of administration—This may be done with perfect virtue—and from this the selfish will conceive hopes, and will support a virtuous ministry—but they are as ready to help a wicked one.—This becomes the greatest misfortune of a free nation.—Ministers are tempted to bribe—and, if a systematic opposition be considered as a necessary part of a practical constitution, it is almost indispensable—and it is nowhere so prevalent as in a pure democracy.—Laws may be contrived to make it very troublesome—but can never extirpate it, nor greatly diminish it—this can be done only by despotism, or by national virtue.—It is a shameful complaint—we should not reprobate a few ministers, but the thousands who take the bribes.—Nothing tends so much to diminish it in a corrupted nation as great limitations

limitations to the eligibility of representatives—and this is the beauty of our constitution.

We have not discovered, therefore, by this boasted Illumination, that Princes and superiors are useless, and must vanish from the earth; nor that the people have now attained full age, and are fit to govern themselves. We want only to revel for a little on the last fruits of national cultivation, which we would quickly consume, and never allow to be raised again.—No matter how this progress began, whether from concession or usurpation—We possess it, and if wise, we will preserve it, by preserving its indispensable supports. They have indeed been frequently employed very improperly, but their most pernicious abuse has been this breed of scribbling vermin, which have made the body-politic smart in every limb.

Hear what opinion was entertained of the sages of France by their Prince, the father of Louis XVI. the unfortunate martyr of Monarchy.

“ By the principles of our new Philosophers,
 “ the Throne no longer wears the splendour of
 “ divinity. They maintain that it arose from
 “ violence, and that by the same justice that
 “ force erected it, force may again shake it, and
 “ overturn it. The people can never give up
 “ their power. They only let it out for their
 “ own advantage, and always retain the right to
 “ rescind

“ rescind the contract, and resume it whenever
 “ their personal advantage, their only rule of
 “ conduct, requires it. Our philosophers teach
 “ in public what our passions suggest only in
 “ secret. They say to the Prince that all is per-
 “ mitted only when all is in his power, and
 “ that his duty is fulfilled when he has pleased
 “ his fancy. Then, surely, if the laws of self-
 “ interest, that is, the self-will of human pas-
 “ sions, shall be so generally admitted, that we
 “ thereupon forget the eternal laws of God and
 “ of Nature, all conceptions of right and wrong,
 “ of virtue and vice, of good and evil, must be
 “ extirpated from the human heart. The throne
 “ must totter, the subjects must become un-
 “ manageable and mutinous, and their ruler
 “ hard-hearted and inhuman. The people will be
 “ incessantly either oppressed, or in an uproar.”—
 “ What service will it be if I order such a book
 “ to be burnt?—the author can write another by
 “ to-morrow.” This opinion of a Prince is un-
 polished indeed, and homely, but it is just.

Weishaupt grants that “ there will be a ter-
 “ rible convulsion, and a storm—but this will
 “ be succeeded by a calm—the unequal will now
 “ be equal—and when the cause of dissension is
 “ thus removed, the world will be in peace.”—
 True, when the causes of dissension are removed.
 Thus, the destruction of our crop by vermin is

at an end when a flood has swept every thing away—but as new plants will spring up in the waste, and, if not instantly devoured, will again cover the ground with verdure, so the industry of man, and his desire of comfort and consideration, will again accumulate in the hands of the diligent a greater proportion of the good things of life. In this infant state of the emerging remains of former cultivation, comforts, which the present inhabitants of Europe would look on with contempt, will be great, improper, and hazardous acquisitions. The principles which authorise the proposed dreadful equalisation will as justly entitle the idle or unsuccessful of future days to strip the possessor of his advantages, and things must ever remain on their savage level.

III. I think that the impression which the insincerity of conduct of those instructors will leave on the mind, must be highly useful. They are evidently teaching what they do not believe themselves—and here I do not confine my remark to their preparatory doctrines, which they afterwards explode. I make it chiefly with respect to their grand ostensible principle, which pervades the whole, a principle which they are obliged to adopt against their will.—They know that the principles of virtue are rooted in the heart, and that they can only be smothered—but did they pretend to eradicate them, and proclaim

claim *hominem homini lupum*, all would spurn at their instruction.—We are wheedled, by tickling our fancy with a notion that sacred virtue is not only secure, but that it is only in such hearts that it exerts its native energy. Sensible that the levelling maxims now spoken of are revolting to the mind, the Illuminators are under the necessity of keeping us from looking at the shocking picture, by displaying a beautiful scene of Utopian happiness—and they rock us asleep by the eternal lullaby of morality and universal philanthropy. Therefore the foregoing narration of the personal conduct of these instructors and reformers of the world, is highly useful. All this is to be brought about by the native loveliness of pure virtue, purged of the corruptions which superstitious fears have introduced, and also purged of the selfish thoughts which are avowed by the advocates of what their opponents call true religion. This is said to hold forth eternal rewards to the good, and to threaten the wicked with dreadful punishment. Experience has shewn how inefficient such motives are. Can they be otherwise? say our Illuminators. Are they not addressed to a principle that is ungenerous and selfish? But our doctrines, say they, touch the hearts of the worthy. Virtue is beloved for her own sake, and all will yield to her gentle sway.

But look, Reader, look at Spartacus the murderer—at Cato the keeper of poisons and the thief—Look at Tiberius, at Alcibiades, and the rest of the Bavarian Pandemonium.—Look at Poor Bahrdt—Go to France—look at Lequinio—at Condorcet*—Look at the Monster Orleans.—All were liars. Their divinity had no influence on their profligate minds. They only wanted to wheedle you, by touching the strings of humanity and goodness which are yet braced up in your heart, and which will still yield sweet harmony if you will accompany their notes with those of religion, and neither clog them with the groveling pleasures of sense, nor damp the whole with the thought of eternal silence

A most worthy and accomplished gentleman, who took refuge in this country, leaving behind him his property, and friends to whom he was most tenderly attached, often said to me that nothing so much affected him as the revolution in the hearts of men.—Characters which were

* De la Metheine says, (*Journ. de Phys. Nov. 1792*,) that Condorcet was brought up in the house of the old Duke of Rochefoucault, who treated him as his son—got Turgot to create a lucrative office for him, and raised him to all his eminence—yet he pursued him with malicious reports—and actually employed ruffians to assassinate him. Yet is Condorcet's writing a model of humanity and tenderness.

unspotted,

unspotted, hearts thoroughly known to himself, having been tried by many things which search the inmost folds of selfishness or malevolence—in short, persons whose judgments were excellent, and on whose worth he could have rested his honour and his life, so fascinated by the contagion, that they came at last to behold, and even to commit the most atrocious crimes with delight.—He used sometimes to utter a sigh which pierced my heart, and would say, that it was caused by some of those things that had come across his thoughts. He breathed his last among us, declaring that it was impossible to recover peace of mind, without a total oblivion of the wickedness and miseries he had beheld.—What a valuable advice, “Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.”—When the prophet told Hazael that he would betray his Prince, he exclaimed, “Is thy servant a dog, that he should do such a thing?” Yet next day he murdered him.

Never since the beginning of the world, has true Religion received so complete an acknowledgment of her excellence, as has been extorted from the fanatics who have attempted to destroy her. Religion stood in their way, and the wretch Marat, as well as the steady villain Wei-

shaupt, saw that they could not proceed till they had eradicated all sentiments of the moral government of the universe. Human nature, improved as it has been by Religion, shrunk from the tasks that were imposed, and it must therefore be brutalized.—The grand confederation was solemnly sworn to by millions in every corner of France—but, as Mirabeau said of the declaration of the Rights of Man, it must be made only the “Almanack of the bygone year”—Therefore Lequinio must write a book, declaring oaths to be nonsense, unworthy of Sans Culottes, and all religion to be a farce.—Not long after, they found that they had some use for a God—but he was gone—and they could not find another.—Their constitution was gone—and they have not yet found another.—What is now left them on which they can depend for awing a man into a respect for truth in his judicial declarations?—what but the honour of a Citizen of France, who laughs at all engagements, which he has broken again and again?—Religion has taken off with her every sense of human duty.—What can we expect but villany from an Archbishop of Paris and his chapter, who made a public profession that they had been playing the villains for many years, teaching what they thought to be a

bundle

bundle of lies? What but the very thing which they have done, cutting each other's throats?—Have not the enlightened citizens of France applauded the execution of their fathers? Have not the furies of Paris denounced their own children?—But turn your eyes from the horrifying spectacle, and think on your own noble descent and alliance. You are not the accidental productions of a fatal chaos, but the work of a Great Artist, creatures that are cared for, born to noble prospects, and conducted to them by the plainest and most simple precepts, “to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God,” not bewildered by the false and fluttering glare of French Philosophy, but conducted by this clear, single light, perceivable by all, “Do to others what you should reasonably expect them to do to you.”

Think not the Muse whose sober voice you hear,
 Contracts with bigot frown her sullen brow,
 Casts round Religion's orb the mists of fear,
 Or shades with horror what with smiles should glow.

No—she would warn you with seraphic fire,
 Heirs as ye are of Heaven's eternal day,
 Would bid you boldly to that Heaven aspire,
 Not sink and slumber in your cells of clay.

Is this the bigot's rant? Away, ye vain,
 Your doubts, your fears, in gloomy du'ness steep;
 Go—soothe your souls in sickness, death, or pain,
 With the sad solace of eternal sleep.

Yet know, vain sceptics, know, th' Almighty Mind,
 Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
 Bade his free soul, by earth nor time confin'd,
 To Heaven, to immortality aspire.

Nor shall this pile of hope his bounty rear'd,
 By vain philosophy be e'er destroy'd;
 Eternity, by all or hop'd or fear'd,
 Shall be by all or suffer'd or enjoy'd.

MASON.

The unfortunate Prince who has taken refuge in this kingdom, and whose situation among us is an illustrious mark of the generosity of the nation, and of the sovereignty of its laws, said to one of the Gentlemen about him, that “if this country was to escape the general wreck of nations, it would owe its preservation to Religion.”—When this was doubted, and it was observed, that there had not been wanting many Religionists in France: “True,” said the Prince, “but they were not in earnest. —I see here a serious interest in the thing. The people know what they are doing when
 “ they

“ they go to church—they understand something
 “ of it, and take an interest in it.” May his
 observation be just, and his expectations be fulfilled !

IV. I would again call upon my countrywomen with the most earnest concern, and beseech them to consider this subject as of more particular importance to themselves than even to the men.—While woman is considered as a respectable moral agent, training along with ourselves for endless improvement ; then, and only then, will she be considered by lordly man as his equal ;—then, and only then, will she be allowed to have any rights, and those rights be respected. Strip women of this prerogative, and they become the drudges of man’s indolence, or the pampered playthings of his idle hours, subject to his caprices, and slaves to his mean passions. Soon will their present empire of gallantry be over. It is a refinement of manners which sprang from Christianity ; and when Christianity is forgotten, this artificial diadem will be taken from their heads, and, unless they adopt the ferocious sentiments of their Gallic neighbours, and join in the general uproar, they will sink into the insignificance of the women in the turbulent republics of Greece, where they are never seen in the busy haunts of men, if we except four or
 five,

five, who, during the course of as many centuries, emerged from the general obscurity, and appear in the historic page, by their uncommon talents, and by the sacrifice of what my fair countrywomen still hold to be the ornament of their sex. I would remind them, that they have it in their power to retain their present honourable station in society. They are our early instructors; and while mothers in the respectable stations of life continued to inculcate on the tender minds of their sons a veneration for the precepts of Religion, their pliant children, receiving their instructions along with the affectionate caresses of their mothers, got impressions which long retained their force, and which protected them from the impulses of youthful passions, till ripening years fitted their minds for listening to serious instruction from their public teachers. Sobriety and decency of manners were then no slur on the character of a youth, and he was thought capable of struggling for independence, or pre-eminence, fit either for supporting or defending the state, although he was neither a toper nor a rake. I believe that no man who has seen thirty or forty years of life, will deny that the manners of youth are sadly changed in this respect. And, without presuming to say that this has proceeded from the neglect,

glect, and almost total cessation of the moral education of the nursery, I think myself well warranted, from my own observation, to say that this education and the sober manners of young men have quitted us together.

