

00097760

Digitized with financial assistance from Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj on 11 March, 2020

CONSPIRACY

PROOFS

RELIGIONS AND GOVERNMENTS

EUROPE,

OF

CARRIED ON

FREE MASONS, ILLUMINATI, AND READING SOCIETIES.

OF

COLLECTED FROM GOOD AUTHORITIES B Y JOHN ROBISON, A. M. PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AND SECRETARY

TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

\$ 797.

Enterco in Stationers Ball,

•

.

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

SIR,

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

I have prefumed to inferibe it with your Name, that I may publicly express the pleasure which I felt, when I found that neither a separation for thirty years, nor the pressure of the most important business, had effaced your kind remembrance of a College Acquaintance, or abated that obliging and polite attention with which you facous of me in those early days of life.....

The friend/hip of the accomplifhed and the worthy is the highe/t honour; and to him who is cut off, by want of health, from almost every other enjoyment, it is an ine/timable bleffing. Accept, therefore, I pray, of my gratefindeknowledgements, and of my earnest wishes f.r your Health, Prosperity, and increasing Honour.

With fentiments of the greatest Esteem and Respect,

I am',

SIR,

Your most obedient, and most bumble Servant,

EDIJBURGH, September 5. 1797.

JOHN ROBISON.

QUOD fi quis verà vitam ratione gubernet, Divitia grandes homini funt, vivere parcè Æquo animo: neque enim est unquam penuria parvi, At claros se homines voluêrunt atque potentes, Ut fundamento stabili fortuna maneret, Et placidam possent opulenti degere vitam: Nequicquam,-quoniam ad summum succedere honorem Certantes, iter infestum secere viai, Et tamen e summo quasi fulmen dejicit istos Invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara tetra.

Ergo, Regibus occifis, fubverfa jacebat Prijlina majejtas foliorum, et sceptra superba; Et capitis fummi proclarum insigne, cruentum, Sub pedibus volgi magnum lugebat honorem : Nam cupide conculcatur nimis ante metutum. Res itaque ad summam fæcem, turbasque redibat, Imperiúm fibi cum ac summatum quisque petebat.

LUCRETIUS, V. 1153.

The Author requests the Correction of the following Mistakes.

Page #5	line I for	uninitiate	read	uninitiated
21	18	Maniwaring		Mainwaring
31	2 I	Oders 👘		Orders
43	10	den		der
53	3	after fold		a work
73	13 29	Objervantz		Observanz
74	6	Templorden		Tempelorden
86	penult,	to .		from .
106	16	Mariünen		Marianen
100	13	Noviciate		Novice
173		of the others		of othera
254	5 6 6	Traiottai		Tractta
262	б	for ~		and
263	24	refpectable		respected
278	13	has		had
282	2	dele ever		-
290	penult,	filent		fecret
325	18	flattering		fluttering
330	4	mune		meinen
340	penult,	for		of
416	12	Arbutung		Arbeitung `

Alfo, in feveral places, those has been printed these.

INTRODUCTION.

BEING at a friend's house in the country during fome part of the fummer 1795, I there faw a volume of a German periodical work, called Religions Begebenheiten, i. e. Religious Occurrences; in which there was an account of the various schifms in the Fraternity of Free Masons, with frequent allufions to the origin and hiftory of that selebrated affociation. This account interested me a good deal, because, in my early life, I had taken fome part in the occupations (fhall I call them) of Free Mafonry; and, having chiefly frequented the Lodges on the Continent, I had learned many doctrines, and feen many ceremonials, which have no place in the fimple fystem of Free. Masonry which obtains in this country. I had also remarked, that the whole A

whole was much more the object of reflection and thought than I could remember it to have been among my acquaintances at home. There, I had feen a Mafon Lodge confidered merely as a pretext for passing an hour or two in a fort of decent conviviality, not altogether void of fome rational occupation. I had fometimes heard of differences of doctrines or of ceremonies, but in terms which marked them 'as mere frivolities. But, on the Continent, I found them matters of ferious concern and debate. Such too is the contagion of example, that I could not hinder myself from thinking one opinion better founded, or one Ritual more apposite and fignificant, . than another ; and I even felt fomething like an anxiety for its being adopted, and a zeal for making it a general practice. I had been initiated in a very fplendid Lodge at Liege, of which the Frince Bishop, his Trefonciers, and the chief Nobleise of the State, were members. I vifited the French Lodges at Valenciennes, at Bruffels, at Aix-la-Chapelle, at Berlin, and Koningsberg; and I picked up fome printed difcourfes delivered by the Brother-orators of the Lodges. At St Petersburgh I connected myself with the English Lodge, and occafionally visited the German and Ruffian Lodges held there. I found myfelf received with particular respect as a Scotch Mason, and as an Eleve of the Loge de la Parfaite Intelligence

ligence at Liege. I was importuned by perfons of the first rank to pursue my masonic career through many degrees unknown in this country. But all the fplendour and elegance that I faw could not conceal a frivolity in every part. It appeared a baseless fabric, and I could not think of engaging in an occupation which would confume much time, coft me a good deal of money, and might perhaps excite in me fome of that fanaticism, or, at least, enthusiasm that I faw in others, and perceived to be void of any rational fupport. I therefore remained in the English Lodge, contented with the rank of Scotch Mafter, which was in a manner forced on me in a private Lodge of French Masons, but is not given in the English Lodge. My masonic rank admitted me to a very elegant entertainment in the female Loge de la Fidelité, where every ceremonial was composed in the highest degree of elegance, and every thing conducted with the most delicate respect for our fair fisters, and the old fong of brotherly love was chanted in the most refined strain of sentiment. I do not suppofe that the Parifian Free Masonry of fortyfive degrees could give me more entertainment. I had profited fo much by it, that I had the honour of being appointed the Brother-orator. In this office I gave fuch fatisfaction, that a worthy Brother fent me at midnight a box, which A 2

which he committed to my care, as a perfon far adyanced in majonic science, zealoufly attached to the order, and therefore a fit depositary of important writings. I learned next day that this gentleman had found it convenient to leave the empire in a hurry, but taking with him the funds of an establishment of which her Imperial Majesty had made him the manager. I was defired to keep these writings till he should see me I obeyed. About ten years afterward I again. faw the gentleman on the ftreet in Edinburgh, conversing with a foreigner. As I passed by him, I faluted him foftly in the Ruffian language; but without stopping, or even looking him in the face. He coloured, but made no return. I endeavoured in vain to meet with him, intending to make a proper return for much civility and kindnefs which I had received from him in his own country.

I now confidered the box as acceffible to myfelf, and opened it. I found it to contain all the degrees of the *Parfait Maçon Etoffois*, with the Rituals, Catechifms, and Inftructions, and alfo four other degrees of Free Mafonry, as cultivated in the Parifian Lodges. I have kept them with all care, and mean to give them to fome refpectable Lodge. But as I am bound by no engagement of any kind, I hold myfelf as at liberty to make fuchufe of them as may be ferviceable to the public, without

4

without enabling any uninitiate perfon to enter the Lodges of these degrees.

This acquisition might have roused my former relifh for Mafonry, had it been merely dormant ; but, after so long separation from the Loge de la Fidelité, the mafonic spirit had evaporated. Some curiofity however remained, and fome with to trace this plassic mystery to the pit from which the clay had been dug, which has been moulded into fo many different shapes, " fome to ho-" nour, and fome to diffonour." But my opportunities were now gone. I had given. away (when in Ruffia) my volumes of difcourfes, and fome far-fetched and gratuitous hiftories, and nothing remained but the pitiful work of Anderfon, and the Maçonnerie Adonbiramique 'devoilée, which are in every one's hands.

My curiofity was ftrongly roufed by the accounts given in the *Religions Begebenheiten*. There I faw quotations without number; fyftems and fchifms of which I had never heard; but what particularly ftruck me was a zeal and a fanaticifin about what I thought trifles, which aftonifhed me. Men of rank and fortune, and engaged in ferious and honourable public employments, not only frequenting the Lodges of the cities where they refided, but journeying from one end of Germany or France to the other, to vifit new Lodges, or to learn new fecrets or new doctrines. I faw conventions ventions held at Wilmar, at Wilbad, at Kohlo, at Brunfwick, and at Willemsbad, confisting of fome hundreds of persons of respectable stations. I faw adventurers coming to a city, professing some new secret, and in a few days forming new Lodges, and instructing in a troublesse and cxpensive manner hundreds of brethren.

German Masonry appeared a very ferious concern, and to be implicated with other fubjects with which I had never fufpected it to have any connection. I faw it much connected with many occurrences and fchifms in the Christian church ; I faw that the Jefuits had feveral times interfered in it; and that most of the exceptionable innovations and differtions had arifen about the time that the order of Loyola was suppressed; fo that it fhould feem, that these intriguing brethren had attempted to maintain their influence by the help of Free Mafonry. I faw it much difturbed by the myftical whims of J. Behmen and Swedenborg-by the fanatical and knavish doctrines of the modern Rofycrucians-by Magicians-Magnetifers -Exorcifts, &c. And I obferved that these different fects reprobated each other, as not only maintaining erroneous opinions, but even inculcating opinions which were contrary to the established religions of Germany, and contrary to the principles of the civil establishments. At the fame time they charged each other with miltakes and corruptions, bóth

both in doctrine and in practice; and particularly with falfification of the first principles of Free Masonry, and with ignorance of its origin and its history; and they supported these charges by authorities from many different books which were unknown to me.

My curiofity was now greatly excited. I got from a much-respected friend many of the preceding volumes of the Religions Begebenheiten, in hopes of much information from the patient induftry of German erudition. This opened a new and very interesting scene; I was frequently sent back to England, from whence all agreed that Free Masonry had been imported into Germany. I was frequently led into France and into Italy. There, and more remarkably in France, I found that the Lödges had become the haunts of many projectors and fanatics, both in fcience, in reli-· gion, and in politics, who had availed themfelves of the fecrecy and the freedom of fpeech maintain-, ed in these meetings, to broach their particular whims, or fuspicious doctrines, which, if published to the world in the ufual manner, would have exposed the authors to ridicule, or to censure. These projectors had contrived to tag their peculiar noftrums to the mummery of Mafonry, and wereeven allowed to twift the mafonic emblems and ceremonies to their purpose ; fo that in their hands Free Masonry became a thing totally unlike, and almoff

almost in direct opposition to the system (if it may get such a name) imported from England; and fome Lodges had become schools of irreligion and licentious fields.

No nation in modern times has fo particularly turned its attention to the cultivation of every thing that is refined or ornamental as France, and it has long been the refort of all who hunt after entertainment in its most refined form ; the French have come to confider themfelves as the inftructors of the world in every thing that ornaments life, and feeling then felves received as fuch, they have formed their manners accordinglyfull of the most condescending complaifance to all who acknowledge their fuperiority. Delighted, in a high degree, with this office, they have become zealous miffionaries of refinement in every department of human purfuit, and have reduced their apostolic employment to a fystem, which they profecute with ardour and delight. This is not groundless declamation, but fober historical truth. It was the professed aim (and it was a magnificent and wife aim) of the great Colbert, to make the court of Louis XIV, the fountain of human refinement, and Paris the Athens of Europe. Ŵe need only look at the plunder of Italy by the French army, to be convinced that their low-born generals and statesmen have in this respect the fame notions with the Colberts and the Richlieus.

I

I know no fubject in which this aim at univerfal influence on the opinions of men, by holding themfelves forth as the models of excellence and elegance, is more clearly feen than in the care that they have been pleafed to take of Free Mafonry. It feems indeed peculiarly fuited to the talents and tafte of that vain and ardent people. Bafelefs and frivolous, it admits of every form that Gallic refinement can invent, to recommend it to the young, the gay, the luxurious; that clafs of fociety which alone deferves their care, becaufe, in one way or another, it leads all other claffes of fociety.

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

Were this all, the harm would not be great. But long before good opportunities had occurred for fpreading the refinements on the fimple

Free Masonry of England, the Lodges in France had become places of very ferious difcuffion, where opinions in morals, in religion, and in politics, had been promulgated and maintained with a freedom and a keennefs, of which we in this favoured land have no adequate notion, because we are unacquainted with the restraints which, in other countries, are laid on ordinary conversation. In confequence of this, the French innovations in Free Mafonry were quickly followed in all parts of Europe, by the admission of fimilar difcuffions, although in direct oppofition to a flanding rule, and a declaration made to every newly received Brother, " that nothing " touching the religion or government shall ever " be fpoken of in the Lodge." But the Lodges in other countries followed the example of France, and have frequently become 'the rendezvous of innovators in religion and politics, and other difturbers of the public peace. In fhort, I have found that the covert of a Mafon Lodge had been employed in every country for venting and propagating fentiments in religion and politics, that could not have circulated in public without exposing the author to great danger. T found, that this impunity had gradually encouraged men of licentious principles to become more bold, and to teach doctrines fubverfive of all our notions of morality-of all our confidence in the moral.

10

inoral government of the universe-of all our hopes of improvement in a future state of exiftence-and of all fatisfaction and contentment with our present life, fo long as we live in a state of civil fubordination. I have been able to trace these attempts, made, through a course of fifty years, under the specious pretext of enlightening the world by the torch of philosophy, and of difpelling the clouds of civil and religious fuperflition which keep the nations of Europe in darknefs and flavery. I have observed these doctrines gradually diffufing and mixing with all the different fystems of Free Masonry; till, at last, AN ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED for the express purpose of rooting out all the RE-LIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, AND OVERTURNING ALL THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. I have feen this Affociation exerting itfelf zealoufly and fystematically, till it has become almost ir-. refiftible : And I have feen that the most active leaders in the French Revolution were members of this Affociation, and conducted their first movements according to its principles, and by means of its inftructions and affiltance, formally requested and obtained : And, lastly, I have feen that this Affociation still exists, still works in fecret, and that not only feveral appearances among ourfelves flow that its emiffaries are endeavouring to propagate their deteftable doctrines ,

B₂

among

among us, but that the Affociation has Lodges in Britain corresponding with the mother Lodge at Munich ever fince 1784.

If all this were a matter of mere curiofity, and fusceptible of no good use, it would have been better to have kept it to myfelf, than to difturb my neighbours with the knowledge of a flate of things which they cannot amend. But if it shall appear that the minds of my countrymen are misled in the very fame manner as were ' those of our continental neighbours-if I can show that the reasonings which make a very strong impression on some persons in this country are the fame which actually produced the dangerous affociation in Germany; and that they had this unhappy influence folely because they were thought to be fincere, and the expressions of the fentiments of the speakers-if I can show that this was all a cheat, and that the Leaders of this Affociation difbelieved every word that they uttered, and every doctrine that they taught; and that their real intention was to abolifh all religion, overturn every government, and make the world a general plunder and a wreck-if I can flow, that the principles which the Founder and Leaders of this Affociation held forth as the perfection of human virtue, and the most powerful and efficacious for forming the minds of men, and making them good and happy, had no influence on the Founder Founder and Leaders themfelves, and that they were, almost without exception, the most infignificant, worthlefs, and profligate of men; I cannot but think, that fuch information will make my countrymen hefitate a little, and receive with caution, and even distruss, addreffes and instructions which flatter our felf-conceit, and which, by buoying us up with the gay prospect of what is perhaps attainable by a change, may make us discontented with our prefent condition, and forget that there never was a government on earth where the people of a great and luxurious nation enjoyed fo much freedom and fecurity in the posseful of every thing that is dear and valuable.

When we fee that these boasted principles had not that effect on the leaders which they affert to be their native, certain, and inevitable confequences, we will distrust the fine descriptions of the happiness that should refult from such a And when we fee that the methods change. which were practifed by this Affociation for the exprefs purpole of breaking all the bands of fociety, were employed folely in order that the leaders might rule the world with uncontroulable power, while all the reft, even of the affociated, will be degraded in their own estimation, corrupted in their principles, and employed as mere tools of the ambition of their unknown superiors; furely a freeborn

born Briton will not hefitate to reject at once, and without any farther examination, a plan fo big with mifchief, fo difgraceful to its underling adherents, and fo uncertain in its iffue.

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

I was not contented with the quotations which I found in the Religions Begebenheiten, but procured from abroad fome of the chief writings from which they are taken. This both gave me confidence in the quotations from books which I could not procure, and furnished me with more materials. Much, however, remains untold, richly deferving the attention of all those who *feel* themfelves disposed to listen to the tales of a posfible happiness that may be enjoyed in a fociety where all the magistrates are wise and just, and all the people are honess and kind.

I hope that I am honeft and candid. I have been at all pains to give the true fenfe of the authors. My knowledge of the German language is but feanty, but I have had the affiftance of friends whenever I was in doubt. In compreffing. into one paragraph what I have collected from many, I have, as much as I was able, fluck to the

14

the words of the author, and have been anxious to give his precise meaning. I doubt not but that I have fometimes failed, and will receive correction with deference. I entreat the reader not to expect a piece of good literary composition. I am very fensible that it is far from it -- it is written during bad health, when I am not at eafe-and I wished to conceal my name-but my motive is, without the fmalleft mixture of another, to do fome good in the only way I am able, and I think that what I fay will come with better grace, and be received with more confidence, than any anonymous publication. Of thefe I am now most heartily fick. I throw myfelf on my country with a free heart, and I bow with deference to its decision.

The Affociation of which I have been fpeaking is the Order of ILLUMINATI, founded, in 1775, by Dr Adam Weifhaupt, profeffor of Canon law in the univerfity of Ingolftadt, and abolifhed in 1786 by the Elector of Bavaria, but revived immediately after, under another name, and in a different form, all over Germany. It was 'again detected, and feemingly broken up; but it had by this time taken fo deep root that it ftill fubfifts without being detected, and has fpread into all the countries of Europe. It took its firft rife among the Free Mafons, but is totally different from Free Mafonry. It was not, however, the mere

mere protection gained by the fecrecy of the Lodges that gave occasion to it, but it arose naturally from the corruptions that had gradually crept into that fraternity, the violence of the party-spirit which pervaded it, and from the total uncertainty and darkness that hangs over the whole of that mysterious Affociation. It is necessary, therefore, to give fome account of the innovations that have been introduced into Free Malonry from the time that it made its appearance on the continent of Europe as a myftical fociety, poffeffing fecrets different from those of the mechanical employment whole name it alfumed, and thus affording entertainment and occupation to perfons of all ranks and professions. It is by no means intended to give a history of Free Masonry. This would lead to a very long difcuffion. The patient industry of German erudition has been very ferioufly employed on this fubject, and many performances have been published, of which fome account is given in the different volumes of the Religions Begebenheiten, particularly in those for 1779, 1785, and 1786. It is evident, from the nature of the thing, that they 'cannot be very instructive to the public; becaufe the obligation of fecrecy respecting the important matters which are the very fubjects of debate, prevents the author from giving that full information that is required from an hiftorian; and

and the writers have not, in general, been perfons qualified for the tafk. Scanty erudition, credulity, and enthufiafm, appear in almost all their writings; and they have neither attempted to remove the heap of rubbish with which Anderfon has difgraced his Conflitutions of Free Malonry, (the bafis of majonic hiltory), nor to avail themfelves of informations which hiltory really affords to a fober enquirer. Their Royal art mult never forfooth appear in a flate of infancy or childhood, like all other human acquirements; and therefore, when they cannot give proofs of its existence in a state of manhood, possessed of all its mysterious treasures, they suppose what they do not fee, and fay that they are concealed. by the oath of fecrecy. Of fuch inftruction I can make no use, even if I were disposed to write a hiftory of the Fraternity. I shall content myfelf with an account of fuch particulars as are admitted by all the majonic parties, and which illustrate or confirm my general proposition, making fuch use of the accounts of the higher degrees in my poffession as I can without admitting the profane into their Lodges. Being under no tie of fecrecy with regard to thefe, I am with-held by difcretion alone from putting the public in possession of all their mysteries.

PROOFS

OF

A CONSPIRACY, Sa.

CHAP. I.

Schifms in Free Majonry.

THERE is undoubtedly a dignity in the art of building, or in architecture, which no other art possibles, and this, whether we confider it in its rudest state, occupied in raising a hut, or as practised in a cultivated nation, in the erection of a magnificent and ornamented temple. As the arts in general improve in any nation, this must always maintain its pre-eminence; for it employs them all, and no man can be eminent as an architect C'a who who does not posses a confiderable knowledge of almost every science and art already cultivated in his nation. His great works are undertakings of the most ferious concern, connect him with the public, or with the rulers of the state, and attach to him the practitioners of other arts, who are wholly occupied in executing his orders : His works are the objects of public attention, and are not the transfient spectacles of the day, but hand down to posserity his invention, his knowledge, and his taste. No wonder then that he thinks highly of his profession, and that the public should acquies in his pretenfions, even when in some degree extravagant.

It is not at all furprifing, therefore, that the incorporated architects in all cultivated nations should arrogate to themselves a pre-eminence over the fimilar affociations of other tradefinen. We find traces of this in the remoteft antiquity. The Dionyfiacs of Afia Minor were undoubtedly an affociation of architects and engin neers, who had the exclusive privilege of building temples, stadia, and theatres, under the mysterious tutelage of Bacchus, and distinguished from the uninitiated or profane inhabitants by the fcience which they poffeffed, and by many private figns and tokens, by which they recognifed each other. This aflociation came into Ionia from Syria, into which country it had . come from Perfia, along with that flyle of architecture

tecture that we call Grecian. We are also certain that there was a fimilar trading affociation, during the dark ages, in Christian Europe, which monopolized the building of great churches and castles, working under the patronage and protection of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe, and possessing many privileges. Circumstances, which it would be tedious to enumerate and discuss, continued this affociation later in Britain than on the Continent.

But it is quite uncertain when and why perfons who were not builders by profession first fought admiffion into this Fraternity. The first diffinct and unequivocal inftance that we have of this is the admission of Mr Ashmole, the famous antiquary, in 1648, into a Lodge at Warrington, along with his father-in-law Colonel Maniwaring. It is not improbable that the covert of fecrecy in those assemblies had made them courted by the Royalifts, as occasions of meeting. Nay, the Ritual of the Master's degree feems to have been formed, or perhaps twifted from its original inflitution, fo as to give an opportunity of founding the political principles of the candidate, and of the whole Brethren prefent. For it bears fo eafy an adaptation to the death of the King, to the overturning of the venerable conflictution of the English government of three orders by a nican democracy, and its re-establishment by the efforts

efforts of the loyalists, that this would start into every perfon's mind during the ceremonial, and could hardly fail to fhow, by the countenances and behaviour of the Brethren, how they were affected. I recommend this hint to the confideration of the Brethren. I have met with many particular facts, which convince me that this use had been made of the meetings of Masons, and that at this time the Jefuits interfered confiderably, infinuating themfelves into the Lodges, and contributing to encrease that religious mysticilm that is to be observed in all the ceremonies of the order. This fociety is well known to have put on every fhape, and to have made use of every mean that could promote the power and influence of the order. And we know that at this time they were by no means without hopes of re-establishing the dominion of the Church of Rome in England. Their fervices were not forupled at by the distressed royalists, even such as were Protestants, while they were highly prized by the Sovereign. We also know that Charles II. was made a Mafon, and frequented the Lodges. It is not unlikely, that befides the 'amusement of a vacant hour, which was always agreeable to him, he had pleafure in the meeting with his loyal friends, and in the occupations of the Lodge, which recalled to his mind their attachment and fervices. His brother and fucceffor James II. was of a more ferious

ferious and manly cast of mind, and had little pleasure in the frivolous ceremonies of Majonry. He did not frequent the Lodges. But, by this time, they were the refort of many perfons who were not of the profession, or members of the trading corporation. This circumftance, in all probability, produced the denominations of FREE and ACCEPTED Malons. A perfon who has the privilege of working at any incorporated trade, is faid to be a freeman of that trade. Others were accepted as Brethren, and admitted to a kind of honorary freedom, as is the cafe in many other trades and incorporations, without having (as far as we can learn for certain) a legal title to earn a livelihood by the exercise of it.

The Lodges being in this manner frequented by perfons of various profeffions, and in various ranks of civil fociety, it cannot be fuppofed that the employment in those meetings related entirely to the oftenfible profession of Masonry. We have no authentic information by which the public can form any opinion about it. It was not till fome years after this period that the Lodges made open profession of the cultivation of general benevolence, and that the grand aim of the Fraternity was to enforce the exercise of all the focial virtues. It is not unlikely that this was an after thought, The political purposes of the affociation

tion being once obtained, the conversation and occupations of the members must take fome particular turn, in order to be generally acceptable. The cftablifhment of a fund for the relief of unfortunate Brethren did not take place till the very end of last century; and we may prefume that it was brought about by the warm recommendations of fome benevolent members, who would naturally enforce it by addreffes to their assembled Brethren. This is the probable origin of those philanthropic discourses which were delivered in the Lodges by one of the Brethren as an official task. Brotherly love was the general topic, and this, with great propriety, when we confider the object aimed at in those addreffes. Nor was this object altogether a novelty. For while the manners of fociety were vet but rude, Brother Mafons, who were frequently led by their employment far from home and from their friends, flood in need of fuch helps, and might be greatly benefited by fuch an inflitution, which gave them introduction and citizenflip wherever they went, and a 'right to fhare in the charitable contributions of Brethren who were ftrangers to them. Other incorporated trades had fimilar provisions for their poor. But their poor were townfmen' and neighbours, well known to them. There was more perfuafion neceffary in this Fraternity, where the objects

of our immediate beneficence were not of our acquaintance. But when the Lodges confifted of many who were not Malons, and who had no ' particular claim to good offices from a stranger, and their number might be great, it is evident that ftronger perfuasions were now necessary, and that every topic of philanthropy mult now be em-When the funds became confiderable, ployed. the effects naturally took the public eye, and recommended the Society to notice and refpect. And now the Brethren were induced to dwell on the fame topic, to join in the commendations bestowed on the Society, and to fay that univerfal beneficence was the great aim of the Order. And this is all that could be faid in public, without infringing the obligation to fecrecy. The inquifitive are always prying and teazing, and this is the only point on which a Brother is at liberty to speak. He will therefore do it with affectionate zeal, till perhaps he has heated his own fancy a little, and overlooks the inconfiftency of this univerfal beneficence and philanthropy with the exclusive and monopolizing fpirit of an Affociation, which not only confines its benevolence to its own Members, (like any other charitable affociation), but hoards up in its bofom ineftimable fecrets, whole natural tendency, they fay, is to form the heart to this generous and kind conduct, and infpire us with love

25

love to all mankind. The profane world cannot fee the beneficence of concealing from public view a principle or a motive which fo powerfully induces a Mafon to be good and kind. The Brother fays that publicity would rob it of its force, and we must take him at his word; and our curiofity is fo much the more excited to learn what are the fecrets which have fo fingular a quality.

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

Iŋ

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

But they took Free Mafonry with them to the continent, where it was immediately received by the French, and was cultivated with great zeal. in a manner fuited to the tafte and habits of that highly polifhed people. The Lodges in France naturally became the rendezvous of the adherents to their banifhed King, and the means of carrying on a correspondence with their friends in England. At this time alfo the Jefuits took a more active hand in Free Mafonry than ever. They infinuated themfelves into the English Lodges, where they were carefled by the Catholics, who panted after the re-establishment of their faith, and tolerated by the Protestant royalifts, who thought no concession too great, a compenfation for their fervices. At this time changes were made in fome of the Mafonic fymbols, particularly in the tracing of the Lodge, which bear evident marks of Jefuitical interference.

It was in the Lodges held at St Germain's that the degree of Chevalier Maçon Ecoffois was added to the three SYMBOLICAL degrees of English Masonry. The constitution, as imported, appeared too coarfe for the refined tafte of our neighbours, and they must make Masonry more like the occupation of a gentleman. Therefore, the English degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Mafter, were called *(ymbolical*, and the whole Fraternity was confidered either as typical of fomething more elegant, or as a preparation for it. The degrees afterwards fuperadded to this leave us in doubt which of these views the French entertained of our Masonry. But at all events, this rank of Scotch Knight was called the first degree of the Maçon Parfait. There is a device belongto this Lodge which deferves notice. A lion, wounded by an arrow, and escaped from the stake to which he had been bound, with the broken rope still about his neck, is represented lying at the mouth of a cave, and occupied with mathematical inftruments which are lying near him. A broken crown lies at the foot of the stake. There can be little doubt but that this emblem alludes to the dethronement, the captivity, the escape, and the afylum of James II: and his hopes of re-establishment by the help of the loyal Brethren. This emblem is worn as the gorget of the Scotch Knight. It is not very certain, however when this degree was added, whether

whether immediately after King James's Abdication, or about the time of the attempt to fet his fon on the British Throne. But it is certain. that in 1716, this and still higher degrees of Mafonry were much in vogue in the Court of France. The refining genius of the French, and their love of flow, made the humble denominations of the English Brethren difgusting; and their paffion for military rank, the only character that connected them with the Court of an absolute monarch, made them adapt Free Mafonry to the fame scale of public estimation, and invent ranks of Maçons Chevaliers, ornamented with titles, and ribbands, and stars. These were highly relified by that vain people; and the price of reception, which was very high, became a rich fund, that was generously applied to relieve the wants of the banifhed British and Irish adherents of the unfortunate Family who had taken refuge among them. Three new degrees, of Novice, Eleve, and Chevalier, were foon added, and the Parfait Maçon had now feven receptions to go through, for each of which a handfome contribution was made. Afterwards, when the first beneficent purpole of this contribution cealed to exist, the finery that now glittered in all the Lodges made a still more craving demand for reception-money, and ingenuity was fet to work to invent new baits for the Parfait Maçon. More degrees of chivalry were

were added, interspersed with degrees of Philofophe, Pellerin, Clairvoyant, &c. &c. till fome , Parifian Lodges had forty-five ranks of Mafonry, having fifteen orders of chivalry. For a Knighthood, with a Ribband and a Star, was a bonne bouche, given at every third step. For a long while thefe degrees of chivalry proceeded on fome faint analogies with feveral orders of chivalry which had been erected in Europe. All of these had some reference to some mystical doctrines of the Christian Church, and were, in fact, contrivances of the Church of Rome for fecuring and extending her influence on the laymen of rank and fortune, whom fhe retained in her fervice by thefe play-things. The Knights Templars of Jerufalem, and the Knights of the Defert, whose office it was to protect pilgrims, and to defend the holy city, afforded very apt models for Masonic mimicry, because the Temple of So-Iomony and the Holy Sepulchre, always fhared the fame fate. Many contended doctrines of the theologians had also their Chevaliers to defend them.

In all this progreffive mummery we fee much of the hand of the Jefuits, and it would feem that it was encouraged by the church. But a thing happened which might eafily have been forefeen. The Lodges had become familiar with this kind of invention; the professed object of many *real* Orders

Orders of Knighthood was often very whimfical, or very refined and far-fetched, and it required all the fineile of the clergy to give it fome flight connection with religion or morality. The Malons, protected by their fecrecy, ventured to go farther.. The declamations in the Lodges by the Brother orator, must naturally refemble the compositions of the ancient fophifts, and confift of wire-drawn differtations on the focial duties, where every thing is amplified and frained to hyperbole, in their farfetched and fanciful explanations of the fymbols of Mafonry. Thus accultomed to allegory, to fiction, to fineffe, and to a fort of innocent hypocrify, by which they cajoled themfelves into a notion that this child's-play had at bottom a ferious and important meaning, the zealous champions of Frée Mafonry found no inclination to check this inventive spirit or circumscribe its flights. Under the protection of Malonic fecrecy, they planned schemes of a different kind, and instead of more Oders of Chivalry directed against the enemies of their faith, they formed affociations in oppofition to the ridiculous and oppreffive ceremonies and fuperstitions of the church. There can be no doubt, that in those hidden affemblies, a free communication of fentiment was highly relifhed and much indulged. It was foon fufpected that fuch use was made of the covert of a Mason Lodge; and the shurch dreaded the confequences, and endeavour-

¢d

ed to suppress the Lodges. But in vain. And when it was found, that even auricular confession, and the fpiritual threatenings of the church, could not make the Brethren break their oath of fecrecy; a full confidence in their fecurity made thefe free-thinking Brethren bring forward, with all the eagernels of a millionary, fuch fentiments as they were afraid to hazard in ordinary fociety. This was long fuspected; but the rigours of the church only ferved to knit the Brethren more firmly together, and provoked them to a more eager exercife of their bold criticifms. The Lodges became schools of scepticism and infidelity, and the spirit of conversion or profelytism grew every day ftronger. Cardinal Dubois had before this time laboured with all his might to corrupt the minds of the courtiers, by patronifing, directly and indirectly, all sceptics who were otherwise men of talents. He gave the young courtiers to underfland, that if he fhould obtain the reins of government, they fhould be entirely freed from the bigotry of Louis XIV. and the oppreffion of the church, and should have the free indulgence of their inclinations. His own plans were difappointed by his death; but the Regent Orleans was equally indulgent, and in a few years there was hardly a man in France who pretended to know, ledge and reflection, who did not laugh at all religion. Amidit the almost infinite number of pub. lications

lications from the French preffes, there is hardly a dozen to be found whofe author attempts to vindicate religion from the charges of universal fuperstition and falsehood. And it must be acknowledged that little elfe was to be feen in the established religion of the kingdom. The people found nothing in Christianity but a never-ceasing round of infignificant and troublefome ceremonies, which confumed their time, and furnished a fund for fupporting a fet of lordly and oppreffive dignitaries, who declared in the plainest manner their own difbelief of their religion, by their total difregard of common decency, by their continual refidence at court, and by abfolute neglect, and even the most haughty and oppressive treatment of the only part of their order that took any concern about the religious fentiments of the nation, namely, the Curés or parish priests. The monks appeared only as lazy drones; but the parish-priests instructed the people, visited the fick, reconciled the offender and the offended, and were the great mediators between the landlords and their vaffals, an office which endeared them more to the people than all the other circumstances of their profession. And it is remarkable, that in all the licentious writings and bitter fatyrical tales of the philosophic freethinkers, fuch as Voltaire, who never fails to have a taunting hit at the clergy, the Curé is getally an amiable perfonage, a charitable man, a friend

friend to the poor and unfortunate, a peace-maker, and a man of piety and worth. Yet these men were kept in a state of the most slavish and cruel fubjection by the higher orders of the clergy, and all hopes of advancement cut off. Rarely, hardly ever, does it happen, that a Curé becomes a Bishop. The Abbés step into every line of preferment. When fuch procedure is observed by a whole nation, what opinion can be formed but that the whole is a vile cheat? This however was the cafe in France, and therefore infidelity was almost universal. Nor was this overstrained freedom or licentioufness confined to religious opinions. It was perhaps more naturally directed to the reftraints arifing from civil fubordination. The familiar name of Brother could not but tickle the fancy of those of inferior rank, when they found themfelves fet cheek by jowl with perfons whom they cannot approach out of doors but with cautious respect; and while these men of rank have their pride lulled a little, and perhaps their hearts a little foftened by the flang of fentimental declamation on the topic of Brotherly love and Utopian felicity, the others begin to fancy the happy days arrived, and the light of philanthropy beaming from the east and illuminating the Lodge. The Garret Pamphleteer enjoys his fancied authority as Senior Warden, and conducts with affectionate folemnity the young nobleman, who pants

pants for the honour of Mastership, and he praises' the trufty Brother who has guarded him in his perilous journies round the room. What topic of declamation can be more agreeable than the equality of the worthy Brethren? and how naturally will the Brother Orator, in fupport of this favourite topic, flide into all the common-place pictures of human fociety, freed from all the anxieties attending civil distinction, and passing their days in happy fimplicity and equality. From this flate of the fancy, it is hardly a ftep to defcant on the propriety, the expediency, and at last, the justice of this arrangement of civil fociety; and in doing this, one cannot avoid taking notice of the great obstructions to human felicity which we fee in every quarter, proceeding from the abufes of those diffinctions of rank and fortune which have arifen in the world : and as the mifchiefs and horrors of . Superstition are topics of continual declamation to those who wish to throw off the restraints of religion; fo the oppression of the rulers of this world, and the fufferings of talents and worth in inferior stations, will be no less greedily listened to by all whose notions of morality are not very pure, and who would be glad to have the enjoyments of the wealthy without the trouble of labouring for them. Free Mafonry may be affirmed to have a natural tendency to foster such levelling withes; and we cannot doubt but that great liberties are .E 2 taken

taken with those subjects in the Lodges, especially in countries where the distinctions of rank and fortune are strongly expressed and noticed.