Some will call this prudery, and croaking. But I am almost transcribing from Cicero, and from Quintilian.—Cornelia, Aurelia, Attia, and other ladies of the first rank, are praised by Cicero only for their *eminence* in this respect; but not because they were *singular*. Quintilian says, that in the time immediately prior to his own, it had been the general practice of the ladies of rank to superintend the moral education both of sons and daughters. But of late, says he, they are so engaged in continual and corrupting amusements, such as the shows of gladiators, horse-racing, and deep play, that they have no time, and have yielded their places to Greek governesses and tutors, outcasts of a nation more subdued by their own vices than by the Roman arms.—I dare say this was laughed at, as croaking about the corruption of the age. But what was the consequence of all this?—The Romans became the most abandoned voluptuaries, and, to preserve their mean pleasures, they crouched as willing slaves to a succession of the vilest tyrants that ever disgraced humanity.

What

What a noble fund of self-estimation would our fair partners acquire to themselves, if, by reforming the manners of the young generation, they should be the means of restoring peace to the world ! *They have it in their power*, by the renewal of the good old custom of early instruction, and perhaps still more, by impressing on the minds of their daughters the same sentiments, and obliging them to respect sobriety and decency in the youth, and pointedly to withhold their smiles and civilities from all who transgress these in the smallest degree. This is a method of proceeding that *will most certainly be victorious*. Then indeed will the women be the saviours of their country. While therefore the German fair have been repeatedly branded with having welcomed the French invaders *, let our Ladies stand up for the honour of free-born Britons, by turning against the pretended enlighteners of the world, the arms which nature has put into their hands, and which those profligates have presumptuously expected to employ in extending their influence over mankind. The empire of

* I have met with this charge in many places ; and one book in particular, written by a Prussian General Officer, who was in the country over-run by the French troops, gives a detail of the conduct of the women that is very remarkable. He also says that infidelity has become very prevalent among the ladies in the higher circles. Indeed this melancholy account is to be found in many passages of the private correspondence of the *Illuminati*.

beauty

beauty is but short, but the empire of virtue is durable; nor is there an instance to be met with of its decline. If it be yet possible to reform the world, it is possible for the fair. By the constitution of human nature, they must always appear as the ornament of life, and be the objects of fondness and affection; so that if any thing can make head against the selfish and overbearing dispositions of man, it is his respectful regard for the sex. But mere fondness has but little of the rational creature in it, and we see it harbour every day in the breast that is filled with the meanest and most turbulent passions. No where is it so strong as in the harems of the East, and as long as the women ask nothing of the men but fondness and admiration, they will get nothing else—they will never be respected. But let them rouse themselves, assert their dignity, by shewing their own elevated sentiments of human nature, and by acting up to this claim, and they may then command the world.

V. Another good consequence that should result from the account that has been given of the proceedings of this conspiracy is, that since the fascinating picture of human life, by which men have been wheedled into immediate anarchy and rebellion, is insincere, and a mere artificial creature of the imagination, it can have no steadiness, but must be changed by every freak of fancy, or
by

by every ingenious sophist, who can give an equal plausibility to whatever suits his present views. It is as much an airy phantom as any other whim of Free Masonry, and has no prototype, no original pattern in human nature, to which recourse may always be had, to correct mistakes, and keep things in a constant tenor. Has not France given the most unequivocal proofs of this? Was not the declaration of the Rights of Man, the production of their most brilliant Illuminators, a picture *in abstracto*, where man was placed at a distance from the eye, that no false light of local situation might pervert the judgment or engage the passions? Was it not declared to be the masterpiece of human wisdom? Did not the nation consider it at leisure? and having it continually before their eyes, did they not, step by step, give their assent to the different articles of their Constitution, derived from it, and fabricated by their most choice Illuminators? And did not this Constitution draw the applauses of the bright geniuses of other nations, who by this time were busy in persuading, each his countrymen, that they were ignoramuses in statistics, and patient slaves of oppression or of ancient prejudices? Did not panegyrics on it issue from every garret in London? Where is it now? where is its successor? Has any one plan of government subsisted, except while it was supported by the incontrollable and
inexorable

inexorable power of the guillotine? Is not the present administration of France as much as ever the object of discontent and of terror, and its coercions as like as ever to the summary justice of the Parisian mob? Is there any probability of its permanency in a state of peace, when the fears of a foreign enemy no longer give a consolidation to their measures, and oblige them either to agree among themselves, or immediately to perish?

VI. The above accounts evince in the most uncontrovertible manner the dangerous tendency of all mystical societies, and of all associations who hold secret meetings. We see that their uniform progress has been from frivolity and nonsense to wickedness and sedition. Weishaupt has been at great pains to show the good effects of secrecy in the Association, and the arguments are valid for his purpose.—But all his arguments are so many dissuasive advices to every thinking and sober mind. The man who really wishes to discover an abstruse truth will place himself, if possible, in a *calm* situation, and will by no means expose himself to the impatient hankering for secrets and wonders—and he will always fear that a thing which resolutely conceals itself cannot bear the light. All who have seriously employed themselves in the discovery of truth have found the great advantages of open communication of sentiment.

sentiment. And it is against common sense to imagine that there is any thing of vast importance to mankind which is yet a secret, and which must be kept a secret in order to be useful. This is against the whole experience of mankind—And surely to hug in one's breast a secret of such mighty importance, is to give the lie to all our professions of brotherly love. What a solecism! a secret to enlighten and reform the whole world.—We render all our endeavours impotent when we grasp at a thing beyond our power. Let an association be formed with a serious plan for reforming its own members, and let them extend their numbers in proportion as they succeed—this might do some good.—But must the way of doing this be a secret?—It may be to many—who will not look for it where it is to be found—It is this :

“ Do good,—seek peace,—and pursue it ”

But it is almost affronting the reader to suppose arguments necessary on this point. If there be a necessity for secrecy, the purpose of the Association is either frivolous, or it is selfish.

Now, in either case, the danger of such secret assemblies is manifest.—Mere frivolity can never seriously occupy men come to age. And accordingly we see that in every quarter of Europe where Free Masonry has been established, the
Lodges

Lodges have become feedbeds of public mischief. I believe that no ordinary Brother will say that the occupations in the Lodges are any thing better than frivolous, very frivolous indeed. The distribution of charity needs be no secret, and it is but a very small part of the employment of the meeting.

This being the case, it is in human nature that the greater we suppose the frivolity of such an association to be, the greater is the chance of its ceasing to give sufficient occupation to the mind, and the greater is the risk that the meetings may be employed to other purposes which require concealment. When this happens, self-interest alone must prompt and rule, and now there is no length that some men will not go, when they think themselves in no danger of detection and punishment. The whole proceedings of the secret societies of Free Masons on the Continent (and I am authorised to say, of some Lodges in Britain) have taken one turn, and this turn is perfectly natural. In all countries there are men of licentious morals. Such men wish to have a safe opportunity of indulging their wits in satire and sarcasm; and they are pleased with the support of others.—The desire of making proselytes is in every breast—and it is whetted by the restraints of society.—And all countries have discontented men, whose grumblings will raise discontent in others, who might not have attended to some of

the trifling hardships and injuries they met with, had they not been reminded of them. To be discontented, and not to think of schemes of redress, is what we cannot think natural or manly;—and where can such sentiments and schemes find such safe utterance and such probable support as in a secret society? Free Masonry is innocent of all these things; but Free Masonry has been abused, and at last totally perverted—and so will and must any such secret association, as long as men are licentious in their opinions or wicked in their dispositions.

It were devoutly to be wished therefore that the whole Fraternity would imitate the truly benevolent conduct of those German Lodges who have formally broken up, and made a patriotic sacrifice of their amusement to the safety of the state. I cannot think the sacrifice great or costly. It can be no difficult matter to find as pleasant a way of passing a vacant hour—and the charitable deeds of the members need not diminish in the smallest degree. Every person's little circle of acquaintance will give him opportunities of gratifying his kind dispositions, without the chance of being mistaken in the worth of the person on whom he bestows his favours. There is no occasion to go to St. Petersburg for a poor Brother, nor to India for a convert to Christianity, as long as we see so many sufferers and infidels among ourselves,

But not only are secret societies dangerous, but all societies whose object is mysterious. The whole history of man is a proof of this position. In no age or country has there ever appeared a mysterious association which did not in time become a public nuisance. Ingenious or designing men of letters have attempted to show that some of the ancient mysteries were useful to mankind, containing rational doctrines of natural religion. This was the strong hold of Weishaupt, and he quotes the Eleusinian, the Pythagorean, and other mysteries. But surely their external signs and tokens were every thing that is shocking to decency and civil order. It is uncommon presumption for the learned of the 18th century to pretend to know more about them than their contemporaries, the philosophers, the lawgivers of antiquity. These give no such account of them. I would desire any person who admires the ingenious dissertations of Dr. Warburton to read a dull German book, called *Charakteristik der Mysterien der Altern*, published at Frankfort in 1787. The author contents himself with a patient collection of every scrap of every ancient author who has said any thing about them. If the reader can see any thing in them but the most absurd and immoral polytheism and fable, he must take words in a sense that is useless in reading any other piece of ancient composition. I have a notion that the Dionysiacs

of Ionia had some scientific secrets, viz. all the knowledge of practical mechanics which was employed by their architects and engineers, and that they were really a Masonic Fraternity. But, like the *Illuminati*, they tagged to the secrets of Masonry the secret of drunkenness and debauchery; they had their Sister Lodges, and at last became rebels, subverters of the States where they were protected, till aiming at the dominion of all Ionia, they were attacked by the neighbouring States, and dispersed. They were Illuminators too, and wanted to introduce the worship of Bacchus over the whole country. Καὶ τῷ Διονυσῶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην καθιερούσαντες, μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδίας. *Strabo* — Perhaps the Pythagoreans had also some scientific secrets: but they too were Illuminators, and thought it their duty to overfet the State, and were themselves overfet.

Nothing is so dangerous as a mystic Association. The object remaining a secret in the hands of the managers, the rest simply put a ring in their own noses, by which they may be led about at pleasure; and still panting after the secret, they are the better pleased the less they see of their way. A mystical object enables the leader to shift his ground as he pleases, and to accommodate himself to every current fashion or prejudice. This again gives him almost unlimited power; for he can make use of these prejudices to lead men by troops. He finds them already associated by their
prejudices,

prejudices, and waiting for a leader to concentrate their strength and set them in motion. And when once great bodies of men are set in motion, with a creature of their fancy for a guide, even the engineer himself cannot say, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."

VII We may also gather from what we have seen, that all declamations on universal philanthropy are dangerous. Their natural and immediate effect on the mind is to increase the discontents of the unfortunate, and of those in the laborious ranks of life. No one, even of the Illuminators, will deny that those ranks must be filled, if society exists in any degree of cultivation whatever, and that there will always be a greater number of men who have no farther prospect. Surely it is unkind to put such men continually in mind of a state in which they might be at their ease; and it is unkindness unmixed, because all the change that they will produce will be, that James will serve John, who formerly was the servant of James. Such declamations naturally tend to cause men to make light of the obligations and duties of common patriotism, because these are represented as subordinate and inferior to the greater and more noble affection of universal benevolence. I do not pretend to say that patriotism is founded in a rationally perceived pre-emi-

nence or excellence of the society with which we are connected. But if it be a fact that society will not advance unless its members take an interest in it, and that human nature improves only in society, surely this interest should be cherished in every breast. Perhaps national union arises from national animosity;—but they are plainly distinguishable, and union is not necessarily productive of injustice. The same arguments that have any force against patriotism are equally good against the preference which natural instinct gives parents for their children; and surely no one can doubt of the propriety of maintaining this in its full force, subject however to the precise laws of justice. .

But I am in the wrong to adduce paternal or filial affection in defence of patriotism and loyalty, since even those natural instincts are reprobated by the *Illuminati*, as hostile to the all-comprehending philanthropy. Mr. de la Metherie says, that among the memorials sent from the clubs in England to the National Assembly, he read two, (printed,) in which the Assembly was requested to establish a community of wives, and to take children from their parents, and educate them for the nation. In full compliance with this dictate of universal philanthropy, Weishaupt would have murdered his own child and his concubine,—and Orleans voted the death of his near relation.

Indeed, of all the consequences of Illumination, the most melancholy is this revolution which it seems to operate in the heart of man,—this forcible sacrifice of every affection of the heart to an ideal divinity, a mere creature of the imagination.—It seems a prodigy, yet it is a matter of experience, that the farther we advance, or vainly suppose that we do advance, in the knowledge of our mental powers, the more are our moral feelings flattened and done away. I remember reading, long ago, a dissertation on the nursing of infants by a French academician, Le Cointre of Versailles. He indelicately supports his theories by the case of his own son, a weak puny infant, whom his mother was obliged to keep continually applied to her bosom, so that she rarely could get two hours of sleep during the time of suckling him. M. Le Cointre says, that she contracted for this infant “*une partialité tout-a-fait deraisonnable.*”—Plato, or Socrates, or Cicero, would probably have explained this by the habitual exercise of pity, a very endearing emotion.—But our Academician, better illuminated, solves it by stimuli on the *papille*, and on the nerves of the skin, and by the meeting of the humifying *aura*, &c. and does not seem to think that young Le Cointre was much indebted to his mother. It would amuse me to learn that this was the wretch Le Cointre, Major of the National Guards of Versailles, who

countenanced and encouraged the shocking treason and barbarity of those ruffians on the 5th and 6th of October 1789. Complete freezing of the heart would (I think) be the consequence of a theory which could perfectly explain the affections by vibrations or crystallizations.—Nay, any very perfect theory of moral sentiments must have something of this tendency.—Perhaps the ancient systems of moral philosophy, which were chiefly searches after the *summum bonum*, and systems of moral duties, tended more to form and strengthen the heart, and produce a worthy man, than the most perfect theory of modern times, which explains every phenomenon by means of a nice anatomy of our affections.

So far therefore as we are really more illuminated, it may chance to give us an easier victory over the natural or instinctive attachments of mankind, and make the sacrifice to universal philanthropy less costly to the heart. I do not however pretend to say that this is really the case; but I think myself fully warranted to say, that increase of virtuous affections in general has not been the fruit of modern Illumination. I will not again sicken the reader, by calling his attention to Weishaupt and his associates or successors. But let us candidly contemplate the world around us, and particularly the perpetual advocates of universal philanthropy. What have
been

been the general effects of their continual declamations? Surely very melancholy; nor can it easily be otherwise.—An ideal standard is continually referred to. This is made gigantic, by being always seen indistinctly, as through a mist, or rather a fluttering air. In comparison with this, every feeling that we have been accustomed to respect vanishes as insignificant; and, adopting the Jesuitical maxim, that “the great end sanctifies every mean,” this sum of Cosmo-political good is made to eclipse or cover all the present evils which must be endured for it. The fact now is, that we are become so familiarised with enormities, such as brutality to the weaker sex, cruelty to old age, wanton refinement on barbarity, that we now hear unmoved accounts of scenes, from which, a few years ago, we would have shrunk back with horror. With cold hearts, and a metaphysical scale, we measure the present miseries of our fellow-creatures, and compare them with the accumulated miseries of former times, occasioned through a course of ages, and ascribed to the ambition of Princes. In this artificial manner are the atrocities of France extenuated; and we struggle, and partly succeed, in reasoning ourselves out of all the feelings which link men together in society.—The ties of father, husband, brother, friend,—all are abandoned for an emotion which we must even strive to excite,—univer-

sal philanthropy. But this is sad perversion of nature. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"—Still less can he love this ideal being, of which he labours to conjure up some indistinct and fleeting notion. It is also highly absurd; for, in trying to collect the circumstances which constitute the enjoyments of this Citizen of the World, we find ourselves just brought back to the very moral feelings which we are wantonly throwing away. Weisshaupt allures us by the happiness of the patriarchal life as the *summum bonum* of man. But if it is any thing more than eating and sleeping, and squabbling with the neighbouring patriarchs, it must consist in the domestic and neighbourly affections, and every other agreeable moral feeling, all which are to be had in our present state in greater abundance.

But this is all a pretence;—the wicked corrupters of mankind have no such views of human felicity, nor would they be contented with it;—they want to intrigue and to lead; and their patriarchal life answers the same purpose of tickling the fancy as the Arcadia of the poets. Horace shows the frivolity of these declamations, without formally enouncing the moral, in his pretty Ode,

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis.

The

The usurer, after expatiating on this Arcadian felicity, hurries away to 'Change, and puts his whole cash again out to usury.

Equally ineffective are the declamations of Cosmo-politism on a mind filled with selfish passions;—they just serve it for a subterfuge.—The ties of ordinary life are broken in the first place, and the Citizen of the World is a wolf of the desert.

The unhappy consequence is, that the natural progress of liberty is retarded. Had this *ignis fatuus* not appeared and misled us, the improvements which true Illumination has really produced, the increase in sciences and arts, and the improvement in our estimate of life and happiness, would have continued to work silently and gradually in all nations; and those which are less fortunate in point of government would also have improved, by little and little, without losing any sensible portion of their present enjoyments in the possession of riches, or honours, or power. Those pretensions would gradually have come to balance each other, and true liberty, such as Britons enjoy, might have taken place over all.

Instead of this, the inhabitants of every State are put into a situation where every individual is alarmed and injured by the success of another, because all pre-eminence is criminal. Therefore there must be perpetual jealousy and struggle. Princes
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are now alarmed, since they see the aim of the lower classes, and they repent of their former liberal concessions. All parties maintain a fullen distance and reserve;—the people become unruly; and the Sovereign hard-hearted; so that liberty, such as *can* be enjoyed in peace, is banished from the country.

VIII. When we see how eagerly the Illuminati endeavoured to insinuate their Brethren into all offices which gave them influence on the public mind, and particularly into seminaries of education, we should be particularly careful to prevent them, and ought to examine with anxious attention the manner of thinking of all who offer themselves for teachers of youth. There is no part of the secret correspondence of Spartacus and his Associates, in which we see more varied and artful methods for securing pupils, than in his own conduct respecting the students in the University, and the injunctions he gives to others. There are two men, Socher and Drexl, who had the general inspection of the schools in the Electorate. They are treated by Spartacus as persons of the greatest consequence, and the instructions given them stick at no kind of corruption. Weishaupt is at pains, by circuitous and mean arts, to induce young gentlemen to come under his care, and, to one whom he describes in another letter as a little master who must have much indulgence, he causes it to be intimated, that

their influence must be very great. Indeed this anxiety should extend to all offices which in any way give the holders any remarkable influence on the minds of considerable numbers. Such should always be filled by men of immaculate characters and approved principles; and, in times like the present, where the most essential questions are the subjects of frequent discussion, we should always consider with some distrust the men who are very cautious in declaring their opinions on these questions.

It is a great misfortune undoubtedly to feel ourselves in a situation which makes us damp the enjoyments of life with so much suspicion. But the history of mankind shows us that many great revolutions have been produced by remote and apparently frivolous causes. When things come to a height, it is frequently impossible to find a cure—at any rate *medicina fero paratur*, and it is much better to prevent the disease—*principiis obsta—venienti occurre morbo*.

IX. Nor can it be said that these are vain fears. We know that the enemy is working among us, and that there are many appearances in these kingdoms which strongly resemble the contrivance of this dangerous association. We know that before the Order of Illuminati was broken up by the Elector of Bavaria, there were several Lodges in Britain, and we may be certain that they are
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not all broken up. I know that they are not, and that within these two years some Lodges were ignorant, or affected to be so, of the corrupted principles and dangerous designs of the Illuminati. The constitution of the Order shows that this may be, for the Lodges themselves were illuminated by degrees. But I must remark that we can hardly suppose a Lodge to be established in any place, unless there be some very zealous Brother at hand to instruct and direct it. And I think that a person can hardly be advanced as far as the rank of Scotch Knight of the Order, and be a safe man either for our church or state. I am very well informed that there are several thousands of subscribing Brethren in London alone, and we can hardly doubt but that many of that number are well advanced. The vocabulary also of the Illuminati is current in certain societies among us. These societies have taken the very name and constitution of the French and German societies. Corresponding—Affiliated—Provincial—Rescript—Convention—Reading Societies—Citizen of the World—Liberty and Equality, the Imprescriptible Rights of Man, &c. &c. And must it not be acknowledged that our public arbiters of literary merit have greatly changed their manner of treatment of theological and political writings of late years? Till Paine's Age of Reason appeared, the most sceptical writings of Eng-

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land kept within the bounds of decency and of argument, and we have not, in the course of two centuries, one piece that should be compared with many of the blackguard productions of the German presses. Yet even those performances generally met with sharp reproof as well as judicious refutation. This is a tribute of commendation to which my country is most justly entitled. In a former part of my life I was pretty conversant in writings of this kind, and have seen almost every English performance of note. I cannot express the surprise and disgust which I felt at the number and the gross indecency of the German dissertations which have come in my way since I began this little history—and many of the titles which I observe in the Leipzig catalogues are such as I think no British writer would make use of. I am told that the licentiousness of the press has been equally remarkable in France, even before the Revolution.—May this sense of propriety and decency long continue to protect us, and support the national character for real good breeding, as our attainments in manly science have hitherto gained us the respect of the surrounding nations!

I cannot help thinking that British sentiment, or British delicacy, is changed; for Paine's book is treated by most of our Reviewers with an affected liberality and candour, and is laid before the public as quite new matter, and a fair field for
discussion

discussion—and it strikes me as if our critics were more careful to let no fault of his opponents pass unnoticed, than to expose the futility and rudeness of this indelicate writer. In the reviews of political writings we see few of those kind endeavours, which real love for our constitutional government would induce a writer to employ in order to lessen the fretful discontents of the people; and there is frequently betrayed a satisfaction at finding administration in straits, either through misconduct or misfortune. Real love for our country and its government would (I think) induce a person to mix with his criticisms some sentiments of sympathy with the embarrassment of a minister loaded with the business of a great nation, in a situation never before experienced by any minister. The critic would recollect that the minister was a man, subject to error, but not necessarily nor altogether base. But it seems to be an assumed principle with some of our political writers and reviewers that government must always be in fault, and that every thing needs a reform. Such were the beginnings on the continent, and we cannot doubt but that attempts are made to influence the public mind in this country, in the very way that has been practised abroad.—Nay,

X. The detestable doctrines of Illuminatism have been openly preached among us. Has not Dr. Priestly said, (I think in one of his letters on

the Birmingham riots,) "That if the condition of other nations be as much improved as that of France will be by the change in her system of government, the great crisis, dreadful as it may appear, will be a consummation devoutly to be wished for;—and though calamitous to many, perhaps to many innocent persons, will be eventually glorious and happy?"—Is not this equivalent to Spartacus saying, "True—there will be a storm, a convulsion—but all will be calm again?"—Does Dr. Priestley think that the British will part more easily than their neighbours in France with their property and honours, secured by ages of peaceable possession, protected by law, and acquiesced in by all who wish and hope that their own descendants may reap the fruits of their honest industry?—Will they make a less manly struggle?—Are they less numerous?—Must his friends, his patrons, whom he has thanked, and praised, and flattered, yield up all peaceably, or fall in the general struggle? This writer has already given the most promising specimens of his own docility in the principles of Illuminatism, and has already passed through several degrees of initiation. He has refined and refined on Christianity, and boasts, like another Spartacus, that he has, at last, hit on the true secret.—Has he not been preparing the minds of his readers for Atheism by his Theory of Mind, and by his Commen-
tary

tary on the unmeaning jargon of Dr. Hartley? I call it unmeaning jargon, that I may avoid giving it a more apposite and disgraceful name. For, if intelligence and design be nothing but a certain modification of the *vibratiunculae* or undulations of any kind, what is supreme intelligence, but a more extensive, and (perhaps they will call it) refined undulation, pervading or mixing with all others? Indeed it is in this very manner that the universal operation of intelligence is pretended to be explained. As any new or partial undulation may be superinduced on any other already existing, and this without the least disturbance or confusion, so may the inferior intelligences in the universe be only superinductions on the operations of this supreme intelligence which pervades them all.—And thus an undulation (of what? surely of something prior to and independent of this modification) is the cause of all the beings in the universe, and of all the harmony and beauty that we observe.—And this undulation is the object of love, and gratitude, and confidence (that is, of other kinds of undulations).—Fortunately all this has no meaning.—But surely, if any thing can tend to diminish the force of our religious sentiments, and make all Dr. Priestley's discoveries in Christianity insignificant, this will do it.

Were it possible for the departed soul of Newton to feel pain, he would surely recollect with re-

gret that unhappy hour, when provoked by Dr. Hooke's charge of plagiarism, he first threw out his whim of a vibrating æther, to show what might be made of an hypothesis.—For Sir Isaac Newton must be allowed to have paved the way for much of the atomical philosophy of the moderns. Newton's æther is assumed as a *fac totum* by every precipitate sciolist, who, in despite of logic, and in contradiction to all the principles of mechanics, gives us theories of muscular motion, of animal sensation, and even of intelligence and volition, by the undulations of ætherial fluids. Not one of a hundred of these theorists can go through the fundamental theorem of all this doctrine, the 47th prop. of the 2d book of the Principia, and not one in a thousand know that Newton's investigation is inconclusive.—Yet they talk of the effects and modifications of those undulations as familiarly and confidently as if they could demonstrate the propositions in Euclid's Elements.