But it is not a matter of mere probability that the Mafon Lodges were the feminaries of these libertine instructions. We have distinct proof of it, even in fome of the French degrees. In the degree called the Chevalicr de Soleil, the whole instruction is aimed against the established religion of the kingdom. The professed object is the emancipation from error and the discovery of truth. The infcription in the east is Sageffe, that in the north is Liberté, that in the fouth is Fermeté, and in the weft it is Caution ; terms which are very fignificant. The Tres Venerable is Adam; the Senior Warden is Truth, and all the Brethren are Children of Truth. The process of reception is very well contrived: the whole ritual is decent and circumpect, and nothing occurs which can alarm Brother Truth is asked, What the most timid. is the hour? He informs Father Adam, that among men it is the hour of darkness, but that it is mid-day in the Lodge. The candidate is afked, Why he has knocked at the door, and what is become of his eight companions, (he is one of the Elus)? He fays, that the world is in darkness, and his companions and he have loft each other; that He/perus, the ftar of Europe, is obscured by clouds of incenfe, offered up by fuperstition to despots, who

36

who have made themfelves gods, and have retired into the inmost recesses of their palaces, that they may not be recognifed to be men, while their priefts are deceiving the people, and caufing them to worship these divinities. This and many similar fentiments are evident allusions to the pernicious doctrine of the book called Origine du Despotisme Oriental, where the religion of all countries is confidered as a mere engine of state; where it is declared that reason is the only light which nature has given to man; and that our anxiety about futurity has made us imagine endless torments in a future world; and that princes, taking advantage of our weaknefs, have taken the management of our hopes and fears, and directed them fo as to fuit their own purposes; emancipation from the fear of death is declared the greatest of all deliverances; queftions are put to the candidate, tending to discover whether and how far he may be trufted, and what facrifices he is willing to make in fearch after truth.

This fhape given to the plastic mysteries of Mafonry was much relished, and in a very short time this new path was completely explored, and a new feries of degrees was added to the list, viz. the *Novice*, and the *Elû de la Verité*, and the *Sublime Philosophe*. In the progress through these degrees, the Brethren must forget that they have formerly been *Chevaliers de l'Orient*, *Chevaliers de l'Aigle*; when the fymbols were all explained as typical of of the life and immortality brought to light by the gofpel. Indeed they are taught to clafs this among the other clouds which have been difpelled by the fun of reafon. Even in the *Chevalerie de l' Aigle* there is a twofold explanation given of the fymbols, by which a lively imagination may conceive the whole hiftory and peculiar doctrines of the New Teftament, as being typical of the final triumph of reafon and philofophy over error. And perhaps this degree is the very first step in the plan of ILLU-MINATION.

We are not to fuppofe that this was carried to extremity at once. But it is certain, that before 1743 it had become universal, and that the Lodges of Free Masons had become the places for making profelytes to every strange and obnoxious doctrine: Theurgy, Cofmogony, Cabala, and many whimfical and myfical doctrines which have been grafted on the diffinguishing tenets and the pure morality of the Jews and Christians, were fubjects of frequent discussion in the Lodges. The celebrated Chevalier Ramfay was a zealous apoftle in this mission. Affectionately attached to the family of Stuart, and to his native country, he had co-operated heartily with those who endeavoured to employ Masonry in the fervice of the Pretender, and, availing himfelf of the pre-eminence given (at first perhaps as a courtly compliment) to Scotch Masonry, he laboured to shew that it exifted,

ifted, and indeed arofe, during the Crufades, and that there really was either an order of chivalry whole bufinels it was to rebuild the Christian churches destroyed by the Saracens, or that a fraternity of Scotch Masons were thus employed in the east, under the protection of the Knights of St John of Jerufalem. He found some facts which were thought fufficient grounds for fuch an opinion, fuch as the building of the college of these Knights in London, called the Temple, which was actually done by the public Fraternity of Mafons who had been in the holy wars. It is chiefly to him that we are indebted for that rage for Mafonic chivalry which diftinguishes the French Free Mafonry. Ramfay's fingular religious opinions are well known, and his no lefs fingular enthufiafm. His eminent learning, his elegant talents, his amiable character, and particularly his estimation. at court, gave great influence to every thing he faid on a fubject which was merely a matter of fashion and amusement. Whoever has attended much to human affairs, knows the eagerness with which men propagate all fingular opinions, and the delight which attends their favourable reception. None are more zealous than the apostles of infidelity and atheifm. It is in human nature to catch with greedine's any opportunity of doing what lies under general restraint. And if our apprehensions are not completely quieted, in a cafe

cafe where our wifnes lead us ftrongly to fome favourite but hazardous object, we are confcious of a kind of felf bullying. This naturally gets into our difcourfe, and in our eagernels to get the encouragement of joint adventurers, we enforce our tenets with an energy, and even a violence, that is very inconfistent with the fubject in hand. If I am an Atheift, and my neighbour a Theift, there is furely nothing that fhould make me violent in my endeavours to rid him of his error. Yet how violent were the people of this party in France.

These facts and observations fully account for the zeal with which all this patch-work addition to the fimple Free Malonry of England was profecuted in France. It furprifes us, Britons, who are accustomed to confider the whole as a matter of amufement for young men, who are glad of any pretext for indulging in conviviality. We generally confider a nian advanced in life with lefs respect, if he shows any ferious attachment to fuch things. But in France, the civil and religious restraints on conversation made these fecret assemblies very precious; and they were much frequented by men of letters, who there found an opportunity of expressing in fafety their diffatisfaction with those restraints, and with that inferiority of rank and condition to which they were fubjected, and which appeared to themfelves

felves so inadequate to their own talents and merits. The Avocats de Parlement, the unbeneficed Abbés, the young men of no fortune, and the foi-difant philosophers, formed a numerous band, frequented the Lodges, and there difcuffed every topic of religion and politics. Specimens of this occupation appeared from time to time in Collections of Discourses delivered by the Frere Orateur. I once had in my possession two volumes of these discourses, which I now regret that I left in a Lodge on the continent, when my relifh for Free Masonry had forfaken me. One of these is a discourse by Brother Robinet, delivered in the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Sainte Cité at Lyons, at a visitation by the Grand Master the Duc de Charires, afterwards Orleans and Egalité. In this difcourfe we have the germ and fubstance of his noted work. the Systeme de la Nature, ou l'Homme moral et physique. In another discourse, delivered by Brother Condorcet in the Loge des Philalcthes at Strafbourg, we have the outlines of his pollhumous work, Le Progres de l'Esprit bumain; and in another, delivered by Mirabeau in the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Paris, we have a great deal of the levelling principles, and cosmopolitilm *, which he thundered from the tribunes F of

Citizenship of the World, from the Greek words Cof-.mos, world, and Polis, a city.

of the National Affembly. But the most remarks able performances of this kind are, the Archives Mystico-Hermetiques, and the Des Erreurs, et de la Verité. The first is confidered as an account, historical and dogmatical, of the procedure and fystem of the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Lyons. This was the most zealous and fystematical of all the cosmopolitical Lodges in France. It worked long under the patronage of its Grand Master the Duc de Chartres, afterwards Orleans, and at last Ph. Egalité. It fent out many affilia. ted Lodges, which were erected in various parts of the French dominions. The daughter Lodges at Paris, Strafbourg, Lille, Thouloufe, took the additional title of *Philalethes*. There arofe fome fchilms, as may be expected, in an Afforiation where every man is encouraged to broach and to propagate any the most fingular opinion. These fchilms were continued with fome heat, but were in a great measure repaired in Lodges which took the name of Amis reunis de la Verité. One of this denomination at Paris became very eminent. The mother Lodge at Lyons extended its correspondence into Germany, and other foreign countries, and fent conflictutions or fystems, by which the Lodges conducted their operations.

I have not been able to trace the fteps by which this Lodge acquired fuch an afcendancy; but I fee, that in 1769 and 1770, all the refined or philosophical

philosophical Lodges in Alface and Lorraine united, and in a convention at Lyons, formally put themselves under the patronage of this Lodge, cultivated a continual correspondence, and confidered themselves as professing one Masonic Faith. fufficiently diflinguishable from that of other Lodges. What this was we do not very diffinctly We can only infer it from fome hiftoriknow. cal circumstances. One of its favourite daughters, the Lodge Theodor von den guten Rath, at Munich, became fo remarkable for discourses dangerous to church and state, that the Elector of Bavaria, after repeated admonitions during a courfe of five or fix years, was obliged to suppress it in 1786. Another of its suffragan Lodges at Regensburgh became exceedingly obnoxious to the flate, and occasioned feveral commotions and infurrections. Another, at Pas ris, gradually refined into the Jacobin club-And in the year 1791, the Lodges in Alface and Lorraine, with those of Spire and Worms, invited Cultine into Germany, and delivered Mentz into his hands.

When we reflect on these historical facts, we get fome key to the better understanding of the two performances which I mentioned as defcriptive of the opinions and occupations of this Sect of Free Masons. The Archives Mystico-Hermetiques exhibit a very strange mixture of Myst- F_2 ticisfm, - ticism, Theosophy, Cabalistic whim, real Science, Fanaticism, and Freethinking, both in religion and politics. They must not be confidered as an account of any fettled fystem, but rather as annals of the proceedings of the Lodge, and abftracts of the ftrange doctrines which made their fucceffive appearance in the Lodge. But if an intelligent and cautious reader examine them attentively, he will fee, that the book is the work of one hand, and that all the wonders and oddities are caricatured, fo as to engrofs the general attention, while they also are twifted a little, fo that in one way or another they accord with a general spirit of licentiousness in morals, religion, and politics. Although every thing is expressed decently, and with fome caution and moderation, atheifm, materialifin, and difcontent with civil fubordination, pervade the whole. It is a work of great art. By keeping the ridicule and the danger of fuperstition and ignorance continually ' in view, the mind is captivated by the relief which free enquiry and communication of fentiment feems to fecure, and we are put off our guard against the risk of delusion, to which we are exposed when our judgment is warped by our paffions.

The other book, " Des Erreurs et de la Verité," came from the fame school, and is a sort of holy scripture, or at least a Talmud among the

the Free Masons of France. It is intended only for the initiated, and is indeed a mystery to any other reader. But as it was intended for fpreading the favourite opinions of fome enthufiastic Brethren, every thing is faid that does not directly betray the fecrets of the Order. It contains a fystem of Theosophy that has often appeared in the writings of philosophers, both in ancient and modern times. " All the intelli-" gence and moral fentiment that appears in the " univerfe, either directly, as m the minds of ⁶⁶ men, or indirectly, as an inference from the " marks of defign that we fee around us, fome " of which show us that men have acted, and " many more that fome other intelligence has " acted, are confidered as parts or portions of " a general mass of intelligence which exists in " the universe, in the same manner as matter " exifts in it. This intelligence has an infcruta-" ble connection with the material part of the " universe, perhaps refembling the connexion, " equally unfearchable, that fubfifts between " the mind and body of man; and it may be " confidered as the Soul of the World. It is this " fubstance, the natural object of wonder and " refpect, that men have called God, and have " made the object of religious worship. In do-" ing fo they have fallen into grofs miftakes, and " have created for themfelves numberlefs unfounded.

" founded hopes and fears, which have been the " fource of superstition and fanaticism, the most destructive plagues that have ever afflicted the "" human tace. The Soul of Man is separated " from the general mais of intelligence by fome " of the operations of nature, which we shall ne-" ver understand, just as water is railed from " the ground by evaporation, or taken up by the " root of a plant. And as the water, after an " unfearchable train of changes, in which it " fometimes makes part of a flower, fometimes " part of an animal, &c. is at last reunited, in # its original form, to the great mais of waters, " ready to run over the fame circle again; fo " the Soul of Man, after performing its office, " and exhibiting all that train of intellectual phe-" nomena that we call human life, is at last " fwallowed up in the great ocean of intelli-" gence." The author then breaks out

- " Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
- " Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
- " Subjecit pedibus, ftrep.tumque Acherontis " avari."

For he has now got to his afylum. This deity of his may be the object of wonder, like every thing great and incomprehensible, but not of worship, as the moral Governor of the universe. The

The hopes are at an end, which reft on our notions of the immortality and individuality of the human foul, and on the encouragement which religion holds forth to believe, that improvement of the mind in the course of this life, by the exercife of wildom and of virtuous dispositions, is but the beginning of an endless progress in all that san give delight to the rational and well-difposed mind. No relation now subfilts between man and Deity that can warm the heart. But, as this is contrary to fome natural propenfity in the human mind, which in all ages and nations has panted after fome connection with Deity, the author strives to avail himself of some cold principles of fymmetry in the works of nature, fome ill-fupported notions of propriety, and other fuch confiderations, to make this anima mundi an object of love and respect. This is done in greater detail in another work, Tableau des rapports entre l'Homme, Dieu, et l'Univers, which is undoubtedly by the fame hand. But the intelligent reader will readily fce, that fuch incongruous things cannot be reconciled, and that we can expect nothing here but fophiltry. The author proceeds, in the next place, to confider man as related to man, and to trace out the path to happiness in this life. Here we have the fame overstrained morality as in the other work, the fame universal benevolence, the fame lamentations over the miferable state of mankind.

kind, refulting from the oppreffion of the power ful, the great ones of the earth, who have combined against the happiness of mankind, and have fucceeded, by debafing their minds, fo that they have become willing flaves. This could not have been brought about without the affiftance of fuperstition. But the princes of this world enlisted into their fervice the priest, who exerted themselves in darkening the understandings of men, and filled their minds with religious tertors. The altar became the chief pillar of the throne, and men were held in complete fubjection. Nothing can recover them from this abject state but knowledge. While this dispels their fears, it will also show them their rights, and the way to attain them.

It deferves particularly to be remarked, that this fystem of opinions (if such an inconfistent mass of affertions can be called a system) bears a great refemblance to a performance of Toland's, published in 1720, called *Pantheisticon*, *feu Celebratio Sodalitii Socratici*. It is an account of the principles of a Fraternity which he calls Socratica, and the Brothers Pantheistæ. They are supposed to hold a Lodge, and the author gives a ritual of the procedure in this Lodge; the ceremonies of opening and shutting of the Lodge, the admission of Members into its different degrees, &c. Reason is the Sun that illuminates the . whole whole, and Liberty and Equality are the objects of their occupations.

We shall fee afterwards that this book was fondly pushed into Germany, translated, commented, and mifrepresented, so as to take off the attention from the real fpirit of the book, which is intentionally wrapped up in cabala and enigma. Mirabeau was at much pains to procure it notice; and it must therefore be confidered as a treafure of the cofmo-political opinions of the Affociation of Chevaliers Bienfaifants, Philalethes, and Amis Reunis, who were called the improved Lodges, working under the D. de Chartres --- of these there were 266 in 1784. This will be found a very important remark. Let it also be recollected afterwards, that this Lodge of Lyons fent a deputy to a grand Convention in Germany in 1772, viz Mr Willermooz, and that the bufinels was thought of fuch importance, that he remained there two years.

The book Des Erreurs et de la Verité, must therefore be confidered as a classical book of these opinions. We know that it originated in the Loge des Chev. Bienfaifants at Lyons. We know that this Lodge stood as it were at the head of French Free Masonry, and that the fictitious Order of Masonic Knights Templars was formed in this Lodge, and was confidered as the model of all the rest of this mimick chivalry. G

They proceeded fo far in this mummery, as even to have the clerical tonfure. The Duke of Orleans, his fon, the Elector of Bavaria, and fome other German Princes, did not fcruple at this mummery in their own perfons. In all the Lodges of reception, the Brother Orator never failed to declaim on the topics of fuperstition, blind to the exhibition he was then making, or indifferent as to the vile hypocrify of it. We have, in the lifts of Orators and Office bearers, many names of perfons, who have had an opportunity at laft of proclaiming their fentiments in public. The Abbé Sieyes was of the Lodge of Philalethes at Paris, and alfo at Lyons. Lequinio, author of the most profligate book that ever difgraced a prefs, the Prejuges vaincus par la Raifon, was Warden in the Lodge Compacte Sociale. Defpremenil, Bailly, Fauchet, Maury, Mounier, were of the fame fystem, though in different Lodges. They were called Martinists, from a St Martin, who formed a fchilm in the fyllem of the Chevaliers Bienfaifants, of which we have not any very precife account. Mercier gives fome account of it in his Tableau de Paris, and in his Année 1888. The breach alarmed the Brethren, and occasioned great heats. But it was healed, and the Fraternity took the name of Mifa du Renis, which is an anagram of des Amis Reunis. The Bifhop of Autun, the man fo hebepraifed as the benevolent Citizen of the World, the friend of mankind and of good order, was Senior Warden of another Lodge at Paris, eftablished in 1786, (I think chiefly by Orleans and himfelf), which afterwards became the Jacobin Club. In short, we may affert with confidence, that the Mason Lodges in France were the hot-beds, where the feeds were fown, and tenderly reared, of all the pernicious doctrines which foon after choaked every moral or religious cultivation, and have made the Society worse than a waste, have made it a noisome marsh of human corruption, filled with every rank and poisonous weed.

These Lodges were frequented by perfons of all ranks, and of every profetion. The idle and the frivolous found amufement, and glittering , things to tickle their fatiated fancies. There they became the dupes of the declamations of the crafty and licentious Abbés, and writers of every denomination. Mutual encouragement in the indulgence of hazardous thoughts and opinions which flatter our wifnes or propenfities is a lurc which few minds can refit. I believe that most men have felt this in some period of their lives. I can find no other way of accounting for the company that I have fometimes feen in a Mafon Lodge. The Lodge de la Partaite Intelligence at Liege, contained, in December 1770, the Prince Bifhop, G 2

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

Thus was corruption fpread over the kingdom under the mark of moral inftruction. For these difcourfes were full of the most refined and ftrained morality, and florid paintings of Utopian felicity, in a ftate where all are Brothers and citizens of the world. But alas! thefe wiredrawn principles feem to have had little influence on the hearts, even of those who could beft difplay their beauties. Read the tragedies of Voltaire, and fome of his grave performances in profe-What man is there who feems better to know his Mafler's will? No man expresses with more propriety, with more exactnels, the feelings of a good mind. No man feems more fenfible of the immutable obligation of juffice and of truth. Yet this man, in his transactions with his bookfellers, with the very men to whom he was immediately

52

mediately indebted for his affluence and his fame, was repeatedly, nay incentantly, guilty of the meaneft, the vileft tricks. When he fold for an enormous price to one bookfeller, (even to Cramer, whom he really respected), he took care that a furreptitious edition thould appear in Holland, almost at the fame moment. Proof-fleets have been traced from Ferney to Amfterdam. When a friend of Cramer's expollulated with Voltaire on the injuffice of this conduct, he faid, grinning, Ob le ban Cramer - eb bien-il n'a que d'etre du parti-he may take a share-he will not give me a livre the lefs for the first piece I offer him. Where shall we see more tenderness, more honour, more love of every thing that is good and fair, than in Diderot's Pere de Famille. -Yet this man did not fcruple to fell to the Emprefs of Ruffia an immenfe library, which he did not possels, for an enormous price, having got ' her promife that it flould remain in his poffeffion in Paris during his life. When her ambaffador wanted to fee it, after a year or two's paynients, and the vifitation could be no longer ftaved off, Diderot was obliged to fet off in a hurry, and run through all the bookfellers fhops in Germany, to help him to fill his cmpty fhelves. He had the good fortune to fave appearancesbut the trick took air, becaufe he had been niggardly in his attention to the amballador's fecretary,

This, however, did not hinder him from tary. honouring his Imperial pupil with a vifit. He expected adoration, as the light of the world, and was indeed received by the Ruffian courtiers with all the childish fondness that they feel for every Parifian mode. But they did not understand him, and as he did not like to lofe money at play, they did not long court his company. He found his pupil too clearfighted. Ccs philosophes, faid flie, font beaux, vús de loin ; mais de plus prés, le diamant parait cryftal. He had contrived a poor flory, by which he hoped to get his daughter married in parade, and portioned by her Majefty-but it was feen through, and he was difappointed.

When we fee the inefficacy of this refined humanity on thefe two apoftles of philofophical virtue, we fee ground for doubting of the propriety and expediency of trufting entirely to it for the peace and happinels of a flate, and we fhould be on our guard when we liften to the florid fpeeches of the Brother Orator, and his congratulations on the emancipation from fuperflition and oppreflion, which will in a flort time be effectuated by the *Checaliers Bienfaifants*, the *Philalethes*, or any other fect of cofmo-political Brethren.

I do not mean by all this to maintain, that the Mafon Lodges were the fole corrupters of the

the public mind in France.-No.-In all nations that have made much progrefs in cultivation, there is a great tendency to corruption, and it requires all the vigilance and exertions of magiftrates, and of moral influedors, to prevent the fpreading of licentious principles and maxims of conduct. They arife naturally of themfelves, as weeds in a rich foil; and, like weeds, they are pernicious, only becaufe they are, where they fhould not be, in a cultivated field. Virtue is the cultivation of the human foul, and not the mere possession of good dispositions; all men have thefe, and occasionally exhibit them. But virtue fuppofes exertion; and, as the hufbandman must be incited to his laborious talk by fome cogent motive, fo must man be prompted to that exertion which is neceally on the part of every individual for the very exidence of a great fociety: For man is indolent, and he is luxurious; he wishes for enjoyment, and this with little trouble. The lefs fortunate envy the enjoyments of others, and repine at their own inability to ol tain the like. They fee the idle in affluence. Few, even of good men, have the candour, nay, I may call it the wifdom, to think on the activity and the labour which had procured these comforts to the rich, or to their anceslors; and to believe that they are idle only becaufe they are wealthy, but would be active if they were needy.

needy. Such fpontaneous reflexions cannot be expected in perfons who are engaged in unceafing labour, to procure a very moderate fhare (n their effimation at leaft) of the comforts of life. Yet fuch reflections would, in the main, be just, and furely they would greatly tend to quiet the minds of the unfuccififul.

This excellent purpole may be greatly forwarded by a national chablifhment for moral inftruction and admonition; and if the public inftructors foould add all the motives to virtuous moderation which are fuggefted by the confiderations of genuine religion, every advice would have a tenfold influence. Religious and moral inflructions are therefore, in their own nature, unequivocal fupports to that moderate exertion of the authority arising from civil fubordination, which the most refined philanthropist or cofmopolite acknowledges to be necessary for the very existence of a great and cultivated fociety. I have never feen a fcheme of Utopian happinefs that did not contain fome fyftem of education, and I cannot conceive any fystem of education of which moral influction is not a principal part. Such effablishments are dictates of nature, and obtrude themfelves on the mind of every perforwho begins to form plans of civil union. And in all exitting focieties they have indeed been formed, and are confidered as the greatest corrector and

and foother of those discontents that are unavoidable in the minds of the unfuccessful and the unfortunate. The magistrate, therefore, whose professional habits lead him frequently to exert himself for the maintenance of public peace, cannot but see the advantages of such stated remembrancers of our duty. He will therefore support and cheriss this public establishment, which so evidently assure him in his beneficent and important labours.

But all the evils of fociety do not fpring from the difcontents and the vices of the poor. The rich come in for a large and a confpicuous fhare. They frequently abufe their advantages. Pride and haughty behaviour on their part rankle in the breafts, and affect the tempers of their inferiors, already fretted by the hardfhips of their own condition. The rich alfo are luxurious: and are often needy. Grafping at every mean of gratification, they are inattentive to the rights of inferiors whom they defpife, and, defpifing, opprefs. Perhaps their own fuperiority has been acquired by injuffice. Perhaps most fovereignties have been acquired by oppression. Princes and Rulers are but men; as fuch, they abufe many of their greatest blessings. Observing that religious hopes make the good refigned under the hardfhips of the prefent feene, and that its terrors frequently reftrain the bad; they avail themfelves of these observations, and support religion as an .

Ħ

en ine of state, and a mean of their own fecurity. I'ut they are not contented with its real advantages; and they are much more afraid of the refentment and the crimes of the offended profligate, than of the murmurs of the fuffering worthy. Therefore they encourage fuperstition, and call to their aid the vices of the priesthood. The priefs are men of like paffions as other men, and it is no ground of peculiar blame that they also frequently yield to the temptations of their fituation. They are encouraged to the indulgence of the love of influence natural to all men, and they heap terror upon terror, to fubdue the minds of men, and darken their under-Thus, the most honourable of all flandings. employments, the moral inftruction of the ftate, is degraded to a vile trade, and is practifed with all the deceit and rapacity of any other trade : and religion, from being the honour and the fafeguard of a nation, becomes its greatest difgrace and curfe.

When a nation has fallen into this lamentable flate, it is extremely difficult to reform. Although nothing would fo immediately and fo completely remove all ground of complaint, as the re-eftablishing private virtue, this is of all others the least likely to be adopted. The really worthy, who fee the milchief where it really is, but who view this life as the fchool, of improvement, and know

know that man is to be made perfect through 'fusfering, are the last perfons to complain. The worthlefs are the molt difcontented, the most noify in their complaints, and the least fcrupulous about the means of redrefs. Not to improve the nation, but to advance themfelves, they turn the attention to the abufes of power and influence. And they begin their attack where they think the place most defencelefs, and where perhaps they expect affiftance from a difcontented garrifon. They attack fuperflition, and are not at all folicitous that true religion shall not fuffer along with it. It is not, perhaps, with any direct intention to ruin the flate, but merely to obtain indulgence for themfelves and the co-operation of the wealthy. They expect to be liftened to by many who with for the fame indulgence; and thus it is that religious free-thinking is generally the first step of anarchy and revolution. For in a corrupted state, perfons of all ranks have the fame licentious wifhes, and if superstitious fear be really an ingredient of the human mind, it requires fome fruggle to shake it off. Nothing is to effectual as mutual encouragement, and therefore all join against priestcraft; even the rulers forget their interest, which flould lead them to fupport it. In fuch a flate, the pure morality of true religion vanishes from the fight. There is commonly no remains of it in Ha

in the religion of the nation, and therefore all goes together.

Perhaps there never was a nation where all thole co-operating caules had acquired greater, ftrength than in France. Oppressions of all kinds were at a height. The luxuries of life were enjoyed exclusively by the upper classes, and this in the highest degree of refinement; so that the defires of the reft were whetfed to the utmoft. Rcligion appeared in its worft form, and feemed calculated folely for procuring establishments for the younger fons of the infolent and ufelefs nobleffe. The morals of the higher orders of the clergy and of the laity were equally corrupted. Thousands of literary men were excluded by their flation from all hopes of advancement to the more respectable offices in the church. These vented their difcontents as far as there was fafety, and were encouraged by many of the upper class, who joined them in their fatires on the prieflhood, The clergy oppofed them, it is true, but feebly, because they could not support their opposition by examples of their own virtuous behaviour, but were always obliged to have recourse to the power of the church, the very object of hatred and difguft. The whole nation became infidel, and when in a few inflances a worthy Curé uttered , the fmall still voice of true religion, it was not heard amidst the general poise of fatire and reproach.

٠δο

proach. The mifconduct of administration, and the abuse of the public treasures, were every day growing more impudent and glaring, and expoled the government to continual criticifin. But it was still too powerful to fuffer this to proceed to extremities; while therefore infidelity and loofe fentiments of morality paffed unpunished, it was full very hazardous to publish any thing against the ftate. It was in this respect chiefly, that the Mason Lodges contributed to the diffemination of dangerous opinions, and they were employed for this purpose all over the kingdom. This is not an affertion hazarded merely on account of its probability. Abundant proof will appear by and by, that the most turbulent characters in the nation frequented the Lodges. We cannot doubt, but that under this covert they indulged their factious difpositions; nay, we shall find the greatest part of the Lodges of France, converted, in the course of a very few weeks, into corresponding political focieties. V

But it is now time to turn our eyes to the progrefs of Free Mafonry in Germany and the north of Europe; there it took a more ferious turn. Free Mafonry was imported into Germany fomewhat later than into France. The first German Lodge Lodge that we have any account of is that at Cologne, erected in 1716, but very foon fupprefied. Before the year 1725 there were many, both in Proteftant and Catholick Germany. Thofe of Wetzlar, Frankfort on the Mayne, Brunfwick, and Hamburg, are the oldeft, and their priority is doubtful. All of them received their inftitution from England, and had patents from a mother Lodge in London. All feem to have got the myftery through the fame channel, the banifhed friends of the Stuart family. Many of thefe were Catholicks, and entered into the fervice of Auftria and the Catholick princes.

The true hospitality, that is no where more confpicuous than in the character of the Germans, made this inflitution a most agreeable and useful paffport to these gentlemen; and as many of them. were in military stations, and in garrison, they found it a very eafy matter to fet up Lodges in all parts of Germany. These afforded a very agreeable raftime to the officers, who had little to occupy them, and were already accultomed to a fubordination which did not affect their vanity on account of family diffinctions. As the Enfign and the General were equally gentlemen, the allegory or play of universal Brotherhood was neither novel nor difgufting. Free Mafonry was then of the fimpleft form, confifting of the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master. It is remarkable,

remarkable, that the Germans had been long ac-· cuftomed to the word, the fign, and the gripe of the Masons, and some other handicraft trades. In many parts of Germany there was a diffinction of operative Malons into Wort-Maurers and Schrift-Maurers. The Wort-Maurers had no other proof to give of their having been regularly brought up to the trade of builders, but the word and figns; the Schrift-Maurers had written indentures to fhew. There are extant and in force, borough-laws, enjoining the Masters of Masons to give employment to journeymen who had the · proper words and fign. In particular it appears, that fome cities had more extensive privileges in this respect than others. The word given at Wetzlar, the feat of the great council of revision for the empire, entitled the possession to work over the whole empire. We may infer from the proceffes and decifions in fome of those municipal courts, that a master gave a word and token for each year's progrefs of his apprentice. Ile gave the word of the incorporated Imperial city or borough on which he depended, and alfo a word peculiar to himfelf, by which all his own pupils could recognife each other. This mode of recognilance was probably the only document of education in old times, while writing was confined to a very finall part of the community. When we reflect on the nature of the German empire, a confederation

confederation of small independent states, we fee that this profession cannot keep pace with the other mechanic arts, unless its practitioners are invested with greater privileges than others. Their great works exceed the strength of the immediate neighbourhood, and the workmen must be brought together from a distance. Their association must therefore be more cared for by the public.

When English Free Masonry was carried into Germany, it was hospitably received. It required little effort to give it respectability, and to make it the occupation of a gentleman, and its fecrets and mysteries were not fuch novelties as in France. It fpread rapidly, and the fimple topic of Brotherly love was fufficient for recommending it to the honeft and hofpitable Germans. But it foon took a very different turn. The German character is the very opposite of frivolity. It tends to ferioufnefs, and requires ferious occupation. The Germans are eminent for their turn for inveftigation; and perhaps they indulge this to excels. We call them plodding and dull, because we have little relish for enquiry for its own fake. But this is furely the occupation of a rational nature, and deferves any name but flupidity. At the fame time it must be acknowledged, that the spirit of enquiry requires regulation as much as any pro-. penfity of the human mind. But it 'appears that the Germans are not nice in their choice of their objects ;

objects; it appears that fingularity, and wonder; and difficulty of refearch, are to them irrefiftible recommendations and incitements. They have always exhibited a strong hankering after every thing that is wonderful, or folemn, or terrible; and in fpite of the great progress which men have made in the course of these two last centuries, in the knowledge of nature; a progress too in which we should be very unjust if we did not acknowledge that the Germans have been generally in the foremost ranks, the gross abfurdities of magic, exorcifin, witchcraft, fortune telling, transmutation of metals, and universal medicine, have always had their zealous partizans, who have listened with greedy ears to the nonfense and 'jargon of fanatics and cheats; and though they every day faw examples of many who had been ruined or rendered ridiculous by their credulity, every new pretender to fecrets found numbers ready to liften to him, and to run over the fame course.

Free Malonry, professing mysteries, instantly roufed all these people, and the Lodges appeared to the adventurers who wanted to profit by the enthusias or the avarice of their dupes, the fittest places in the world for the fcene of their opera-. The Rofycrucians were the first who tions. availed themfelves of the opportunity. This was not the Society which had appeared formerly un-· der

der that name, and was now extinct, but a fet of Alchymilts, pretenders to the transmutation of metals and the universal medicine, who, the better to enveigle their votaries, had mixed with their own tricks a good deal of the abfurd fupersitions of that fect, in order to give a greater air of mystery to the whole, to protract the time of instruction, and to afford more room for evalions, by making fo many difficult conditions neceffary for perfecting the grand work, that the unfortunate gull, who had thrown away his time and his money, might believe that the failure was owing to his own incapacity or unfitnels for being the possessor of the grand fecret. These cheats found it convenient to make Masonry one of their conditions, and by a small degree of art, perfuaded their pupils that they were the only true Mafons. These Rofycrucian Lodges were foon established, and became numetous, because their mysteries were addressed, both to the curiofity, the fenfuality, and the avarice of men. They became a very formidable band, adopting the conftitution of the Jefuits, dividing the Fraternity into circles, each under the management of its own fuperior, known to the prefident, but unknown to the individuals of the Lodges. These superiors were connected with each other in a way known only to themfelves, and the whole was under one General. At least this is

is the account which they will to be believed. If it be just, nothing but the absurdity of the oftenfible motives of their occupations could have prevented this combination from carrying on fchemes big with hazard to the peace of the world. But the Rofycrucian Lodges have always been confidered by other Free Mafons as bad Societies, and as grofs fchilmatics. This did not hinder, however, their alchemical and medical fecrets from being frequently introduced into the Lodges of fimple Free Malonry; and in like manner, exorcifm, or ghoft-raifing, magic, and other großs superstitions, were often held out in their meetings as attainable mysteries, which would be immense acquisitions to the Fraternity, without any neceffity of admitting along with them the religious deliriums of the Rofycrucians.

In 1743, a Baron Hundè, a gentleman of ho. nourable character and independent fortune, was in Paris, and got acquainted with the Earl of Kilmarnock and fome other gentlemen who were about the Pretender, and learned from them that they had fome wonderful fecrets in their Lodges. He was admitted, through the medium of that nobleman, and of a Lord Clifford, and his Mafonic patent was figned George, (faid to be the fignature of Kilmarnock). Hunde had attached himfelf to the fortunes of the Pretender, in

to.

in hopes (as he fays himfelf) of rifing in the world under his protection. The mighty fecret was this. " When the Order of Knights Tem-" plars was abolished by Philip the Fair, and " cruelly perfecuted, fome worthy perfons efca-" ped, and took refuge in the Highlands of " Scotland, where they concealed themfelves in " caves. These perfons possessed the true secrets " of Mafonry, which had always been in that " Order, having been acquired by the Knights, " during their fervices in the East, from the pil-" grims whom they occafionally protected or de-* livered. The Chevaliers de la Rofe-Croix con-" tinued to have the fame duties as formerly, " though robbed of their emoluments. In fine, " every true Mason is a Knight Templar." It ' is very True that a clever fancy can accommodate the ritual of reception of the Chevalier de l' Epée, &c. to fomething like the inftitution . of the Knights Templars, and perhaps this explanation of young Zerobabel's pilgrimage, and of the rebuilding of the Temple by Ezra; is the most fignificant explanation that has been given of the meagre fymbols of Free Mafonry.