Yet such is the reasoning that satisfies Dr. Priestley.—But I do not suppose that he has yet attained his acmé of Illumination. His genius has been cramped by British prejudices.—These need not sway his mind any longer. He is now in that “*rara temporis (et loci) felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet*,”—in the country which was honoured by giving the world the first avowed edition of the *Age of Reason*, with the name of the
shop

shop and publisher. I make no doubt but that his mind will now take a higher flight,—and we may expect to see him fire “that train by which he boasted that he would blow up the religious establishment of his stupid and enslaved native country.”—Peace be with him.—But I grieve that he has left any of his friends and abettors among us, who declaim, in the most violent and unqualified terms, against all national Establishments of Religion, and in no friendly terms of any establishments which maintain or allow any privileged Orders. Discanting much on such topics increases the dissatisfaction of the less fortunate part of mankind, who naturally repine at advantages which do not arise from the personal merit of the possessor, although they are the natural and necessary fruits of merit in their ancestors, and of the justice and security of our happy Constitution. No well informed and sensible man will deny that the greatest injury was done to pure Religion when Constantine declared Christianity to be the Religion of the Empire, and vested the Church with all the riches and power of the Heathen Priesthood. But it is false that this was the source of all or of the worst corruptions of Christianity. The merest novice in Church History knows that the errors of the Gnostics, of the Cerinthians, and others, long preceded this event, and that thousands lost their lives in those

metaphysical disputes. But I cannot help thinking that, in the present condition of Europe, religion would desert the world, if the opinions of men were not directed, in some proper degree, by National Establishments. Teachers among the Independents will court popularity, as they have always courted it; by fostering some favourite and discriminating opinion of their hearers. The old subjects of debate have now lost their zest, and I should fear that the teachers would find it a successful, as it is an easy road to popularity, to lead their hearers through a series of refinements, till they are landed, much to their satisfaction, in the Materialism of Dr. Priestley, from which it is but a step to the Atheism of Diderot and Condorcet.

Seeing that there are such grounds of apprehension, I think that we have cause to be on our guard, and that every man who has enjoyed the sweets of British liberty should be very anxious indeed to preserve it. We should discourage all secret assemblies, which afford opportunities to the disaffected, and all conversations which foster any notions of political perfection, and create hankerings after unattainable happiness. These only increase the discontents of the unfortunate, the idle, and the worthless.—Above all, we should be careful to discourage and check immorality and licentiousness in every shape.

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For this will of itself subvert every government, and will subject us to the vile tyranny of a profligate mob.

XI. If there has ever been a season in which it was proper to call upon the public instructors of the nation to exert themselves in the cause of Religion and of Virtue, it is surely the present. It appears, from the tenor of the whole narration before the reader, that Religion and Virtue are considered as the great obstacles to the completion of this plan for overturning the governments of Europe—and I hope that I have made it evident that those conspirators have presupposed that there is deeply rooted in the heart of man a sincere veneration for unsophisticated Virtue, and an affectionate propensity to Religion; that is, to consider this beautiful world as the production of wisdom and power, residing in a Being different from the world itself, and the natural object of admiration and of love.—I do not speak of the truth of this principle at present, but only of its reality, as an impression on the heart of man. These principles must therefore be worked on,—and they are acknowledged to be strong, because much art is employed to eradicate them, or to overwhelm them by other powerful agents.—We also see that Religion and Virtue are considered by those corrupters as closely united, and as mutually supporting each other.

This they admit as a fact, and labour to prove it to be a mistake.—And lastly, they entertain no hopes of complete success till they have exploded both.

This being the case, I hope that I shall be clear of all charge of impropriety, when I address our national instructors, and earnestly desire them to consider this cause as peculiarly theirs. The world has been corrupted under pretence of moral instruction.—Backwardness, therefore, on their part, may do inconceivable harm, because it will most certainly be interpreted as an acknowledgment of defeat, and they will be accused of indifference and insincerity.—I know that a modest man reluctantly comes forward with any thing that has the appearance of thinking himself wiser or better than his neighbours. But if all are so bashful, where will it end? Must we allow a parcel of worthless profligates, whom no man would trust with the management of the most trifling concern, to pass with the ignorant and indolent for teachers of true wisdom, and thus entice the whole world into a trap? They have succeeded with our unfortunate neighbours on the continent, and, in Germany, (to their shame be it spoken,) they have been assisted even by some faithless clergymen.

But I will hope better of my countrymen, and I think that our clergy have encouragement even
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from the native character of Britons. National comparisons are indeed ungraceful, and are rarely candid—but I think they may be indulged in this instance. It is of his own countrymen that Voltaire speaks, when he says, that “they resemble a mixed breed of the monkey and the tiger,” animals that mix fun with mischief, and that sport with the torments of their prey.—They have indeed given the most shocking proofs of the justness of his portrait. It is with a considerable degree of national pride, therefore, that I compare the behaviour of the French with that of the British in a very familiar situation, during the civil wars and the usurpation of Cromwell. There have been more numerous, and infinitely more atrocious, crimes committed in France during any one half-year since the beginning of the Revolution, than during the whole of that tumultuous period. And it should be remembered, that in Britain, at that period, to all other grounds of discontent was added no small share of religious fanaticism, a passion (may I call it) which seldom fails to rouse every angry thought of the heart.—Much may be hoped for from an earnest and judicious address to that rich fund of manly kindness that is conspicuous in the British character,—a fund to which I am persuaded we owe the excellence of our constitutional government—Nowhere else in Europe are the claims of the different ranks in

in society so generally and so candidly admitted. All feel their force, and all allow them to others. Hence it happens that they are enjoyed in so much peace—hence it happens that the gentry live among the yeomen and farmers with so easy and familiar a superiority :

*Extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*

Our Clergy are also well prepared for the task. For our ancestors differed exceedingly from the present Illuminators in their notions, and have enacted that the clergy shall be well instructed in natural philosophy, judging that a knowledge of the symmetry of nature, and the beautiful adjustment of all her operations, would produce a firm belief of a wisdom and power which is the source of all this fair order, the Author and Conductor of all, and therefore the natural object of admiration and of love. A good heart is open to this impression, and feels no reluctance, but on the contrary a pleasure, in thinking man the subject of his government, and the object of his care. This point being once gained, I should think that the salutary truths of Religion will be highly welcome. I should think that it will be easy to convince such minds, that in the midst of the immense variety of the works of God, there is

one great plan to which every thing seems to refer, namely, the crowding this world, to the utmost degree of possibility, with life, with beings that enjoy the things around them, each in its own degree and manner. Among these, man makes a most conspicuous figure, and the *maximum* of his enjoyments seems a capital article in the ways of Providence. It will, I think, require little trouble to shew that the natural dictates of Religion, or the immediate results of the belief of God's moral government of the universe, coincide in every circumstance of sentiment, disposition, and conduct, with those that are most productive of enjoyment (on the whole) in social life. The same train of thought will shew, that the real improvements in the pleasures of society, are, in fact, improvements of man's rational nature, and so many steps toward that perfection which our own consciences tell us we are capable of, and which Religion encourages us to hope for in another state of being.—And thus will “the ways of Wisdom appear to be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths to be peace.”

Dwelling on such topics, there is no occasion for any political discussion. This would be equally improper and hurtful. Such discussions never fail to produce ill-humour.—But surely the highest complacence must result from the thought

that we are co-operating with the Author of all wisdom and goodness, and helping forward the favourite plans of his providence. Such a thought must elevate the mind which thus recognises a sort of alliance with the Author of nature.—Our brethren in society appear brethren indeed, heirs of the same hopes, and travelling to the same country. This will be a sort of moral patriotism, and should, I think, produce mutual forbearance, since we discover imperfections in all creatures, and are conscious of them in ourselves—notwithstanding which, we hope to be all equal at last in worth and in happiness.

I should gladly hope that I shall not be accused of presumption in this address. There is no profession that I more sincerely respect than that of the religious and moral instructor of my country. I am saying nothing here that I am not accustomed to urge at much greater length in the course of my professional duty. And I do not think that I am justly chargeable with vanity, when I suppose that many years of delightful study of the works of God have given me somewhat more acquaintance with them than is probably attained by those who never think of the matter, being continually engaged in the bustle of life. Should one of this description say that all is fate or chance, and that “the same thing happens to all,” &c. as is but too common, I should

should think that a prudent man will give so much preference to *my* assertion, as at least to think seriously about the thing, before he allow himself any indulgence in things which I affirm to be highly dangerous to his future peace and happiness.—For this reason I hope not to be accused of going out of my line, nor hear any one say “*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*” The present is a season of anxiety, and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite to the general good.

It is in some such hopes that I have written these pages, and if they have any such effect, I shall think myself fortunate in having by chance hit on something useful, when I was only trying to amuse myself during the tedious hours of bad health and confinement. No person is more sensible of the many imperfections of this performance than myself. But, as I have no motive for the publication but the hopes of doing some good, I trust that I shall obtain a favourable acceptance of my endeavours from an intelligent, a candid, and a good-natured public. I must entreat that it be remembered that these sheets are not the work of an author determined to write a book. They were for the most part notes, which I took from books I had borrowed, that I might occasionally have recourse to them when occupied with Free Masonry, the first object of my curiosity. My curi-

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riosity was diverted to many other things as I went along, and when the Illuminati came in my way, I regretted the time I had thrown away on Free Masonry.—But, observing their connection, I thought that I perceived the progress of one and the same design. This made me eager to find out any remains of Weishaupt's Association. I was not surprised when I saw marks of its interference in the French Revolution.—In hunting for clearer proofs I found out the German Union—and, in fine, the whole appeared to be one great and wicked project, fermenting and working over all Europe.—Some highly respected friends encouraged me in the hope of doing some service by laying my informations before the public, and said that no time should be lost.—I therefore set about collecting my scattered facts.—I undertook this task at a time when my official duty pressed hard on me, and bad health made me very unfit for study.—The effects of this must appear in many faults, which I see, without being able at present to amend them. I owe this apology to the public, and I trust that my good intentions will procure it acceptance*.

Nothing

* While the sheet commencing p. 465 was printing off, I got a sight of a work published in Paris last year, entitled *La Conjuraton d'Orleans*. It confirms all that I have said respecting the use made of the Free Mason Lodges.—It gives a particular account of the formation of the Jacobin
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Nothing would give me more sincere pleasure than to see the whole proved to be a mistake ;—
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bin Club, by the Club Breton. This last appears to have been the Association formed with the assistance of the German Deputies. The Jacobin Club had several committees, similar to those of the National Assembly. Among others, it had a Committee of Enquiry and Correspondence, whose business it was to gain partizans, to discover enemies, to decide on the merits of the Brethren, and to form similar Clubs in other places.

The Author of the above-mentioned work writes as follows, (vol. iii. p. 19.). We may judge of what the D. of Orleans could do in other places, by what he did during his stay in England. During his stay in London, he gained over to his interest Lord Stanhope and Dr. Price, two of the most respectable members of the *Revolution Society*. This Society had no other object (it said) but to support the Revolution, which had driven James II. from the throne of his ancestors.

Orleans made of this association a true Jacobin Club.—It entered into correspondence with the Committee of Enquiry of our Commune, with the same Committee of our Jacobin Club, and at last with our National Assembly. It even sent to the Assembly an ostensible letter, in which we may see the following passages :

“ The Society congratulates the National Assembly of France on the Revolution which has taken place in that country. It cannot but earnestly wish for the happy conclusion of so important a Revolution, and, at the same time, express the extreme satisfaction which it feels in reflecting on the glorious example which France has given to the world.” (The Reader will remark, that in this example are contained all the horrors which had been exhibited

to be convinced that there is no such plot, and that we run no risk of the contagion; but that Britain will continue, by the abiding prevalence of honour, of virtue, and of true religion, to exhibit the fairest specimen of civil government that ever was seen on earth, and a national character and conduct not unworthy of the inestimable blessings that we enjoy. Our excellent Sovereign, at his accession to the throne, declared to his Parliament that HE GLORIED IN HAVING BEEN BORN A BRITON.—Would to God that all and each of his subjects had entertained the same lofty notions of this good fortune! Then would they have laboured, as he has done for near forty years, to support the honour of the British

exhibited in France before the month of March 1790; and that before this time, the conduct of the Duke of Orleans on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, with all the shocking atrocities of those days, were fully known in England.)

“The Society resolves unanimously to invite all the “people of England to establish Societies through the “kingdom, to support the principles of the Revolution,” (look back to p. 412. of this work,) “to form correspondences between themselves, and by these means to “establish a great concerted Union of all the true Friends “of Liberty.”