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

But in 1756, or 1757, a complete revolution took place. The French officers who were prifoners at large in Berlin, undertook, with the affurance peculiar to their nation, to instruct the fimple Germans in every thing that embellishes fociety. They faid, that the homefpun Free Mafonry, which had been imported from England. was fit only for the unpolifhed minds of the Britifh; but that in France it had grown into an elegant system, fit for the profession of Gentlemen. Nay, they faid, that the English were ignorant of true Mafonry, and poffeffed nothing but the introduction to it; and even this was not underftood by them. When the ribbands and ftars, with which the French had ornamented the Order, were flown to the Germans, they could not refift the enchantment. A Mr Rofa, a French commiffary, brought from Paris a complete waggon-load of Mafonic ornaments, which were all distributed before it had reached Berlin, and he was obliged to order another, to furnish the Lodges of that city. It became for a ' while a most profitable bufiness to many French . officers and commiffaries dispersed over Germany,

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

vent the most dangerous schifms and innova-Many Lodges, therefore, applied for pations. tents and instructions. Patents were eafily made out, and most willingly fent to the zealous Brethren; and these were thankfully received and paid for. But instruction was not fo eafy a matter. At that time we had nothing but the book of conflitutions, drawn up about 1720, by Anderfon and Defaguilliers, two perfons of little education, and of low manners, who had aimed at. little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting. This. however, was received with respect. We are apt to finile at grave mens being fatisfied with fuch coarfe and fcanty fare. But it was of use, merely because it gave an oftenfible reason for resisting the defpotifm of the Lodges of Berlin. Several respectable Lodges, particularly that of Frank-" fort on the Mayne, that of Brunfwick, that of Wetzlar, and the Royal York of Berlin, refolutely adhered to the English fystem, and denied themfelves all the enjoyment of the French degrees, rather than acknowledge the fupremacy of the Rofaic Lodges of Berlin.

About the year 1764 a new revolution took place. An adventurer, who called himfelf Johnfon, and paffed himfelf for an Englishman, but who was really a German or Bohemian named Leucht, faid that he was ambassfador from the Chapter of Knights

Knights Templars at Old Aberdeen in Scotland, fent to teach the Germans what was true Masonry. He pretended to transmute metals, and some of the Brethren declared that they had feen him do it repeatedly. This reached Baron Hunde, and brought back all his former enthuliafm. There is fomething very dark in this part of the hiftory; for in a little Johnson told his partisans that the only point he had to inform them of was, that Baron Hunde was the Grand Master of the 7th province of Mafonry, which included the whole of Germany, and the royal dominions of Pruffia. He showed them a map of the Masonic Empire arranged into provinces, each of which had diftinguishing emblems. These are all taken from an old forgotten and infignificant book, Typotii Symbola Divina et Humana, published in 1601. There is not the leaft trace in this book either of Mafonry or Templars, and the emblems are taken out without the fmallest ground of felection. Some inconfistency with the former magnificent promifes of Johnson startled them at first, but they acquiesced and submitted to Baron Huade as Grand Master of Germany. Soon after Johnson turned out to be a cheat, escaped, was taken, and put in prison, where he died. Yet this feems not to have ruined the credit of Baron Hunde. He erected Lodges, gave a few fimple instructions, all in the fystem of English Masonry, and promifed:

fed, that when they had approved themselves as good Mafons, he would then impart the mighty fecret. After two or three years of noviciate, a convention was held at Altenberg; and he told them that his whole fecret was, that every true Mason was a Knight Templar. They were aftonished, and disappointed; for they expected in general that he would teach them the philofopher's stone, or ghost-raising, or magic. After . much discontent, falling out, and dispute, many Lodges united in this fystem, made fomewhat moderate and palatable, under the name of the STRICT DISCIPLINARIANS, Strickten Observantz. It was acceptable to many, because they infifted that they were really Knights, properly confecrated, though without temporalities; and they ferioufly fet themfelves about forming a fund which should secure the Order in a landed property and revenue, which would give them a" respectable civil existence. Hunde declared that his whole effate should devolve on the Order. But the vexations which he afterwards met with, and his falling in love with a lady who prevailed on him to become Roman Catholic, made him alter this intention. The Order went on, however, and acquired confiderable credit by the ferious regularity of their proceedings; and, although in the mean time a new apostle of Mysteries, a Dr Zinzendorff, one of the Strict Observantz, introduced K

introduced a new fystem, which he faid was from Sweden, distinguished by some of the mystical doctrines of the Swedenborgh sect, and though this system obtained the Royal patronage, and a National Lodge was established at Berlin by patent, still the *Templorden*, or *Orden des Stricten Observantz*, continued to be very respectable. The German gentry were better pleased with a Grand Master of their own choosing, than with any imposed on them by authority.

During this state of things, one Stark, a Protestant divine, well known in Germany by his writings, made another trial of public faith. One Gugomos, (a private gentleman, but who would pafs for fon to a King of Cyprus), and one Schropfer, keeper of a coffee-house at Nuremberg, drew crowds of Free Masons around them, to learn' ghoft-raifing, exorcifin, and alchymy. Numbers ² came from a great diffance to Weifbad to fee and learn these mysteries, and Free Masonry was on the point of another revolution. Dr Stark was an adept in all these things, and had contended with Caglioftro in Courland for the palm of fuperiority. He faw that this deception could not long ftand its ground. He therefore came forward, at a convention at Braunschweig in 1772, and faid to the Strict Disciplinarians or Templars, That he was of their Order, but of the fpiritual department, and was deputed by the Chapter of K-m-d-t

K-m-d-t in Scotland, where he was Chancellor of the Congregation, and had the name of Archidemides, Eques ab Aquila fulva: That this Chapter had the fuperintendance of the Order: That they alone could confecrate the Knights, or the unknown fuperiors; and that he was deputed to instruct them in the real principles of the Order, and impart its ineftimable fecrets, which could not be known to Baron Hunde, as he would readily acknowledge when he should converfe with him. Johnfon, he faid, had been a cheat, and probably a murderer. He had got fome knowledge from papers which he must have stolen from a missionary, who had disappeared, and was probably killed. Gugomos and Schropfer must have had fome fimilar information; and Schropfer had even deceived him for a time. He was ready to execute his commission, upon their coming under the necessary obligations of fecrecy and of fubmillion. Hunde (whole name in the Order was the Eques ab Enfe) acquiesced at once, and proposed a convention, with full powers to decide and accept. But a Schubart, a gentleman of character, who was treasurer to the Templar Masons, and had an employment which gave him confiderable influence in the Order, ftrongly diffuaded them from fuch a measure. The most unqualified submission to unknown fuperiors, and to conditions equally unknown, was required K 2

required previous to the smallest communication, or any knowledge of the powers which Archidemides had to treat with them. Many meetings were held, and many attempts were made to learn fomething of this fpiritual court, and of what they might expect from them. Dr Stark, Baron Weggenfak, Baron Von Raven, and fome others of his coadjutors in the Lodges at Koningfberg in Pruffia, and at Wifmar, were received into the Order. But in vain-nothing was obtained from these ghostly Knights but some infignificant ceremonials of receptions and confectations. Of this kind of novelties they were already heartily fick; and though they all panted after the expected wonders, they were fo much frightened by the unconditional fubmission, that they could come to no agreement, and the fectets of the Scotch Congregation of K-m-d-t still remain with Dr Stark. They did, however, a fenfible thing; they fent a deputation to Old Aberdeen, to enquire after the caves where their venerable mysteries were known, and their treasures were hid. They had, as they thought, merited fome more confidence; for they had remitted annual contributions to these unknown fuperiors, to the amount of some thousands of rixdollars. But alas, their ambaffadors found the Free Mafons of Old Aberdeen ignorant of all this, and as eager to learn from the ambaffadors what was the true origin

origin and meaning of Free Mafonry, of which they knew nothing but the fimple tale of Old Hi-This broke Stark's credit; but he still inram. fifted on the reality of his commission, and faid that the Brethren at Aberdeen were indeed ignorant, but that he had never faid otherwife; their expectations from that quarter had refted on the fcraps purloined by Johnson. He reminded them of a thing well known to themfelves; that one of them had been fent for by a dying nobleman to receive papers on this fubject, and that his vifit having been delayed a few hours by an unavoidable accident, he found all burnt but a fragment of a capitulary and a thing in cypher, part of which he (Dr Stark) had explained to them. They had employed another gentleman, a H. Wachter, to make fimilar enquiries in Italy, where Schropfer and others (even Hunde) had told, them great fecrets were to be obtained from the. Pretender's fecretary Approfi, and others. Wachter told them, that all this was a fiction, but that he had feen at Florence fome Brethren from the Holy Land, who really poffeffed wonderful fecrets. which he was willing to impart, on proper conditions. Thefe, however, they could not accede to; but they were cruelly tortured by feeing Wachter, who had left Germany in fober circumstances, now; a man of great wealth and expence. He would not acknowledge that he had got the fecret

cret of gold-making from the Afiatic Brethren; but faid that no man had any right to alk him how he had come by his fortune. It was enough that he behaved honourably, and owed no man any thing. He broke off all connections with them, and left them in great diffres about their Order, and panting after his fecrets. *Rifum tene*atis amici.

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

Thus was the faith of Free Mafons quite unhinged in Germany. But the rage for myfteries and wonder was not in the leaft abated; and the habits of thefe fecret Affemblies were becoming every day more craving. Diffention and fchifm was multiplying in every quarter; and the Inftitution, inftead of being an incitement to mutual complaifance and Brotherly love, had become a fource of contention, and of bitter enmity. Not fatisfied with defending the propriety of its own Inftitutions, each System of Free Mafonry was bufy in enticing away the partifans of other other Systems, shut their Lodges against each other, and proceeded even to vilify and perfecute the adherents of every System but their own.

These animofities arose chiefly from the guarrels about precedency, and the arrogance (as it was thought) of the palent Lodge of Berlin, in v pretending to have any authority in the other parts of the Empire. But these pretensions were not the refult of mere vanity. The French importers of the new degrees, always true to the glory of their nation, hoped by this means to fecure the dependence even of this frivolous Soci, ety; perhaps they might forefee political uses and benefits which might arife from it. One thing is worth notice: The French Lodges had all emanated from the great Confederation under the Duke de Chartres, and, even if we had no other proof, we might prefume that they would cultivate the fame principles that characterifed that But we are certain that infidelity and Sett. laxity of moral principles were prevalent in the Rofaic Lodges, and that the observation of this corruption had offended many of the fober oldfashioned Lodges, and was one great cause of any check that was given to the brilliant Mafonry of France. It is the observation of this circumftance, in which they all refembled, and which foon ceafed to be a diffinction, becaufe it pervaded the other Lodges, that induced me to expatiate more

more on this hiftory of Free Mafonry in Germany, than may appear to my readers to be adequate to the importance of Free Mafonry in the general fubject-matter of these pages. But I hope that it will appear in the course of my narration that I have not given it greater value than it deferves.

About this very time there was a great revolution of the public mind in Germany, and fcepticifm, infidelity, and irreligion, not only were prevalent in the minds and manners of the wealthy and luxurious, and of the profligate of lower ranks, but began to appear in the productions of the prefs. Some circumstances, peculiar to Germany, occasioned these declensions from the former acquiescence in the faith of their forefathers to become more uniform and remarkable than they would otherwife have been. The Confessions of Germany are the Roman .Catholic, the Lutheran, (which they call Protestant), and the Calvinist, (which they call Reformed). These are professed in many small contiguous principalities, and there is hardly one of them in which all the three have not free exercife. The defire of making profelytes is natural to all ferious professors of a rational faith, and was frequently exercifed. The Roman Catholics are fuppofed by us to be particularly zealous; and the Protestants (Lutherans and Calvinist) were careful to oppose them by every kind of argument, among which those of ridicule and reproach

proach were not fpared. The Catholics accufed them of infidelity respecting the fundamental doctrines of Christianity which they professed to believe, and even with respect to the doctrines of natural religion. This accufation was long very flightly supported; but, of late, by better proofs. The fpirit of free inquiry was the great boaft of the Protestants, and their only support against the Catholics, fecuring them both in their religious and civil rights. It was therefore fupported by their governments. It is not to be wondered at that it fhould be indulged to excefs, or improperly, even by ferious men, liable to error, in their difputes with the Catholics. In the progress of this contest, even their own Confessions did not efcape criticism, and it was afferted that the Reformation which those Confessions express was not complete. Further Reformations were proposed. The Scriptures, the foundation of our faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views, till by explaining, correcting, allegorifing, and otherwife twifting the Bible, mens minds had hardly any thing left to reft on as a doctrine of revealed religion. This encouraged others to go farther, and to fay that revelation was a folecifm, as plainly appeared by the irreconcileable differences among these Enlighteners (fo they were called) of the public, and that man had nothing to truft to but the Τ.

the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as a point already fettled, proferibed all religion whatever, and openly taught the doctrines of materialism and atheifm. Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant divines, from the causes that I have mentioned. Teller, Semler, Eberhardt, Leffing, Bahrdt, Riem, and Shultz, had the chief hand in all these innovations. But no man contributed more than Nicholai, an eminent and learned bookfeller in Lerlin. He has been for many years the publisher of a periodical work, called the General German Library, (Algemein deutsche Bibliothek), confifting of original differtations, and reviews of the writings of others. The great metit of this work, on account of many learned differtations which appear in it, has procured it great influence on that class of readers whole "leifure or capacity did not allow them a more profound kind of reading. This is the bulk of readers in every country. Nicholai gives a decided preference to the writings of the Enlighteners, and in his reviews treats them with particular notice, makes the public fully acquainted with their works, and makes the most favourable comments; whereas the performances of their opponents, or more properly fpeaking, the defenders of the National Creeds, are neglected, omitted, or barely mentioned, or they are criticifed with every

every feverity of ridicule and reproach. He fell upon a very fure method of rendering the orthodox writers difagreeable to the public, by reprefenting them as the abetters of fuperflition, and as fecret Jefuits. He afferts, that the abolition of the Order of Loycla is only apparent. The Brethren still retain their connection, and most part of their property, under the fecret patronage of Catholic Princes. They are, therefore, in every corner, in every habit and character, working with unwearied zeal for the reftoration of their empire. He raifed a general alarm, and made a journey through Germany, hunting for Jefuits, and for this purpofe, became Free Mafon and Rofycrucian, being introduced by his friends Gedicke and Biefter, clergymen, publifhers of the Berlin Monatschrift, and most zealous promoters of the new doctrines. This favour he has repaid at his return, by betraying, the mysteries of the Lodges, and numberless, falfehoods. His journey was published in feveral volumes, and is full of frightful Jesuitisms. This man, as I have faid, found the greatest fuccess in his method of flandering the defenders of Bible-Chriftianity, by reprefenting them as concealed lefuits. But, not contented with open discussion, he long ago published a fort of romance, called Sebaldus Nothanker, in which thefe divines are introduced under feigned names, and made L 2

made as ridiculous and detestable as possible. All this was a good trading job; for fceptical and free-thinking writings have every where a good market; and Nicholai was not only reviewer, but publisher, having presses in different citics of the Empire. The immense literary manufacture of Germany, far exceeding that of any nation of Europe, is carried on in a very particular way. The books go in fheets to the great fairs of Leipfic and Frankfort, twice a-year. ' The bookfellers meet there, and fee at one glance the ftate of literature; and having speculated and made their bargains, the books are instantly difperfed through every part of the Empire, and appear at once in all quarters. Although every Principality has an officer for licenfing, it is impoffible to prevent the currency of a performance, although it may be prohibited; for it is •to be had by the carrier at three or four miles distance in another state. By this mode of traffic, a plot may be formed, and actually has been formed, for giving any particular turn to the literature of the country. There is an excellent work printed at Bern by the author Heinzmann, a bookfeller, called, Appeal to my Country, concerning a Combination of Writers, and "Bookfellers, to rule the Literature of Germany, and form the public mind into a contempt for the religion and civil establishments of the Empire.

pire. It contains a hiftorical account of the publications in every branch of literature for about . thirty years. The author flows, in the most convincing manner, that the prodigious change from the former fatisfaction of the Germans on those fubjects to their prefent discontent and attacks from every quarter, is neither a fair picture of the prevailing fentiments, nor has been the fimple operation of things, but the refult of a combination of trading Infidels.

I have here fomewhat anticipated, (for I hope to point out the fources of this combination), becaufe it helps to explain or illustrate the progrefs of infidelity and irreligion that I was fpeaking of. It was much accelerated by another circumstance. One Basedow, a man of talents and learning, fet up, in the Principality of Anhalt-Deffau, a PHILANTHROPINE, or academy of general education, on a plan extremely, different from those of the Universities and Academies. By this appellation, the founder hoped to make parents expect that much attention would be paid to the morals of the pupils; and indeed the programs or advertisements by which Bafedow announced his inflitution to the public, described it as the professed seminary of practical Ethics. Languages, fciences, and the ornamen4 tal exercifes, were here confidered as mere acceffories, and the great aim was to form the young

young mind to the love of mankind and of virtue, by a plan of moral education which was very fpecious and unexceptionable. But there was a circumstance which greatly obstructed the wide prospects of the founder. How were the religious opinions of the youth to be cared for ? Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were almost equally numerous in the adjoining Principalities; and the exclusion of any two of thefe communions would prodigioufly limit the propofed usefulnels of the inftitution. Bafedow was a man of talents, a good scholar, and a persuafive writer. He framed a fet of rules, by which the education should be conducted, and which, he thought, should make every parent eafy; and the plan is very judicious and manly. But none came but Lutherans. His zeal and interest in the thing made him endeavour to interest others; rand he found this no hard matter. The people of condition, and all fenfible men, faw that it would be a very great advantage to the place, could they induce men to fend their children from all the neighbouring states. What we wish, we readily believe to be the truth; and Bafedow's plan and reafonings appeared complete, and had the fupport of all classes of men. The moderate Calvinists, after some time, were not averse to them, and the literary manufacture of Germany was foon very bufy in making pamphlets, defending,

defending, improving, attacking, and reprobating the plans. Innumerable were the projects for moderating the differences between the three Christian communions of Germany, and making it possible for the members of them all, not only to live amicably among each other, and to worthip God in the fame church, but even to communicate together. This attempt naturally gave rife to much fpeculation and refinement; and the proposals for amendment of the formulas and the inftructions from the pulpit were profecuted with fo much keennefs, that the ground-work, Christianity, was refined and refined, till it vanished altogether, leaving Deifm, or Natural, or, as it was called, Philosophical Religion, in its place. I am not much mistaken as to historical fact, when I fay, that the aftonishing change in religious doctrine which has taken place in Protestant Germany within thefe laft thirty years was chiefly occafioned by this fcheme of Bafedow's. The predisposing causes existed, indeed, and were general and powerful, and the diforder had already broken out. But this fpecious and enticing object first gave a title to Protestant clergymen to put to their hand without rifk of being cenfured.

Bafedow corrected, and corrected again, but not one Catholic came to the Philanthropine. He feems to have thought that the best plan would be. be, to banish all positive religion whatever, and that he would then be fure of Catholic scholars. Cardinal Dubois was so far right with respect to the first Catholic pupil of the church: He had recommended a man of his own stamp to Louis XIV. to fill some important office. The monarch was associated and told the Cardinal, that " that would never do, for the man " was a Jansenist; *Eb* ! que non, Sire," faid the Cardinal, " *il n'est qu' Athée* ;" all was safe, and the man got the priory. But though all was in vain, Basedow's Philanthropine at Deffau got a high character. He published many volumes on education that have much merit.

It were well had this been all. But most unfortunately, though most naturally, writers of loofe moral principles and of wicked hearts were encouraged by the impunity which the fceptical writers experienced, and ventured to publish things of the vilest tendency, inflaming the passions and justifying licentious manners. These maxims are congenial with irreligion and Atheism, and the books found a quick market. It was chiefly in the Prussian States that this went on. The late King was, to fay the best of him, a naturalist, and, holding this life for his all, gave full liberty to his subjects to write what they pleased, provided they did not touch on state-matters. He declared,

clared, however, to a minister of his court, long before his death, that " he was extremely forry " that his indifference had produced fuch effects ; " " that he was fenfible it had greatly contributed " to hurt the peace and mutual good treatment " of his fubjects;" and he faid, " that he would " willingly give up the glory of his best-fought " battle, to have the fatisfaction of leaving his " people in the fame state of peace and fatisfac-" tion with their religious establishments, that he " found them in at his acceffion to the throne." His fucceffor Frederick William found that things had gone much too far, and determined to fupport the church-establishment in the most per-, emptory manner; but at the fame time to allow perfect freedom of thinking and converting to the professors of every Christian faith, provided it was enjoyed without diffurbing the general peace, or any encroachment on the rights of those already fupported by law. He published an edict to this effect, which is really a model worthy of imitation in every country. This was the epoch of a strange revolution. It was attacked from all hands, and criticifms, fatires, flanders, threatenings, poured in from every quarter. The independency of the neighbouring states, and the monarch's not being a great favourite among feveral of his neighbours, permitted the publication of these pieces in the adjoining principalities, and it was impoflible M

impoffible to prevent their circulation even in the Prussian States. His edict was called an unjustifiable tyranny over the confciences of men; the dogmas fupported by it, were called abfurd fuperfitions; the King's private character, and his opinions in religious matters, were treated with little reverence, nay, were ridiculed and fcandaloufly abused. This field of discussion being thus thrown open, the writers did not confine themfelves to religious matters. After flatly denying that the prince of any country had the finallest right to prescribe, or even direct the faith of his fubjects, they extended their discussions to the rights of princes in general; and now they fairly opened their trenches, and made an attack in form on the constitutions of the German confederacy, and after the usual approaches, they fet up the standard of universal citizenship on the very ridge of the glacis, and fummoned the fort to furrender. The most daring of these attacks was a collection of anonymous letters on the conflitution of the Pruffian States. It was printed (or faid to be fo) at Utrecht; but by comparing the faults of fome types with fome books printed in Berlin, it was supposed by all to be the production of one of Nicholai's preffes. It was thought to be the composition of Mirabeau. It is certain that he wrote a French translation, with a preface and notes, more impudent than the work

work itself. The monarch was declared to be a tyrant; the people are addressed as a parcel of tame wretches crouching under oppression. The people of Silefia are reprefented as still in a worfe condition, and are repeatedly called to roufe themfelves, and to rife up and affert their rights. The King is told, that there is a combination of philofo-, phers (conjuration) who are leagued together in defence of truth and reafon, and which no power can withstand; that they are to be found in every country, and are connected by mutual and folemn engagement, and will put in practice every mean of Enlightening, instruction, was the geneattack. The triumph of rearal cry among the writers. fon over error, the overthrow of fuperfition and . flavish fear, freedom from religious and political prejudices, and the establishment of liberty and equality, the natural and unalienable rights of man, were the topics of general declamation; and it was openly maintained, that fecret focieties, where the communication of fentiment should be free from every reftraint, was the most effectual mean for inftructing and enlightening the world.

And thus it appears, that Germany has experienced the fame gradual progrefs, from Religion to Atheifm, from decency to diffoluteness, and from loyalty to rebellion, which has had its courfe in France. And I must now add, that this progress has

has been effected in the fame manner, and by the fame means; and that one of the chief means of feduction has been the Lodges of the Free Ma-The French, along with their numerous fons. cl valeries, and flars, and ribands, had brought in the cuftom of haranguing in the Lodges, and as human nature has a confiderable uniformity every where, the fame topics became favourite fubjects of declamation that had tickled the ear in France; there were the fame corruptions of fentiments and manners among the luxurious or profligate, and the fame incitements to the utterance of these fentiments, wherever it could be done with fafety; and I may fay, that the zealots in all these tracts of freethinking were more ferious, more grave, and fanatical. These are not affertions a priori. I can produce proofs. There was a Baron Knigge refiding at that time in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, of whom I shall afterwards have occalion frequently to fpeak. This man was an enthufiast in Masonry from his youth, and had run through every pollible degree of it. He was diffatisfied with them all, and particularly with the frivolity o the French chivalry; but he still believed that Mafonry contained invaluable fecrets. He imagined that he faw a glimpfe of them in the. cofmo-political and fceptical difcourfes in their Lodges; he fat down to meditate on these, and foon

foon collected his thoughts, and found that those French orators were right without knowing it; and that Masonry was pure natural religion and univerfal citizenship, and that this was also true Christianity. In this faith he immediately began his career of Brotherly love, and published three volumes of fermons; the first and third published at Frankfort, and the fecond at Heidelberg, but without his name. He published also a popular fystem of religion. In all these publications, of which there are extracts in the Religions Begcbenheiten, Christianity is confidered as a mere allegory; or a M fonic type of natural religion; the moral duties are fpun into the common-place declamations of universal benevolence; and the attention is continually directed to the abfurdities and horrors of fuperstition, the fufferings of the poor, the tyranny and oppression of the great, the tricks of the priefts, and the indolent fimplicity and patience of the laity and of the common people. The happiness of the patriarchal life, and fweets of univerfal equality and freedom, are the burden of every paragraph; and the general tenor of the whole is to make men difcontented with their condition of civil fubordination, and the restraints of revealed religion.

All the proceedings of Knigge in the Mafonic fchifms flow that he was a zealous apoftle of cofmo-politifm, and that he was continually deal-

ing

ing with people in the Lodges who were affociated with him in propagating thefe notions among the Brethren; fo that we are certain that fuch conversations were common in the German Lodges.

When the reader confiders all these circumstances, he will abate of that furprife which naturally affects a Briton, when he reads accounts of conventions for discussing and fixing the dogmatic tenets of Free Malonry. The perfect freedom, civil and religious, which we enjoy in this happy country, being familiar to every man, we indulge it with calmness and moderation, and fecret affemblies hardly differ from the common meetings of friends and neighbours. We do not forget the expediency of civil fubordination, and of those distinctions which arise from secure posfeffion of our rights, and the gradual accumulation of the comforts of life in the families of the fober and industrious. These have, by prudence and a respectable economy, preferved the acquisitions of their ancestors. Every man feels in his own breaft the strong call of nature to procure for himfelf and his children, by every honest and commendable exertion, the means of public confideration and respect. No man is for totally without fpirit, as not to think the better of his condition when he is come of creditable parents, and has creditable connections; and without

without thinking that he is in any refpect generous, he prefumes that others have the fame fentiments, and therefore allows the moderate expression of them, without thinking it infolence or haughtines. All these things are familiar, are not thought of, and we enjoy them as we enjoy ordinary health, without perceiving it. But in the fame manner as a young man who has been long confined by ficknefs, exults in returning health, and is apt to riot in the enjoyment of what he fo diffinctly feels; fo those who are under continual check in open fociety, feel this emancipation in these hidden assemblies, and indulge with eagerness in the expression of fentiments which in public they must fmother within their own breast. Such meetings, therefore, have a zeft that is very alluring, and they are frequented with avidity. There is no country in Europe where this kind of enjoyment is fo poignant as in Germany. Very infignificant principa, lities have the fame rank in the General Federation with very extensive dominions. The internal conflitution of each petty state being modelled in nearly the fame manner, the official honours of their little courts become ludicrous and even farcical. The Geheim Hofrath, the Hofmareschal, and all the Kammerhers of a Prince, whofe dominions do not equal the eftates of many English Squires, cause the whole to appear like

like the play of children, and must give frequent occasion for difcontent and ridicule. Mason Lodges even keep this alive. The fraternal equality professed in them is very flattering to those who have not fucceeded in the foramble for civil distinctions. Such perfors become the most zealous Masons, and generally obtain the active offices in the Lodges, and have an opportunity of treating with authority perfors whom in public fociety they must look up to with some respect.

These confiderations account, in some meafure, for the importance which Free Mafonry hasacquired in Germany. For a long while the hopes of learning fome wonderful fecret made a German Baron think nothing of long and expenfive journies in quest of fome new degree. Of late, the cofmo-political doctrines encouraged and propagated in the Lodges, and fome hopes of producing a Revolution in fociety, by which men of talents should obtain the management of public affairs, feem to be the caufe of all the zeal with which the order is still cherished and promoted. In a periodical work, published at Neuwied, called Algemein Zeitung der Freymaurerey, we have the lift of the Lodges in 1782, with the names of the Office-bearers. Four fifths of these are clergymen, prefessors, perfons having offices in the common-law courts, men of letters

letters by trade, fuch as reviewers and journalifts, and other pamphleteers; a clafs of men, who generally think that they have not attained that rank in fociety to which their talents entitle them, and imagine that they could difcharge the important offices of the state with reputation to themfelves and advantage to the public.

The miferable uncertainty and inftability of the Mafonic faith; which I defcribed above, was not altogether the effect of mere chance, but had been greatly accelerated by the machinations of Baron Knigge, and fome other Cofino political Brethren whom he had called to his affistance. Knigge had now formed a fcheme for uniting the whole Fraternity, for the purpole of promoting his Utopian plan of universal benevolence in a flate of liberty and equality. He hoped to do this more readily by completing their embarraffment, and fhowing each fystem how infirm its foundation was, and how little chance it had of obtaining a general adherence. The Stricten Observanz had now completely lost its credit, by which it had hoped to get the better of all the reft. Knigge therefore proposed a plan to the Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar, by which all the fystems might, in some measure, be united, or at least be brought to a lease of mutual forbearance and intercourse. He proposed that the English fystem should be taken for the groundwork

work, and to receive all and only those who had taken the three fymbolical degrees, as they were now generally called. After thus guarding this general point of faith, he proposed to allow the validity of every degree or rank which should be received in any Lodge, or be made the character of any particular fystem. These Lodges, having fecured the adherence of feveral others, brought about a general convention at Willemfbad in Hainault, where every different fyftem should communicate its peculiar fenets. If was then hoped, that after an examination of them all, a conflitution might be formed, which comprehended every thing that was most worthy of felection, and therefore be far better than the accommodating fystem already described. By this he hoped to get his favourite fcheme introduced into the whole Order, and Free Mafons made zealous Citizens of the World. I believe he was fincere in these intentions, and had no intention to diffurb the public peace. The convention was accordingly held, and lasted a long while, the deputies confulting about the frivolities of Malonry, with all the feriousness of state-ambafladors. But there was great shyness in their communications; and Knigge was making but small progress in his plan, when he met with another Mason, the Marquis of Constanza, who in an inftant converted him, and changed all his measures,

measures, by showing him that he, (Knigge), was only doing by halves what was already accomplished by another Society, which had carried it to its full extent. They immediately fet about undoing what he had been occupied with, and heightened as much as they could the diffentions, already fufficiently great, and, in the mean time, got the Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar, and feveral others, to unite, and pick out the best of the things they had obtained by the communications from the other fystems, and they formed a plan of what they called, the Eclocitic or Syncritic Mafunry of the United Lodges of Germany. They composed a constitution, ritual, and catechifm, which has merit, and is indeed the completeft body of Free Mafonry that we have.

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

CHAP.

·C H A P. II.

The Illuminati.

I AM now arrived at what I should call the great epoch of Cofmo-policifm, the scheme communicated to Baron Knigge by the Marchefe This obliges me to mention a redi Constanza. markable Lodge of the Eclectic Mafonry, crected at Munich in Bavaria, in 1775, under the worshipful Master, Professor Baader. It was called The Lodge Theodore of Good Counfel. It had its confitutional patent from the Royal York at Berlin, but had formed a particular fyftem of its own, by instructions from the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaifants at Lyons, with which it kept up a correspondence. This respect to the Lodge at Lyons had arisen from the preponderance acquired in general by the French party in the convention at Willemsbad. The deputies

ties of the Rofaic Lodges, as well as the remains of the Templars, and Stricten Olsfervanz, all looking up to this as the mother Lodge of what they called the Grand Orient de la France, confifting (in 1782) of 266 improved Lodges, united under the D. de Chartres. Accordingly the Lodge at Lyons fent Mr Willermooz as deputy to this convention at Willemsbad. Refining gradually on the fimple British Masonry, the Lodge had formed a fystem of practical morality, which it afferted to be the aim of genuine Mafonry, faying, that a true Mason, and a man of upright heart and active virtue, are fynonymous characters, and that the great aim of Free Mafonry is to promote the happiness of mankind by every mean in our power. In purfuance of these principles, the Lodge Theodore professedly occupied itself with æconomical, statistical, and political matters, and not only published from time to time discourses on fuch subjects by the Frother Orator, but the Members confidered themfelves as in duty bound to propagate and inculcate the same doctrines out of doors.

Of the zealous members of the Lodge Theodore the most conspicuous was Dr Adam Weifhaupt, Profession of Canon Law in the university of Ingolstadt. This perfon had been educated among the Jesuits; but the abolition of their order made him change his views, and from being their pupil, pupil, he became their most bitter enemy. He had acquired a high reputation in his profession, and was attended not only by those intended for the practice in the law-courts, but also by the young gentlemen at large, in their courfe of general education; and he brought numbers from the neighbouring states to this university, and gave a ton to the studies of the place. He embraced with great keennefs this opportunity of fprending the favourite doctrines of the Lodge, and his auditory became the feminary of Cofmo-politifm. The engaging pictures of the possible felicity of a fociety where every office is held by a man of talents and virtue, and where every talent is fet in a place fitted for its exertion, forcibly catches the generous and unfulpecting minds of youth, and in a Roman Catholic state, far advanced in the habits of groß superstition (a character given to Bavaria by its neighbours) and abounding in monks. and idle dignitaries, the opportunities must be frequent for observing the inconsiderate dominion of the clergy, and the abject and indolent fubmiffion of the laity. Accordingly Professor Weishauptfays, in his Apology for Illuminatism, that Deism, Infidelity, and Atheilm are more prevalent in Bayaria than in any country he was acquainted with. Discourses, therefore, in which the absurdity and horrors of fuperstition and spiritual tyranny were ftrongly painted, could not fail of making a deep imprefiion.

102

impression. And during this state of the minds of the auditory the transition to general infidelity and irreligion is fo eafy, and fo inviting to fanguine youth, prompted perhaps by a latent with that the reftraints which religion imposes on the expectants of a future state might be found, on enquiry, to be nothing but groundless terrors, that I imagine it requires the most anxious care of the public teacher to keep the minds of his audience imprefied with the reality and importance of the great truths of religion, while he frees them from the fhackles of blind and abfurd fuperstition. Ι fear that this celebrated instructor had none of this anxiety, but was fatisfied with his great fuccefs in the last part of this task, the emancipation of his young hearers from the terrors of fuperfition. I fuppofe alfo that this was the more agreeable to him, as it procured him the triumph over the Jefuits, with whom he had long ftruggled for the direction of the university.

This was in 1777. Weifhaupt had long been fcheming the eftablifhment of an Aflociation or Order, which, in time, fhould govern the world. In his first fervour and high expectations, he hinted to feveral Ex-Jesuits the probability of their recovering, under a new name, the influence which they formerly possessed and of being again of great fervice to fociety, by directing the education of youth of distinction, now emancipated from all all civil and religious prejudices. He prevailed on fome to join him, but they all retracted but two. After this difappointment Weifhaupt became the implacable enemy of the Jefuits; and his fanguine temper made him frequently lay himfelf open to their piercing eye, and drew on him their keeneft refertment, and at last made him the victim of their enmity.

The Lodge Theodore was the place where the above-mentioned doctrines were most zealously But Weishaupt's emissaries had alpropagated. ready procured the adherence of many other Lodges; and the Eclectic Masonry had been brought into vogue chiefly by their exertions at the Willemsbad convention. The Lodge Theodore was perhaps less guarded in its proceedings, for it became remarkable for the very bold fentiments in politics and religion which were frequently uttered in their harangues; and its members were noted for their zeal in making profelytes. Many bitter pasquinades, fatires, and other offensive pamphlets were in fecret circulation, and even larger works of very dangerous tendency, and feveral of them were traced to that Lodge. The Elector often expressed his disapprobation of fuch proceedings, and fent them kind meffages; defiring them to be careful not to diffrub the peace of the country, and particularly to recollect the folemn declaration made to every entrant in-

104

to the Fraternity of Free Mafons, "That no fub-" ject of religion or politics fhall ever be touched " on in the Lodge;" a declaration which alone could have procured his permiftion of any fecret affembly whatever, and on the fincerity and honour of which he had reckoned when he gave his fanction to their establishment. But repeated accounts of the fame kind increased the alarm, and the Elector ordered a judicial enquiry into the proceedings of the Lodge Theodore.