Accordingly (says the French author) this was executed, and Jacobin Clubs were established in several cities of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

British name, by setting as bright an example of domestic and of public virtue.—Then would Britons have been indeed the boast of humanity—then we should have viewed these wicked plots of our neighbours with a smile of contempt, and of sincere pity—and there would have been no need of this imperfect but well-meant performance.



*The Reader is desired to insert the following Note after the Note
in page 495.*

The Author is assured by the Right Honourable Lord
Lansdown, that the Duke of Orleans never saw or conversed
with Dr. Price.

POSTSCRIPT.

ALTHOUGH I saw no reason to doubt of the validity of the proofs, which I have offered in the preceding pages, of a conspiracy against the dearest interests of every nation of Europe, nor of the importance of the information to my own countrymen, it gives me great satisfaction to learn that it has been received with favour and indulgence. This I may conclude from the impression's being exhausted in a few days, and because the publisher informs me that another edition is wanted immediately. I could have wished that, this were deferred for some time, that I might have availed myself of the observations of others, and be enabled to correct the mistakes into which I have been led by my scanty knowledge of the German language, and the mistakes of the writers from whom I derived all my informations. I should, in that case, have at-

tempted to make the work more worthy of the public eye, by correcting many imperfections, which the continual distraction of bad health, and my haste to bring it before the public, have occasioned. I should have made the disposition more natural and perspicuous, and have lopped off some redundances and repetitions. But the printer tells me, that this would greatly retard the publication, by changing the series of the pages. At any rate, I am not at present in a condition to engage in any work that requires dispatch. I must yield therefore to those reasons, and content myself with such corrections as can be made immediately.

I have found, after minute enquiry, that I was mistaken as to the expression of an eminent follower of Dr. Priestley, mentioned in p. 485. The person alluded to disclaims all sanguinary proceedings, and my information arose from a very erroneous account which was circulated of the conversation. But I still think the caution equally necessary, which I recommended to the hearers of the frequent and violent declamations made by those alluded to against all religious establishments.

Except the anecdote of Diderot's library, I do not recollect another assertion in the book, for which I have not the authority of printed evidence. This story was told me by so many persons

sons of credit, who were on the spot at the time; that I have no doubt of its truth.

I have been told by a respectable member of the Gallican Church, that I have gone out of my road in the 32d and 60th pages of the former editions, in order to be unjustly severe on the French Clergy, and have represented the majority of their prelates as abandoned to the excess of vice; so that instead of giving proofs of a conspiracy to overturn the state, I have given undeniable arguments in justification of the horrors of the revolution.

This was by no means my thought or my intention. I meant to prove that the machinations of the Illuminati, whether associated under that denomination or not, had *contributed* to the revolution, by making a revolution, unfavourable to virtue and good order, in the public mind. But I was well aware that these plots were not the *sole*, nor perhaps the *chief*, cause of that extraordinary event. This caution I began to express in page 54, line 29, and it is repeated in other places, as it seemed to be necessary. When speaking of the other causes of discontent, therefore, I was necessarily supposing the co-operation of the Illuminati and their friends, and I meant to express the combined effect of both. The whole work bears evident marks of the way in which it was composed, and which made an apology,

logy, and the request of indulgence, necessary on my part. It is plain that, in the early parts of it, I had not viewed the subject in all its circumstances, which opened on me by degrees, although they had been really combined from the beginning. Had the proprietors of the copy right found it prudent to delay this edition till my health and relaxation from academical duty should enable me to put the whole in its proper form, I imagine that the above-mentioned imputation would cease; but as this delay cannot be obtained, I have substituted for the passages complained of an account of what I believe to have been the opinion of the French nation, explaining, as I go along, how it was heightened by the secret operations of the impious and seditious. I frankly acknowledge that the expressions in the former edition were too categorical, and had not the proper restrictions and qualifications.

I therefore embrace with satisfaction the opportunity of this edition to insert in the Postscript my feeble testimony to the great and exemplary piety, charity, and other Christian virtues, which adorned the characters of many of the French dignified Clergy. The names of De la Motte d'Orleans, and Machault, Bishops of Amiens, of de Herc , de la Murche, de Juign es, Beaumont, and many others, will always be revered by the friends of true religion. Nor can
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all the malice of the pretended Illuminators of the world obscure the noble examples of piety and fortitude exhibited by a great majority of the Clergy of all ranks during the horrid tyrannies of Marat and Robespierre. They may ascribe this to a corporation spirit, or to bigotted adherence to the court of Rome; but it is well known that the Gallican Church had long before this time established its independence. By far the greatest number of those worthy men were martyrs to their sense of the sacred obligation of an oath, and to their conviction that in the forfeiture of their vow they must enlist themselves in the service of impiety and of rebellion. A gentleman of excellent judgment, who was witness of the joint declaration of near 400 priests of different ranks at Thoulouse, told me that their spokesman said to the judges, "If we shall give
 " the French nation this example of levity, by
 " breaking an oath which we have taken volun-
 " tarily, without all constraint, and after mature
 " reflection, and which many of us have repeated
 " oftener than once, our new engagement will be
 " but empty words, and we shall ruin the very
 " constitution which we are required to support,
 " because we shall sanction the emancipation of
 " the nation, at every change of popular opinion,
 " from the awful and solemn confederation of the
 " 14th of July last." These were words of prophecy,

phesy, and shewed in a very few months, that those stupid bigots, as they were called, were sagacious judges of human nature, and that the philosophers were really the ignorant and the bigotted.

But although I did not mean to say, or even to insinuate, that the major part of the clergy, or of the prelates, were equally corrupted with the laity of similar rank, I did mean to say that abuses had gotten into the church, and were in general operation, which loudly called for a reform, and that this reform was eagerly sought by the nation.

Nor was this lightly said. When a Protestant reflects on the greater number of the religious observances of the Church of Rome, which arise from, or are connected with the supposed merits and services of the saints and martyrs—when he reflects on the authority of the Bishop of Rome, on auricular confession, monastic vows, penances, indulgences, and other great articles of their confession, he will think me excused, and perhaps justified, in my strongest expressions—especially if he also recollects that there was at this time a very great number in France, who, if not Protestants by profession, yet agreed with them in many important points.

But there are three points in the practice, if not in the written constitution of the Gallican Church,

Church, which gave great offence to the bulk of the Nation, alienated the minds of the people from the establishment, and gave the readiest and most effectual handle to the seditious to disturb the state, and to the impious to overturn the religion. The first was the rigid appropriation of the high stations in the church by the great nobility. This was in some measure the parent of the other two. The second was the prelates deserting their dioceses, residing in the capital, and haunting the court. The last was their haughty and oppressive treatment of the parish priests.

With respect to the first, although a Bishop of Ingulier, in a sermon before the King, maintained its propriety, and spoke much of the *honour* of noble birth (a strange topic when sinners are assembled in the invoked presence of God) much of the *grands mœurs*, and of the *honnêteté imposante* of a Bishop of high noblesse; yet I cannot help thinking that one must be something more than man to acquire that humble simplicity of heart and life which adorned the character of a primitive Bishop of the Christian church, in the midst of the contagious habits of his worldly station, surrounded by luxury and dissipation. Instead of wondering when we see some of these nobles deviate from the paths of purity and of benevolence, we may rather wonder when we see
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so many persevere in this steep and difficult road. Such men are indeed shining examples of the power of true religion ; and their heroic virtue meets with the sweetest reward—they are beloved—and almost worshipped. Such was the influence of virtue, that Louis XV. always rose up when he saw De la Motte d'Orleans. He always handed him to the dock at parting, and used to say to him, with the tear standing in his eye, “ Good fir, pray for me.” But examples of this kind must always be rare, and our general observation of human nature must make us believe, that the appropriation of the enormous revenues of the bishoprics by those accustomed to consider magnificent living as a thing natural and proper, will naturally diminish the share of those revenues that was intended for the poor by the pious donors, the Bishop thinking all the while that he is only supporting his native rank.

This partiality in the disposal of bishoprics was always complained of, but in vain , and the nation was offended with seeing eminent talents and great virtue doomed by inferior birth to languish in obscurity.

The court residence was almost the necessary consequence of this partiality ; for it was this that made a great ecclesiastical revenue almost a necessary of life, and therefore made it necessary
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to be at hand, and to be in favour. Every thing is carried on at court by intrigue, and a Bishop cannot succeed if he does not engage in it. During the reign of Louis XV. preferment could not be obtained without the interference and the favour of the *favourite* of the day—Mlle. Arnoulx, is said to have sold and given away many church livings. What mortification to a Bishop must it not be, and what abasement of dignity, to court such a protectress? Madame du Barry had the impudence to write to Abbé Beauvais, threatening him with royal vengeance for having dared to allude to her in a sermon—yet this gross insult was not resented by the Bishops, and the *feuille des benefices* was still in her hands.

In reading the voluminous *Memoires pour servir d'histoire*, &c. we meet with Bishops and Abbés at every turn, in the character of Financiers, Controleurs, Procureurs, Ministers, &c. And all this is mentioned without any mark of disapprobation.—No—it was a common thing—and no impropriety was observed in it. Does not this shew that the religious duties of a Bishop were not considered by themselves as of very great moment, and that they could easily be fulfilled by a deputy? Yet non-residence was much complained of by the diocesans, both clergy and laity—for very obvious reasons—the laity did not like to have their Bishop absent, spending in
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the capital the vast sums drawn from the diocese, —The clergy suffered by the want of their prelate and his court—and all their business must be transacted with his deputies—and the poor suffered exceedingly for want of his inspection of those appointed to relieve their wants, and by the rapacity of the intermediate officers. —The King was frequently obliged to send individuals to their dioceses, and in 1784 he sent a circular letter to all those who were near the court, bidding them go home immediately, and never to approach the capital without his permission asked and given.

No abuse of ecclesiastical authority was so much complained of as the haughty and oppressive treatment of the Curés by the Bishops. These men were evidently the most useful members of the church, and no other are necessary in a small state for all the Christian purposes of worship and of religious instruction; and Bishops are necessary in a great empire like France, only to give unity to the services of the Curés, to make them all teach the same doctrines, and celebrate the same worship, and to preserve every thing in order. The Curé lives in the midst of his flock, instructs the ignorant, visits the sick, comforts the dying, reproofs the offender, reconciles those who fall out, presides at marriages, births, and funerals, and does a thousand good offices to his parishion-

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ers. He is commonly of humble birth, and has all the innocent prejudices of his flock.—His supposed condition also resembles their's. Both complain of the humiliations and oppressions that they meet with from their superiors. If therefore a Curé discharges his office with decency, he must be cherished by the people.—They are represented by all parties as an amiable and respectable set of men. It is worthy of remark, that the *Curé de village* is painted in this light in all novels, little tales, dramas, &c. so that it is highly probable that this was their general character. To see such *favourite* treated with authority cannot please—to see them insulted or humbled must offend—but to see them also injured and oppressed cannot fail to irritate. Accordingly nothing hurt the high clergy so much as the complaints of the Curés. The turbulent and seditious found them the most effective tools for their purpose—by encouraging their complaints, and augmenting them with the list of their own, and by getting them to influence the minds of their simple parishioners, the discontents of the people were greatly increased. They were also the tools of the sceptics and the impious, without knowing it—for by fomenting the differences between them and their superiors, and thus leaguings the people against the dignitaries of the church, every eye was directed to their
smallest

smallest misdemeanour.—As the mutual dissatisfaction encreased, the Bishops would treat the Curés with more severity—and when this was bitterly descanted on by designing men, the episcopal character was hurt, and they were represented as interested hypocrites, and religion as nothing but a contrivance for procuring them an immense revenue and uncontrollable authority.

That there is some foundation for this accusation of the clergy, might be presumed from remarking that they stood, in relation to the Curés, on the same footing as the Nobles, in relation to the Roturiers—And we should expect the same prejudices in some degree—mitigated, perhaps, by the influence of Religion—but still existing in the mind of imperfect man, and operating with more or less force, according to the character of the individual.—We should expect it to be more uniform and systematic, in persons accustomed to do every thing with method.

But we are not left to this conjectural argument. Many complaints have been made by the Curés in particular dioceses, of the haughty, oppressive, and unjust conduct of their Bishop: One mode of oppression has been repeatedly brought forward. Instead of annual taxes, the Church presents to the King, at the end of every four or five years, what is called a *donative*. This is presented by the archbishops, bishops, great

great abbots, and heads of religious houses, who first agree among themselves about the sum, and then levy it by taxing their dioceses. They are said to allocate the tax in such a manner as that they shall pay little or nothing themselves, and the Curés shall pay almost the whole. I remember reading a complaint of this kind made about 1780 to the Parliament at the Tour-nelle, against the Bishop of Chartres. He was cast, and sentenced to repay £.1,500 sterling, which he had illegally taxed his Curés. As this diocese has 500 parishes, he had overtaxed each Curé about £.3, a considerable sum from a small living. Long before this, the Curés had attempted to lay this grievance at the foot of the throne. I remember seeing, in the year 1774, in the hands of a gentleman of the *Corps Diplomatique*, a memorial of their grievances, intended to be presented to the young King. I remember that it was chiefly a plain statement of facts and calculations, by which the proportion of the donative laid on the Curés appeared to be excessive. It was intercepted, and the person commissioned to get it presented, was served with a lettre de cachet, in consequence of his importunate teasing the superannuated Mau-repas. I remember that some of the Bishops, by name, were charged with very oppressive practices indeed, taxing Curés who did not enjoy

enjoy the tithes of their parishes, but had only a small salary, like our curates, paid them by the Abbey on which the parishes depended, and which received the whole tythes. This was said to be illegal, and it was plainly unjust and cruel. I cannot conceive that such things could have been inserted in a memorial to his Majesty without strong grounds, because the consequences of such defamation would have been dreadful. I remember also that, during our contests with our American colonies, when my attention was a good deal turned to the affairs of France, a paper fell into my hands called *La Remontrance des Curés*, in which their grievances were still more minutely described, and their illegality demonstrated to my satisfaction. It was indeed anonymous, but it referred continually to papers of public notoriety, and particularly to a memorial in the name of the Curés of Dauphiné and Provence. I recollect this much of it, that they had petitioned their Bishops to meet with them and adjust matters. Their petition had been rejected as seditious, and they were ordered to remain at their parishes. But they applied to the parliaments of the provinces, which gave them leave to meet among themselves. They did so, and drew up a petition, which they sent to Paris by two deputies, who waited on Mr. Necker.—He eagerly, and

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insidiously,

insidiously, embraced this opportunity of employing the Curés to humble the Bishops, and the deputies were in high expectations. They probably blabbed their success; for the Bishops residing in Paris got word of it, and procured an order which obliged the deputies to return to their parishes on the third day after their arrival in Paris. The petition however was printed and circulated (probably by Necker) with great rapidity, and met with universal approbation. The remonstrance states, that the consequences of its popularity and dissemination through the kingdom was that the Curés of several other provinces joined with the first petitioners, and the affair became very serious. But the prelates obtained a royal edict, making it treasonable for the Curés of a diocese to assemble for any business in a greater number than thirteen, one of whom must be a person of rank in the chapter. The remonstrance was extremely well written, without a single word of declamation. It was rather a dry discussion of law points, and a learned investigation of the origin of the different authorities in the Church. What particularly struck me, was the pitiful average of the parochial benefices. I had always imagined, that the parsons or rectors of parishes were provided something like our own, so that the clergyman, who really bears the burden and the heat of the day in the evangelical harvest,

might not only be at his ease, and have something of his own which he could employ in acts of generosity, but could keep up such an appearance as should make him a welcome guest among the principal inhabitants of his parish, and give some weight to his counsels and his mannerly admonitions, and procure him a useful respect and authority among the simple villagers. I was much surprised and mortified to find that the average of the country benefices did not exceed £. 50 per annum, and many fell far below it. Some were reduced by those taxations to £. 25. This surely was indigence, even although celibacy freed the Curé from the expences of a family; but he could not support an aged parent or an unprovided sister, nor relieve the poor. I doubt not but that every man, who thinks seriously on the office of a parochial minister, will feel indignation at the laws which condemn him to an indigence that is quite unsuitable to the cultivation of his mind, and to his honourable office of instructing his people in the duties of life, and conducting the worship of Almighty God; which the Bishop, whose duties are, in fact, subservient to those of the Curé, has an ample revenue, besides the disposal of a much greater, for the relief of the poor, and other important services to society. Temporal comforts, and the pleasures of beneficence, and every thing that can make life
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happy, are showered on him who stands least in need of them, and are refused to him whose services give him a just claim to these rewards. Can impiety and infidelity find a fitter topic to speak from, when they wish to ruin the established religion of France? I may surely express my wishes to see a great reform in this particular, without being justly accused of presenting an argument for all the horrors of the French Revolution.

I scorn to rake the scandalous chronicles for the faults of individuals—or even to mention some of great magnitude and notoriety—the points I insist on are general.—At the same time I must say, that there is certainly some essential defect in the Church, which not only tolerates, but loads with its wealth and honours, such men as Dubois, Terraye, and others whom I could name.—Did the rulers of the Church take half the pains, or employ half the authority, in maintaining the honour of the ecclesiastical character, that they employ in defending and increasing the wealth and power of the church, we should neither have heard of those exceptionable maxims of church administration, nor had so many examples of the unbecoming conduct of individuals.

I was not surprised, nor displeased, with the observations made on this performance in the *Analytical Review*—I expected it—It should have

occurred, however, to the Reviewer, that a candid reader will admit the chief proofs that I bring of the existence of a conspiracy, viz. the private correspondence of the Illuminati, when he finds their authenticity admitted by Weishaupt himself, as is observed in page 170 ; he has even the assurance, to think, that these letters will justify him in the mind of all but blood thirsty law-givers, such as the British Houses of Parliament, which certainly consider his intended deed as a murderous deed.—To those proofs I add Knigge's final declaration, and the account of the mysteries attested by Grotzman, who was neither a despot nor a priest.—The Reviewers seriously maintain a thing which they have long known to be false—for in the foreign Reviews, from which they take their accounts of German books, they have seen those private letters, and the review, with encomiums, of the very publication of Weishaupt's, when he acknowledges the authenticity of the private letters. Indeed they might have given all the information that I have given eight or ten years ago—I think that they could not see the reviews which they have extracted from the Literary Journal of Jena, without seeing the reviews of the pieces I have quoted.—The selection which they have made, and the omission of a thing so remarkable and alarming as the association in Bavaria, shew very plainly what turn they wish to give the public mind.

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I am disposed to think, that they have not succeeded to their wish—For this Work has met with a very favourable reception, notwithstanding its great imperfections, and the endeavours of those writers to decry it. This is not dictated by any thing like vanity, for I am sensible that all its merit lies in its being the first messenger of a wonderful and interesting story.

I am also told, that I have not had sufficient authority for the anecdote concerning Frederick II. in page 89, or the anecdote in page 457. They are not material—nor are they to the discredit of the parties—nor am I convinced that my information has been ill founded. It is very likely that I have not given the precise words of the speakers—but there are circumstances which persuade me that they did express sentiments to the same purpose.

As the poetical picture of unqualified Liberty and Equality, and the indolent pleasures of the patriarchal life are the charm by which the Illuminators hope to fascinate all hearts, and as they reprobate every construction of society which tolerates any permanent subordination, and particularly such as found this subordination on distinctions of ranks, and scout all privileges allowed to particular orders of men, I hope that it will not be thought foreign to the general purpose of the foregoing Work, if I with great de-

ference, lay before the Reader some of my reasons for asserting, without hesitation, in page 444, that the British constitution is the only one that will give permanent happiness to a great and luxurious nation, and is peculiarly calculated to give full exercise to the best propensities of cultivated minds. I am the more desirous of doing this, because it seems to me that most of the political writers on the Continent, and many of my countrymen, have not attended to important circumstances which distinguish our constitution from the States General of France and other countries. The republicans in France have, since the Revolution, employed the pains in searching their records, which ought to have been taken before the convocation of the States, and which would probably have prevented that step altogether. They have shewn that the meetings of the States, if we except that in 1614 and 1483, were uniformly occasions of mutual contest between the different Orders, in which the interests of the nation and the authority of the Crown were equally forgotten, and the kingdom was plunged into all the horrors of a rancorous civil war. Of this they give us a remarkable instance during the captivity of King John in 1355 and 1356, the horrors of which were hardly exceeded by any thing that has happened in our days. They have shewn the same dismal consequences of the as-

fembly of the different Orders in Brabant; and still more remarkably in Sweden and Denmark, where they have frequently produced a revolution and change of government, all of which have terminated in the absolute government, either of the Crown, or of one of the contending Orders. They laugh at the simplicity of the British for expecting that the permanent fruits of our constitution, which is founded on the same jarring principles, shall be any better, and assert, that the peaceable exercise of its several powers for somewhat more than a century, (a thing never experienced by us in former times,) has proceeded from circumstances merely accidental. With much address they have selected the former disturbances, and have connected them by a sort of principle, so as to support their system, "that
 " a States General or Parliament, consisting of
 " a representation of the different classes of citizens, can never deliberate for the general
 " good, but must always occupy their time in
 " contentions about their mutual invasions of
 " privilege, and will saddle every aid to the executive power, with some unjust and ruinous
 " aggrandisement of the victorious Order." They have the effrontery to give the MAGNA CHARTA as an instance of an usurpation of the great feudatories, and have represented it in such a light as to make it the game of their writers

ters and of the tribunes—All this they have done in order to reconcile the minds of the few thinking men of the nation to the abolition of the different Orders of the State, and to their National Convention in the form of a chaotic mass of Frenchmen, one and indivisible :

*Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum,
Ubi frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis,
Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.*

Their reasonings would be just, and their proofs from history would be convincing, if their premises were true; if the British Parliament were really an assembly of three Orders, either personally, or by representation, deliberating apart, each having a *veto* on the decisions of the other two. And I apprehend that most of my countrymen, who have not had occasion to canvas the subject with much attention, suppose this to be really the British constitution; for, in the ordinary table conversations on the subject, they seldom go farther, and talk with great complacency of the balance of hostile Powers, of the King as the umpire of differences, and of the peace and prosperity that results from the whole.

But I cannot help thinking that this is a misconception, almost in every circumstance. I do not know any opposite interests in the State, except the general one of the governor and the governed, the king and the subject.—If there is
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an umpire in our constitution, it is the House of Lords—but this is not as a representation of the persons of birth, but as a court of hereditary magistrates: the Peers do not meet to defend their own privileges as citizens, but either as the counsellors of the King, or as judges in the last resort. The privileges for which we see them sometimes contend, are not the privileges of the high-born, of the great vassals of the Crown, but the privileges of the House of Lords, of the supreme Court of Judicature, or of the King's Council. In all the nations on the Continent, the different Orders, as they are called, of the State, are corporations, bodies politic, which have jurisdiction within themselves, and rights which they can maintain at their own hand, and privileges which mark them most distinctly, and produce such a complete separation between the different Orders, that they can no more mix than oil and water. Yet the great president Montesquieu says, that the Peerage of England is a *body* of Nobility; and he uses the term *body* in the strict sense now mentioned, as synonymous to corporation. He has repeatedly used this term to denote the second order of Frenchmen, persons of noble birth, or ennobled, (that is, vested in the privileges and distinctions of the nobly born,) united by law, and having authority to maintain their privileges. The history of France, nay of
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our own country, shows us that this body may enjoy all its distinctions of nobility, and that the Great Barons may enjoy the prerogatives of their baronies, although the authority of the Crown is almost annihilated.—We have no cogent reason, therefore, for thinking that they will be constantly careful to support the authority of the Crown; and much less to believe that they will, at the same time, watch over the liberties of the people. In the election of their representatives, (for the whole body of the gentlemen must appear by representation,) we must not expect that they will select such of their own number as will take care of those two essential objects of our constitution.—Equally jealous of the authority of the Crown and of the encroachments of all those who are not gentlemen, and even fearful of the assumptions of the Great Barons, the powerful individuals of their own order, they will always choose such representatives as will defend their own rights in the first place. Such persons are by no means fit for maintaining the proper authority of the Crown, and keeping the representatives of the lower classes within proper bounds.

But this is not the nature of our House of Lords in the present day. It was so formerly in a great measure, and had the same effects as in other countries. But since the Revolution, the Peers of Great Britain have no important privileges

leges which relate merely or chiefly to birth. These all refer to their functions as Magistrates of the Supreme Court. The King can, at any time, place in this House any eminent person whom he thinks worthy of the office of hereditary magistrate. The Peers are noble—that is, remarkable, illustrious ; but are not necessarily, nor in every instance, persons of high birth. This House therefore is not, in any sort, the representative of what is called in France the Noblesse—a particular cast of the nation ;—nor is it a junction of the proprietors of the great fees of the Crown, as such,—for many, very many, of the greatest baronies are in the hands of those we call Commoners.—They sit as the King's Counsellors, or as Judges.—Therefore the members of our Upper House are not swayed by the prejudices of any class of the citizens. They are hereditary magistrates created by the Sovereign, for his counsel, to defend his prerogatives, to hold the balance between the throne and the people. The greatest part of the Nobility (in the continental sense of the word) are not called into this House, but they may be members of the Lower House, which we call the Commons ; nay the sons and the brothers of the Peers are in the same situation. The Peers therefore cannot be hostile or indifferent to the liberty, the rights, or the

the happiness of the Commons, without being the enemies of their own families.