It was then discovered that this and feveral affociated Lodges were the nurfery or preparationfchool for another Order of Masons, who called themfelves the ILLUMINATED, and that the exprefs aim of this Order was to abolish Christianity, and overturn all civil government. But the refult of the enquiry was very imperfect and un-No Illuminati were to be found. fatisfactory. They were unknown in the Lodge. Some of the members occasionally heard of certain candidates for illumination called MINERVALS, who were fometimes feen among them. But whether thefe had been admitted, or who received them, was known only to themfelves. Some of thefe were examined in private by the Elector himfelf. They faid that they were bound by honour to fecrecy : But they affured the Elector, on their honour, that the aim of the Order was in the highest degree praise-worthy, and useful both to church Ο

church and flate: But this could not allay the anxiety of the profanc public; and it was repeatedly flated to the Elector, that members of the Lodge Theodore had unguardedly fpoken of this Order as one that in time muft rule the world. He therefore iffued an order forbidding, during his pleafure, all fecret affemblies, and flutting up the Mafon Lodges. It was not meant to be rigoroufly enforced, but was intended as a trial of the deference of these Affociations for civil authority. The Lodge Theodore diftinguifhed itfelf by pointed oppofition, continuing its meetings; and the members, out of deors, openly reprobated the prohibition as an abfurd and unjuftifiable tyranny.

In the beginning of 1783, four professors of the Mariunen Academy, founded by the widow of the late Elector, viz. Utfchneider, Coffandey, Renner, and Grunberger, with two others, were furnmoned before the Court of Enquiry, and queftioned, on their allegiance, respecting the Order of the Illuminati. They acknowledged that they belonged to it, and when more clofely examined, they related feveral circumstances of its conftitution and principles. Their declarations were immediately published, and were very unfavourable. The Order was faid to abjure Chriftianity, and to refuse admission into the higher degrees to all who adhered to any of the three confeffions. Senfual pleafures were reftored to the rank

rank they held in the Epicurean philosophy. Selfmurder was justified on Stoical principles. In the Lodges death was declared an eternal fleep; patriotifm and loyalty were called narrow-minded prejudices, and incompatible with univerfal benevolence; continual declamations were made on liberty and equality as the unalienable rights of man. The baneful influence of accumulated property was declared an infurmountable obftacle to the happiness of any nation whose chief laws were framed for its protection and increase. Nothing was fo frequently difcourfed of as the propriety of employing, for a good purpole, the means which the wicked employed for evil purpofes; and it was taught, that the preponderancy of good in the ultimate refult confecrated every mean employed; and that wifdom and virtue confifted in properly determining this balance. This appeared big with danger; becaufe it appeared that * nothing would be forupled at, if we could make it appear that the Order could derive advantage from it, because the great object of the Order was held as fuperior to every confideration. They concluded by faying that the method of education made them all fpies on each other and on all around them. But all this was denied by the Illuminati. Some of them were faid to be abfolutely falfe; and the reft were faid to be miltakes. The apoftate professors had acknowledged their ignorance

of

of many things. Two of them were only Minervals, another was an Illuminatus of the loweft clafs, and the fourth was but one ftep farther advanced. Pamphlets appeared on both fides, with very little effect. The Elector called before him one of the fuperiors, a young nobleman, who denied thefe injurious charges, and faid that they were ready to lay before his Highnefs their whole archives and all conftitutional papers.

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

It was now discovered, that Weishaupt was the head and founder of the Order. He was deprived of his Professor's chair, and banished from the Bavarian States; but with a pension of 800 florins, which he refused. He went to Regensburg, on the confines of Switzerland. Two Italians, the Marquis Constanza and Marquis Savioli, were also banished, with equal pensions, (about L. 40), which they accepted. One Zwack, a counsellor, holding fome law-office, was also banished. banished. Others were imprisoned for some time, Weishaupt went afterwards into the fervice of the D. of Saxe Gotha, a person of a romantic turn of mind, and whom we shall again meet with. Zwack went into the service of the Pr. de Salms, who soon after had so great a hand in the disturbances in Holland.

By deftroying the papers, all opportunity was loft for authenticating the innocence and ulefulnefs of the Order. After much altercation and paper war, Weishaupt, now fafe in Regensburg, published an account of the Order, namely, the account which was given to every Noviciate in a discourse read at his reception. To this were added, the ftatutes and the rules of proceeding, as far as the degree of Illuminatus Minor, inclusive. This account he affirmed to be conform to the real practice of the Order. But this publication did by no means fatisfy the public mind. It differed exceedingly from the accounts given by the four professors. It made no mention of the higher degrees, which had been most blamed by them. Befides, it was alleged, that it was all a fiction, written in order to 'lull the fufpicions which had been raifed, (and this was found to be the cafe, except in respect of the very lowest degree). The real conflitution was brought to light by degrees, and shall be laid before the reader, in the order in which it was gradually difcovered,

discovered, that we may the better judge of things not fully known by the conduct of the leaders during the detection. The first account given by Weishaupt is correct, as far as I shall make use of it, and shows clearly the methods that were taken to recommend the Order to strangers.

The Order of ILLUMINATI appears as an acceffory to Free Malonry. It is in the Lodges of Free Masons that the Minervals are found, and there they are prepared for Illumination. They must have previously obtained the three English degrees. The founder fays more. He fays that his doctrines are the only true Free Mafonry. He was the chief promoter of the Eclectic System. This he urged as the best method for getting-information of all the explanations which have been given of, the Masonic Mysteries. He was alfo a Strict Obfervanz, and an adept Rofycrucian. The refult of all his knowledge is worthy of particular remark, and shall therefore be given at large.

" I declare," fays he, " and I challenge all mankind to contradict my declaration, that no man can give any account of the Order of Free Mafonry, of its origin, of its hiftory, of its object, nor any explanation of its mysteries and fymbols, which does not leave the mind " in

" in total uncertainty on all these points. Eve-" ry man is entitled, therefore, to give any ex-" planation of the fymbols, and any fystem of " the doctrines, that he can render palatable. " Hence have fprung up that variety of fystems " which for twenty years have divided the Or-" der. The fimple tale of the English, and the " fifty degrees of the French, and the Knights " of Baron Hunde, are equally authentic, and " have equally had the fupport of intelligent " and zealous Brethren. These fystems are in-" fact but one. They have all fprung from the " Blue Lodge of Three degrees; take thefe for " their standard, and found on these all the " improvements by which each fystem is after-" wards fuited to the particular object which it " keeps in view. There is no man, nor fystem, " in the world, which can flow by undoubted " fucceffion that it should stand at the head of " the Order. Our ignorance in this particular " frets me. Do but confider our fhort history " of 120 years .- Who will show me the Mother " Lodge? Those of London we have discover-" ed to be self-erected in 1716. Ask for their " archives. They tell you they were burnt. " They have nothing but the wretched fophilti-" cations of the Englishman Anderson, and the " Frenchman Defaguilliers. Where is the Lodge " of York, which pretends to the priority, with • " their

" their King Bouden, and the archives that " he brought from the East? These too are all " burnt. What is the Chapter of Old Aber-" deen, and its Holy Clericate ? Did we not " find it unknown, and the Malon Lodges there " the most ignorant of all the ignorant, gaping " for instruction from our deputies? Did we " not find the fame thing at London? and have " not their miffionaries been among us, prying " into our mysteries, and eager to learn from " us what is true Free Mafonry? It is in vain, " therefore, to appeal to judges; they are no " where to be found; all claim for themfelves " the fceptre of the Order; all indeed are on " an equal footing. They obtained followers, " not from their authenticity, but from their " conduciveness to the end which they proposed, " " and from the importance of that end. It is " by this fcale that we must measure the mad " and wicked explanations of the Rofycru-" cians, the Exorcifts, and Cabalifts. Thefe " are rejected by all good Mafons, becaufe in-" compatible with focial happiness. Only fuch " fystems as promote this are retained. But " alas, they are all fadly deficient, becaufe they " leave us under the dominion of political and " religious prejudices; and they are as ineffi-« cient as the fleepy dofe of an ordinary fer-" mon.

112

" But

"But I have contrived an explanation which has every advantage; is inviting to Chriftians of every communion; gradually frees them from all religious prejudices; cultivates the focial virtues; and animates them by a great, a feafible, and *fpeedy* profpect of univerfal happinefs, in a flate of liberty and moral equality, freed from the obflacles which fubordination, frank, and riches, continually throw in our way. My explanation is accurate, and complete, my means are effectual, and irrefiftible. Our fecret Affociation works in a way that nothing can withfland, and man.fb.all foon be free and bappy.

" This is the great object held out by this Af-" fociation, and the means of attaining it is II-" lumination, enlightening the understanding by " the fun of reafon, which will difpel the clouds ". of fuperflition and of prejudice. The profici-" ents in this Order are therefore jully named " the Illuminated. And of all Illumination which " human reafon can give, none is comparable to " the difcovery of what we are, our nature, our " obligations, what happinels we are capable of, " and what are the means of attaining it. In " comparison with this, the most brilliant fcien-" ces are but amufements for the idle and luxu-" rious. To fit man by Illumination for active " virtue, to engage him to it by the ftrongeft " motives, to render the attainment of it eafy * and P

" and certain, by finding employment for every talent, and by placing every talent in its proper fphere of action, fo that all, without feeling any extraordinary effort, and in conjunction with and completion of ordinary bufinefs, fhall urge forward, with united powers, the general tafk. This indeed will be an employment, fuited to noble natures, grand in its views, and delightful in its exercife.

"And what is this general object? THE HAP-" PINESS OF THE HUMAN RACE. Is it not dif-" trefling to a generous mind, after contempla-" ting what human nature is capable of, to fee " how little we enjoy? When we look at this " goodly world, and fee that every man may be " happy, but that the happiness of one depends " on the conduct of another ; when we fee the " wicked to powerful and the good to weak; " and that it is in vain to ftrive fingly and alone, " against the general current of vice and op-" preflion ; the wifh naturally arifes in the mind," " that it were possible to form a durable combi-" nation of the most worthy perfons, who should " work together in removing the obflacles to " human happinels, become terrible to the wic-" " ked, and give their aid to all the good without " diffinction, and should by the most powerful " means, first fetter, and by fettering, leffen " vice; means which at the fame time flould pro-" mote virtue, by rendering the inclination to * rectitude

" rectitude, hitherto too feeble, more powerful " engaging. Would not fuch an affociation be " a bleffing to the world?

" But where are the proper perfons, the good, " the generous, and the accomplifhed, to be " found ; and how, and by what ftrong motives; " are they to be induced to engage in a tafk fo " valt, fo inceffant, fo difficult, and fo laborious ? " This Affociation must be gradual. There are " fome fuch perfons to be found in every focie-" ty. Such noble minds will be engaged by the " heart-warming object. The first task of the Af-" fociation must therefore be to form the young " members. As thefe multiply and advance, they " become the apofiles of beneficence, and the " work is now on foot, and advances with a fpeed " encreasing every day. The flighteft observa-" tion flows that nothing will fo much contri-" bute to increase the zeal of the members as fe-" cret union. We fee with what keennefs and " zeal the frivolous bufinefs of Free Malonry " is conducted, by perfons knit together by the " fecrecy of their union. It is needlefs to en-" quire into the caufes of this zeal which fecrecy f produces. It is an univerfal fact, confirmed " by the hiftory of every age. Let this circum-" fance of our conflictution therefore be directed " to this noble purpole, and then all the objec-" tions urged against it by jealous syranny and * affrighted fuperflition will vanish. The Order " will P'2

" will thus work filently, and fecurely, and . " though the generous benefactors of the human " race are thus deprived of the applaufe of the " world, they have the neble pleafure of feeing " their work profper in their hands "

Such is the aim. and fuch are the hopes of the Order of the Illuminated. Let us now fee how thefe were to be accomplifhed. We cannot judge precifely of this, becaufe the account given of the conflitution of the Order by its founder includes only the loweft degree, and even this is fufpected to be fictutious. The accounts given by the four Profeffor..., even of this part of the Order, make a very different imprefion on the mind, although they differ only in a few particulars.

The only oftenfible members of the Order were the Minervals. They were to be found only in the Lodges of Free Mafons. A candidate for admission must make his with known to some Minerval; he reports it to a Superior, who, by a channel to be explained prefently, intimates it to the Council. No notice is farther taken of it for fome time. The candidate is carefully obferved in filence, and if thought unfit for the Order, no notice is taken of his folicitation. But if otherwife, the candidate receives privately an invitation to a conference. Here he meets with a perion unknown to him, and, previous to all further conference, he is required to perule and to fign the following oath.

* I

" I N. N. hereby bind myfelf, by mine ho-"nour and good name, forfwearing all mental "refervation, never to reveal, by hint, word, "writing, or in any manner whatever, even to "my most trusted friend, any thing that shall "now be faid or done to me respecting my "wished for reception, and this whether my re-"ception shall follow or not, I being previouf-"ly affured that it shall contain nothing contra-"ry to religion, the state, nor good manners. I "promise, that I shall make no intelligible extract from any papers which shall be shewn "me now or during my noviciate. All this I "fwear, as I am, and as I hope to continue a "Man of Honour."

The urbanity of this proteftation must agreeably imprefs the mind of a perfon who recollects the dreadful imprecations which he made at his reception into the different ranks of Free Mafonry. The candidate is then introduced to an Illuminatus Dirigens, whom perhaps he knows, and is told that this perfon is to be his future inftructor. There is now prefented to the candidate, what they call a table, in which he writes his name; place of birth, age, rank, place of refidence, profession, and favourite sludies. He is then made to read feveral articles of this table. It contains, 1/t, a very concife account of the Order, its connection with Free Malonry, and its great object, the promoting the happiness of mankind by means

means of inflruction and confirmation in virtuous principles. 2d, Several queflions relative to the Order. Among these are, " What advantages he " hopes to derive from being a member? What " he most particularly wishes to learn? What " delicate questions relative to the life, the prof-" pcfts, the dutics of man, as an individual, and " as a citizen, he willes to have particularly " difcuffed to him? In what respects he thinks " he can be of use to the Order? Who are his " anceflors, relations, friends, correspondents, or " councils ? Whom he thinks proper perfons. " to be received into the Order, or whom he * thinks unfit for it, and the reasons for both " opinions?" To each of these questions he must give some answer in writing.

The Novice and his Mentor are known only to each other; perhaps nothing more follows upon this; if otherwife, the Mentor appoints another conference, and begins his influctions, by giving him in detail certain portions of the conftitution, and of the fundamental rules of the Order. Of thefe the Novice must give a weekly account in writing. He must also read, in the Mentor's houfe, a book containing more of the influctions of the Order; but he must make no extracts. Yet from this reading he must derive all his knowledge; and he must give an account in writing of his progrefs. All writings received from his Superiors must be returned with a flated punctuality. tuality. These writings confish chiefly of important and delicate questions, fuited, either to the particular inclination, or to the peculiar taste which the candidate had discovered in his subforiptions of the articles of the table, and in his former referipts, or to the direction which the Mentor wishes to give to his thoughts.

Enlightening the understanding, and the rooting out of prejudices, are pointed out to him as the principal tafks of his noviciate. The knowledge of himfelf is confidered as preparatory to all other knowledge. To difclofe to him, by means of the calm and unbiaffed obfervation of his inftructor, what is his own character, his most vulnerable fide, either in refpect of temper, paffions, or propoffeffions, is therefore the most effential fervice that can be done him. For this purpole there is required of him fome account of his own conduct on occasions where he doubted of its propriety; fome account of his friendships, of his differences of opinion, and of his conduct on fuch occasions. From fuch relations the Superior learns his manner of thinking and judging, and those propensities which require his chief attention.

Having made the candidate acquainted with himfelf, he is apprifed that the Order is not a fpeculative, but an active affociation, engaged in doing good to others. The knowledge of human

human character is therefore of all others the most important. This is acquired only by observation, affilled by the instructions of his teacher. Characters in hittory are proposed to him for obfervation, and his opinion is required. After this he is directed to look around him, and to notice the conduct of other men; and part of his weekly referipts must confist of accounts of all interest-'ing occurrences in his neighbourhood, whether of a public or private nature. Coffandey, one of the four Professors, gives a particular account of the inftructions relating to this kind of fcience. " The Novice mult be attentive to trifles : For, in ⁴⁴ frivolous occurrences a man is indolent, and " makes no effort to act a part, fo that his real " character is then acting alone. Nothing will " have fuch influence with the Superiors in pro-" moting the advancement of a candidate as very " copious narrations of this kind, becaufe the " candidate, if promoted, is to be employed in " an active station, and it is from this kind of, " information only that the Superiors can judge " of his fitnels. These characteristic anecdotes " are not for the inflruction of the Superiors, who " are men of long experience, and familiar with " fuch occupation. But they inform the Order " concerning the talents and proficiency of the " young member. Scientific inftruction, being " connected by fythem, is foon communicated, and " may

120

" may in general be very completely obtained " from the books which are recommended to the " Novice, and acquired in the 'public feminaries " of instruction. But knowledge of character is " more multifarious and more delicate. For this " there is no college, and it must therefore re-" quire longer time for its attainment. Befides, " this affiduous and long continued fludy of men, " enables the poffeffor of fuch knowledge to act " with men, and by his knowledge of their cha-" racter, to influence their conduct. For fuch " reafons this fludy is continued, and these re-" feripts are required, during the whole progrefs " through the Order, and attention to them is " recommended as the only mean of advancement. " Remarks on Phyliognomy in these narrations " are accounted of confiderable value." So far Mr'Coffandey.

During all this trial, which may laft one, two, or three years, the Novice knows no perfon of the Order but his own inftructor, with whom he has frequent meetings, along with other Minervals. In these conversations he learns the importance of the Order, and the opportunities he will afterwards have of acquiring much hidden fcience. The employment of his unknown Superiors naturally causes him to entertain very high notions of their abilities and worth. He is counfelled to aim at a refemblance to them by getting rid by degrees of all those prejudices or prepossed

which checked his own former progrefs; and he is affifted in this endeavour by an invitation to a correspondence with them. He may address his Provincial Superior, by directing his letter Soli, or the General by Primo, or the Superiors in general by Quibus licet. In these letters he may mention whatever he thinks conducive to the advancement of the Order; he may inform the Superiors how his inftructor behaves to him ; if affiduous or remifs, indulgent or fevere. The Superiors are enjoined by the strongest motives to convey these letters wherever addressed. None but the General and Council know the refult of all this; and all are enjoined to keep themfelves and their proceedings unknown to all the world.

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

But fhould his Superiors judge more favourably of him, he is drawn out of the general mafs of Free Mafons, and becomes *Illuminatus Minor*. When called to a conference for this purpofe, he is told in the most ferious manner, that " it is " vain for him to hope to acquire wildom by " mere fystematic instruction; for fuch instruc-" tion the Superiors have no leifure. Their duty " is not to form speculators, but active men, " whom

" whom they must immediately employ in the fer-" vice of the Order. He must therefore grow " wife and able entirely by the unfolding and ex-"ertion of his own talents. His Superiors have " already difcovered what thefe are, and know " what fervice he may be capable of rendering " the Order, provided he now heartily acquieices " in being thus honourably employed. Thev " will affift him in bringing his talents into action, " and will place him in the fituations most fa-" vourable for their exertion, fo that he may be "" affured of fuccess. Hitherto he has been a mere " scholar, but his first step farther carries him " into action; he must therefore now confider " himfelf as an inftrument in the hands of his " Superiors, to be used for the noblest purposes." The aim of the Order is now more fully told him. It is, in one fentence, " to make of the " human race, without any diffinction of nation, " condition, or profession, one good and happy " family." To this aim, demonstrably attainable, " every fmaller confideration must give way. " This may fometimes require facrifices which " no man standing alone has fortitude to make; " but which become light, and a fource of the " purest enjoyment, when supported and encou-' " raged by the countenance and co-operation of " the united wife and good, fuch as are the Supe-" riors of the Order." If the candidate, warmed by the alluring picture of the possible happiness of

Q 2

3

a virtuous Society, fays that he is fenfible of the propriety of this procedure, and ftill wifnes to be of the Order, he is required to fign the following obligation.

" I, N. N. proteft before you, the worthy Pleni-" potentiary of the venerable Order into which I " wifh to be admitted, that Lacknowledge my na-" tural weakness and inability, and that I, with all " my poffessions, rank, honours, and titles which I " hold in political fociety, am, at bottom, only a " man; I can enjoy these things only through my " fellow-men, and through them alfo I may lofe ' " them. The approbation and confideration of " my fellow-men are indifpenfably neceflary, and I " must try to maintain them by all my talents. " Thele I will never use to the prejudice of uni-" verfal good, but will oppofe, with all my might, " the enemies of the human race, and of poli-" " tical fociety. I will embrace every opportunity " of faving mankind, by improving my under-" flanding and my affections, and by imparting " all important knowledge, as the good and fta-" tutes of this Order require of me. I bind " myfelf to perpetual filence and unfhaken loyal-" ty and fubmiffion to the Order, in the perfons " of my Superiors; here making a faithful and " complete furrender of my private judgment, "my own will, and every narrow-minded em-" ployment of my power and influence. I pledge " myfelf to account the good of the Order as my " own,

" own, and am ready to ferve it with my fortune, " my honour, and my blood. Should I, through " omifion, neglect, paffion, or wickedness, behave "contrary to this good of the Order, I fubject " myfelf to what reproof or punifhment my Su-" periors shall enjoin. The friends and enemies " of the Order shall be my friends and enemies ; " and with respect to both I will conduct myself " as directed by the Order, and am ready, in " every lawful way, to devote myfelf to its in-" creafe and promotion, and therein to employ " all my ability. All this I promife, and proteft, " without fecret refervation, according to the in-" tention of the Society which require from me " this engagement. This I do as I am, and as I " hope to continue, a Man of Honour."

A drawn fword is then pointed at his breaft, and he is afked, Will you be obedient to the commands of your Superiors? He is threatened with unavoidable vengeance, from which no potentate can defend him, if he fhould ever betray the Order. He is then afked, 1. What aim does he wifh the Order to have? 2. What means he would choofe to advance this aim? 3. Whom he wifhes to keep out of the Order? 4. What fubjects he wifhes not to be difcuffed in it?

Our candidate is now ILLUMINATUS MINOR. It is needlefs to narrate the mummery of reception, and it is enough to fay, that it nearly refembles fembles that of the *Mafonic Chevalier du Soleil*, known to every one much converfant in Mafonry. 'Weifhaupt's preparatory difcourfe of reception is a piece of good composition, whether confidered as argumentative, (from topics, indeed, that are very gratuitous and fanciful), or as a specimen of that declamation which was so much practifed by Libanius and the other Sophists, and it gives a distinct and captivating account of the professed aim of the Order.

The Illuminatus Minor leatns a good deal more of the Order, but by very sparing morfels, under the fame instructor. The task has now become more delicate and difficult. The chief part of it is the rooting out of prejudices in politics and religion; and Weishaupt has shown much address in the method which he has employed. Not the most hurtful, but the most easily refuted, were the first subjects of discussion, so that the pupil gets into the habits of victory; and his reverence for the fystems of either kind is diminished when they'are found to have harboured fuch untenable opinions. The proceedings in the Eclectic Lodges of Masonry, and the harangues of the Brother Orators, teemed with the boldest fentiments both in politics and religion. Enlightening, and the triumph of reason, had been the ton of the country for some time past, and every institution, civil and religious, had been the fubject of the most free

free criticism. Above all, the Cosmo-politism, which had been imported from France, where it had been the favourite topic of the enthufiastical ceconomifts, was now become a general theme of discussion in all focieties of cultivated men. T۲ was a fubject of eafy and agreeable declamation; and the Literati found in it a fubject admirably fitted for flowing their talents, and ingratiating themfelves with the young men of fortune, whole minds, unfufpicious as yet and generous, were fired with the fair prospects fet before them of univerfal and attainable happinefs. And the pupils of the Illuminati were still-more warmed by the thought that they were to be the happy inftruments of accomplifying all this. And though the doctrines of univerfal liberty and equality, as imprescriptible rights of man, might fometimes startle those who possessed the advantage of fortune, there were thousands of younger sons, and of men of taients without fortune, to whom these were agreeable founds. And we must particularly observe, that those who were now the pupils were a fet of picked fubjects, whole characters and peculiar biafes were well known by their conduct during their noviciate as Minervals. They were therefore fuch as, in all probability, would not boggle at very free fentiments. We might rather expect a partiality to doctrines which removed fome reftraints which formerly checked them

them in the indulgence of youthful passions. Their instructors, who have thus relieved their minds from feveral anxious thoughts, must appear men of fuperior minds. This was a notion most carefully inculcated; and they could fee nothing to contradict it : for except their own Mentor, they knew none; they heard of Superiors of different ranks, but never faw them; and the fame mode of inftruction that was practifed during their noviciate was still retained. More particulars of the Order were flowly unfolded to them, and they were taught that their Superiors were men of diftinguilhed talents, and were Superiors for this reafon They were taught, that the great opporalone. tunities which the Superiors had for observation, and 'their habits of continually occupying their thoughts with the great objects of this Order, had enlarged their views, even far beyond the harrow limits of nations and kingdoms, which they hoped would one day coalefce into one great Society, where confideration would attach to talents and worth alone, and that pre-eminence in these would be invariably attended with all the enjoyments of influence and power. And they were told that they would gradually become acquainted with these great and venerable Characters, as they advanced in the Order. In earneft of this, they were made acquainted with one or two Superiors, and with feveral Illuminati of their own rank,

rank. Alfo, to whet their zeal, they are now made instructors of one or two Minervals, and report their progrefs to their Superiors. They are given to understand that nothing can fo much recommend them as the fuccefs with which they perform this tafk. It is the beft evidence of their usefulness in the great designs of the Order.

The baleful effects of general superstition, and even of any peculiar religious prepossession, are now ftrongly inculcated, and the difcernment of the pupils in these matters is learned by questions which are given them from time to time to difcufs. Thefe are managed with delicacy and circumfpection, that the timid may not be alarund. In like manner, the political doctrines of the Order are inculcated with the utmost caution. After the mind of the pupil has been warmed by the pictures of universal happiness, and convinced that it is a poffible thing to unite all the inhabitants of the earth in one great fociety, and after it has been made out, in fome measure to the fatisfaction of the pupil, that a great addition of happiness is gained by the abolition of national diftinctions and animolities, it may frequently be no hard talk to make him think that patriotifm is a narrow-minded monopolifing fentiment, and even incompatible with the more enlarged views of the Order, namely, the uniting the whole human race into one great and happy fociety. Princes are a chief feature of national diffinction.

tion. Princes, therefore, may now be fafely reprefented as unneceffary. If fo, loyalty to Princes loses much of its facred character; and the fo frequent enforcing of it in our common political difcuffions may now be eafily made to ap-· pear a felfish maxim of rulers, by which they may more eafily enflave the people; and thus, it may at last appear, that religion, the love of our particular country, and loyalty to our Prince, should be refisted, if, by these partial or narrow views, we prevent the accomplishment of that Cosmopolitical happiness which is continually held forth as the great object of the Order. It is in this point of view that the terms of devotion to the Order which are inferted in the oath of admiffion are now explained. The authority of the ruling powers is therefore represented as of · inferior moral weight to that of the Order. " These powers are despots, when they do not " conduct themfelves by its principles; and " it " is therefore our duty to furround them with its " members, fo that the profane may have no ac-" cefs to them." Thus we are able most power-" fully to promote its interests. If any perfor is " more difposed to listen to Princes than to the " Order, he is not fit for it, and must rife no " higher. We must do our utmost to procure the « advancement of Illuminati into all important " civil offices."

130

. Accordingly

Accordingly the Order laboured in this with great zeal and fuccels. A correspondence was difcoyered, in which it is plain, that by their influence, one of the greatest ecclesiastical dignities was filled up in opposition to the right and authority of the Archbishop of Spire, who is there reprefented as a tyrannical and bigotted prieft. They contrived to place their Members as tutors to the youth of distinction. One of them, Baron Leuchtfenring, took the charge of a young prince without any falary. They infinuated themfelves into all public offices, and particularly into courts of justice. In like manner, the chairs in the University of Ingolftadt were, (with only two exceptions), occupied by Illuminati. " Rulers who are mem-" bers must be promoted through the ranks of " the Order only in proportion as they ac-" knowledge the goodness of its great object, " and manner of procedure. Its object may be " faid to be the checking the tyranny of prin-" ces, nobles, and priefts, and eftablishing an u-" niverfal equality of condition and of religion." The pupil is now informed " that fuch a religion " is contained in the Order, is the perfection of " Christianity, and will be imparted to him in " due time."

These and other principles and maxims of the Order are partly communicated by the verbal instructio

R 2

ftruction of the Mentor, partly by writings, which must be punctually returned, and partly read by the pupil at the Mentor's house, (but without taking extracts), in fuch portions as he fhall direct. The referipts by the pupil must contain discussions on these subjects, and of anecdotes and defcriptions of living characters; and these must be zealously continued, as the chief mean of advancement. All this while the pupil knows only his Mentor, the Minervals, and a few others of his own rank. All mention of degrees, or other bufiness of the Order, must be carefully avoided, even in the meetings with other Members: " For the Order wifhes to be " fecret, and to work. in filence ; " for thus it " is better fecured from the oppression of the " ruling powers, and becaufe this fecrecy gives " a greater zeft to the whole."

This fhort account of the *Noviciate*, and of the lowest class of Illuminati, is all we can get from the authority of Mr Weishaupt. The higher degrees were not published by him. Many circumstances appear sufficients, and are certainly sufceptible of different turns, and may eafily be pushed to very dangerous extremes. The accounts given by the four professions confirm these sufficients. They declare upon oath, that they make all these accusations in confequence

132

quence of what they heard in the Meetings, and v of what they knew of the Higher Orders.

But fince the time of the fuppression by the Elector, discoveries have been made which throw great light on the fubject. A collection of original papers and correspondence was found by fearching the houfe of one Zwack, (a Member), in 1786. The following year a much larger collection was found at the houfe of Baron Baffus; and fince that time Baron Knigge, the most active Member next to Weishaupt, published an account of fome of the higher degrees, which had been formed by himfelf. A long while after this were published, Neuche Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo in der Illuminaten Orden, and Hohere Graden des Illum. Ordens. Thefe two works give an account of the whole fecret conflictution of the Order, its various degrees, the manner of conferring them, the instructions to the intrants, and an explanation of the connection of the Or-. der with Free Mafonry, and a critical hiftory. We shall give some extracts from such of these as have been published.

Weishaupt was the founder in 1776. In 1778 the number of Members was confiderably increased, and the Order was fully established. The Members took antique names. Thus Weishaupt took' the name of Spartacus, the man who headed the infurrection of slaves, which in Pompey's 134

Pompey's time kept Rome in terror and uproar for three years. Zwack was called Cato. Knigge was Philo. Baffus was Hannibal. Hertel was Marius. Marquis Constanza was Diomedes. Nicolai, an eminent and learned bookfeller in Berlin, and author of feveral works of reputation, took the name of Lucian, the great scoffer at all religion. Another was Mahomet, &c. It is remarkable, that except Cato and Socrates, we have not a name of any ancient who was eminent as a teacher and practifer of virtue. On the contrary, they feem to have affected the characters of the free-thinkers and turbulent fpirits of antiquity. In the fame manner they gave ancient names to the cities and countries of Europe, Munich was Athens, Vienna was Rome, &c.

Spartaçus to Cato, Feb. 6. 1778.

" Mon but est de faire valoir la raison. As a fubordinate object I shall endeavour to gain fecurity to ourfelves, a backing in case of misfortunes, and assistance from without. I shall therefore press the cultivation of science, especially such sciences as may have an influence on our reception in the world, and may serve to remove obstacles out of the way. We have to

" to ftruggle with pedantry, with intolerance, " with divines and flatefmen, and above all, " princes and priefts are in our way. Men are " unfit as they are, and must be formed; each " class must be the school of trial for the next. " This will be tedious, because it is hazardous. " In the laft claffes I propofe academies under " the direction of the Order. This will fecure " us the adherence of the Literati. Science shall " here be the lure. Only these who are assured-" ly proper fubjects shall be picked out from " among the inferior classes for the higher myste-" ries, which contain the first principles and " means of promoting a happy life. No reli-" gionist must, on any account, be admitted in-" to thefe: For here we work at the difcovery " and extirpation of fuperstition and prejudices. " The inftructions shall be fo conducted that " each shall disclose what he thinks he conceals " within his own breaft, what are his ruling pro-" penfities and paffions, and how far he has ad-" vanced in the command of himfelf. This will " answer all the purposes of auricular confession. " And in particular, every perfon shall be made " a fpy on another and on all around him. No-" thing can escape our fight; by these means " we fhall readily difcover who are contented, " and receive with relift the peculiar flate-doc-" trines and religious opinions that are laid be-" fore

" fore them ; and, at laft, the truft-worthy alone " will be admitted to a participation of the whole " maxims and political conflictution of the Or-" der. In a council composed of fuch members " we shall labour at the contrivance of means to " drive by degrees the enemies of reason and of " humanity out of the world, and to establish a " peculiar morality and religion fitted for the " great Society of Mankind.

. " But this is a ticklish project, and requires. " the utmost circumspection. The squeamish " will flart at the fight of religious or political " novelties; and they must be prepared for them." " We must be particularly careful about the books " which we recommend ; I fhall confine them at " first to moralists and reasoning historians. This " will prepare for a patient reception, in the " higher classes, of works of a bolder flight, fuch " as Robinet's Systeme de la Nature-Politique Na-" turelle-Philosophie de la Nature-Systeme So-" cial-The writings of Mirabaud, &c. Helve-" tius is fit only for the flrongest stomachs. If " any one has a copy already, neither praife nor " find fault with him. Say nothing on fuch fub-" jects to intrants, for we don't know how they " will be received-folks are not yet prepared. " Marius, an excellent man, must be dealt with. " His flomach, which cannot yet digest fuch "ftrong food, must acquire a better tone. The " allegory on which I am to found the mysteries " of

" of the higher orders is the fire-worship of the "Magi. We must have fome, worship, and "none is fo apposite. LET THERE BE LIGHT, "AND THERE SHALL BE LIGHT. This is my "motto, and is my fundamental principle. The degrees will be *Fcuer Orden*, *Parsen Orden*; "all very practicable. In the course through "these there will be no STA BENE (this is the answer given to one who folicits preferment, and is refused). For I engage that none shall enter this class who has not laid as his prejudices. No man is fit for our Order who is not a Brutus or a Catiline, and is not ready "to go every length.—Tell me how you like "this?""

Spartacus to Cato, March 1778.

"To collect unpublished works, and information from the archives of States, will be a most uleful fervice. We shall be able to show in a very ridiculous light the claims of our despots. Marius (keeper of the archives of the Electorate) has ferreted out a noble document, which we have got. He makes it, forsooth, a case of confcience—how filly that—fince only that is *fin*, which is *ultimately* productive of mischief. In this case, where the advantage far exceeds the hurt, it is meritorious virtue. It will do more S "good " good in our hands than by remaining for 1000 ", years on the dufty fhelf."

There was found in the hand-writing of Zwack a project for a Sitterhood, in fubferviency to the defigns of the Illuminati. In it are the following palages:

"It will be of great fervice, and procure us both "much information and money, and will fuit char-"mingly the talle of many of our trueft members, who are lovers of the fex. It fhould confift of two claffes, the virtuous, and the freer hearted, (i. e. thofe who fly out of the common track of prudifh manners); they muft not know of each other, and muft be under the direction of men, but without knowing it. Proper books muft be put into their hands, and fuch (but fecretly) as are flattering to their paffions."

There are, in the fame hand-writing, Defeription of a firong box, which, if forced open, fhall blow up and defiroy its contents—Several receipts for procuring abortion—A composition which blinds or kills when spurted in the face—A sheet, containing a receipt for sympathetic ink—Tea for procuring abortion—Herbæ quæ babent qualitatem deleteream—A method for filling a bed-chamber with pestilential vapours—How to take off impreffions of feals, fo as to use them afterwards as feals —A collection of fome hundreds of fuch impreffions, with a list of their owners, princes, nobles, clergymen,

138

clergymen, merchants, &c.—A receipt ad excitandum furorem uterinum, —A manufcript entitled, "Better than Horus." It was afterwards printed and diffributed at Leipzig fair, and is an attack and bitter fatire on all religion. This is in the hand-writing of Ajax. As alfo a differtation on fuicide.—N B. His fifter-in law threw herfelf from the top of a tower. There was alfo a fet of portraits, or characters of eighty-five ladies in Munich; with recommendations of fome of them for members of a Lodge of Sifter Illuminatæ; alfo injunctions to all the Superiors to learn to write with both hands; and that they fhould use more than one cypher.