Nor is our House of Commons at all similar to the *Third Estate* of any of the neighbouring kingdoms. They are not the representatives of the ignobly born, or of any class of citizens. The members are the proper representatives of the *whole nation*, and consist of persons of every class, persons of the highest birth, persons of great fortune, persons of education, of knowledge, of talents.

Thus the causes of dissension which refer to the distinctive rights or prerogatives of the different classes of citizens are removed, because in each House there are many individuals selected from all the classes.

A Peer, having attained the highest honours of the state, must be an enemy to every revolution. Revolution must certainly degrade him, whether it places an absolute monarch, or a democratic junto, on the throne.

The Sovereign naturally looks for the support of the Upper House, and in every measure agreeable to the constitution, and to the public weal, exerts his influence on the House of Commons. Here the character of the monarch and his choice of ministers must appear, as in any other constitution; but with much less chance of danger to political liberty.—The great engine
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of monarchy in Europe has been the jarring privileges of the different Orders; and the Sovereign, by siding with one of them, obtained accessions of prerogative and power.—It was thus that, under the house of Tudor, our constitution advanced with hasty strides to absolute monarchy; and would have attained it, had James the First been as able as he was willing to secure what he firmly believed to be the divine rights of his Crown.

I do not recollect hearing the lower ranks of the State venting much of their discontents against the Peers, and they seem to perceive pretty clearly the advantages arising from their prerogatives. They seem to look up to them as the first who will protect them against the agents of sovereignty. They know that a man may rise from the lowest station to the peerage, and that in that exaltation he remains connected with themselves by the dearest ties; and the House of Commons take no offence at the creation of new Peers, because their privileges as a Court, and their private rights, are not affected by it. Accordingly, the House has always opposed every project of limiting the King's prerogative in this respect.

How unlike is all this to the constitution consisting of the pure representatives of the Privileged Orders of the Continental States. The self-con-

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ceited constitutionalists of France saw something in the British Parliament which did not fall in with their own *hasty* notions, and prided themselves in not copying from us. This would have indicated great poverty of invention in a nation accustomed to consider itself as the teacher of mankind. The most sensible of them, however, wished to have a constitution which they called an *improvement* of ours: and this was the simple plan of a *representation* of the two or three Orders of the State. Their Upper House should contain the representatives of 100,000 noblesse. The Princes of the Blood and Great Barons should sit in it of their own right, and the rest by deputies. The Lower House, or *Tiers Etat*, should consist of deputies from those ignobly born; such as merchants, persons in the lower offices of the law, artisans, peasants, and a small number of freeholders. Surely it needs no deep reflection to teach us what sort of deliberations would occupy such a house. It would be a most useful occupation, however, to peruse the history of France, and of other nations, and see what *really did occupy* the *Tiers Etat* thus constructed, and what were their proceedings, their decisions, and the steps which they took to make them effectual. I have no doubt but that this study would cure most of our advocates for general eligibility, and for general suffrage. I have lately
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read Velley and Villaret's *History of France*, (by the bye, the Abbé Barruel has shewn that the Club d'Holbach managed the publication of this *History* after the first eight or ten volumes, and slipped into it many things suited to their impious project,) and the accounts of the troublesome reigns of John, and Charles his successor, by authors who wrote long before the Revolution; and they filled me with horror. The only instance that I meet with of any thing like moderation in the claims and disputes of the different Orders of their States General, and of patriotism, or regard for the general interests of the State, is in their meetings during the minority of Charles VIII.

With respect to the limitations of the eligibility into the House of Commons, I think that there can be no doubt that those should be excluded whose habits of needy and laborious life have precluded them from all opportunities of acquiring some general views of political relations. Such persons are totally unfit for deliberations, where general or comprehensive views only are to be the subjects of discussion, they can have no conceptions of the subject, and therefore no steady notions or opinions, but must change them after every speaker, and must become the dupes of every demagogue.

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But there are other circumstances which make me think that, of all the classes of citizens, the land proprietors are the fittest for holding this important office. I do not infer this from their having a more real connection with the nation, and a stronger interest in its fate—I prefer them on account of their general habits of thought. Almost all their ordinary transactions are such as make them acquainted with the interests of others, cause them to consider those in general points of view; and, in short, most of their occupations are, in some degree, national. They are accustomed to settle differences between those of lower stations—they are frequently in the King's commission as Justices of the Peace. All these circumstances make them much apter scholars in that political knowledge, which is absolutely necessary for a member of the House of Commons. But, besides this, I have no hesitation in saying that their turn of mind, their principles of conduct, are more generally such as become a Senator, than those of *any other class* of men. This class includes almost all men of family. I cannot help thinking that even what is called family pride is a sentiment in their favour. I am convinced that all our propensities are useful in society, and that their bad effects arise wholly from want of moderation.

tion in the indulgence of them, or sometimes from the impropriety of the occasion on which they are exerted. What propensity is more general than the desire of acquiring permanent consideration for ourselves and our families? Where is the man to be found so mean-spirited as not to value himself for being born of creditable parents, and for creditable domestic connections? Is this wrong because it has been abused? So then is every pre-eminence of office, and the directors of republican France are as criminal as her former Nobles. This propensity of the human heart should no more be rejected than the desire of power. It should be regulated—but it should certainly be made use of as one of the means of carrying on the national business. I think that we know some of its good effects.—It incites to a certain propriety of conduct that is generally agreeable—its honesty is embellished by a manner that makes it more pleasing. There is something that we call the *behaviour of a Gentleman* that is immediately and uniformly understood. The plainest peasant or labourer will say of a man whom he esteems in a certain way, “He is a Gentleman, every bit of him,”—and he is perfectly understood by all who hear him to mean, not a rank in life, but a turn of mind, a tenor of conduct that is amiable and worthy, and the ground of confidence.

dence.—I remark, with some feeling of patriotic pride, that these are phrases almost peculiar to our language—in Russia the words would have no meaning. But there, the Sovereign is a despot, and all but the Gentry are slaves; and the Gentry are at no pains to recommend their class by such a distinction, nor to give currency to such a phrase.—I would infer from this peculiarity, that Britain is the happy land, where the wisest use has been made of this propensity of the human heart.

If therefore there be a foundation for this peculiarity, the Gentry are proper objects of our choice for filling the House of Commons.

If theoretical considerations are of any value in questions of political discussion, I would say, that we have good reasons for giving this class of citizens a great share in the public deliberations. Besides what I have already noticed of their habits of considering things in general points of view, and their *feeling* a closer connection with the nation than any other class, I would say that the power and influence which naturally attach to their being called to offices of public trust, will probably be better lodged in their hands. If they are generally selected for these offices, they come to consider them as parts of their civil condition, as situations natural to them. They will therefore exercise this power
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and influence with the moderation and calmness of habit,—they are no novelties to them—they are not afraid of losing them ;—therefore, when in office, they do not catch at the opportunities of exercising them. This is the ordinary conduct of men, and therefore is a ground of probable reasoning.—In short, I should expect from our Gentry somewhat of generosity and candour, which would temper the commercial principle, which seems to regulate the national transactions of modern Europe, and whose effects seem less friendly to the best interests of humanity, than even the Roman principle of glory.

The Reader will now believe that I would not recommend the filling the House of Commons with merchants, although they seem to be the natural Representatives of the monied interest of the nation. But I do not wish to consider that House as the Representative of any Orders whatever, or to disturb its deliberations with any debates on their jarring interests. The man of purely commercial notions disclaims all generosity—recommends honesty because it is the best policy—in short, “ places the value of a thing in “ as much money as ’twill bring.” I should watch the conduct of such men more narrowly than that of the Nobles. Indeed, the history of Parliament will shew that the Gentry have not been the most venal part of the House. The Il-

lumination which now dazzles the world aims directly at multiplying the number of venal members, by filling the senates of Europe with men who may be bought at a low price. Ministerial corruption is the fruit of Liberty, and freedom dawned in this nation in Queen Elizabeth's time, when her minister bribed Wentworth.—A wise and free Legislation will endeavour to make this as expensive and troublesome as possible, and therefore will neither admit universal suffrage nor a very extensive eligibility. These two circumstances, besides opening a wider door to corruption, tend to destroy the very intention of all civil constitutions. The great object in them is, to make a great number of people happy. Some men place their chief enjoyment in measuring their strength with others, and love to be continually employed in canvassing, intriguing, and carrying on some little pieces of a sort of public business; to such men universal suffrage and eligibility would be paradise—but it is to be hoped that the number of such is not very great: for this occupation must be accompanied by much disquiet among their neighbours, much dissension, and mutual offence and ill-will—and the peaceable, the indolent, the studious, and the half of the nation, the women, will be great sufferers by all this. In a nation possessing many of the comforts and pleasures of life, the happiest

government is that which will leave the greatest number possible totally unoccupied with national affairs, and at full liberty to enjoy all their domestic and social pleasures, and to do this with security and permanency. Great limitations in the right of electing seems therefore a circumstance necessary for this purpose; and limitations are equally necessary on the eligibility. When the offices of power and emolument are open to all, the scramble becomes universal, and the nation is never at peace. The *road* to a seat in Parliament should be accessible to all; but it should be long, so that many things, which all may in time obtain, shall be requisite for qualifying the candidate. The road should also be such that all should be induced to walk in it, in the prosecution of their ordinary business; and their admission into public offices should depend on the progress which they have made in the advancement of their own fortunes. Such regulations would, I think, give the greatest chance of filling the offices with persons fittest for them, by their talents, their experience, and their habits of thinking. These habits, and the views of life which a man forms in consequence of his situation, are of the utmost importance.

After all these observations, I must still recur to a position which I have repeated more than once, namely, that our constitution, which nearly

embraces all these circumstances, has attained its present excellence chiefly in consequence of the innate worth of the British character. About the time of the Conquest, our Constitution hardly differed from that of France. But the clashing of interests between the different Orders of the subjects, was not so rancorous and obstinate—these Orders melted more easily together—the purity of the principle of Representation in the States was less attended to; and while the French Peers gradually left off minding any business but their own, and left the High Court of Judicature to the lawyers, and the King to his Cabinet Council, the Peers of Great Britain, overlooking their own less important distinctions, attended more to the State, became a permanent Council to the Sovereign in the administration and legislation; and, with a patriotism and a patience that are unknown to the other Grandees of Europe, continued to hear and to judge in all questions of justice and property between the inferior citizens of the State. British Liberty is the highly prized fruit of all this worthy conduct, and most people ascribe it to the superior spirit and independence of the national character. It strikes me, however, as more surely indicating superior virtue, and more judicious patriotism; and our happy constitution is not more justly entitled to the admiration and respect that is paid to it

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it by all Europe, than to the affectionate and grateful attachment of every true hearted Briton.

Since the publication of this volume I have seen a very remarkable work indeed, on the same subject, *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Jacobinisme, par M. l'Abbé Barruel*. This author confirms all that I have said of the *Enlighteners*, whom he very aptly calls *Philosophists*; and of the abuses of Free Masonry in France. He shows, unquestionably, that a formal and systematic conspiracy against Religion was formed and zealously prosecuted by Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Diderot, assisted by Frederic II. King of Prussia; and I see that their principles and their manner of procedure have been the same with those of the German atheists and anarchists. Like them they hired an Army of Writers; they industriously pushed their writings into every house and every cottage. Those writings were equally calculated for inflaming the sensual appetites of men, and for perverting their judgments. They endeavoured to get the command of the Schools, particularly those for the lower classes; and they erected and managed a prodigious number of Circulating Libraries and Reading Societies. M. Barruel says, that this gang of public corruptors have held their meetings for many years in the *Hotel d'Holbach* at Paris, and that Voltaire was their honorary Pre-

sident. The most eminent members were *d'Alambert*, *Diderot*, *Condorcet*, *La Harpe*, *Turgot*, *Lamoignon*. They took the name of **ECONOMISTS**, and affected to be continually occupied with plans for improving Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, Finance, &c. and published from time to time respectable performances on those subjects.—But their darling project was to destroy Christianity and all Religion, and to bring about a total change of Government. They employed writers to compose corrupting and impious books—these were revised by the Society, and corrected till they suited their purpose. A number were printed in a handsome manner, to defray the expence; and then a much greater number were printed in the cheapest form possible, and given for nothing, or at very low prices, to hawkers and pedlars, with injunctions to distribute them secretly through the cities and villages. They even hired persons to read them to conventicles of those who had not learned to read *. (See vol. i. 343—355.)

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* The author makes an observation which is as just as it is agreeable. This atrocious gang solicited, with the most anxious assiduity, the participation and patronage of the great ones of the world, and boast of several very exalted names; Frederic II. of Prussia, whom they call the Solomon of the North, Catharine II. Gustavus King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, &c. &c. But in the whole series of their

I am particular struck by a position of Abbé Barruel, "*That irreligion and unqualified Liberty and Equality are the genuine and original Secrets of Free Masonry, and the ultimatum of a regular progress through all its degrees.*" He supports this remarkable position with great ingenuity, and many very pertinent facts. I confess that now, when I have got this impression, I shall find it very difficult to efface it. But I must also say, that this thought never struck me, during all the time that I have been occupied with it; nor have I ever heard it expressed by any Brother, except such as had been illuminated, and such Brethren always considered this as an innovation or improvement on genuine British Free Masonry. I recollect, indeed, that Nicholai, in his account of the German Rosycrucians, says, that the object of Free Masonry in England, since the time of James II. is *Toleration in Religious Opinions.* as *Royalism* had been the object before that time.

their correspondence there is not the least trace of any encouragement or any hopes from our excellent Sovereign George III. Despising the incense of such wretches, and detesting their science, he has truly merited the title of *Philosopher*, by having done more for the real Illumination of the World, by the promotion of true Science, than Louis XIV. with his pensioned Academicians, or than all the present Sovereigns of Europe united; and has uniformly distinguished himself by his regard for true Religion, and every thing that is venerable and sacred. This omission is above all praise!

The account which the Abbé gives of the *Chevalerie du Soleil* is very conformable to one of the three rituals in my possession. His account of the *Chevalerie de Rose Croix*, and some others, differs considerably from those in my box. I have reason to think that my materials are transcripts from the rituals, &c. which Rhsa introduced into the German Lodges, because the writer of the greatest part of them is an inhabitant of that city.

I think that the Abbé Barruel's account of this matter suggests a pleasing reflection. All the Brethren on the Continent agree in saying, that Free Masonry was imported from Great Britain about the beginning of this century, and this in the form of a Mystical Society. It has been assiduously cultivated in Britain ever since that time, and I believe that the Fraternity is more numerous here, in proportion to the population of the country, than in any other kingdom; yet in Britain the Brethren have never suspected that its principles were seditious or atheistical. While the Free Masonry of the Continent was tricked up with all the frippery of stars and ribands, or was perverted to the most profligate and impious purposes, and the Lodges became seminaries of Foppery, of Sedition, and Impiety, it has retained in Britain its original form, simple and unadorned, and the
Lodges

Lodges have remained the scenes of innocent merriment, or meetings of Charity and Beneficence. As the good sense and sound judgments of Britons have preserved them from the absurd follies of Transmutation, of Ghost-raising, and of Magic, so their honest hearts and their innate good dispositions have made them detest and reject the mad projects and impious doctrines of Cosmopolites, Epicurists, and Atheists.

*Of fortunatos nimium, sua si bona noſ int
Anglicolas !*

I have more confidence than ever in the sentiment which I expressed in p. 488, as an encouragement for our moral instructors ; and with greater earnestness do I call on them to rescue from corruption and impending ruin a nation so highly deserving of their care.

Mr. Barruel, in the eighteenth chapter of his work, has suggested some reflections, which highly merit attention, and greatly tend to efface the impression which is naturally made on the minds of the unthinking and precipitant, when they observe such a list of authors, whom they have been accustomed to admire, all leagued against Religion. I think however that nothing can more effectually remove it, than what I have already shewn of the vile and disgraceful tricks which these sophists have been guilty of to support their cause. The cause of this numerous
association

association is distinctly seen in their very procedure. The very first step in their progress is *depravation of manners*. In this they have laboured with as much earnestness as either Spartacus, or Minos, or Bahrdt. It was a treat to me to learn that La Close's abominable book *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, was not merely pandering for his patron Orleans, but also working for his masters at the Hotel d'Holbach. Nothing gives such certain bread to those authors, in the beginning of their career, as immoral and impure writings:—

with such did even their chief set out, and his pockets; witness his *Pucelle d'Orleans*; and even after they became the *sages of France*, they continued, either from coarse taste or from serious principle, for the diabolical purpose of inflaming the passions of others, to interlard their gravest performances with impure thoughts and sentiments. Nay, the secret of the Hotel d'Holbach shews us that, for any thing we know to the contrary, the vilest productions of their press may have been the compositions of the octogenary Voltaire, of the fly d'Alembert, or of the author of the *Pere de Famille*. What a pity it is that the *Decline of the Roman Empire* was not all written in England, and that its learned and elegant author, by going into their society, has allowed himself to be drawn into this muddy and degrading vortex!

I should

I should scarcely ask for more to disgust me with the philosophy of these sages, and to make me distrust all their pretensions to knowledge. The meanness of the conduct suited the original poverty of the whole of them, but its continuance strips them of all claims to the name of philosophers. Their pretended wisdom is only cunning, —and we must acknowledge that their conduct was clever: for this mean of corruption, concealed or embellished by their talents for sentimental slang, (I can give it no better name,) made their conversation and their writings most acceptable to their noble patrons.—Now it is that Religion, of necessity, comes on the field; for Religion tells us, that these are mean pleasures for creatures born to our prospects, and Christianity tells us, that they are gross transgressions of *the only just morality*. The progress of the pupil will now be rapid; for he will listen with willing ears to lessons which flatter his passions. Yet Voltaire thinks it necessary to enliven the lessons by a little of the *salaison, quelques bons mots a-propos auprès des femmes*, which he recommends to d'Alembert, who, it seems, was deficient in this kind of small talk.

Surely all this is very unlike to wisdom; and when we see that it is a part of a plan, and this an obvious one, it should greatly lessen our wonder at the number of these admired infidels. If we would

would now proceed to examine their pretensions to science, on which they found their claim to the name of philosophers, we must be careful to take the word in a sense that is unequivocal. Its true meaning is by no means what is commonly assigned to it, a lover of knowledge. It is a lover of wisdom; and philosophy professes to teach us what are the constituents of human felicity, and what are the means of attaining it; what are our duties, and the general rules for our conduct. The stoics were philosophers. The Christians are also philosophers. The Epicureans and the Sophists of France would also be called philosophers. I have put in my objection to this claim already, and need not repeat my reasons for saying that their doctrines are not dictates of wisdom. I shall only add, that their own conduct shows plainly that their principles had no effect on themselves, because we see, from the series of correspondence which Mr. Barruel has laid before us, that they do not scruple to practise villanous and hypocritical tricks, which never fail to disgrace a man, and are totally irreconcilable with our notions of human dignity. Voltaire patiently took a caning from an officer at Frankfort, for having wittily told lies of his scholar Frederic, and his wisdom told him that his honour was cleared by offering to meet the Major, each of them pro-
vided

vided with an injection syringe. This was thought sublime wit at Ferney. I do not suppose that the slave Epictetus, or the soldier Digby, would have ended the affair in this manner. Many of the deeds of wisdom of the club d'Holbach were more degrading than even this; and I am confident, that the whole of this phalanx of sages were conscious that they were treated by their patrons and pupils as Voltaire was treated by the Solomon of the North, and that their notions of the *vraie sagesse* were also the same with his. He gives this account of it in his letter to his niece: "Le Roi lui avoit repondu; 'j'aurai besoin de Voltaire un an tout au plus—On presse l'orange, et on jette l'écorce.' Je me suis fait repeter ces douces paroles"—(How poor Voltaire would grin!)"—"Je vois bien qu'on a pressé l'orange—il faut penser à sauver l'écorce."

But, as things stand at present, philosopher means a man of science, and in this sense of the word our sages claim great respect. No claim can be worse founded. It is amusing to observe the earnestness with which they recommend the study of natural history. One does not readily see the connection of this with their ostensible object, the happiness of man. A perusal of Voltaire's letters betrays the secret. Many years ago he heard that some observations on the

formation of strata, and the fossils found in them, were incompatible with the age which the Mosaic history seems to assign to this globe. He mentions this with great exultation in some of his early letters; and, from that time forward, never ceases to enjoin his colleagues to press the study of natural history and cosmogony, and carefully to bring forward every fact which was hostile to the Mosaic accounts. It became a serious part of the exercises of their wealthy pupils, and their perplexing discoveries were most ostentatiously displayed. M. de Luc, a very eminent naturalist, has shown, in a letter to the Chevalier Dr. Zimmerman, (published, I think, about the year 1790), how very scanty the knowledge of these observers has been, and how precipitate have been their conclusions. For my own part, I think the affair is of little consequence. Moïse writes the history, not of this globe, but of the race of Adam.

The science of these philosophers is not remarkable in other branches, if we except M. d'Alembert's mathematics*. Yet the imposing confidence

* Never was there any thing more contemptible than the physical and mechanical positions in Diderot's great work, the *System de la Nature*. (Barruel affirms, that he was the author, and got 100 pistoles for the copy, from the person who related the story to him), that long ago found
that

confidence of Voltaire was such, that he passes for a person fully informed, and he pronounces on every subject with so much authority, with such a force of expression, and generally with so much wit or pleasantry, that his hearers and readers are fascinated, and soon convinced of what they wish to be true.

It is not by the wisdom nor by the profound knowledge which these writers display, that they have acquired celebrity, a fame which has been so pernicious. It is by fine writing, by works addressed to the imagination and to the affections, by excellent dramas, by affecting moral essays, full of expressions of the greatest respect for virtue, the most tender benevolence, and the highest sentiments of honour and dignity.—By these means they fascinate all readers; they gain the esteem of the worthy, who imagine them sincere, and their pernicious doctrines are thus spread abroad, and steal into the minds of the dissolute, the licentious, and the unwary.

that Diderot had assisted Robinet to make a book out of his Masonic Oration, which I mentioned in page 41. Robinet trusted to Diderot's knowledge in natural philosophy. But the Junto were ashamed of the book *De la Nature*. Diderot seems to have, after this, read Dr. Hartley's book, and has greatly refined on the crude system of Robinet. But after all, the *Système de la Nature* is contemptible, if it be considered as pretending to what is received as science by a mechanical philosopher.

But I am writing to Britons, who are considered by our neighbours on the Continent as a nation of philosophers—to the countrymen of Bacon, of Locke, of Newton—who are not to be wheedled like children, but must be reasoned with as men.—Voltaire, who decides without hesitation on the character of the most distant nations in the most remote antiquity, did not know us: he came among us, in the beginning of his career, with the highest expectations of our support, and hoped to make his fortune by his *Pucelle d'Orleans*. It was rejected with disdain—but we published his *Henriade* for him: and, notwithstanding his repeated disappointments of the same kind, he durst not offend his countrymen by slandering us, but joined in the profound respect paid by all to British science.—Our writers, whether on natural or moral science, are still regarded as standard classics, and are studied with care. Lord Verulam is acknowledged by every man of science to have given the first just description of true philosophy, pointed out its objects, and ascertained its mode of procedure—And Newton is equally allowed to have evinced the propriety of the Baconian precept by his unequalled success, *suâ Matthesi facem preferente*.—The most celebrated philosophers on the Continent are those who have completed by demonstration the wonderful guesses of his penetrating

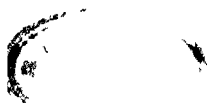
trating genius. Bailli, or Condorcet, (I forget which,) struck with the inconceivable reaches of Newton's thoughts breaks out, in the words of Lucretius,

*Te sequor, O magnæ gentis decus, inque tuis nunc
Fixa pedum pono pressis vestigia signis.
Tu pater et rerum inventor, tu patria nobis
Suppeditas precepta, tuisque ex inclute chartis,
Floriferis ut apes in solibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta;
Aurea, perpetuâ semper dignissima vitâ.*

After such avowals of our capacity to instruct ourselves, shall we still fly to those disturbers of the world for our lessons? No—Let us rally round our own standards—let us take the path pointed out by Bacon—let us follow the steps of Newton—and, to conclude, let us seriously consider a most excellent advice by the highest authority :

• “ Beware of false prophets, who come to you
“ in sheep's cloathing, but inwardly they are
“ ravening wolves — BY THEIR FRUITS YE
“ SHALL KNOW THEM—Do men gather grapes
“ of thorns, or figs of thistles ?”

T H E E N D.



ERRATUM:

P. 166. l. 2, *delete* "even d— (Can this mean death?)"