Immediately after the publication of these writings, many defences appeared. It was faid that the dreadful medical apparatus were with propriety in the hands of Counfellor Zwack, who was a judge of a criminal court, and whole duty it was therefore to know fuch things. The fame excufe was offered for the collection of feals; but how came these things to be put up with papers of the Illuminati, and to be in the hand-writing of one of that Order? Weishaupt fays, "These things " were not carried into effect-only fpoken of, " and are juftifiable when taken in proper con-"nection." This however he has not pointed out; but he appeals to the account of the Order, which he had published at Regensburg, and S 2

and in which neither these things are to the found, nor any poffibility of a connection y which they may be justified. " All men, lays he, se are fubject to errors, and the best man is he " who best conceals them. I have never been se guilty of any fuch vices or follies : for proof, " I appeal to the whole tenor of my life, which " my reputation, and my ftruggles with hoftile " cabals, had brought completely into public view " long before the inftitution of this Order, with-" out abating any thing of that flattering regard " which was paid to me by the first perfons of . " my country and its neighbourhood; a regard « well evinced by their confidence in me as the " best instructon of their children." In some of his private letters, we learn the means which he employed to acquire this influence among the youth, and they are fuch as could not fail. But we must not anticipate. " It is well known " that I have made the chair which I oc-" cupied in the university of Ingolstadt, the re-" fort of the first class of the German youth; " whereas formerly it had only brought round-" it the low-born practitioners in the courts of, " law. I have gone through the whole circle ' " of human enquiry. I have exorcifed fpirits gated the Cabala-batte Loto gefpielt-I have " never transmuted metals."-(A very pretty and respectable

140

respectable circle indeed, and what vulgar spirits would fcarcely have included within the pale of their curiofity). " The tenor of my life has " been the opposite of every thing that is vile; " and no man can lay any fuch thing to my " charge. I have reafon to rejoice that thefe " writings have appeared; they are a vindication. " of the Order and of my conduct. I can, and " must declare to God, and I do it now in " the most folemn manner, that in my whole life " I never faw or heard of the fo much condemned " fecret writings; and in particular, refpecting " thefe abominable means, fuch as poifoning, " abortion, &c. was it ever known to me in any " cafe, that any of my friends or acquaintances " ever even thought of them, advifed them, or " made any use of them. I was indeed always " a fchemer and projector, but never could en-" gage much in detail. My general plan is good, " though in the detail there may be faults. I " had myfelf to form. In another fituation, and " in an active station in life, I should have been " keenly occupied, and the founding an Order " would never have come into my head. But I " would have executed much greater things, had " not government always opposed my exertions, " and placed others in the fituations which fuited " my talents. It was the full conviction of this, " and of what could be done, if every man were " placed

" placed in the office for which he was fitted by " nature and a proper education, which first fug-" gelled to me the plan of illumination." Surely Mr Weifhaupt had a very ferious charge, the education of youth; and his encouragement in that charge was the most flattering that an Illuminatus could with for, because he had brought round him the youth whole influence in fociety was the greatest, and who would most of all contribute to the diffusing good principles, and exciting to good conduct through the whole state. "I did " not," fays he, " bring deifm into Bavaria more " than into Rome. I found it here, in great " vigour, more abounding than in any of the " neighbouring Protestant states. I am proud to " be known to the world as the founder of the " Order of Illuminati; and I repeat my wifh to . 46 have for my epitaph,

Hic fitus eft Phacthon, currits auriga paterni,
Quem fi non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit aufis."

The focond difcovery of fecret correspondence at Sandersdorff, the seat of Baron Batz (Hannibal,) contains still more interesting facts.

Spartacus

\$42

Spartacus to Cato.

" What fhall I do ? I am deprived of all help. " Socrates, who would infift on being a man of " confequence among us, and is really a man of " talents, and of a right way of thinking, is eter-" nally befotted. Augustus is in the worst esti-" mation imaginable. Alcibiades fits the day " long with the vintner's pretty wife, and there " he fighs and pines. A few days ago, at.Co-" rinth, Tiberius attempted to ravifh the wife of " Democides, and her hufband came in upon " them. Good heavens ! what Areopagita I have " got. When the worthy man Marcus Aurelius " comes to Athens (Munich,) what will he think ? "What a meeting with diffolute immoral " wretches, whoremasters, liars, bankrupts, brag-" garts, and vain fools! When he fees all this, " what will he think ? I'le will be afhamed to en-" ter into an Aflociation," (obferve, Reader, that Spartacus writes this in August 1783, in the very time that he was trying to murder Cato's fifter,) " where the chiefs raile the highest expectations. " and exhibit fuch a wretched example ; and all " this from felf-will, from fenfuality. Am I not " in the right-that this man-that any fuch " worthy man-whofe' name alone would give us ". the felection of all Germany-will declare that •" the

" the whole province of Grecia (Bavaria), innocent and guilty, muft be excluded. I tell veu, we may fludy, and write, and toil till death. " We may facrifice to the Order, our health, our fortune, and our reputation, (alas the lofs!). and thefe Lords, following their own pleafures, will whore, cheat, fteal, and drive on like fhamelefs rafeals; and yet muft be *Areopagita*, and interfere in every thing. Indeed, my deareft friend, we have only enflaved ourfelves."

In another part of this fine correspondence, Diomedes has had the good fortune to intercept a Q. L. (Quibus licet) in which it is faid, and fupported by proofs, that Cato had received 250 florins as a bribe for his fentence in his capacity of a judge in a criminal court; (the end had furely fanctified the means.) In another, a Minerval complains of his Mentor for having by lies occafioned the difmiffion of a phylician from a fa-, mily, by which he obtained the cuftom of the house and free access, which favour he repaid by debauching the wife; and he prays to be informed whether he may not get another Mentor, faying, that although that man had always given him the most excellent instructions, and he doubted not would continue them, yet he felt a difgust at the hypocrify, which would certainly diminish the impression of the most falutary truths. (Is it not diffreffing to think, that this promifing youth will

will by and by laugh at his former fimplicity, and follow the fteps and not the instructions of o, his 'phyfician.) In another place, Spartacus writes to Marius (in confidence), that another worthy prother, an Areopagita, had stolen a gold and a filver watch, and a ring, from Brutus (Savioli), and begs Marius, in another letter, to try, while it was yet possible, to get the things reftored, becaufe the culprit was a most excellent man (Vortrefflich), and of vaft use to the Order, having the direction of an eminent feminary of young gentlemen; and becaufe Savioli was much in good company, and did not much care for the Order, except in fo far as it gave him an opportunity of knowing and leading fome of them, and of steering his way at court.

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

" Of my whole colony (Westphalia), the molt brilliant is Claudiopolis (Neuwied). There they work, and direct, and do wonders."

If there ever was a fpot upon earth where men may be happy in a ftate of cultivated fociety, it was the little principality of Neuwied. I faw it in 1770. The town was neat, and the palace handfome and in good tafte; all was clean. But

the

Т

the country was beyond conception delightful; not a cottage that was out of repair, not a hadre out of order; it had been the hobby (pardon ni the word) of the Prince, who made it his daily employment to go through his principality regularly, and affift every householder, of whatever condition, with his advice, and with his purfe; and, when a freeholder could not of himfelf put things into a thriving condition, the Prince fent his workmen and did it for him. He endowed fchools for the common people, and two academies for the gentry and the people of business. He gave little portions to the daughters, and prizes to the well-behaving fons of the labouring people. His own household was a pattern of elegance and economy; his fons were fent to Paris to learn elegance, and to England to learn fcience and agriculture. In fhort, the whole was like a ro-• mance (and was indeed romantic). I heard it •fpoken of with a finile at the table of the Bifhop of Treves, at Ehrenbretstein, and was induced to fee it next day as a curiofity : And yet even here, the fanaticism of Knigge would distribute his poison, and tell the blinded people, that they were in a state of fin and misery, that their Prince was a defpot, and that they would never be happy till he was made to fly, and till they were all made equal.

They

They got their with: the fwarm of French low is fat down on Neuwied's beautiful fields in 1793, and entrenched themfelves; and in three month. Prince and farmers houses, and cottages, and schools, and academies -- all vanished; and all the subjects were made equal, and free (as they were expressly told by the French General) to weep.

Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos!

To proceed :

Spartacus to Cato.

"" By this plan we shall direct all mankind. " In this manner, and by the fimpleft means, " we shall fet all in motion and in flames. " The occupations must be fo allotted and " contrived, that we may, in fecret, influence " all political transactions." N. B. This alludes to a part that is with held from the public, becaufe it contained the allotment of the most rebellious and profligate occupations to feveral perfons whofe common names could not be traced. " I have confidered," fays Spar-" tacus, every thing, and fo prepared it, that " if the Order fhould this day go to ruin, I " shall in a year re-establish it more brilliant T 2 " than

" then ever." Accordingly it got up again in aabout this frace of time, under the name of the GERMAN UNION appearing in the form READING SOCIETIES. One of these was let up in Zwack's houfe; and this raifing a fyipicion, a visitation was made at Landshut and the first fet of the private papers were found. The fcheme, was, however, zealoufly profecuted in other parts of Germany, as we shall fee by and by. " Nor," continues Spartacus, " will it fignify though all " fhould be betrayed and printed. I am fo cer-" tain of fuccefs, in fpite of all obstacles, (for " the fprings are in every heart), that I am in-" different, though it should involve my life and " my liberty. What! Have thousand's thrown se away their lives about opoios and opoiourios, and " fhall not this caufe warm even the heart of a " coward ? But I have the art to draw advan-" tage even from misfortune; and when you. " would think me funk to the bottom. I shall se rife with new vigour. Who would have ⁴ thought, that a profession at Ingolstadt was to " become the teacher of the professors of Got-55 tinken, and of the greatest men in Germany?"

Spartacus

Spartacus to Cato.

" and me back my degree of Illuminatus Mi-" nor; it is the wonder of all men here, (I " may perhaps find time to give a translation of " the difcourfe of reception, which contains all " that can be faid of this Aflociation to the pu-" blic); as alfo the two laft fheets of my de-" gree, which is in the keeping of Marus, and " Cellus, under 100 locks, which contains my " hiftory of the lives of the Patriarchs." N. B. Nothing very particular has been difcovered of these lives of the Patriarchs. He fays, that there were above fixty fheets of it. To judge by the care taken of it, it must be a favourite work, very hazardous. and very catching.

In another letter to Cato, we have fome hints of the higher degrees, and concerning a peculiar morality, and a popular religion, which the Order was one day to give the world. He fays, "There muft (a la Jefuite) not a fingle pur-"pofe ever come in fight that is ambiguous, and that may betray our aims against religion and the state. One must speak fometimes one way and fometimes another, but fo as never to contradict ourselves, and fo that, with respect to our true way of thinking, we may be imseft penctrable. When our strongest things chance " to give offence, they must be explained as attempts to draw answers which discover the mean of the perform we converse the fentiments of the perform we converse with." N. B. This did not always forceed with him.

Spartacus fays, speaking of the priests degree. " One would almost imagine, that this " degree, as I have managed it, is genuine " Christianity, and that its end was to free " the Jews from flavery. I fay, that Free Ma-" fonry is concealed Chriftianity. My expla-" nation of the hieroglyphics, at least, pro-" ceeds on this fuppolition; and as I explain " things, no man need be ashamed of being a " Christian. Indeed I afterwards throw away " this name, and fubflitute Reason. But I affure " you this is no fmall affair; a new religion, " and a new flate-government, which fo happily • « explain one and all of these fymbols, and " combines them in one degree. You may think " that this is my chief work; but I have three " other degrees, all different, for my clafs of " higher mysteries, in comparison with which " this is but child's play; but thefe I keep for " myfelf as General, to be beftowed by me on-" ly on the Benemeritiffimi," (furely fuch as Cato, his dearest friend, and the possessor of fuch pretty fecrets, as abortives, poifons, peftilen- . ' tial vapours, &c.). " The promoted may be A-" reopagites

" reopagites or not. Were you here I should give you this degree without hesitation. But Git is too important to be intrusted to paper, or " to belowed otherwife than from my own " hand. It is the key to hiftory, to religion, " and to every flate-government in the world"." Spartacus proceeds, " There shall be but " three copies for all Germany. You can't ima-" gine what respect and curiofity my priest-de-" gree has raifed; and, which is wonderful, a " famous Protestant divine, who is now of the " Order, is perfuaded that the religion contained " in it is the true fense of Christianity. O MAN, " MAN! TO WHAT MAY'ST THOU NOT BE " PERSUADED. Who would imagine that I was " to be the founder of a new religion."

In this fcheme of Mafonic Christianity, Spartacus and Philo Iaboured feriously together. Spartacus fent him the materials, and Philo worked them up. It will therefore illustrate this capital

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

Philo to Cato.

" We must confider the ruling propensities of " every age of the world. At prefent the cheats " and tricks of the priefts have roufed all men " against them, and against Christianity. But, " at the fame time fuperflition and fanaticifm " rule with unlimited dominion, and the under-" ftanding of man really feems to be going back-" wards. Our task, therefore, is doubled. We "must give such an account of things, that fa-" natics shall not be alarmed, and that shall, not-" withstanding, excite a spirit of free enquiry We "" must not throw away the good with the bad, " the child with the dirty water; but we must "make the fecret doctrines of Christianity be " received as the fecrets of genuine Free Mafon-" ry. Fut farther, we have to deal with the " defpotifm of Princes. This increafes every " day. But then, the fpirit of freedom breathes " and fighs in every corner; and, by the affift-" ance of hidden schools of wildom, Liberty " and Equality, the natural and imprefcriptible " rights of man, warm and glow in every breaft." . We

"We must therefore unite these extremes. We "proceed in this manner.

" Jefus Chrift eftablished no new Religion; he " would only fet Religion and Reafon in their an-" cient rights. For this purpose he would unite " men in a common bond. He would fit them " for this by fpreading a just morality, by en-" lightening the understanding, and by affisting " the mind to fhake off all prejudices. He would " teach all men, in the first place, to govern " themfelves. Rulers would then be needlefs, " and equality and liberty would take place " without any revolution, by the natural and " gentle operation of reafon and expediency. " This great Teacher allows himfelf to ex-" plain every part of the Bible in conformity " to these purposes; and he forbids all wrang-" ling among his fcholars, becaufe every man-" may there find a reasonable application to his " peculiar doctrines. Let this be true or falfe, " it does not fignify. This was a fimple Reli-" gion, and it was fo far infpired ; but the minds " of his hearers were not fitted for receiving thefe " doctrines. I told you, fays he, but you could not " bear it. Many therefore were called, but few " were chosen. To this elect were entrusted the " most important fecrets; and even among them 44 there were degrees of information. There was " feventy, and a twelve. All this was in the « natural TT

natural order of things, and according to the
habits of the Jews, and indeed of all antiquity.
The Jewish Theosophy was a mystery; like
the Eleusinian, or the Pythagorean, unfit for
the vulgar. And thus the doctrines of Christianity were committed to the Adepti, in a Difciplina Arcani. By these they were maintained,
like the Vestal Fire. They were kept up, only in hidden societies, who handed them down
to posterity; and they are now possible by the

N. B. This explains the origin of many anonymous pamphlets which appeared about this time in Germany, showing that Free Masonry was Christianity. They have doubtless been the works of Spartacus and his partizans among the Eclectic Masons. Nicholai, the great apostle of infide-- lity, had given very favourable reviews of these performances, and having always shewn himself an advocate of fuch writers as depreciated Christianity, it was natural for him to take this opportunity of bringing it still lower in the opinion of the people. Spartacus therefore conceived a high opinion of the importance of gaining Nicholai to the Order. He had before this gained Leuchtfenring, a hot-headed fanatic, who had fpied Jefuits in every corner, and let Nicholai on his journey through Germany, to hunt them out. This man finding them equally hated by the Illuminati, was

was eafily gained, and was most zealous in their caufe. He engaged Nicholai, and Spartacus exults exceedingly in the acquisition, faying, " that " he was an unwearied champion, et quidem con-" tentiffimus." Of this man Philo fays, " that " he had fpread this Christianity into every " corner of Germany., I have put meaning," " fays Philo, ", to all thefe dark fymbols, and " have prepared both degrees, introducing " beautiful ceremonies, which I have felect-. " ed from among those of the ancient com-" munions, combined with those of the Rofaic " Mafonry; and now," fays he, " it will appear " that we are the only true Christians. We shall " now be in a condition to fay a few words st to Priefts and Princes. I have fo contrived " things, that I would admit even Popes and "Kings, after the trials which I have prefixed; " and they would be glad to be of the Order." .

But how is all this to be reconciled with the plan of Illumination, which is to banifh Chriftianity altogether. Philo himfelf in many places fays, "that it is only a cloak, to prevent fuleam-"ifh people from itarting back." This is done pretty much in the fame way that was practifed in the French Majonry. In one of their degrees, the Mafter's degree is made typical of the death of Jefus Chrift, the preacher of Brotherly love. But, in the next flep, the *Chevalier du Soleil*, it U 2 is Rea'on that has been deftroyed and entombed, and the Master in this degree, the Sublime Philofophe, occasions the discovery of the place where the body is hid; Reason rises again, and superstition and tyranny disappear, and all becomes clear; man becomes free and happy.

Let us hear Spartacus again.

Spartacus, in another place.

"We must, 1/t; gradually explain away all se our preparatory pious trauds. And when per-" fons of ditcernment find tault, we must defire ^{ce} them to confider the end of all our labour. * This fanchifies our means, which at any rate " are harmlets, and have been ufeful, even in " this cale, because they procured us a patient hear-" ing, when otherwise men would have turned " away from us like petted children. This will . convince them of our fentiments in all the inter-" vening points; and our ambiguous expressions * will then be interpreted into an endeavour to " draw aniwers of any kind, which may flow us " the minds of our pupils. 2d, We must un-* fold, from hiftory and other writings, the origin se and fabrication of all religious lies whatever; se and then, 3d, We give a critical hiftory of the " Order. But I cannot but laugh, when I think " of

" of the ready reception which all this has met " with from the grave and learned divines of "Germany and of England; and I wonder how " their William failed when he attempted to efta-" blifh a Deiftical Worfhip in London, (what " can this mean ?) for, I am certain, that it must " have been most acceptable to that learned and " free people. But they had not the enlighten-" ing of our days." I may here remark, that Weishaupt is prefuming too much on the ignorance of his friend, for there was a great deal of this enlightening in England at the time he fpeaks of, and if I am not millaken, even this celebrated Professor of Irreligion has borrowed most of his fcheme from this kingdom. This to be fure is nothing in our praife. But the PANTHEIS-TICON of Toland refembles Weishaupt's Illumination in every thing but its rebellion and its vil-Toland's Socratic Lodge is an elegant lany. pattern for Weishaupt, and his Triumph of Reafon, his Philosophic Happiness, his God, or Anima Mundi, are all fo like the harsh fystem of Spartacus, that I am convinced that he has copied them; stamping them with the roughness of his own character. But to go on ; Spartacus fays of the English: " Their poet Pope made his Effay " on Man a fystem of pure naturalism, without " knowing it, as Brother Chryfippus did with " my Priest's Degree, and was equally astonished " when

" when this was pointed out to him. Chrylippus " is religious, but not superstitious. Brother " Lucian (Nicholai, of whom I have already faid " fo much,) fays, that the grave Zolikofer now " allows that it would be a very proper thing " to establish a Deistical Worship at Berlin. I " am not afraid but things will go on very well. " But Philo, who was entrusted with framing the " Prjeft's Degree, has deftroyed it without any " " neceffity; it would, forfooth, ftartle those who " have a hankering for Religion. But I always " told you that Philo is fanatical and prudifh. Ĩ " gave him fine materials, and he has stuffed it " 'full of ceremonies and child's play, and as Mi-" nos fays, c'est jouer la religion. But all this " may be corrected in the revision by the Areo-" pagita.".

N. B. I have already mentioned Baron Knigge's conversion to Illuminatism by the M. de Conftanza, whole name in the Order was Diomedes. Knigge (henceforth Philo) was, next to Spartacus, the most ferviceable man in the Order, and procured the greatest number of members. It was chiefly by his exertions among the Mafons in the Protestant countries, that the *Eclectic* System was introduced and afterwards brought under the direction of the Illuminati... This conquest was owing entirely to his very extensive conpections among the Mafons. He travelled like a philosopher

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

count of the plan and principles of the Order, (at leaft as he conceived it, for Spartacus had much deeper views), and shows that the aim of it was to abolish Christianity, and all the stategovernments in Europe and to establish a great republic. But it is full of romantic notions and enthufiastic declamation, on the hackneyed topics of univerfal citizenship, and liberty and equality. Spartacus gave him line, and allowed him to work on, knowing that he could difcard him when he chofe. I shall after this give fome extracts from Philo's letters, from which the reader will fee the vile behaviour of Spartacus, and the nature of his ultimate views. In the mean time we may proceed with the account of the principles of the fystem.

Spartacus to Cato.

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

"Morality alone can do this. The Head of "every family will be what Abraham was, the patriarch, the prieft, and the unlettered lord of his family, and Reafon will be the code of laws to all mankind. THIS," fays Spartacus, " is our GREAT SECRET. True, there may be fome difturbance; but by and by the unequal will become equal; and after the form all will be calm. Can the unhappy confequences remain when the grounds of diffention are removed? Roufe yourfelves therefore, O men! aftert your rights; and then will Reafon rule with unperceived fway; and ALL SHALL BE HAPPY *.

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

* Happy France! Cradle of illumination, where the morning of Reafon has dawned, difpelling the clouds'of Monarchy and Christianity, where the babe has fucked the blood of the unenlightened, and Murder! Fire! Help! has been the lullaby to fing it to fleep. " that Morality which teaches us to be of age, to be out of wardenship, to be full grown, and to walk without the leading strings of prics and princes.

" Jefus of Nazareth, the Grand Mafter of " our Order, appeared at a time when the " world was in the utmost diforder, and among " a people who for ages had groaned under the " yoke of bondage. He taught them the leftons " of Reason. To be more effective, he took in " 'the aid of Religion-of opinions which were " current-and, in a very clever manner, he com-" bined his fecret doctrines with the popular reic ligion, and with the cuftoms which lay to his . " hand. In these he wrapped up his lessons-" he taught by parables. Never did any prophet " lead men fo eafily and fo fecurely along the " road of liberty. He concealed the precious " meaning and confequences of his doctrines; " but fully difclofed them to a chofen few. He " fpeaks of a kingdom of the upright and " faithful; his Father's kingdom, whofe chil-" dren we also are. Let us only take Li-" berty and Equality as the great aim of his " doctrines, and Morality as the way to at-" tain it, and every thing in the New Tefta-" ment will be comprehensible; and Jefus will " appear as the Redeemer of flaves. Man is fal-" len from the condition of Liberty and Equali-" ty, the STATE OF PURE NATURE. He is un-"der

162

der fubordination and civil bondage, arifing
from the vices of man. This is the FALL, and
ORIGINAL SIN. The KINGDOM OF GRACE is
that reftoration which may be brought about
by Illumination and a juft Morality. This is
the NEW BIRTH. When man lives under go.
vernment, he is fallen, his worth is gone, and
his nature tarnifhed. By fubduing our paffions, or limiting their cravings, we may recover a great deal of our original worth, and
live in a flate of grace. This is the redemption of men—this is accomplifhed by Morality; and when this is fpread over the world,
we have THE KINGDOM OF THE JUST.

" But alas! the talk of felf-formation was too " hard for the fubjects of the Roman empire, " corrupted by every fpecies of profligacy. A " chosen few received the doctrines in fecret, and " they have been handed down to us, (but fre-" quently almost buried under rubbish of man's " invention), by the Free Mafons. Thefe three " conditions of human fociety are expressed by the " rough, the fplit, and the polifhed ftone. The " rough ftone, and the one that is fplit, exprefs " our condition under civil government; rough " by every fretting inequality of condition : and ", fplit, fince we are no longer one family; and " are farther divided by differences of govern-^{ss} ment, rank, property, and religion; but when " reunited -X 2

reunited in one family, we are reprefented by
the polifhed ftone. G. is Grace; the Flaming Star is the Torch of Reafon. Thofe who
poffefs this knowledge are indeed ILLUMINATI. Hiram is our fictitious Grand Mafter,
flain for the REDEMPTION OF SLAVES; the
Nine Mafters are the Founders of the Order.
Free Mafonry is a Royal Art, inafinuch as it
teaches us to walk without trammels, and to

Reader, are you not curious to learn fomething of this all-powerful morality, fo operative on the heart of the truly illuminated-of this difciplina arcani, entrusted only to the chosen few, and handed down to Professor Weishaupt, to Spartacus, and his affociates, who have cleared it of the rubbifh heaped on it by the dim-fighted Mafons, and now beaming in its native luftre on the minds of the Arcopagita? The teachers of ordinary Chriflianity have been labouring for almost 2000 years, with the New Testament in their hands; many of them with great address, and many, I believe, with honeft zeal. But alas! they cannot produce fuch wonderful and certain effects, (for obferve, that Weishaupt repeatedly affures us that his means are certain), probably for want of this disciplina arcani, of whole efficacy to much is faid. Moft fortunately, Spartacus has given us a brilliant speciment of the ethics which illuminated

ted himfelf on a trying occafion, where an ordinary Christian would have been much perplexed, or would have taken a road widely different from that of this illustrious apostle of light. And feeing that feveral of the *Arcopagitæ* co-operated in the transaction, and that it was carefully concealed from the profane and dim-sighted world, we can have no doubt but that it was conducted according to the *disciplina arcani* of Illumination. I shall give it in his own words.

Spartacus to Marius, September 1783.

" I am now in the most embarrashing fituation; " it robs me of all reft, and makes me unfit for " every thing. I am in danger of lofing at once " my honour and my reputation, by which I " have long had fuch influence. What think " you-my fifter-in-law is with child. I have " fent her to Euriphon, and am endcavouring to " procure a marriage-licence from Rome. How " much depends on this uncertainty-and there " is not a moment to lofe. Should I fail, what " is to be done? What a return do I make by " this to a perfon to whom I am fo much obli-" ged ! (we fhall fee the probable meaning of this " exclamation by and by). We have tried eve-" ry method in our power to deftroy the child; ff and

" and I hope fhe is determined on every thing-" even d-. (Can this mean death?) But alas ! " Euriphon is, I fear, too timid, (alas! poor " woman, thou art now under the disciplina arca-" ni), and I fee no other expedient. Could I be " but affured of the filence of Celfus, (a phyfi-" cian at Ingolftadt), he can relieve me, and he " promifed me as much three years ago. Do fpeak " to him, if you think he will be flaunch. I " would not let Cato, (his dearest friend, and his " chief monly confidant in the fcheme of Illumi-" nation), know it yet, becaufe the affair in other " respects requires his whole friendship. (Cato had " all the pretty receipts). Could you but help me -" out of this diftrefs, you would give me life, ho-" nour, and peace, and firength to work again in " the great caufe If you cannot, be affured I will " venture on the most desperate stroke, (poor fif-" ter)! for it is fixed .--- I will not lofe my honour. " I cannot conceive what devil has made me go " altray-me who have always been fo careful on " fuch occasions. As yet all is quiet, and none know " of it but you and Euriphon. Were it but " time to undertake any thing -but alas ! it is " the fourth month. These damned priet's too "-for the action is fo criminally accounted by 46 them, and fcandalifes the blood. .. This makes of the utwoll efforts and the most desperate measured " fures abiolutely necessary."

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

" One thing more, my dearest friend-Would " it be agreeable to you to have me for a bro-" ther-in-law. If this fhould be agreeable, and " if it can be brought about without prejudice " to my honour, as. I hope it may, I am not " without hopes that the connection may take " place. But in the mean time keep it a fecret, " and only give me permiffion to enter into cor-" refpondence on the fubject with the good lady, " to whom I beg you will offer my respectful « compliments, and I will explain myfelf more " fully to you by word of mouth, and tell you " my whole fituation. But I repeat it-the " thing must be gone about with address and " caution. I would not for all the world deceive " a perfon who certainly has not deferved to of " me."

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

marry Cato's fifter, a different person from the poor woman in the ftraw; and he conceals this adventure from his trufty friend Cato, till he fees what becomes of it. The child may perhaps be got rid of, and then Spartacus is a free man. There is a letter to Cato, thanking him for his friendship in the affair of the child-but it gives no light. I meet with another account, that the fifter of Zwack threw herfelf from the top of a tower, and beat out her brains. But it is not faid that it was an only fifter; if it was, the probability is, that Spartacus had paid his addreffes to her, and fucceeded, and that the fubfequent affair of his marriage with his fifter-in law or fomething worfe, broke her heart. This feems the best account of the matter. For Hertel (Marius) writes to Zwack in November 1782: " Spar-. " tacus is this day gone home, but has left his " fifter-in-law pregnant behind (this is from Baf-" fus Hoff). About the new year he hopes to "be made merry by a -----, who will be before " all kings and princes-a young Spartacus. The " Pope alfo will refpect him, and legitimate him " before the time."

Now, vulgar Christian, compare this with the former declaration of Weishaupt, in page 140, where he appeals to the tenor of his former life, which had been fo feverely fcrutinised, without diminishing his high reputation and great influence, ence, and his ignorance and abhorrence of all those things found in Cato's repositories. You see this was a surprise—he had formerly proceeded cautiously.—" He is the best man," says Spartacus, " who best conceals his faults."—He was disappointed by Celfus, who had promised him his affistance on fuch occasions three years ago, during all which time he had been busy in " form-" ing himself." How far he has advanced, the reader may judge.

'One is curious to know what became of the poor woman: she was afterwards taken to the house of Baron Bassis; but here the foolish woman, for want of that courage which Illumination, and the bright prospect of eternal fleep should have produced, took fright at the disciplina arcani, left the houfe, and in the hidden fociety of a midwife and nurfe brought forth a young Spartacus, who now lives to thank his father for his endeavours to murder him. A "damned prieft," the good · Bishop of Freyfingen, knowing the cogent reasons, procured the difpenfation, and Spartacus was obliged, like another dim-fighted mortal, to marry The fcandal was hufhed, and would not her. have been discovered had it not been for these private writings.

But Spartacus fays (pag. 143.) " that when you " think him funk to the bottom, he will fpring up " with double vigour." In a fubfequent work, called Short Amendment of my Plan, he fays, " If men Y " were

CHAP. IT.

" were not habituated to wicked manners, his let-" ters would be their own justification." He does not fay that he is without fault ; " but they are " faults of the understanding-not of the heart. " He had, first of all, to form himself; and this " is a work of time." In the affair of his fifterin-law he admits the facts, and the attempts to deftroy the child; " but this is far from proving " any depravity of heart. In his condition, his " honour at stake, what elfe was left him to do? " His greatest encinies, the Jesuits, have taught " that in fuch a cafe it is lawful to make away " with the child," and he quotes authorities from their books. "In the introductory fault he has " " the example of the best of men. The second " was its natural confequence, it was altogether " " involuntary, and, in the eye of a philosophical " judge (I prefume of the Gallic School) who " " does not square himself by the harsh letters of " a blood-thirfty lawgiver, he has but a very trifling " account to fettle.' He had become a public " teacher, and was greatly followed; this ex-" ample might have ruined many young men. The " eyes of the Order also were fixed on him. The " edifice refled on his credit; had he fallen, be " could no longer have been in a condition to treat " the matters of wirtue fo as to make a lasting im-" preffion. It was chiefly his anxiety to fupport « the credit of the Order which determined him " to take this step. It makes for him, but by.no " means

"means again/t him; and the perfons who are moft in fault are the flavish inquisitors, who have published the transaction, in order to make his character more remarkable, and to hurt the Order through his perfon; and they have not forupled, for this hellish purpose, to flir up a child against its father !!!"

I make no reflections on this very remarkable, and highly ufeful ftory, but content myfelf with faying, that this juftification by Weifhaupt (which I have been careful to give in his own words) is the greateft inftance of effrontery and infult on the fentiments of mankind that I have ever met with, We are all fuppofed as completely corrupted as if we had lived under the full blaze of Illumination.

In other places of this curious correspondence we learn that Minos, and others of the Arcopagita, wanted to introduce Atheilin at once, and not go hedging in the manner they did; affirming it was eafier to fhow at once that Atheifin was friendly to fociety, than to explain all their Mafonic Chriftianity, which they were afterwards to flow to be a bundle of lies. Indeed this purpofe, of not only abolishing Christianity, but all positive religion whatever, was Welfhaupt's favourite fcheme from the beginning. Before he canvaffed for his Order, in 1774, he published a fictitious antique, which hé called Sidonii Apollinaris Fragmenta, to prepare (as he expressly fays in another place) mens minds Y 2

minds for the doctrines of Reafon, which contains all the detestable doctrines of Robinet's Systeme de la Nature. The publication of the fecond part was flopped. Weishaupt fays, in his Apology FOR THE ILLUMINATI, that before 1780 he had retracted his opinions about Materialism, and about the inexpediency of Princes. But this is falfe : Philo fays expressly, that every thing remained on its original footing in the whole practice and dogmas of the Order when he quitted it in July 1784. All this was concealed, and even the abominable Mafonry, in the account of the Order which Weifhaupt'published at Regensburg; and it required the constant efforts of Philo to prevent bare or flat Atheilm from being uniformly taught in their degrees. He had told the council that Zeno would not be under a roof with a man who denied the immortality of the foul. He complains of Minos's cramming irreligion down their 25. Jats in every meeting, and fays, that he frightened many from entering the Order. "Truth," fays Philo, " is a clever, but a modeft girl, who must be " led by the hand like a gentlewoman, but not " kicked about like a whore." Spartacus complains much of the fqueamifhnefs of Philo; yet Philo is not a great deal behind him in irreligion. When defcribing to Cato the Chriftianity of the Priest-degree, as he had manufactured it; he fays, " It is all one whether it be true or falfe, we must " have

" have it, that we may tickle those who have a " hankering for religion." All the odds feems to be, that he was of a gentler disposition, and had more deference even for the abfurd prejudices of the others. In one of his angry letters to Cato he fays : " The vanity and felf-conceit of " Spartacus would have got the better of all pru-" dence, had I not checked him, and prevailed on " the Areopagitæ but to defer the developement " of the bold principles till we had firmly fecured " the man. I even wished to entice the candidate " the more by giving him back all his former " bonds of fecrecy, and leaving him, at liberty to " walk out without fear; and I am certain that, " they were, by this time, fo engaged that we " fhould not have loft one man. But Spartacus " had composed an exhibition of his last princi-⁴⁶ ples, for a difcourfe of reception, in which he " painted his three favourite mysterious degrees " which were to be conferred by him alone, in " colours which had fafcinated his own fancy. " But they were the colours of hell, and would " have fcared the most intrepid; and because I " reprefented the danger of this, and by force " obtained the omiflion of this picture, he be-⁵⁶ came my implacable enemy. I abhor treachery " and profligacy, and leave him to blow himfelf 🗗 and his Order into the air."

Accordingly

Accordingly this happened. It was this which terrified one of the four professors, and made him impart his doubts to the reft. Yet Spartacus feems to have profited by the apprehenfions of Philo; for in the last reception; he, for the first time, exacts a bond from the intrant, engaging himself for ever to the Order, and swearing that he will never draw back. Thus admitted, he becomes a fure card. The course of his life is in the hands of the Order, and his thoughts on a thousand dangerous points ; his reports concerning his neighbours and friends; in fhort, his honour and his neck. The Deift, thus led on, has not far to go before he becomes a Naturalist or Atheist; and then the eternal sleep of death crowns all his humble hopes.

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

Minos to Schaftian, 1782.

"The propofal of Hercules to establish a Mi-"nerval school for girls is excellent, but requires "much circumspection. Philo and I have long conversed on this subject. We cannot improve the world without improving women, who have such a mighty influence on the sign. But "how " how fhall we get hold of them ? How will their " relations, particularly their 'mothers, immerfed " in prejudices, confent that others shall influ-" ence their education ? We must begin with " grown girls. Hercules propofes the wife of " Ptolemy Magus. I have no objection; and I -" have four step-daughters, fine girls. The old-" eft in particular is excellent. She is twenty-" four, has read much, is above all prejudices, " and in religion fhe thinks as I do. They have " much acquaintance among the young ladies " their relations (N.B. we don't know the rank " of Minos, but as he does not use the word Da-"men, but Frauenzimmer, it is probable that it " is not high). It may immediately be a very " pretty Society, under the management of Pto-" lemy's wife, but really under bis management. " You must contrive pretty degrees, and dreffes, ³⁴ and ornaments, and elegant and decent rituals. " No man muft be admitted. This will make them " become more keen, and they will go much " farther than if we were prefent, or than if they " thought that we knew of their proceedings. "Leave them to the scope of their own fancies, " and they will foon invent mysteries which will " put us to the blufh, and create an enthufiafm " which we can never equal. They will be our " great apostles. Reflect on the refpect, nay the " awe and terror infpired by the female myflics P- 2 44 bf

" of antiquity. (Think of the Danaids-think of " the Theban Bacchantes). Ptolemy's wife must " direct them, and fhe will be inftructed by Pto-" lemy, and my step-daughters will confult with " me. We must always be at hand to prevent " the introduction of any improper question. " We must prepare themes for their discussion-" thus we shall confess them, and inspire them " with our fentiments. No man however must . " come near them. This will fire their roving " fancies, and we may expect rare mysteries. " But I am doubtful whether this Affociation " will be durable. Women are fickle and impa-", tient. Nothing will pleafe them but hurrying ' " from degree to degree, through a heap of in-" fignificant ceremonies, which will foon lofe " their novelty and influence. To reft ferioufly " in one rank, and to be still and filent when " they have found out that the whole is a cheat, , #-(hear the words of an experienced Mafon), is " a task of which they are incapable. They have " not our motives to perfevere for years, allow-" ing themfelves to be led about, and even then " to hold their tongues when they find that they " have been deceived. Nay there is a rifk that " they may take it into their heads to give things " an opposite turn, and then, by voluptuous al-" lurements, heightened by affected modelty and "'decency, which give them an irrefiftible em-" pire

176 -

" pire over the beft men, they may turn our Or-" der upfide down, and in their turn will lead " the new one."

Such is the information which may be got from the private correspondence. It is needless to make more extracts of every kind of vice and trick. I have taken fuch as fhow a little of the plan of the Order, as far as the degree of Illumitus Minor, and the vile purposes which are concealed under all their fpecious declamation. Α very minute account is given of the plan, the ritual, ceremonies, &c. and even the inftructions and difcourfes, in a book called the Achte Illuminat, published at Edessa (Frankfurt) in 1787. Philo fays, " that this is quite accurate, but that he " does not know the author." I proceed to give an account of their higher degrees, as they are to be feen in the book called Neueste Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo. And the authenticity of the accounts is attefted by Grollman, a private gentleman of independent fortune, who read them, figned and fealed by Spartacus and the Arcopagita.

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

MASONRY, Sym-bolic Scotch {Illum. Major, Scotch Novice, Illum. dirigens, Scotch Knight.' MYSTERIES, Leffer, Greater, Mugus, Rex.

The Reader must be almost fick of fo much villany, and would be difgusted with the minute detail, in which the cant of the Order is ringing continually in his ears. I shall therefore only give such a fhort extract as may fix our notions of the object of the Order, and the morality of the means employed for attaining it. We need not go back to the lower degrees, and shall begin with the ILLU-MINATUS DIRIGENS, OF SCOTCH KNIGHT.

After a short introduction, teaching us how dre holy fecret Chapter of Scotch Knights is affembled, we have, I. Fuller accounts and inftructions relating to the whole. II. Instructions for the lower classes of Masonry. III. Instructions relating to Mafon Lodges in general. IV Account of a reception into this degree, with the bond which each fubscribes before he can be admitted. V. Concerning the folemn Chapter for reception. VI. Opening of the Chapter. VII. Ritual of Reception, and the Oath. VIII. Shutting of the Chapter. IX. Agapé, or Love Feast. X. Ceremonies

Ccremonies of the confectation of the Chapter. Appendix A, Explanation of the Symbols of Free Majonry. B, Catechifni for the Scotch Knight. C, Secret Cypher.

In Nº I. it is faid that the " chief ftudy of the "Scotch Knight is to work on all men in fuch " a way as is most infinuating. II. He must " endeavour to acquire the possession of confi-" derable property. III. In all Mafon Lodges " we must try fecretly to get the upper hand. " The Mafons do not know what Free Mafonry " is, their high objects, nor their highest Supe-" riors, and should be directed by those who will " lead them along the right road. In pre-" paring a candidate for the degree of Scotch " Knighthood, we must bring him into dilem-" mas by catching queffions .--- We must endea-" vour to get the disposal of the money of the " Lodges of the Free Mafons, or at leaft take " care that it be applied to purposes favourable " to our Order-but this must be done in a way " that shall not be remarked. Above all, we must " push forward with all our skill, the plan of " Eclectic Malonry, and for this purpole follow " up the circular letter already fent to all the " Lodges with every thing that can increase their " prefent "embarraffment." In the bond of N IV. the candidate binds himfelf to " confider and " treat the Illuminati as the Superiors of Free " Mafonry, Z 2

" Mafonry, and endeavour in all the Mafon Lod-" ges which he frequents, to have the Masonry of " the Illuminated, and particularly the Scotch No-" vitiate, introduced into the Lodge." (This is not very different from the Mafonry of the Chevalier de l'Aigle of the Rofaic Masonry, making the Master's degree a fort of commemoration of the passion, but without giving that character to Christianity which is peculiar to Illuminatism). lefus Chrift is reprefented as the enemy of fuperftitious observances, and the affertor of the Empire of Reafon and of Brotherly love, and his death and memory as dear to mankind. This evidently paves the way for Weishaupt's Christianity. The Scotch Knight alfo engages " to confider " the Superiors of the Order as the unknown Su-" periors of Free Mafonry, and to contribute all he " can to their gradual union." In the Oath, Nº VII. the candidate fays, "I will never more be and flatterer of the great, I will never be a lowly " fervant of princes; but I will strive with spirit, " and with address, for virtue, wifdom, and li-" berty. I will powerfully oppose fuperfition, " flander, and defpotifm ; fo, that like a true fon " of the Order, I may ferve the world. I will " never facrifice the general good, and the happi-" nefs of the world, to my private interest. I will " boldly defend my Brother against flander, will " follow out the traces of the pure and true Reli-" gion pointed out to me in my instructions, and " in

" in the doctrines of Mafonry; and will faithful-" ly report to my Superiors the progrefs I make " therein."

When he gets the ftroke which dubs him a Knight, the Prefes fays to him, "Now prove thy-"felf, by thy ability, equal to Kings, and never "from this time forward bow thy knee to one "who is, like thyfelf, but a man."

Nº IX is an account of the Love-Feaft.

1/t, There is a Table Lodge, opened as ufual, but in virtue of the ancient Maßter-word. Then it is faid, " Let moderation, fortitude, morality, " and genuine love of the Brethren, with the o-" verflowing of innocent and careless mirth reign " here." (This is almost verbatim from Toland).

2d, In the middle of a bye-table is a chalice, a pot of wine, an empty plate, and a plate of unleavened bread—All is covered with a green cloth.

3d, When the Table Lodge is ended, and the Prefect fees no obftacle, he firikes on this byetable the firoke of Scotch Mafter, and his fignal is repeated by the Senior Warden. All are ftill and filent. The Prefect lifts off the cloth.

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

" J. of N. our Grand-Master, in the night in "which " which he was betrayed by his friends, perfecut-" ed for his love for truth, imprifoned, and con-" demned to die, affembled his trufty Brethren, " to celebrate his laft Love-Feaft—which is figni-" fied to us in many ways. He took bread (ta-" king it) and broke it (breaking it) and bleffed " it, and gave it to his difciples, &c.—This fhall " be the mark of our Holy Union, &c. Let " each of you examine his heart, whether love " reigns in it, and whether he, in full imitation " of our Grand-Mafter, is ready to lay down his " life for his Brethren.

" Thanks be to our Grand-Mafter, who has appointed this feaft as a memorial of his kindnefs, for the uniting of the hearts of those who love him.—Go in peace, and bleffed be this new Affociation which we have formed.—Bleffed be ye who remain loyal and ftrive for the good cause."

5th, The Prefect immediately closes the Chapter with the usual ceremonies of the Loge de Table. 6th, It is to be observed, that no priest of the Order must be present at this Love-Feast, and that even the Brother Servitor quits the Lodge.

I must observe here, that Philo, the manufacturer of this ritual, has done it very injudiciously; it has no refemblance whatever to the Love-Feast of the primitive Christians, and is merely a copy of a fimilar thing in one of the steps of French Masonry. Mafonry. Philo's reading in church-hiftory was probably very fcanty, or he trufted that the candidates would not be very nice in their examination of it, and he imagined that it would do well enough, and " tickle fuch as had a religious " hankering." Spartacus difliked it exceedingly —it did not accord with his ferious conceptions, and he juftly calls it *Jouer la Religion*.

The difcourse of reception is to be found also in the fecret correspondence, (Nachtrag II. Abtheilung, p. 44). But it is needlefs to infert it here. I have given the fubstance of this and of all the Cofmo-political declamations already in the panegyric introduction to the account of the process of education. And in Spartacus's letter, and in Philo's, I have given an abstract of the introduction to the explanation given in this degree of the fymbols of Free Mafonry. With respect to the explanation itfelf, it is as flovenly and wretched as can be imagined, and flows that Spartacus trufted to much more operative principles in the human heart for the reception of his nonfense than the dictates of unbiassed reason. None but promifing fubjects were admitted thus far-fuch as would not boggle; and their principles were already fufficiently apparent to affure him that they would be contented with any thing that made game of religion, and would be diverted by the ferioufnefs which a chance devotee might exhibit during these filly

filly caricatures of Christianity and Free Masonry. But there is confiderable address in the way that Spartacus prepares his pupils for having all this mummery shown in its true colours, and overturned.

" Examine, read, think on these fymbols. " There are many things which one cannot find " out without a guide nor even learn without " instruction. They require study and zeal. " Should you in any future period think that you " have conceived a clearer notion of them, that " you have found a payed road, declare your dif-" coveries to your Superiors; it is thus that you " improve your mind; they expect this of you; " they know the true path-but will not point it " out-enough if they affift you in every approach " to it, and warn you when you recede from it. " They have even put things in your way to try " your powers of leading yourfelf through the "difficult track of difcovery. In this process the " weak head finds only child's play-the initia-" ted finds objects of thought which language " cannot express, and the thinking mind finds " food for his faculties." By fuch forewarnings as these Weishaupt leaves room for any deviation, for any fentiment or opinion of the individual that he may afterwards choole to encourage, and " to whifper in their ear (as he expresses it) many " things which he did not find it prudent to infert " in a printed compend."

184

But

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

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

The Regent degree contains, 1. Directions to the Provincial concerning the difpenfation of this degree. 2. Ritual of Reception. 3. System of Direction for the whole Order. 4. Instruction for the whole Regent degree. 5. Instruction for the Prefects or Local Superiors. 6. Instruction for the Provincials.

The most remarkable thing in the Priest's degree is the Instruction in the Third Chamber. It is to be found in the private correspondence (Nachtrage Original Schriften 1787, 2d Abtheilung, page 44). There it has the title Dif-Aa courfe to the Illuminati Dirigentes, or Scotch Knights. In the critical hiftory, which is annexed to the Neucste Arbeitung, there is an account given of the reason for this denomination; and notice is taken of some differences between the instructions here contained and that discourse.

This instruction begins with fore complaints of the low condition of the human-race; and the caules are deduced from religion and stategovernment. " Men originally led a patriarch-" al life, in which every father of a family " was the fole lord of his houfe and his property, " while he himfelf poffeffed general freedom and " equality. But they fuffered themfelves to be " oppressed-gave themselves up to civil societies, " and formed states. Even by this they fell; and " this is the fall of man, by which they were " thrust into unspeakable misery. To get out of " this flate, to be freed and born again, there " is no other mean than the use of pure Reason, " by which a general morality may be eftablifb-"ed, which will put man in a condition to go-" vern himfelf, regain his original worth, and dif-" penfe with all political fupports, and particularly " with rulers. This can be done in no other way " but by fecret affociations, which will by dee grees, and in filence, poffefs themfelves of the " government of the States, and make use of " those means for this purpose which the wicked a uler

" use for attaining their base ends. Princes and
" Priests are in particular, and xar" E₂X*r, the wick" ed. whose hands we must tie up by means of these
" associations, if we cannot root them out altogether.

"Kings are parents. The paternal power ceafes with the incapacity of the child; and the father injures his child, if he pretends to retain his right beyond this period. When a nation comes of age, their flate of wardfhip is at an end."

Here follows a long declamation against patriotifm, as a narrow-minded principle when compared with true Cosmo-politism. Nobles are reprefented as " a race of men that ferve not the na-" tion but the Prince, whom a hint from the So-" vereign stirs up against the nation, who are re-" tained fervants and ministers of despotism, and " the mean for oppressing national liberty. Kings " are accused of a tacit convention, under the flat-" tering appellation of the balance of power, to " keep nations in subjection.

" The mean to regain Reafon her rights—to " raife liberty from its afhes—to reftore to man " his original rights—to produce the previous re-" volution in the mind of man—to obtain an " eternal victory over oppreffors—and to work " the redemption of mankind, is fecret fchools of " wifdom. When the worthy have ftrengthened " their affociation by numbers, they are fecure, " and then they begin to become powerful, and A a 2 " terrible terrible to the wicked, of whom many will, for
fafety, amend themfelves—many will come over to our party, and we fhall bind the hands of
the reft, and finally conquer them. Whoever
fpreads general illumination augments mutual
fecurity; illumination and fecurity make princes
unneceffary; illumination performs this by creating an effective Morality, and Morality
makes a nation of full age fit to govern itfelf;
and fince it is not impoffible to produce a juft
Morality, it is poffible to regain freedom for

".We must therefore ftrengthen our band, and establish a legion, which shall reftore the rights of man, original liberty and independence. Jefus Christ"—but I am fick of all this. The following questions are put to the candidate:

1. "Are our civil conditions in the world the "deftinations that feem to be the end of our na-"ture or the purpofes for which man was placed on this earth, or are they not? Do ftates, civil obligations, popular religion, fulfil the intentions of men who eftablifhed them? Do fecret affociations promote inftruction and true human happinefs, or are they the children of neceffity, of the multifarious wants, of unnatural conditions, or the inventions of vain and cunning men?" 2. "What civil affociation, what fcience do you think to the purpofe, and what are not?" 3: "Has 3. "Has there ever been any other in the "world, is there no other more fimple condition, "and what do you think of it ?"

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

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

6. " Does Christianity give us any hint to this " purpofe ? Does it not recognife fuch a bleffed " condition as once the lot of man, and as still " recoverable ?"

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

8. " Can we learn this religion—can the world, s as it is, bear the light? Do you think that it would be of fervice, before numerous obftacles are removed, if we taught men this purified religion, fublime philofophy, and the art of governing themfelves? Or would not this hurt, by roufing the interefted paffions of men habituated to prejudices, who would oppofe this as wicked ?"

9. "May it not be more advifable to do a-"way these corruptions bit by bit, in filence, and for this purpose to propagate these falutary and heart-confoling doctrines in fecret?" 10. " Do we not perceive traces of fuch a fe" cret doctrine in the ancient fchools of philofo" phy, in the doctrines and inftructions of the Bi" ble, which Chrift, the Redeemer and Liberator
" of the human race, gave to his trufty difciples?—
" Do you not obferve an education, proceeding
" by fteps of this kind, handed down to us from
" his time till the prefent ?"

In the ceremonial of Reception, crowns and fcepters are reprefented as tokens of human degradation. " The plan of operation, by which our high-" er degrees act, must work powerfully on the " world, and must give another turn to all our " prefent constitutions."

Many other questions are put to the pupil during his preparation, and his anfwers are given in writing. Some of these rescripts are to be found in the fecret correspondence. Thus, " How far is " the polition true, that all those means may be " ufed for a good purpole which the wicked have " employed for a bad ?" And along with this question there is an injunction to take counsel from the opinions and conduct of the learned and worthy out of the fociety. In one of the answers, the example of a great philosopher and Cosmo-polite is adduced, who betrayed a private correspondence entrusted to him, for the fervice of freedom : the cafe was Dr Franklin's. In another, the power of the Order was extended to the putting

putting the individual to death; and the reafon given was, that " this power was allowed to all " Sovereignties, for the good of the State, and " therefore belonged to the Order, which was " to govern the world."----" N. B. We muft " acquire the direction of education-of church-" management-of the professional chair, and of " the pulpit. We must bring our opinions into " fashion by every art-fpread them among the " people by the help of young writers. We mult " preach the warmest concern for humanity, and " make people indifferent to all other relations. " We must take care that our writers be well puff-" ed, and that the Reviewers do not depreciate " them; therefore we must endeavour by every " mean to gain over the Reviewers and Journa-" lifts; and we must also try to gain the bookfel-".lers, who in time will fee that it is their-interest " to fide with us."

I conclude this account of the degree of Prefbyter with remarking, that there were two copies of it employed occasionally. In one of them all the most offensive things in respect of church and state were left out.

In the Regent degree, the proceedings and inftructions are conducted in the fame manner. Here, it is faid, " We must as much as possible " felect for this degree perfons who are free, " independent of all princes; particularly fuch " as " as have frequently declared themfelves difcontented with the ufual inflitutions, and their wiftes to fee a better government established."

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

t. "Would the Society be objectionable
"which fhould (till the greater revolution of
"nature fhould be ripe) put monarchs and ru"lers out of the condition to do harm; which
"in filence prevents the abufe of power, by
"furrounding the great with its members, and
"thus not only prevents their doing mifchief,
"but even makes them do good ?"

2, " Is not the objection unjuft, That fuch a "Society may abufe its power. Do not our "rulers frequently abufe their power, though "we are filent? This power is not fo fecure as "in the hands of our Members, whom we train "up with fo much care, and place about prin-"ces after mature deliberation and choice. If any government can be harmlefs which is erected by man, furely it muft be ours, which is "founded on morality, fore-fight, talents, li-"berty, and virtue," &c.

The candidate is prefented for reception in the character of a flave; and it is demanded of him what has brought him into this most miserable of all conditions. He answers — Society—the State — Submissiveness — False Religion. A "skeleton skeleton is pointed out to him, at the feet of which are laid a Crown and a Sword He is asked, whether that is the skeleton of a King, a Nobleman, or a Beggar? As he cannot decide, the Prefident of the meeting fays to him, " the " character of being a Man is the only one that " is of importance."

In a long declamation on the hackneyed topics, we have here and there fome thoughts which have not yet come before us.

" We must allow the underlings to imagine, " (but without telling them the truth), that we " direct all the Free Mason Lodges, and even " all other Orders, and that the greatest mo-" narchs are under our guidance, which indeed " is here and there the cafe.

" There is no way of influencing men fo pow-" erfully as by means of the women. These " fhould therefore be our chief ftudy; we fhould " infinuate ourfelves into their good opinion, " give them hints of emancipation from the ty-" ranny of public opinion, and of standing up for " themfelves; it will be an immenfe relief to " their enflaved minds to be freed from any one " bond of reftraint, and it will fire them the " more, and caufe them to work for us with zeal," " without knowing that they do fo; for they " will only be indulging their own defire of perfonal admiration. a We

ВЬ

"We must win the common people in every corner. This will be obtained chiefly by means of the schools, and by open, hearty behaviour, show, condescension, popularity, and toleration of their prejudices, which we shall at leifure root out and dispel.

" If a writer publishes any thing that attracts " notice, and is in itself just, but does not ac-" cord with our plan, we must endeavour to " win him over, or decry him.

" A chief object of our care must be to keep " down that flavifh veneration for princes which " fo much difgraces all nations. Even in the " foi-difant free England, the filly Monarch fays, "We are graciously pleased," and the more " fimple people fay, Amen. Thefe men, com-" monly very weak heads, are only the farther " corrupted by this fervile flattery. But let us at " once give an example of our fpirit by our be-" haviour with Princes; we must avoid all fami-" liarity-never entrust ourfelves to them-be-" have with precifion, but with civility, as to o-" ther men-fpeak of them on an equal footing "-this will in time teach them that they are " by nature men, if they have fense and fpirit, " and that only by convention they are Lords. " We must assiduously collect anecdotes, and the " honourable and mean actions, both of the " leaft and the greatest, and when their names "" occur in any records which are read in our " meetings,

" meetings, let them ever be accompanied by " these marks of their real worth.

" The great strength of our Order lies in its " concealment; let it never appear in any place " in its own name, but always covered by an-" other name, and another occupation. None is " fitter than the three lower degrees of Free Ma-" fonry; the public is accustomed to it; expects " little from it, and therefore takes little notice " of it. Next to this the form of a learned or " literary fociety is best fuited to our purpose, " and had Free Masonry not existed, this cover " would have been employed; and it may be " much more than a cover, it may be a power-" ful engine in our bands. By establishing reading " focieties, and fubscription libraries, and taking " these under our direction, and supplying them * through our labours, we may turn the public mind " which way we will.

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

B b 2

* (They were strongly sufpected of having published fome scandalous caricatures, and some very immoral prints.) They " Could our Prefect (obferve it is to the Illu-"minati Regentes he is fpeaking whole officers "are Prefecti) fill the judicatories of a flate with "our worthy members, he does all that man can "do for the Order. It is better than to gain "the Prince himfelf. Princes flould never get "beyond the Scotch knighthood. They either "never profecute any thing, or they twift every "thing to their own advantage.

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

"The power of the Order must furely be turned to the advantage of its Members. All must be affisted. They must be preferred to all perfons otherwife of equal merit. Money, fervices, honour, goods, and blood, must be expended for the fully proved Brethren, and the unfortunate must be relieved by the funds of the Society."

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

They formpled at no meap, however bale, for corrupting the nation. Mirabeau had done the fame thing at Berlin. By political caricatures and filthy prints, they corrupt even fuch as cannot read.

In Cato's hand-writing.

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

" In Munich there is a well-conflituted meeting of Illuminati Majores, a meeting of excellent Illuminati Minores, a respectable Grand Lodge, and two Minerval Affemblies. There is a Minerval Affembly at Freyfling, at Landfberg, at Burghausen, at Strasburg, at Ingolftadt, and at last at Regensburg *.

"At Munich we have bought a houfe, and by clever meafures have brougl t things fo far, that the citizens take no notice of it, and even fipeak of us with efteem We can openly go to the houfe every day, and carry on the bufinefs of the Lodge. This is a great deal for this city. In the houfe is a good mufeum of natural hiftory, and apparatus for experiments: alfo a library which daily increafes. The garden is well occupied by botanic fpecimens, and the whole has the appearance of a fociety of zealous naturalifls.

"We get all the literary journals. We take "care, by well-timed pieces, to make the citi-"zens and the Princes a little more noticed for "certain

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

" certain little flips. We oppose the monks " with all our might, and with great fucces.

" The Lodge is conflituted entirely according to our fystem, and has broken off entirely from Berlin, and we have nearly finished our transactions with the Lodges of Poland, and fhall have them under our direction.

" By the activity of our Brethren, the Jefuits " have been kept out of all the professional " chairs at Ingolstadt, and our friends prevail."

"The Widow Duchefs has fet up her aca-"demy entirely according to our plan, and we "have all the Profession the Order. Five of "them are excellent, and the pupils will be pre-"pared for us.

"We have got Pylades put at the head of the Fife, and he has the church money at his difpofal. By properly using this money, we have been enabled to put our Brother -----'s household in good order; which he had deftroyed by going to the Jews. We have supported more Brethren under similar misfortunes.

• Our Ghofily Brethren have been very for-• tunate this laft year, for we have procured for • • them feveral good benefices, parifhes, tutor-• • fhips, &c.

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

" younger Brethren have obtained Burfarics by " our help.

"We have been very fuccefsful against the Jefuits, and brought things to fuch a bearing, that their revenues, fuch as the Miffion, the Golden Alms, the Exercises, and the Converfion Box, arc now under the management of our friends. So are also their concerns in the university and the German school foundations. The application of all will be determined prefently, and we have fix members and four friends in the Court. This has cost our fenate fome nights want of fleep.

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

" All the German Schools, and the Benevo-" lent Society, are at last under our direction.

"We have got feveral zealous members in the courts of justice, and we are able to afford

" them pay, and other good additions.

Lately, we have got poffession of the Bartholomew Inflitution for young clergymen,
having fecured all its fupporters. Through
this we shall be able to supply Bavaria with fit
priests.

" By a letter from Philo we learn, that one of the higheft dignities in the church was obtained for a zealous Illuminatus, in opposition even even to the authority and right of the Bithop of Spire, who is reprefented as a bigotted and tyrannical prieft."

Such were the leffer mysteries of the Illumina-But there remain the higher mysteries. tř. The fystem of these has not been printed, and the degrees were conferred only by Spartacus himfelf, from papers which he never entrusted to any perfon. They were only read to the candidate, but no copy was taken. The publisher of the Neueste Arbeitung fays that he has read them (fo fays Grollman). He fays, " that in the first degree of · MAGUS or PHILOSOPHUS, the doctrines are the " fame with those of Spinoza, where all is mate-" rial, God and the world are the fame thing, and " all religion whatever is without foundation, and " the contrivance of ambitious men." The fecond degree, or REX, teaches, " that every pea-" fant, citizen, and houfeholder is a fovereign, as " in the Patriarchal state, and that nations must " be brought back to that flate, by whatever " means are conducible-peaceably, if it can be " done; but, if not, then by force-for all fub-" ordination must vanish from the face of the " earth."

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

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

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

Munich Westphalia (several) Ingolftadt Heidelberg Frankfort Mannhoim ' Strafburgh (5) Echftadt Spire Hanover Brunfwick Worms Duffeldorff Calbe Cologne Magdeburgh Bonn(4)Caffel Livoniá (many) Ofnabruck Courland (many) Weimar Frankendalıl Upper Saxony (feveral) Alface (many) Austria (14) Vienna, Cc

201

Vienna (4) Deuxponts Coufel Heffe (many) Buchenwerter Treves (2) Mompeliard Aix-la-Chapelle (2) Bartfchied Stutgard (3) Hahrenberg Carlfruhe Switzerland (many) Anfpach Neuwied (2) Rome Mentz (2) Naples Poland (many) Ancona 'Turin Florence England (8.). France Scotland (2)Holland (many) Warfaw (2) Drefden (4) America (feveral). N. B. This was before 1786. I have picked up the names of the following members. Weilhaupt, Professor. 'Spartacus, Philo,

Amelius, Bayard, Diomedes, Cato,

202

Weifhaupt, Profeffor. Knigge, Freyherr, i. e. Gentleman. Bode, F. H. Bufche, F. H. Conftanza, Marq. Zwack, Lawyer. Torring, Count. Kreitmaier, Prince. Utfchneider, Profeffor. Coffandey, Profeffor. Renner, Profeffor. Grunberger,

	Grunberger, Professor.
	Balderbusch, F. H.
	Lippert, Counfellor.
	Kundl, ditto.
	Bart, ditto.
	Leiberhauer, Priest.
	Kundler, Professor.
	Lowling Professor.
	Vachency, Counfellor.
	Morausky, Count.
	Hoffitetter, Surveyor of
	Roads.
	Strobl, Bookfeller.
Pythagoras,	Westenrieder, Professor.
	Babo, Professor.
	Baader, Professor.
	Burzes, Priest.
	Pfruntz, Priest.
Hannibal,	Baffus, Baron.
Brutus,	Savioli, Count.
Lucian,	Nicholai, Bookfeller.
	Bahrdt, Clergyman.
Zoroaster, Confucius,	Baierhamer
Hermes Trismegistus,	Socher, School Infpector.
	-Dillis, Abbé.
Sulla,	Meggenhoff, Paymaster.
	Danzer, Canon.
	Braun, ditto.
, "C	fic 2 Fischer,

THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. U.

Pythagoras, Marius.

Saladin,

Cornelius Scipio.

Tycho Bralie, Thales, Attila, Ludovicus Bavarus, Shafreiburý, Coriolanus, Timon, Tamerlane. Livius,

Fischer, Magistrate. Frauenberger, Baron. Kaltner, Lieutenant. Drexl, Librarian. Hertel, Canon. Dachfel. Dilling, Counfellor. Seefeld, Count. Gunsheim, ditto. Morgellan, ditto. Ecker. ditto. Ow, Major. Werner, Counfellor. Berger, ditto. Wortz, Apothecary. Mauvillon, Colonel. Mirabeau, Count. Orleans, Duke. Hochinaer. Gafpar, Merchant. -Kapfinger. -Sauer. -Lofi: Steger. Tropponero, Zuschwartz. Michel. Lange. Badorffer. Cicero_f

20\$

Cicero, Pfeft. Ajax, Maffenhaufen, Count.

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

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

1. Groffe Absicht des Illuminaten Ordens.

2. ---- Nachtrages (3.) an denselben.

3. Weishaupt's improved System.

4. System des Illum. Ordens aus dem Originalschriften gezogen.

I may now be permitted to make a few reflections on the accounts already given of this Order, ' which has fo diffinctly concentrated the cafual and fcattered efforts of its prompters, the *Chevaliers Bienfaifunts*, 'the *Philalethes*, and *Amis Reunis* of France, and carried on the fystem of enlight-'ening and reforming the world.

The great aim professed by the Order is to make men happy: and the means professed to be employed, as the only and furely effective, is making them good; and this is to be brought about by enlightening the mind, and freeing it from the dominion of fuperstition and prejudices. This purpose is effected fected by its producing a just and steady morality. This done, and becoming universal, there can be little doubt but that the peace of fociety will be the confequence,—that government, fubordination, and all the difagreeable coercions of civil governments will be unneceffary,—and that fociety may go on peaceably in a state of perfect liberty and equality.

- But furely it requires no angel from heaven to tell us that if every man is virtuous, there will be no vice; and that there will be peace on earth, and good-will between man and man, whatever be the differences of rank and fortune; fo that Liberty and Equality feem not to be the necessary confequences of this just Morality, nor necessary requifites for this national happinefs. We may question, therefore, whether the illumination which makes, this a neceffary condition is a clear and a pure light. It may be a falle glare, fhowing the object only on one fide, tinged with partial colours thrown on it by neighbouring objects. We see so much wildom in the general plaus of nature, that we are apt to think that there is the fame in what relates to the human mind, and that the God of nature accomplishes his plans in this as well as in other inftances. We are even difpofed to think that human nature would fuffer by it, The rational nature of man is not contented with meat and drink, and raiment, and shelter, but is also pleafed."

pleafed with exerting many powers and faculties, and with gratifying many taftes, which could hardly have existence in a society where all are equal. We fay that there can be no doubt but that the plea-• fure arifing from the contemplation of the works of art-the pleafure of intellectual cultivation, the pleasure of mere ornament, are rational, distinguilh man from a brute, and are fo general, that there is hardly a mind fo rude as not to feel them. Of all these, and of all the difficult sciences, all most rational, and in themselves most innocent, and most delightful to a cultivated mind, we fhould be deprived in a fociety where all are e-No individual could give employment to qual. the talents neceffary for creating and improving these ornamental comforts of life. We are abfolutely certain that, even in the most favourable fituations on the face of the earth, the most untainted virtue in every breaft could not raife man to that degree of cultivation that is posselled by citizens very low in any of the flates of Europe; and in the fituation of most countries we are acquainted with, the ftate of man would be much lower : for, at our very fetting out, we mult grant that the liberty and equality here fpoken of must be complete; for there must not be such a thing as a farmer and his cottager. This would be as unjust, as much the cause of discontent, as the gentleman and the farmer.

This

This scheme therefore seems contrary to the deligns of our Creator, who has every where placed us in these fituations of inequality that are here fo much fcouted, and has given us ftrong propenfities by which we relifh these enjoyments. We alfo find that they may be enjoyed in peace and innocence. And laftly, We imagine that the villain, who, in the flation of a professor, would plunder a Frince, would also plunder the farmer if he were his cottager. The illumination therefore that appears to have the best chance of making mankind happy is that which will teach us the Morality which will refpect the comforts, of cultivated Society, and teach us to protect the polfoffors in the innocent enjoyment of them; that will enable us to perceive and admire the tafte and elegance of Architecture and Gardening, without any wifh to fweep the gardens and their owner from off the earth, merely becaufe he is their " owner.

We are therefore fulpicious of this Illumination, and apt to afcribe this violent antipathy to Princes and fubordination to the very caufe that makes true Illumination, and juft Morality proceeding from it, fo neceffary to public happinefs, namely, the vice and injuftice of thofe who cannot innocently have the command of thofe offenfive elegancies of human life. Luxurious tafte, keen defires, and unbridled paffions, would prompt

208

prompt to all this; and this Illumination is, as we fee, equivalent to them in effect. The aim of the Order is not to enlighten the mind of man, and fhow him his moral obligations, and by the practice of his duties to make fociety peaceable, poffeffion fecure, and coercion unneceffary, fo that all may be at reft and happy, even though all were equal; but to get rid of the coercion which must be employed in place of Morality, that the innocent rich may be robbed with impunity by. the idle and profligate poor. But to do this, an unjust casuiftry must be employed in place of a just Morality; and this must be defended or fuggested, by misrepresenting the true state of man, and of his relation to the universe, and by removing the reftrictions of religion, and giving a fuperlative value to all those constituents of human enjoyment, which true Illumination flows us to be but very fmall concerns of a rational and virtuous The more closely we examine the prinmind. ciples and practice of the Illuminati, the more clearly do we perceive that this is the cafe. Their first and immediate aim is to get the possession of riches, power and influence, without industry; and, to accomplifh this they want to abolifh Chriflianity; and then diffolute manners and univerfal profligacy will procure them the adherence of all the wicked, and enable them to overturn all the civil governments of Europe; after which they D d will

will think of farther conquests, and extend their operations to the other quarters of the globe, till they have reduced mankind to the state of one undistinguishable chaotic mass.

But this is too chimerical to be thought their real aim. Their Founder, I dare fay, never entertained fuch hopes, nor troubled himfelf with the fate of distant lands. But it comes in his way when he puts on the mark of humanity and benevolence; · it must embrace all mankind, only because it must be ftronger than patriotifm and loyalty, which ftand in his way. Obferve that Weifhaupt took a name expressive of his principles. Spartacus was a gladiator, who headed an infurrection of Roman flaves, and for three years' kept the city in ter-Weishaupt fays in one of his letters, " I ror. " never was fond of empty titles; but furely that " man has a childish foul who would not as rea-" dily chufe the name of Spartacus as that of Oc-" tavius Augustus." The names which he gives to feveral of his gang express their differences of fentiments. Philo, Lucian, and others, are very fignificantly given to Knigge, Nicholai, &c. He was vain of the name Spartacus, becaufe he confidered himfelf as employed fomewhat in the fame way, leading flaves to freedom. Princes and Priefts are mentioned by him on all occafions in term's of abhorrence.

Spartacus employs powerful means. In the ftyle

210

ftyle of the Jesuits, (as he fays,) he confiders every mean as confecrated by the end for which it is employed, and he fays with great truth,

" Flectere fi nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo."

To fave his reputation, he fcruples not to murder his innocent child, and the woman whom he had held in his arms with emotions of fondnefs and affection. But left this should appear too felfish a motive, he fays, " had I fallen, my " precious Order would have fallen with me; " the Order which is to blefs mankind. I should " not again have been able to fpeak of virtue " fo as to make any lasting impression. My ex-" ample might have ruined many young men." This he thinks will excuse, nay fanctify any thing. " My letters are my greateft vindication." He employs the Christian Religion, which he thinks a falsehood, and which he is afterwards to explode, as the mean for inviting Christians of every denomination, and gradually cajoling them, by clearing up their Christian doubts in fuccession, till he lands them in Deifm; or, if he finds them unfit, and too religious, he gives them a Sta bene, and then laughs at the fears, or perhaps madnefs, in which he leaves them. Having got them this length, they are declared to be fit, and he eceives them into the higher mysteries. ' But lest they should still shrink back, dazzled by the Pan-Dd 2 demonian

demonian glare of Illumination which will now burft upon them, he exacts from them, for the first time, a bond of perseverance. But, as Philo fays, there is little chance of tergiverfation. The life and honour of most of the candidates are by this time in his hand. They have been long occupied in the vile and corrupting office of fpics on all around them, and they are found fit for their prefent honours, because they have discharged this office to his fatisfaction, by the reports which they have given in, containing ftories of their neighbours, nay even of their own They may be ruined in the world by difgang. clofing thefe, either privately or publicly. A man who had once brought himfelf into this perilous fituation durst not go back. He might have been left indeed in any degree of Illumination; and, if Religion has not been quite eradicated from his mind, he must be in that condition of painful anxiety and doubt that makes him defperate, fit for the full operation of fanaticifm, and he may be engaged in the caufe of God, " to commit all kind " of wickedness with greediness." In this state of mind, a man fhuts his eyes, and rushes on. Had Spartacus fuppofed that he was dealing with good men, his conduct would have been the reverse of all this. There is no occasion for this. bond from a perfon convinced of the excellency v of the Order. But he knew them to be unprincipled,

.

cipled, and that the higher mysteries were fo daring, that even fome of fuch men would start at them. But they must not blab.

Having thus got rid of Religion, Spartacus could with more fafety bring into view the great aim of all his efforts-to rule the world by means of his Order. As the immediate mean for attaining this, he holds out the profpect of freedom from civil fubordination. Perfect Liberty and Equality are interwoven with every thing; and the flattering thought is continually kept up, that " by the wife contrivance of this Order, the most " complete knowledge is obtained of the real worth " of every perfon; the Order will, for its oron fake, " and therefore certainly, place every man in that " fituation in which he can be most effective. The " pupils are convinced that the Order will rule " the world. Every member therefore becomes a " ruler." We all think ourfelves qualified to rule. The difficult tafk is to obey with propriety; but we are honefuly generous in our profpects of future command. It is therefore an alluring thought, both to good and bad men. By this lure the Order will fpread. If they are active in infinuating their members into offices, and in keeping out others. (which the private correspondence flows to have been the cafe), they may have had frequent experience of their fuccess in gaining an influence on the world. This must whet their zeal. If Weifhaupt

fhaupt was a fincere Cofmo-polite, he had the pleafure of feeing " his work profpering in his hands."

It furely needs little argument now to prove, that the Order of Illuminati had for its immediate object the abolishing of Christianity, (at least this was the intention of the Founder,) with the fole view of overturning the civil government, by introducing univerfal diffoluteness and profligacy of manners, and then getting the affiftance of the corrupted subjects to overset the throne. The whole conduct in the preparation and instruction of the Prefbyter and Regens is directed to this point. Philo fays, " I have been at unwearied " pains to remove the fears of fome who imagine " that our Superiors want to abolish Christianity; ", but by and by their prejudices will wear off, " and they will be more at their eafe. Were I " to let them know that our General holds all " Religion to be a lie, and uses even Deism, on-" ly to lead men by the nofe.--Were I to con-" nect myfelf again with the Free Mafons, and " tell them our defigns to ruin their Fraternity by " this circular letter (a letter to the Lodge in " Courland)-Were I but to give the leaft hint to " any of the Princes of Greece (Bavaria)-No, " my anger shall not carry me fo far.-An Order "forfooth, which in this manner abufes human " nature -which will fubject men to a bondage " more intolerable than Jesuitism .- I could put " it

" it on a refpectable footing, and the world would " be ours. Should I mention our fundamental " principles, (even after all the pains I have been at to mitigate them,) fo unqueftionably dange-" rous to the world, who would remain? What fignifies the innocent ceremonies of the Prieft's degree, as I have composed it, in comparison with your maxim, that we may use for a good end those means which the wicked employ for a base purpose?"

Brutus writes, " Numenius now acquiefces in " the mortality of the foul; but, I fear we fhall " lofe Ludovicus Bavarus. He told Spartacus, " that he was miftaken when he thought that he " had fwallowed his flupid Mafonry. No, he faw " the trick, and did not admire the end that re-" quired it. I don't know what to do; a Sta " bene would make him mad, and he will blow " us all up.

"The Order must posses the power of life and death in confequence of our Oath; and with propriety, for the fame reason, and by the fame right, that any government in the world posses it: For the Order comes world posses it: For the Order comes the their place, making them unnecessary. When things cannot be otherwise, and ruin would ensue if the Association did not employ this mean, the Order must, as well as public rulers, employ it for the good of mantic kind; "kind; therefore for its own prefervation, « (N. B. observe here the cafuistry). Nor will " the political conflitutions fuffer by this, for " there are always thousands equally ready and " able to fupply the place."

We need not wonder that Diomedes told the Profeffors, " that death, inevitable death, from " which no potentate could protect them, awaited " every traitor of the Order;" nor that the French Convention proposed to take off the German Princes and Generals by fword or poifon, &c.

Spartacus might tickle the fancy of his Order with the notion of ruling the world ; but I imagine that his darling aim was ruling the Order. The happiness of mankind was, like Weishaupt's Christianity, a mere tool, a tool which the Regentes made a joke of. But Spartacus would rule the Regentes; this he could not fo eafily accomplifh. His defpotifin was infupportable to moft of them, and finally brought all to light. When he could not perfuade them by his own firmnefs, and indeed by his fuperior wifdom and difinterestedness in other respects, and his unwearied activity, he employed jefuitical tricks, caufing them to fall out with each other, fetting them as fpies on each other, and leparating any two that he faw attached to each other, by making the one a Master of the other; and, in short, he left nothing undone that could fecure his uncontrouled command.

mand. This caufed Philo to quit the Order, and made *Baffus*, *Von Torring*, *Kreitmaier*, and <u>feveral</u> other gentlemen, ceafe attending the meetings; and it was their mutual differitons which made them fpeak too freely in public, and call on themselves fo much notice. At the time of the difcovery, the party of Weifhaupt confifted chiefly of very mean people, devoted to him, and willing to execute hisorders, that by being his fervants, they might have the pleafure of commanding others.

The objects, the undoubted objects of this Affociation, are furely dangerous and deteftable; viz. to overturn the prefent conflictutions of the European States, in order to introduce a chimera which the hiftory of mankind flows to be contrary to the nature of man.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

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

217

Is

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

If we in the next place attend to their mode of education, and examine it by thole rules of common fenfe that we apply in other cafes of conduct, we fhall find it equally unpromifing. The fyftem of Illuminatifm is one of the explanations of Free Mafonry; and it has gained many partifans. These explanations reft their credit and their preference on their own merits. There is fomething in themfelves, or in one of them as diffinguished from another, which procures it the preference for its own fake. Therefore,

fore, to give this Order any dependence on Free Masonry, is to degrade the Order. To introduce a Masonic Ritual into a manly institution, is to degrade it to a frivolous amusement for great children. Men really exerting themfelves to reform the world, and qualified for the tafk, must have been difgusted with fuch occupations. They betray a frivolous conception of the talk in which they are really engaged. To imagine that men engaged in the ftruggle and rivalship of life, under the influence of felfish, or mean, or impetuous paffions, are to be wheedled into candid fentiments, or a generous conduct, as a froward child may fometimes be made gentle and tractable by a rattle or a humming-top, betrays a great ignorance of human nature, and an arrogant felf-conceit in those who can imagine that all but themfelves are babies. The further we proceed, the more do we fee of this want of wifdom. The whole procedure of their instruction supposes such a complete surrender of freedom of thought, of common fense, and of common caution, that it feems impossible that it should not have alarmed every fenfible mind. This indeed happened before the Order was feven years It was wife indeed to keep their Areopaold. gitæ out of fight; but who can be fo filly as to believe that their unknown fuperiors were all and always faultless men. "But had they been the

Ee 2

men

men they were represented to be,-if I have any knowledge of my own heart, or any capacity of drawing just inferences from the conduct of others, I am perfuaded that the knowing his fuperiors would have animated the pupil to exertion, that he might exhibit a pleafing fpectacle to fuch intelligent and worthy judges. Did not the Stoics profess themselves to be encouraged in the scheme of life, by the thought that the immortal Gods were looking on and paffing their judgments on their manner of acting the part affigned them ? But what abject fpirit will be contented with working, zealoufly working, for years, after a plan of which he is never to learn the full meaning. In fhort, the only knowledge that he can perceive is knowledge in its worft form, Cunning. This must appear in the contrivances by which he will foon find that he is kept in complete fubjection. If he is a true and zealous Brother, he has put himfelf in the power of his Superiors by his referipts, which they required of him on pretence of their learning his own character, and of his learning how to know , the characters of other men. In these rescripts they have got his thoughts on many delicate points, and on the conduct of others. His Directors may ruin him by betraying him; and this without being feen in-it. I fhould think that wife men would know that none but weak or bad . bad men would fubject themfelves to fuch a tafk. They exclude the good, the manly, the only fit perfons for affifting them in their endeavours to inform and to rule the world. Indeed I may fay that this exclusion is almost made already by connecting the Order with Free-Mafonry. Lodges are not the reforts of fuch men. They may fometimes be found there for an hour's relaxation. But these places are the haunts of the young, the thoughtlefs, the idle, the weak, the vain, or of defigning Literati; and accordingly this is the condition of three fourths of the Illuminati whofe names are known to the public. I own that the reasons given to the pupil for prefcribing thefe tafks are clever, and well adapted to produce their effect. During the flurry of reception, and the glow of expectation, the danger may not be fuspected; but I hardly imagine that it will remain unperceived when the pupil fits down to write his first lesson. Mafon Lodges, however, were the most likely places for finding and enlifting members. Young men, warmed by declamations teeming with the flimfy moral cant of Cofino-politifm, are in the proper frame of mind for this Illumination. It now appears alfo, that the diffentions in Free Mafonry must have had great influence in promoting this fcheme of Weishaupt's, which was, in many particulars, fo 'unpromifing, because it prefuppofes

poses such a degradation of the mind. But when the schifmatics in Masonry disputed with warmth, trifles came to acquire unspeakable importance. The hankering after wonder was not in the leaft abated by all the tricks which had been detected, and the impoffibility of the wished-for discovery had never been demonstrated to perfons prepofseffed in its favour. They still chose to believe that the fymbols contained fome important fecret; and happy will be the man who finds it out. The more frivolous the fymbols, the more does the heart cling to the mystery; and, to a mind in this anxious state, Weishaupt's proffer was enticing. He laid before them a scheme which was somewhat feafible, was magnificent, furpassing our conceptions, but at the fame time fuch as permitted us to expatiate on the fubject, and even to amplify it at pleafure 'in our imaginations without abfurdity. It does not appear to me wonderful, therefore, that fo many were fascinated till they became at last regardless of the absurdity and inconfistency of the means by which this splendid object was to be attained. Hear what Spartacus himfelf fays of hidden mysteries. " 'Of all " the means I know to lead men, the most effec-" tual is a concealed mystery. The hanker-" ing of the mind is irrefiftable; and if once a " man has taken it into his head that there is a " mystery in a thing, it is impossible to get it 66 out,

"out, either by argument or experience. And then, we can fo change notions by merely changing a word. What more contemptible than *fanaticifm*; but call it *enthufia/m*; then add the little word *noble*, and you may lead him over the world. Nor are we, in these bright days, a bit better than our tathers, who found the pardon of their fins mysteriously contained in a much greater fin. viz leaving their family, and going barefooted to Rome."

Such being the employment, and fuch the difciples, fnould we expect the truits to be very precious? No. The doctrines which were gradually unfolded were fuch as fuited those who continued in the Curfus Academicus. Those who did not, becaufe they did not like them, got a Sta bene; they were not fit for advancement. The numbers however were great; Spartacus boafted of 600 in Bavaria alone in 1783. We don't know many of them; few of those we know were in the upper ranks of life; and I can fee that it required much wheedling, and many letters of long worded German compliments from the proud Spartacus, to win even a young Baron or a Graf just come of age. Men in an easy situation in life could not brook the employment of a fpy, which is bafe, cowardly, and corrupting, and has in all ages and countries degraded the perfon who engages in it. Can the perfon be called wife who

who thus enflaves himfelf? Such perfons give up the right of private judgment, and rely on their unknown Superiors with the blindest and most abject confidence. For their fakes, and to rivet still faster their own fetters, they engage in the most corrupting of all employments-and for what ?- To learn fomething more of an order, of which every degree explodes the doctrine of a former one. Would it have hurt the young IIluminatus to have it explained to him all at once? Would not this fire his mind-when he fees with. the fame glance the great object, and the fitnefs of the means for attaining it? Would not the exalted characters of the Superiors, fo much excelling himfelf in talents, and virtue, and happinels (otherwife the Order is good for nothing), warm his heart, and fill him with emulation, fince he fees in them, that what is fo ftrongly preached to him is an attainable thing? No, no-it is all a trick; he must be kept like a child, amused with rattles, and ftars, and ribands-and all the fatisfaction he obtains is, like the Masons, the fun of feeing others running the fame gauntlet.

Weilhaupt acknowledges that the great influence of the Order may be abufed. Surely, in no way fo eafily or fo fatally as by corrupting or feductive leffons in the beginning. The miltake or error of the pupil is undifcoverable by himfelf, (aceording to the genuine principles of Illumination), for for the pupil must believe his Mentor to be infallible—with him alone he is connected—his leffons only must he learn. Who can tell him that he has gone wrong—or who can fet him right? yet he certainly may be missed.

Here, therefore, there is confusion and deficiency. There must be fome flandard to which appeal can be made; but this is inaccessible to all within the pale of the Order; it is therefore without this pale, and independant of the Order and it is attainable only by abandoning the Order. The QUIBUS LICET, the PRIMO, the SOLI, can procure no light to the perfon who does not know that he has been led out of the right road to virtue and happines. The Superiors indeed draw much useful information from these reports, though they affect to fland in no need of it, and they make a cruel return.

All this is fo much out of the natural road of inftruction, that, on this account alone, we may prefume that it is wrong. We are generally fafe when we follow nature's plans. A child learns in his father's houfe, by feeing, and by imitating, and in common domeflic education, he gets much ufeful knowledge, and the chief habits which are afterwards to regulate his conduct. Example does almost every thing; and, with respect to what may be called living, as diffinguishable from profefion, speculation and argumentative instruction $\mathbf{F} \mathbf{f}$ are feldom employed, or of any ufe. The indifpenfablenefs of mutual forbearance and obedience, for domeflic peace and happinefs, forms most of these habits; and the child, under good parents, is kept in a fituation that makes virtue easter than vice, and he becomes wife and good without any express study about the matter.

But this Illumination plan is darkness over allit is too artificial-and the topics, from which counfel is to be drawn, cannot be taken from the peculiar. views of the Order-for these are yet a fecret for the pupil-and must ever be a fecret for him while under tuition. They must therefore be drawn from common fources, and the Order. is of no use : all that can naturally be effectuated? by this Affociation is the forming, and affiduouf-ly fostering a narrow, Jewish, corporation spirit; totally opposite to the benevolent pretensions ofthe Order. The pupil can fee nothing but this, that there is a fet of men, whom he does not. know, who may acquire incontroulable power, and may perhaps make use of him, but for what, purpose, and in what way, he does not know; how can he know that his endeavours are to: make man happier, any other way than as he might have known it without having put this collar round his own neck ?.

These reflections address themselves to all men: who who profess to conduct themselves by the principles and dictates of common fense and prudence, and who have the ordinary share of candour and good will to others. It requires no singular sensibility of heart, nor great generosity, to make such people think the doctrines and views of the Illuminati false, absurd, foolish, and ruinous. But I hope that I address them to thousands of my countrymen and friends, who have much higher notions of human nature, and who cherish with care the affections and the hopes that are fuited to a rational, a benevolent, and a high-minded being, capable of endless improvement.

To those who enjoy the cheering confidence in the fuperintendance and providence of God, who confider themfelves as creatures whom he has made, and whom he cares for, as the fubjects of his moral government, this Order must appear with every character of falsehood and absurdity on its countenance. What CAN BE MORE IM-PROBABLE than this, that He, whom we look up to as the contriver, the maker, and director, of this goodly frame of things, should have fo far mistaken his own plans, that this world of rational creatures should have subfilted for thousands of years, before a way could be found out, by which his intention of making men good and happy could be accomplifhed; and that this method did not occur to the great Artift himfelf, nor even Ff2 tq

to the wifeft, and happieft, and beft men upon earth; but to a few perfons at Munich in Bavaria, who had been trying to raife ghofts, to change lead into gold, to tell fortunes, or difcover treafures, but had failed in all their attempts; men who had been engaged for years in every whim which characterifes.a weak, a greedy, or a gloomy mind. Finding all thefe beyond their reach, they combined their powers, and, at once, found out this infinitely more important SECRET —for fecret it must full be, otherwife not only the Deity, but even those philosophers, will full be difappointed.

Yet this is the doctrine that must be fwallow-• ed by the Minervals and the Illuminati Minores, to whom it is not yet fafe to difclose the grand fecret, that there is no fuch superintendance of Deity. At last, however, when the pupil has conceived fuch exalted notions of the knowledge of his teachers, and fuch low notions of the blundering projector of this world, it may be no difficult matter to perfuade him that all his former notions were only old wives tales. By this time he must have heard much about fuperstition, and how mens minds have been dazzled by this fplendid piclure of a Próvidence and a moral government of the universe. It now appears incompatible with the great object of the -Order, the principles of univerfal liberty and equality-it is therefore rejected

jected without farther examination, for this reafon alone. This was precifely the argument used in France for rejecting revealed religion. It was incompatible with their Rights of Man.

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

Our immortal Newton, whom the philosophers of Europe look up to as the honour of our fpecies, whom even Mr Bailly, the Prefident of the National Affembly of France, and Mayor of Paris, cannot find words fufficiently energetic to praise; this patient, fagacious, and fuccessful observer of nature, after having exhibited to the wondering world the characteristic property of that principle of material nature by which all the bodies of the folar fystem are made to form a connected and permanent universe; and after having flown that this law of action alone was adapted to this end, and that if gravity had deviated but one thousandth part from the inverse duplicate ratio of the diftances, the fystem must, in the course of a very few revolutions, have gone into confusion and ruin-he fits down, and views the goodly fcene,-and then clofes his Principles of Natural Philosophy with this reflection (his Scholium generale). " This

THE ILLUMINATI. CHAP. II.

230

" This most elegant frame of things could not " have arisen, unless by the contrivance and the " direction of a wife and powerful Being; and " if the fixed ftars are the centres of fystems, these " fystems must be fimilar; and all these, construct-" ed according to the fame plan, are fubject to the " government of one Being. All thefe he go-" verns, not as the foul of the world, but as the " Lord of all; therefore, on account of his go-" vernment, he is called the Lord God-Marro-" xpa'rwp; for God is a relative term, and refers " to subjects. Deity is God's government, not ** of his own body, as those think who confider " him as the foul of the world, but of his fer-" vants., The fupreme God is a Being eternal, " infinite, abfolutely perfect. But a being, how-" ever perfect, without government, is not God; " for we fay, my God, your God, the God of " Ifrael. We cannot fay my eternal, my infinite. "We may have fome notions indeed of his at-" tributes, but can have none of his nature. With " refpect to bodies, we fee only shapes and co-" lour-hear only founds-touch only. furfaces. " These are attributes of bodie's; but of their effence "we know nothing. As a blind man can form " no notion of colours, we can form none of the 46 manner in which God perceives, and underf flands, and influences every thing.

" Therefore

"Therefore we know God only by his attributes. What are thefe? The wife and excellent contrivance, ftructure, and final aim of all things. In thefe his perfections we admire him, and we wonder. In his direction or government, we venerate and worfhip him-we worfhip him as his fervants; and God, without dominion, without providence, and final aims, is Fate-not the object either of reverence, of hope, of love, or of fear."

. But mark the emotions which affected the mind of another excellent observer of Nature, the admirer of Newton, and the perfon who has put the finishing stroke to the Newtonian philosophy, by fhowing that the acceleration of the moon's mean motion, is the genuine refult of a gravitation decreasing in the precise duplicate ratio of the diftance inverfely; I mean Mr Delaplace, one of the most brilliant ornaments of the French academy of fciences. He has lately published the Systeme du Monde, a most beautiful compend of aftronomy and of the Newtonian philosophy. Having finished his work with the fame observation, " That a gravitation inverfely proportional " to the fquares of the diffances was the only " principle which could unite material Nature in-" to a permanent fystem ;" he also fits down-furveys the scene-points out the parts which he had. brought within our ken-and then makes this reflection:

fiection : " Beheld in its totality, aftronomy is the " nobleft monument of the human mind, its " chief title to intelligence. But, feduced by the " illusions of fense, and by felf-conceit, we have " long confidered ourfelves as the centre of thefe " motions; and our pride has been punified by " the groundless fears which we have created to " ourfelves. We imagine, forfooth, that all this " is for us, and that the ftars influence our defti-" nies ! But the labours of ages have convinced " us of our error, and we find ourfelves on an " infignificant planet, almost imperceptible in the " immenfity of fpace. But the fublime difcove. " ries we have made richly repay this humble fi-" tuation. Let us cherifh these with care, as the " delight of thinking beings-they have deltroy-" ed our mistakes as to our relation to the rest of ". the universe, errors which were the more fatal, " becaufe the focial Order depends on justice " and truth alone. Far be from us the dange-" rous maxim, that it is fometimes ufeful to de-" part from thefe, and to deceive men, in order " to infure their happiness; but cruel experience " has fhewn us that thefe laws are never totally " extinct."

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of . these last words—they cannot relate to astrology —this was entirely out of date. The "attempts "to deceive men, in order to infure their happi-"nefs,"

232

" nefs," can only be those by which we are made to think too highly of ourfelves. " In-" habitants of this pepper-corn, we think our-" felves the peculiar favourites of Heaven, " nay, the chief objects of care to a Being, the " Maker of all; and then we imagine that, " after this life, we are to be happy or milerable, " according as we accede or not to this fubju-"" gation to opinions which enflave us. But truth " and justice have broken these bonds."-But where is the force of the argument which entitles. this perfecter of the Newtonian philosophy to exult fo much? It all refts on this, That this earth is but as a grain of mustard-seed. Man would be more worth attention had he inhabited Jupiter or the Sun. Thus may a Frenchman look down on the noble creatures who inhabit Orolong or Pelew. But whence arifes the abfurdity of the intellectual inhabitants of this pepper-corn being a proper object of attention? it is becaufe our Ihallow comprehensions cannot, at the fame glance, fee an extensive scene, and perceive its most min nute detail.

David, a King, and a foldier. had fome not tions of this kind. The heavens, it is true, pointed out to him a Maker and Ruler, which is more than they feem to have done to the Gallic philofopher; but David was afraid that he would be forgotten in the crowd, and cries out, "Lord! what is man, that thou art mindful of *him*?"

But David gets rid of his fears, not by becoming a philosopher, and discovering all this to be abfurd,-he would still be forgotten,-he at once thinks of what he is - a noble creature high in the scale of nature. " But," favs he, I " had forgotten myfelf. Thou haft made man " " but a little lower than the angels-thou haft " crowned him with glory and honour -thou " haft put all things under his feet." Here are exalted fentiments, fit for the creature whole ken pierces through the immenfity of the vilible univerfe, and who fees his relation to the univerfe, being nearly allied to its Sovereign, and capable of rifing continually in his rank, by cultivating · those talents which diftinguish and adorn it.

to their most confident expectations: For it pretends to what is impossible, to perfect peace and happinels in this life. They believe, and they feel, that man must be made perfect through fufferings, which shall call into action powers of mind that otherwife would never have unfolded themfelves-powers which are frequently fources of the pureft and most foothing pleafures, and naturally make us reft our eyes and hopes on that flate where every tear fhall be wiped away, and where the kind affections shall become the never-failing fources of pure and unfading delight. Such perfons fee the palpable abfurdity of a preparation which is equally necessary for all, and yet must be confined to the minds of a few, who have the low and indelicate appetite for frig volous play-things, and for grofs fenfual pleafures. Such minds will turn away from this boafted treat with loathing and abhorrence.

I am well aware that fome of my readers may fmile at this, and think it an enthufiaftical working up of the imagination, fimilar to what I reprobate in the cafe of Utopian happinefs in a ftate of univerfal Liberty and Equality. It is like, they will fay, to the declamation in a fermon by perfons of the trade, who are trained up to fineffe, by which they allure and tickle weak minds.

G g 2

I acknowledge, that in the prefent cafe I do not addrefs myfelf to the cold hearts, who conzentedly

" Sink and flumber in their cells of clay;"

---- Peace to all fuch;-----but to the " felices ani-"mæ, quibus hæc cognoscere cura ;"-to those who have enjoyed the pleafures of fcience, who have been fuccessful-who have made discoveries-. who have really illuminated the world----to the Bacons, the Newtons, the Lockes .- Allow me to mention one, Daniel Bernoulli, the most elegant mathematician, the only philosopher, and the most worthy man. of that celebrated family. He faid to a gentleman, (Dr Staehling), who repeated it to me, that " when reading fome of * those wonderful guesses of Sir Isaac Newton, " the fublequent demonstration of which has " been the chief fource of fame to his most ce-" lebrated commentators-his mind has fome-" times been fo overpowered by thrilling emo-" tions, that he has wished that moment to be " his last; and that it was this which gave him " the clearest conception of the happiness of " heaven." If fuch delightful emotions could be excited by the perception of mere truth, what must they be when each of these truths is an infance of wildom, and when we recollect, that what

what we call wifdom in the works of nature, is always the nice adaptation of means for producing beneficent ends; and that each of these affecting qualities is fusceptible of degrees which are boundlefs, and exceed our higheft concep-What can this complex emotion or tions. feeling be but rapture? But Bernoulli is a Doctor of Theology-and therefore a fufpicious person, perhaps one of the combination hired by defpots to enflave us. I will take another man, a gentleman of rank and family, a soldier, who often signalifed himself as a naval commander-who at one time forced his way thro" a powerful fleet of the Venetians with a fmall fquadron, and brought relief to a diffreffed gar. I would defire the reader to peruse the rifon. conclusion of Sir Kenhelm Digby's Treatifes on Body and Mind; and after having reflected on the state of science at the time this author wrote, let him coolly weigh the incitements to manly conduct which this foldier finds in the differences observed between body and mind; and then let him fay, on his confcience, whether they are more feeble than those which he can draw from the eternal fleep of death. If he thinks that they are-he is in the proper frame for initiation into Spartacus's higher mysteries. He may be either MAGUS or REX.

Were this a proper place for confidering the question as a question of science or truth, I would fay, that every man who has been a fuccefsful student of nature, and who will rest his. conclusions on the fame maxims of probable reafoning that have procured him fuccefs in his past refearches, will confider it as next to certain that there is another flate of existence for rational man. For he must own, that if this be not the cafe, there is a most fingular exception to a proposition which the whole course of his experience has made him confider as a truth founded on universal induction, viz. that nature accomplishes all her plans, and that every class of beings attains all the improvement of which it is capable. Let him but turn his thoughts inward, he will feel that his intellect is capable of improvement, in comparison with which Newton is but a child. I could purfue this argument very far, and (I think) warm the heart of every man whom I should wish to call my friend.

What opinion will be formed of this Affociation by the modelt, the lowly-minded, the candid, who acknowledge that they too often feel the fuperior force of prefent and fenfible pleafures, by which their minds are drawn off from the contemplation of what their confciences tell them to be right,—to be their dutiful and filial fentiments

\$38

fentiments and emotions respecting their great and good Parent-to be their dutiful and neighbourly affections, and their proper conduct to all around them-and which diminish their veneration for that purity of thought and moderation of appetite which becomes their noble natures. What must they think of this Order? Confcious of frequent faults; which would offend themselves if committed by their dearest. children, they look up to their Maker with anxiety,-are forry for having fo far forgotten their duty, and fearful that they may again forget it. Their painful experience tells them that their reafon is often too weak, their information too fcanty, or its light is obstructed by passion and prejudices, which diffort and difcolour every thing ; or it is unheeded during their attention to prefent objects. Happy should they be, if it should please their kind Parent to remind them of their duty from time to time, or to influence their mind in any way that would compenfate for their own ignorance, their own weaknefs, or even their indolence and neglect. They dare not expect fuch a favour. which their modesty tells them they do not deferve, and which they fear may be unfit to be granted ; but when fuch a comfort is held out to them, with eager hearts they receive it-they blefs the kindnefs that granted it, and the hand that brings it.----Such amiable characters have appeared

appeared in all ages, and in all fituations of mankind. They have not in all inftances been wife-often have they been precipitate, and have too readily catched at any thing which pretended to give them the fo much wilhed-for affiftances : and, unfortunately, there have been enthuliafts, or villains, who have taken advantage of this univerfal wifh of anxious man; and the world has been darkened by cheats, who have mifreprefented God to mankind, have filled us with vain terrors, and have then quieted our fears by fines, and facrifices, and mortifications, and fervices, which they faid made more than amends for all our faults. Thus was our duty to cur neighbour, to our own dignity, and to our Maker and Parent, kept out of fight, and religion no longer came in aid to our fense of right and wrong; but, on the contrary, by these fuperstitions it opened the doors of heaven to the worthlefs and the wicked .- But I with not to fpeak of 'thefe men, but of the good, the candid, the MODEST, the HUMBLE, who know their failings, who love their duties, but wifh to know, to perceive, and to love them still more. These are they who think and believe that "the Gofpel " has brought life and immortality to light," that is, within their reach. They think it worthy of the Father of mankind, and they receive it with thankful hearts, admiring above all things the

the fimplicity of its morality, comprehended in one fentence, " Do to another what you can " reafonably with that another fhould do to. " you," and THAT PURITY OF THOUGHT AND MANNERS WHICH DISTINGUISH S IT FROM ALL THE SYSTEMS OF MORAL INSTRUCTION THAT HAVE EVER BEEN OFFERED TO MEN. Here they find a ground of refignation under the troubles of life, and a support in the hour of death, quite fuited to the diffidence of their character. Such men are ready to grant that the Stoics were perfons of noble and exalted minds, and that they had worthy conceptions of the rank of man in the scale of God's works; but they confess that they themfelves do not feel all that fupport from Stoical principles which man too frequently needs; and they fay that they are not fingular in their opinions, but that the bulk of mankind are prevented, by their want of heroic fortitude, by their fituation, or their want of the opportuties of cultivating their native strength of mind, from ever attaining this hearty fubmillion to the will of Deity .- They maintain, that the Stoics were but a few, a very few, from among many millions-and therefore their being fatisfied was but a trifle amidst the general discontent, and fretting, and defpair .- Such men will most certainly flart back from this Illumination with horror and fright-from a Society which gives the lie to their fondell hopes, makes a fport of their - grounds

grounds of hope, and of their deliverer; and which, after laughing at their credulity, bids them shake off all religion whatever, and denics the existence of that Supreme Mind, the pattern of all excellence, who till now had filled their thoughts with admiration and love-from an Order which pretends to free them from fpiritual bondage, and then lays on their necks a load ten times more oppressive and intolerable, from which they have no power of ever escaping. Men of fense and virtue will fpurn at fuch a propofal; and even the profligate, who trade with Deity, must be fensible that they will be better off with their priefts, whom they know, and among whom they may make a felection of fuch as will with patience and gentleness clear up their doubts, calm their fears, and encourage their hopes.

And all good men, all lovers of peace and of juffice, will abhor and reject the thought of overturning the prefent conflictution of things, faulty as it may be, merely in the endeavour to eftablifh another, which the vices of mankind may fubvert again in a twelvemonth. They must fee, that in order to gain their point, the propofers have found it neceflary to deftroy the grounds of morality, by permitting the most wicked means for accomplifhing any end that our fancy, warped by paffion or interest, may reprefent to us as of great importance. They fee, that inftead of morality, vice must prevail, and that therefore there is no Tecurity for the continuance of this Utopian felicity; and, in the mean time, defolation and mifery must lay the world waste during the struggle, and half of those for whom we are striving will be swept from the face of the earth. We have but to look to France, where in eight years there have been more executions and spoliations and distresses of every kind by the *pouvoir revolutionnaire*, than can be found in the long records of that despotic monarchy.

There is nothing in the whole conflictution of the Illuminati that firikes me with more horror than the proposals of Hercules and Minos to enlift the women in this shocking warfare with all that " is good, and pure, and lovely, and of good " report." They could not have fallen on any expedient that will be more effectual and fatal. If any of my countrywomen shall honour these pages with a reading, I would call on them, in the most earnest manner, to confider this as an affair of the utmost importance to themselves. I would conjure them by the regard they have for their own dignity, and for their rank in fociety, to join against these enemies of human nature and profligate degraders of the fex; and I would affure them that the prefent flate of things almost puts it in their power to be the faviours of the world. But Hh₂

But if they are remifs, and yield to the feduction, they will fall from that high flate to which they have arifen in Christian Europe, and again fink into that infignificancy or flavery in which the fex is found in all ages and countries out of the hearing of Christianity.

I hope that my countrywomen will confider this folemn address to them as a proof of the high effeem in which I hold them. They will not be offended then if, in this feason of alarm and anxiety, when I wish to impress their minds with a ferious truth, I shall wave ceremony which is 'always defigning, and speak of them in honest but decent plainness.

Man is immerfed in luxury. Our accommodations are now fo numerous that every thing is pleafure. Even in very fober fituations in this highly cultivated Society, there is hardly a thing that remains in the form of a necessary of life, or even of a mere conveniency-every thing is ornamented-it must not appear of use it must appear as giving fome fenfible pleafure. I do not fay this by way of blaming-it is nature-man is a refining creature, and our most boasted acquirements are but refinements on our necessary wants. Our hut becomes a' palace, our blanket a fine drefs, and our arts become sciences. This discontent with the natural condition of things, and this disposition to refinement, is a characteristic of

of our fpecies, and is the great employment of our lives. The direction which this propenfity chances to take in any age or nation, marks its character in the most confpicuous and interesting manner. All have it in fome degree, and it is very conceivable that, in fome, it may conflitute the chief object of attention. If this be the cafe in any nations, it is furely most likely to be fo in those where the accommodations of life are the therefore in a rich and luxurious moft/numerous nation. I may furely, without exaggeration or reproach, give that appellation to our own nation at this moment. If you do not go to the very loweft clafs of people, who must labour all day, is it not the chief object of all to procure perceptible pleasure in one way or another? The fober and bufy ftruggle in the thoughts and hopes of getting the means of enjoying the comforts of life without farther labour,-and many have no other object than pleafure.

Then let us reflect that it is woman that is to grace the whole—It is in nature, it is the very conftitution of man, that woman, and every thing connected with woman, must appear as the ornament of life. That this mixes with every other focial fentiment; appears from the conduct of our fpecies in all ages and in every fituation. This I prefume would be the cafe, even though there were no qualities or talents in the fex to justify fy it. This fentiment refpecting the fex is neceffary, in order to rear fo helplefs, fo nice, and fo improveable a creature as man; without it, the long abiding tafk could not be performed: —and I think that I may venture to fay that it is performed in the different ftates of fociety nearly in proportion as this preparatory and indifpenfable fentiment is in force.

On the other hand, I think it no lefs evident that it is the defire of the women to be agreeable to the men, and that they will model themfelves according to what they think will pleafe. Without this adjustment of fentiments by nature, nothing would go on. We never obferve any fuch want of fymmetry in the works of God. If, therefore, those who take the lead, and give the fashion in fociety, were wife and virtuous, I have no doubt but that the women would fet the brightest pattern of every thing that is excellent. But if the men are nice and fastidious fenfualists, the women will be refined and elegant voluptuaries.

There is no deficiency in the female mind, either in talents or in difpofitions; nor can we fay with certainty that there is any fubject of intellectual or moral difcuffion in which women have not excelled. If the delicacy of their conflitution, and other phyficial caufes, allow the female fex a fmaller fhare of fome mental powers, they poffefs others in a fuperior degree, which are no lefs refpectable fpectable in their own nature, and of as great importance to fociety. Inftead of defcanting at large on their powers of mind, and fupporting my affertions by the inftances of a Hypatia, a Schurman, a Zenobia, an Elifabeth, &c. I may repeat the account given of the fex by a perfon of uncommon experience, who faw them without difguife, or any motive that could lead them to play a feigned part.—Mr Ledyard, who traverfed the greateft part of the world, for the mere indulgence of his tafte for obfervation of human nature; generally in want, and often in extreme mifery.

" I have (fays he) always remarked that wo-" men, in all countries, are civil, obliging, tender, and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modelt; and that they do not hefitate, like man, to perform a kind or generous action.—Not haughty, not arrogant, not. fupercilious, they are full of courtefy, and fond of fociety—more liable in general to err than man, but in general, alfo, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. To a woman, whether civilized or favage, I never addreffed myfelf in the language of decency and friendfhip, without man it has often been otherwife.

" In wandering over the barren plains of in-" holpitable Denmark, through honest Sweden,

" and .

" and frozen Lapland, rude and churlifh Finland, unprincipled Ruffia, and the wide fpread regions of the wandering Tartar,—if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or fick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly fo; and to add to this virtue, (fo worthy of the appellation of benevolence), thefe actions have been performed in fo free and fo kind a manner, that if I was thirfty, I drank the fweeteft draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarfe meal with a double relifh."

And these are they whom.Weishaupt would corrupt! One of thefe, whom he had embraced with fondnefs, would he have murdered, to fave his honour, and qualify himfelf to preach virtue ! But let us not be too fevere on Weishaupt-let us wash ourselves clear of all stain before we think of reprobating him. Are we not guilty in fome degree, when we do not cultivate in the women those powers of mind, and those dispositions of heart, which would equally dignify them in every flation as in those humble ranks in which Mr Ledyard most frequently faw them? I cannot think that we do this. They are not only to grace the whole of cultivated fociety, but it is in their faithful and affectionate perfonal attachment that we are to find the fweetest pleasures that life can give. Yet in all the fituations where the manner in which they are treated is not dictated 🖑 bv

by the stern laws of necessity, are they not trained up for mere amufement-are not ferious occupations confidered as a task which hurts their lovelinefs? What is this but felfifhnefs, or as if they had no virtues worth cultivating? Their bufinefs is supposed to be the ornamenting themfelves, as if nature did not dictate this to them already, with at leaft as much force as is necesfary. Every thing is prefcribed to them becaufe it makes them more lovely-even their moral leffons are enforced by this argument, and Mils Woolftoncroft is perfectly right when the fays that the fine leftons given to young women by Fordyce or Rouffeau are nothing but felfish and refined voluptuousnefs. This advocate of her fex puts her fifters in the proper point of view, when the tells them that they are, like man, the fubjects of God's moral government,-like man, preparing themfelves for boundless improvement in a better state of existence. Had she adhered to this view of the matter, and kept it conftantly in fight, her book (which doubtlefs contains many excellent things, highly deferving of their ferious confideration) would have been a most valuable work. She juftly observes, that the virtues of the fex are great and respectable, but that in our mad chace of pleafure, only pleafure, they are little thought of or attended to. Man trufts to his own uncontroulable power, or to the general goodness of the fex,

fex, that their virtues will appear when we have occasion for them ;--- " but we will fend for " thefe fome other time ;" -- Many noble difplays do they make of the most difficult attainments. Such is the patient bearing up under misfortunes, which has no brilliancy to support it in the effort. This is more difficult than braving danger in an active and confpicuous fituation. How often is a woman left with a family, and the fhattered remains of a fortune, loft perhaps by diffipation or by indolence-and how, feldom, how very feldom, do we fee woman flirink from the tafk, or discharge it with negligence? Is it not therefore folly next to madnefs, not to be careful of this our greatest bleffing-of things which fo nearly concernour peace -nor guard ourfelves, and thefe our beft companions and friends, from the effects of this fatal Illumination ? It has indeed brought to light what dreadful lengths men will go, when under the fanatical and dazzling glare of happines in a ftate of liberty and cquality, and fpurred on by infatiable luxury, and not held in check by moral fcelings and the reftraints of religion-and mark, reader, that the women have here also taken the complexion of the men, and have even gone beyond them. If we have feen a fon profent himfelf to the National Affembly of France, profeiling his fatisfaction with the execution of his father three days before, and declaring himfelf a true citizen,

250

citizen, who prefers the nation to all other confiderations; we have also feen, on the fame day, wives denouncing their hufbands, and (O fhocking to human nature!) mothers denouncing their fons, as bad citizens and traitors. Mark too what return the women have met with for all their horrid fervices, where, to express their fentiments of civifm and abhorrence of royalty, they threw away the character of their fex, and bit the amputated limbs of their murdered countrymen *. Surely these patriotic women merited that the rights of their fex fhould be confidered in full council, and they were well entitled to a feat; but there is not a fingle act of their government in which the fex is confidered as having any rights whatever, or that they are things to be cared for.

Are not the accurfed fruits of Illumination to be feen in the prefent humiliating condition of woman in France? pampered in every thing that can reduce them to the mere inftrument of animal pleafure. In their prefent flate of national moderation (as they call it) and fecurity, fee Madame I i 2 Talien

* I thy this on the authority of a young gentleman, an emigrant, who faw it, and who faid, that they were women, not of the dregs of the Palais Royal, nor of infamous character, but well dreffed.—I am forry to add, that the relation, nccompanied with looks of horror and difguft, only provoked a contemptuous fmile from an illuminated British Fair one.

Talien come into the public theatre, accompanied by other beautiful women, (I was about to have misnamed them Ladies), laying aside all modesty, and prefenting themfelves to the public view, with bared limbs, à la Sauvage, as the alluring objects I make no doubt but that this is a feof defire. rious matter, encouraged, nay, prompted by government. To keep the minds of the Parifians in the prefent fever of diffolute gaiety, they are at more expence from the national treasury for the fupport of the fixty theatres, than all the penfions and honorary offices in Britain, three times told, amount to. Was not their abominable farce in the church of Notre Dame a bait of the fame kind. in the true fpirit of Weishaupt's Eroterion? I was pleafed to fee among the priefts of that folemnity Mr Brigonzi, an old acquaintance, formerly -Machinifle (and excellent in his profession) to the opera at the palace in St Peterlburg. He was a most zealous Mason, and Chevalier de l'Orient : and I know that he went to Paris in the fame capacity of Machiniste de l'Opera; so that I am next to certain that this is the very man. But what will be the end of all this? The fondlings of the wealthy will be pampered in all the indulgences which fastidious voluptuoufness finds necessary for varying or enhancing its pleafures; but they will either be flighted as toys, or they will be immured;

red; and the companions of the poor will be drudges and flaves.

I am fully perfuaded that it was the enthuliaftic admiration of Grecian democracy that recommended to the French nation the drefs à la Grecque, which exhibits, not the elegant, ornamented beauty, but the beautiful female, fully as well as Madame Talien's drefs à la Sauvage. It was no doubt with the fame adherence to ferious principle, that Mademoifelle' Therouanne was molt beautifully dreffed à l'Amazonne on the 5th of October 1789, when the turned the heads of fo many young officers of the regiments at Verfailles. The Cythe-'rea, the bominum divumque voluptas, at the cathedral of Notre Dame, was also dreffed à la Grecque ; and in this, and in much of the folemnities of that day, I recognized the tafte and invention of my old acquaintance Brigonzi. I recollected . the dreffes of our premiere & feconde .Surveillantes in the Loge de la Fidelité. There is a most evident and characteriftic change in the whole fyftem of female drefs in France. The Filles de l'Opera always gave the ton, and were furely withheld by no rigid principle. They fometimes produced very extravagant and fantallic forms, but thefe were almost always in the style of the highest ornament, and they trufted, for the reft of the impreflion which they wished to make, to the fascinating

nating expression of elegant movements. This indeed was wonderful, and hardly conceivable by any who have not feen a grand ballet performed by good actors. I have fled tears of the most fincere and tender forrow during the exhibition of Antigone, fet to mufic by Traiottai, and performed by Madame Meilcour and Sre Torelli, and Zantini. I can eafily conceive the imprefiion to be still stronger, though perhaps of another kind, when the former fuperb dreffes are changed for the expressive simplicity of the Grecian. I cannot help thinking that the female ornaments in the reft of Europe, and even among ourfelves, have lefs elegance fince we loft the imprimatur of the French court. But fee how all this will terminate, when we shall have brought the fex fo low, and will not even wait for a Mahometan paradife. What can we expect but fuch a diffolutenefs of manners, that the endearing ties of relation and family, and mutual confidence within doors, will be flighted, and will ceafe ; and every man must stand up for himself, single and alone, in perfect equality, and full liberty to do whatever his own arm (but that alone) is able to accomplifh. This is not the fuggeftion of prudifh fcar, I think it is the natural course of things, and that France is at this moment giving to the world the fullest proof of Weishaupt's fagacity, and the judgment with which he hus formed his plans. Can

Can it tend to the improvement of our morals or manners to have our ladies frequent the gymnaftic theatres, and fee them decide, like the Roman matrons, on the merits of a naked gladiator or wreftler? Have we not enough of this already with our vaulters and polture-malters, and should we admire any lady who had a rage for fuch fpectacles? Will it improve our tafte to have our rooms or-, namented with fuch paintings and fculptures as filled the cenaculum, and the fludy of the refined and elegant moralist Horace, who had the artridendo dicere verum? Shall we be improved when fuch indulgences are thought compatible with fuch leffons as he generally gives for the conduct of life? The pure Morality of Illuminatism is now employed in ftripping Italy of all those precious remains of ancient art and voluptuoufnefs; and Paris will ere long be the deposit and the refort of artifts from all nations, there to fludy the works of ancient masters, and to return from thence pandars of public corruption. The plan is mafterly, and the low-born Statesmen and Generals of France may in this respect be set on a level with a Colbert or a Condé. But the confequences of this Gallic dominion over the minds of fallen man will be as dreadful as their dominion over their lives and fortunes.

Recollect in what manner Spartacus propoled to corrupt his fifters (for we need not fpeak of the

the manner in which he expected that this would promote his plan-this is abundantly plain). It was by deftroying their moral fentiments, and their fentiments of religion. Recollect what is the recommendation that the Atheist Minos gives of his step-daughters, when he speaks of them as proper perfons for the Lodge of Sifters. " They " have got over all prejudices, and, in matters of " religion, they think as I do." These profigates judged rightly that this affair required much caution, and that the utmost attention to decency, and even delicacy, must be observed in their rituals and ceremonies, otherwife they would be This was judging fairly of the feelings di/gu/ted. of a female mind. But they judged fallely, and only according to their own coarfe experience, when they attributed their difgust and their fears to coynefs. Coynefs is indeed the inftinctive attribute of the female. In woman it is very great, and it is perhaps the genuine fource of the di/gu/2 of which the Illuminati were fufpicious. But they have been dim-fighted indeed, or very unfortunate in their acquaintance, if they never obferved any other fource of repugnance in the mind of woman to what is immoral or immodelt-if they did not fee diflike-moral difapprobation. . Do they mean to infinuate, that in that regard which modest women express in all their words and actions, for what every one understands by the

255

the terms decency, modesty, filthiness, obscenity, they only flow female coynefs? Then are they very blind inftructors. But they are not fo blind. The account given of the initiation of a young Sifter at Frankfort, under the feigned name P/ycharion, fhows the most fcrupulous attention to the moral feelings of the fex; and the confusion and diffurbance which it occafioned among the ladies, after all their care, fhows, that when they thought all right and delicate, they had been but coarfe judges. Minos damns the ladies there, becaufe they are too free, too rich, too republican, and too wife, for being led about by the nofe (this is his own expression). But Philo certainly thought more correctly of the fex in general, when he fays, Truth is a modeft girl: She may be handed about like a lady, by good fenfe and good manners, but mult not be bullied and driven about like a strumpet. I would give the discourses or addretfes which were made on that occasion to the different clatfes of the atlembly, girls, young la-· dies, wives, young men, and itran ers, which are really well composed and pretty, were they not fuch as would offend my fair countrywomen.

The religious fentiments by which mortals are to be affilted, even in the ditcharge of their moral dutics, and ftill more, the fentiments which are purely religious, and have no reference to any thing here, are precifely those which are most easily K k excited

excited in the mind of woman. Affection, admiration, filial reverence, are, if I mistake not exceedingly, those in which the women far furpals the men; and it is on this account that we genenerally find them fo much disposed to devotion, which is nothing but a fort of fond indulgence of these affections without limit to the imagination. The enraptured devotee pours out her foul in expreffions of these feelings, just as a fond mother mixes the careffes given to her child with the most extravagant expressions of love. The devotee even endeavours to excite higher degrees of thefe affections, by expatiating on fuch circumstances in the divine conduct with respect to man as naturally awaken them; and he does this without any fear of exceeding; becaufe Infinite Wildom and Goodnefs will always justify the fentiment, 'and free the expression of it from all charge of hyperbole or extravagance.

I am convinced, therefore, that the female mind is well adapted to cultivation by means of religion, and that their native foftnels and kindnels of heart will always be fufficient for procuring it a favourable reception from them. It is therefore with double regret that I fee any of them join in the arrogant pretensions of our Illuminated philosophers, who see no need of fuch affistances for the knowledge and discharge of their duties. There is nothing so unlike that general modesty of of thought, and that diffidence, which we are difposed to think the character of the female mind. I am inclined to think, that fuch deviations from the general conduct of the fex are marks of a harsher character, of a heart that has less fensibility, and is on the whole lefs amiable than that of others; yet it must be owned that there are fome fuch among us. Much, if not the whole of this perversion, has, I am persuaded, been owing to the contagion of bad example in the men. They are made familiar with fuch expressionstheir first horror is gone, and (would to heaven that I were miltaken!) fome of them have already wounded their confciences to fuch a degree, that they have fome reafon to wifh that religion may be without foundation.

But I would call upon all, and *thefe* women in particular, to confider this matter in another light—as it may affect themfelves in this life; as it may affect their rank and treatment in ordinary fociety. I would fay to them, that if the world fhall once adopt the belief that this life is our all, then, the true maxim of rational conduct will be, to " eat and to drink, fince to-morrow we are to " die;" and that when they have nothing to truft to but the fondnefs of the men, they will foon find themfelves reduced to flavery. The crown which they now wear will fall from their heads, and they will no longer be the arbiters of what is K k 2 lovely

CHAP. 11.

lovely in human life. The empire of beauty is but fhort; and even in republican France, it will not be many years that Madame Talien can fascinate the Parifian Theatre by the exhibition of her charms. Man is fastidious' and changeable, and he is ftronger than they, and can always take his own will with respect to woman. At present he is with held by respect for her moral worthand many are with-held by religion-and many more are with-held by public laws, which laws were framed at a time when religious truths influenced the minds and the conduct of men. When the fentiments of men change, they will not be fo foolifh as to keep in force laws which cramp their strongest defires. Then will the rich have their' Harems, and the poor their drudges.

Nay, it is not merely the circumstance of woman's being confidered as the moral companion of man that gives the fex its empire among us. There is fomething of this to be observed in all nations. Of all the distinctions which fet our species above the other fentient inhabitants of this globe, making us as unlike to the best of them as they are to a piece of inanimate matter, there is none more remarkable than the differences observable in the appearances of those defires by which the race is continued. As I observed already, fuch a diffinction is indifferentiably necessary. There must

260

must be a moral connection, in order that the human fpecies may be a race of rational creatures', improveable, not only by the encreafing experience of the individual, but also by the heritable experience of the fucceflive generations. It may. be observed between the folitary pairs in Labrador, where human nature starves, like the stunted oak in the crevice of a barren rock; and it is feen in the cultivated focieties of Europe, whereour nature in a feries of ages becomes a majeftic tree. But, alas ! with what differences of boughs and foliage! Whatever may be the native powers of mind in the poor but gentle Efquimaux, fhe can do nothing for the fpecies but nurse a young one, who cannot run his race of life without inceffant and hard labour to keep foul and body together-here therefore her ftation in fociety can hardly have a name, becaufe there can hardly be faid that there is an affociation, except what is neceffary for repelling the hoftile attacks of Indians, who feem to hunt them without provocation as the dog does the hare. In other parts of the world, we fee that the confideration in which the fex is held, nearly follows the proportions of that aggregate of many different particulars, which we confider as conflictuting the cultivation of a fociety. We may perhaps err, and we probably do err, in our estimation of these degrees, because we are not perfectly ac. quainted

quainted with what is the real excellence of man, But as far as we can judge of it, I believe that my affertion is acknowledged. On this authority, I might prefume to fay, that it is in Christian Europe that man bas attained his higheft degree of cultivation-for it is undoubtedly here that the women have attained the higheft rank. I may even add, that it is in that part of Europe where the effential and diffinguishing doctrines of Chriftian morality are most generally acknowledged and attended to by the laws of the country, that woman acts the highest part in general fociety. But here we must be very careful how we form our notion, either of the fociety, or of the female rank—it is furely not from the two or three dozens who fill the highest ranks in the state. Their number is too fmall, and their fituation is too particular, to afford the proper average. Befides, the fituation of the individuals of this clafs in all countries is very much the fame-and in all it is very artificial-accordingly their character is fantaffical. Nor are we to take it from that clafs that is the most numerous of all, the lowest class of fociety, for thefe are the labouring poor, whofe conduct and occupations are fo much dictated to them by the hard circumstances of their fituation, that fcarcely any thing is left to their choice. The fituation of women of this clafs must be nearly the fame in all nations. But this clafs is still fuf-. ceptible

262

ceptible of fome variety-and we fee it-and I think that even here there is a perceptible fuperiority of the female rank in those countries where the purest Christianity prevails. We must however take our measures or proportions from a numerous class, but also a class in somewhat of eafy circumstances, where moral fentiments call fome attention, and perfons have fome choice in their conduct. And here, although I cannot pretend to have had many opportunities of oblervation, yet I have had fome. I can venture to fay that it is not in Russia, nor in Spain, that woman is, on the whole, the most important as a member of the community. I would fay, that in Britain her important rights are more generally respected than any where elfe. No where is a man's character fo much hurt by infidelity-no where is it fo difficult to rub off the fligma of baftardy, or to procure a decent reception or fociety " for an improper connection; and I believe it will readily be granted, that their fhare in fucceffions, their authority in all matters of domestic trust, and even their opinions in what concerns life and manners; are fully more respectable here than in any country.

I have long been of the opinion, (and every obfervation that I have been able to make fince I first formed it confirms me in it), that woman is indebted to Christianty alone for the high rank fhe

fhe holds in fociety. Look into the writings of antiquity-into the works of the Greek and Latin poets-into the numberless panegyrics of the fex, to be found both in profe and verse-I can find little, very little indeed, where woman is treated with refpect-there is no want of love, that is, of fondness, of beauty, of charms, of graces. But of woman as the equal of man, as a moral companion, travelling with him the road to felicity-as his advifer-his folace in misfortuneas a pattern from which he may fometimes copy • with advantage; ---- of all this there is hardly a trace. Woman is always mentioned as an object of paffion. Chaftity, modefty, fober-mindednefs, are all confidered in relation to this fingle point; or fometimes as of importance in respect of œconomy or domestic quiet. Recollect the famous fpeech of Metellus Numidicus to the Roman peo-* ple, when, as Cenfor, he was recommending marriage.

" Si fine uxore poffemus Quirites effe, omnes " eâ moleftiâ careremus. Sed quoniam ita natu-" ra tradidit, ut nec cum illis commodè, nec fine " illis ullo modo vivi poffet, faluti perpetuæ po-" tius quam brevi voluptati confulendum."

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

What does Ovid, the great panegyrist of the fex, fay for his beloved drughter, whom he had praifed

264

praised for her attractions in various places of his Triftia and other compositions ? He is writing her Epitaph-and the only thing he can fay of . her as a rational creature is, that the is-Domifida-not a Gadabout.-Search Apuleius, where you will find many female characters in abstracto -You will find that his little Photis was neareft to his heart, after all his philosophy. Nay, in his pretty ftory of Cupid and Pfyche, which the very wife will tell you is a fine leffon of moral philosophy, and a representation of the operations , of the intellectual and moral faculties of the human foul, a ftory which gave him the finest opportunity, nay, almost made it necessary for him, to infert whatever can ornament the female character; what is his Pfyche but a beautiful, fond, and filly girl; and what are the whole fruits of any acquaintance with the fex ?--Pleafure. But why . take more pains in the fearch ?--- Look at their immortal goddeffes-is there one among them whom a wife man would felect for a wife or a friend ?--- I grant that a Lucretia is praifed---a Portia, an Arria, a Zenobia-but these are individual characters-not reprefentatives of the fex. The only Grecian ladies who made a figure by intellectual talents, were your Afpafias, Sapphos, Phrynes, and other nymphs of this caft, who had emerged from the general infignificance of the **I**. 1

the fex, by throwing away what we are accuftomed to call its greateft ornament.

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

266

CHAP. II. THE ILLUMINATI.

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

Her lovelinefs, fo abfolute fhe feems, And in herfelf complete, fo well to know Her own, that what fhe wills to do or fay Seems wifeft, virtuoufeft, difcreeteft, beft.

Neither her outfide, form'd fo fair, So much delights me, as those graceful acts, Those thousand decencies that daily flow From all her words and actions, mix'd with love And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd Union of mind, or in us both one foul.

And, to confummate all, Greatnefs of mind, and noblenefs, their feat Build in her lovelieft, and create an awe About her, as a guard angelic plac'd."

MILTON.

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

This is the natural confequence of that purity of heart, which is fo much infifled on in the Christian morality. In the instructions of the heathen philosophers, it is either not mentioned at L l 2 all, all, or at most, it is recommended coldly, as a thing proper, and worthy of a mind attentive to great things.—But, in Christianity, it is infisted on as an indispensable duty, and enforced by many arguments peculiar to itself.

It is worthy of obfervation, that the most prominent fuperflitions which have difhonoured the Christian churches, have been the excessive refinements which the enthuliaflic admiration of heroic purity has allowed the holy trade to introduce into the manufacture of our fpiritual fetters. Without this enthufiafm, cold expediency would not have been able to make the Monastic vow fo general, nor have given us fuch numbers of convents. Thefe were generally founded by such enthusiasts-the rulers indeed of the church encouraged this to the utmost, as the best levy for the spiritual power-but they could not enjoin fuch foundations. From the fame fource we may derive the chief influence of auricular confession. When these were firmly established, and were venerated, almost all the other corruptions of Chriftianity followed of courfe. I may almost add, that though it is here that Christianity has fufficient the molt violent attacks, it is here that the place is moft tenable.-Nothing tends for much to knit all the ties of fociety as the endearing connections of family, and whatever tends to leffen our veneration for the marriage-contract, weakens

weakens them in the most effectual manner. Purity of manners is its most effectual support, and pure thoughts are the only fources from which pure manners can flow. I readily grant that this veneration for perfonal purity was carried to an extravagant height, and that feveral very ridiculous fancies and customs arole from this. Romantic love, and chivalry, are ftrong inflances of the ftrange vagaries of our imagination, when carried along by this enthufiaftic admiration of female purity; and fo unnatural and forced, that they could only be temporary fashions. But I believe that, with all their ridicule, it would be a happy nation where this was the general creed and practice. Nor can I help thinking a nation on its decline, when the domestic connections ceafe to be venerated, and the illegitimate offspring of a nabob or a nobleman are received with cafe into good company.

Nothing is more clear than that the defign of the Illuminati was to abolifh Chriftianity—and we now fee how effectual this would be for the corruption of the fair fex, a purpofe which they cagerly wilhed to gain, that they might corrupt the men. But if the women would retain the rank they now hold, they will be careful to preferve in full force on their minds this religion, to congenial to their difpofitions, which nature has made affectionate and kind. And with refpect to the men, is it not egregious folly to encourage any thing that can tend to blaft our fweeteft enjoyments? Shall we not do this most effectually if we attempt to corrupt what nature will always make us confider as the bigheft elegance of life? The divinity of the Stoics was, " Mens fana in corpore fano,"—but it is equally true,

" Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus."

If therefore, inftead of profeffedly tainting what is of itfelf beautiful, we could really work it up '0

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

And make woman a pattern of perfection, we fhould undoubtedly add more to the heartfelt happinels of life than by all the difcoveries of the Illuminati. See what was the effect of Theagenes and Chariclea.

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

" From thy flate Mine never fhall be parted, blifs or woe."

Shu ld

270

Should we fuffer the contagion to touch our fair partner, all is gone, and too late shall we fay,

- " O faireft of creation ! laft and beft
- " Of all God's works, creature in whom excell'd
- " Whatever can to fight or thought be form'd,
- " Holy, divine. good, amiable or fweet !
- ". How art thou loft, and now to death devote?---
- " And me with thee haft ruin'd : for with thee
- " Certain my refolution is to die."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The German Union.

 $\mathbf W$ HEN fuch a fermentation has been excited in the public mind, it cannot be fuppofed that the formal suppression of the Order of the Illuminati in Bavaria, and in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, by the reigning Princes, would bring all to reft again. By no means. The minds of men were predifpofed for a change by the reftlefs fpirit of fpeculation in every kind of enquiry, and the leaven had been carefully and skilfully disfeminated in every quarter of the empire, and even in foreign countries. Weishaupt faid, on good grounds, that " if the Order should be difco-", vered and suppressed, he would restore it with c tenfold energy in a twelvemonth." Even in thoic

those states where it was formally abolished, nothing could hinder the enlifting new members, and carrying on all the purposes of the Order. The Areopagita might indeed be changed, and the feat of the direction transferred to fome other place; but the Minerval and his Mentor could meet as formerly, and a ride of a few miles into another State, would bring him to a Lodge, where the young would be amufed, and the more advanced would be engaged in ferious mifchief. Weishaupt never liked childrens play. He indulged Philo in it, because he faw him taken with fuch rattles; but his own projects were dark and folemn, and it was a relief to him now to be freed from that mummery. He foon found the bent of the perfon's mind on whom he had fet his talons, and he fays, that " no man ever "efcaped him whom he thought it worth while . " to fecure." He had already filled the lifts with enough of the young and gay, and when the prefent condition of the Order required fly and experienced heads, he no longer courted them by play-things. He communicated the ranks and the inftructions by a letter, without any ceremony. The correspondence with Philo at the time of the breach with him flows the fuperiority of Spartacus. Philo is in a rage, provoked to find a pitiful professor discontented with the immense fervices which he had received from a gentle-Mm man

?73

man of his rank, and treating him with authority, and with difingenuity .- He tells Spartacus what still greater fervices he can do the Order, and that he can also ruin it with a breath.-But in the midft of this rage, he proposes a thousand modes of reconcilement. The fmallest conceffion would make him hug Spartacus in his arms. But Spartacus is deaf to all his threats, and firm as a rock. Though he is confcious of his own vile conduct, he abates not in the fmallest point his abfolute authority-requires the most implicit submission, which he fays " 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 worft, but allows him to go out of the Order without one angry word. This fhows his confidence in the energy of that fpirit of reftlefs difcontent, and that hankering after reform which he had fo fuccefsfully fpread abroad.

This had indeed arifen to an unparalleled height, unexpected even by the feditious themfelves. This appeared in a remarkable manner, by the reception given to the infamous letters on the conflitution of the Pruffian States.

The general opinion was, that Mirabeau was the author of the letters themfelves, and it was perfectly underflood by every perfon, that the translation into French was a joint contrivance

of Mirabeau and Nicholai. I was affured of this by the British Minister at that Court. There are fome blunders in respect of names, which an inhabitant of the country could hardly be guilty of, but are very confistent with the felf-conceit and precipitancy of this Frenchman.-There are feveral inftances of the fame kind in two pieces, which are known for certain to be his, viz. the Chronique scandaleuse and the Histoire secrette de la Cour de Berlin. These letters were in every hand, and were mentioned in every converfation, even in the Prussian dominions-and in other places of the Empire they were quoted, and praifed, and commented on, although fome of their contents were nothing fhort of rebellion.

Mirabeau had a large portion of that felf-conceit which distinguishes his countrymen. He thought himfelf 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 fome post of honour. But he was difappointed, 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 fuch as excluded him from the fociety of the people of the first classes, whom it behoved to pay fome attention to perfonal dignity. His opinions were in Mma the

276 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. HI.

the highest degree corrupted, and he openly professed Atheism. This made him peculiarly obnoxious to the King, who was determined to correct the diffurbances and difquiets which had arisen in the Prussian states from the indifference of his predecessor in these matters. Mirabeau therefore attached himself to a junto of writers and fcribblers, who had united in order to diffeminate licentious principles, both in respect of re, ligion and of government. His wit and fancy were great, and he had not perhaps his equal for eloquent and biting fatire. He was therefore carefled by these writers as a most valuable acquifition to their Society. He took all this deference as his just due; and was fo confident in his powers, and fo foolifh, as to advife, and even to admonifh, the King. Highly obnoxious by fuch 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 fome time, and at last communicated this honour to him through the intermedium of Mauvillon, another Frenchman, Lieutenant-Colonel in the fervice of the Duke of Brunswick. This perfon 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

was not known till the invation of Holland by the French rebels. 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 ftage', notwithftanding his refentment against Spartacus, and his folemn declaration of having abjured all fuch focieties-Thefe, and a thoufand fuch facts, flow that the feeds of licentious Cofmopolitism had taken deep root, and that cutting down the crop had by no means deftroyed 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 schifms of Free Masonry in procuring a liftening ear to Spartacus and his affo-It will not be doubted but that the ciates. machination's of the Illuminati encreafed 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 ftates, made it impossible to combine dignity with the habits of a fcanty income.-It was still easier to expose to ridicule and reproach those numberfers abuses which the folly and the vices of men had

278 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

had introduced into religion. The influence on the public mind which naturally attaches to the venerable office of a moral inftructor, 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 abufe), and degenerated into a wanton licentiousness of thought, and a rage for fpeculation and fcepticifm on every fubject whatever. The ftruggle, which was originally between the Catholics and the Protestants, has changed, during the gradual progress of luxury and immorality, into a contest between reason and fuperstition. And in this contest the denomination of fuperstition has been gradually extended to every doctrine which professed to be of divine revelation, and reafon was declared to be, for certain, the only way in which the Deity can inform the human mind.

Some refpectable Catholics had published works filled with liberal fentiments. These were reprefented as villanous machinations to inveigle Protestants. On the other hand, fome 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 Jefuitical, and big with danger. While the fceptical junto, headed by the editors of the Deutsche Bibliothek and the Berlin Monatschrift. were recommending every performance that was hoftile ' to the established faith of the country, Leuchtfenring was equally bufy, finding Jefuits in every corner, and went about with all the inquietude of a madman, picking up anecdotes. Zimmerman, the respectable physician of Frederick King of Pruffia. gives a diverting account of a vifit which he had by Leuchtfenring at Hanover, all trembling with fears of Jefuits, and withing to perfuade him that his life was in danger from them. Nicholai was now on the hunt, and during this crufade Philo laid hands on him, being introduced to his acquaintance by Leuchtfenring, who was, by this time, cured of his zeal for Protestantism, and had become a difciple of Illuminatifm. Philo had gained his good opinion by the violent attack which he had published on the Jesuits and Rosicrucians by the orders of Spartacus.-He had not far to go in gaining over Nicholai, who was at this time making a tour through the Lodges. The fparks of Illumination which he perceived in many of them pleafed him exceedingly, and he very cheerfully received the precious fecret from Philo.

This acquisition to the Order was made in January

January 1782. Spartacus was delighted with it, confidered Nicholai as a most excellent champion, and gave him the name of *Lucian*, the great fcoffer at all religion, as aptly expressing his character.

Nicholai, on his return to Berlin, published many volumes of his difcoveries. One would imagine that not a Jesuit had escaped him. He mentions many strange schifmatics, both in religion and in Mafonry-but he never once mentions an Illuminatus.-When they were first checked, and before the difcovery of the fecret correspondence, he defended them, and ftrongly reprobated the proceedings of the Elector of Bavaria, calling it vile perfecution-Nay, after the discovery of the letters found in Zwack's house, he perfifted in his defence, vindicated the poffeffion 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 himfelf had long been an Illuminatus, he was fadly put to it to reconcile his defence with any pretentions to religion. *---Weifhaupt

* He impudently pretended that the papers containing the fystem and doctrines of Illuminatism, came to him at Berlin, from an unknown hand. But no one believed him —it was inconfistent with what is faid of him in the fecret correspondence. He had faid the fame thing concerning the fhaupt faved him from difgrace, as he thought, by his publication of the fystem of Illuminatism—Nicholai then boldly faid 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 himfelf 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 conjuration des philosophes, or gang of scribblers who were leagued against the peace of the world. The reader will therefore find it to our purpofe. On the authority of a lady in Courland, a Countefs von der Recke, Nicholai had accufed Dr Stark of Darmstadt (who made such a figure in Free Mafonry) of lefuitifm, and of having even fubmitted to the tonfure.' Stark was a most restless spirit -had gone through every mystery in Germany, Illuminatifm excepted, and had ferreted out many of Nicholai's hidden transactions. He was alfo an unwearied book-maker, and dealt out thefe difcoveries by degrees, keeping the eye of the public. continually upon Nicholai. He had fufpect-Νn ed

the French translation of the Letters on the Conflictution of the Pruflian States. Fifty copies were found in his warehoule. He faid that they had been fent from Strafburg, and that he had never fold one of them.—Supposing both thefe affertions to be true, it appears that Nicholai was confidered as a very proper hand for difperfing fuch poifon.

28 I

ed his Illumination for fome time paft, and whenever the fecret came out, by Spartacus's letter, where he boafts of his acquifition, calling Nicholai a most flurdy combatant, and faying that he was *contentiffimus*, 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

This

* Of this we have complete proof in the private correfpondence. Philo, fpeaking in one of his letters of the gradual change which was to be produced in the minds of their pupils from Christianity to Deism, fays, " Nicholai informs " me, that even the pious Zollikofer has now been convin-" ced that it would be proper to fet up a deiftical church in " Berlin." It is in vain that Nicholai fays that his know-. ledge of the Order was only of what Weishaupt had published; for Philo fays, that that corrected fyitem had not been introduced into it when he quitted it in 1784. , But Nicholai deferves no credit-he is one of the most feandalous examples of the operation of the principles of Weishaupt. He procured admiffion into the Lodges of Free Mafons and Rofyerucians, merely to act the dilhonourable part of a fpy, and he betray'd their fecrets as far as he could. In the appendix to the 7th volume of his journey, he declaims against the Templar Masons, Rofycrucians, and Jesuits, for their blind fubmillion to unknown fuperiors, their fuperstitions, their priesthoods, and their base principles, and yet had been five Ye218

CHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. 28

This complete blafting of his moral character could not be patiently borne, and Nicholai was in his turn the bitter enemy of Stark, and, in the paroxyfms of his anger, publifhed every idle tale, although he was often obliged to contradict them in the next Review. In the courfe of this attack and defence, Dr Stark difcovered the revival of the Illuminati, or at leaft a fociety which carried on the fame great work in a fomewhat different way.

Dr Stark had written a defence against one of Nicholai's acculations, and wished to have it printed at Leipzig. He therefore fent the manufcript to a friend, who resided there. This friend immediately proposed it to a most improper perfon, Mr Pott, who had written an anonymous commentary on the King of Prussi's edict for the uniformity of religious worship in his dominions. This is one of the most states 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, N n 2 and

years in a fociety in which all these were carried to the greatest height. He remains true to the Illuminati alone, because they had the same object in view with himself and his athessitical affociates. His defence of Protestantism is all a 'cheat; and perhaps he may be confidered as an enemy equally formidable with Weithaupt himself. This is the reason why he occupies so many of these pages.

283

284 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. HI.

and fpoke to Pott, as the partner of the great publisher Walther. They, without hesitation, undertook the publishing; but when fix weeks had passed over. Stark's friend found that it was not begun. Some exceptionable passages, which treated with difrespect the religion of Reason, were given as the caule 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 falfe. Then a paffage in the prelace 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 Walther now faid that he MS. was withdrawn. would print it immediately, and again got it into his hands, promifing to fend the fheets as they came from the prefs. These not appearing for a long time, the agent made enquiry, and found that it was fent 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 refided 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 fecurity that it fhould appear before Bahrdt's key. Yet when it was produced at the next fair, the bookfellers had been already fupplied with the fpurious edition; and as this was accompanied by the key it was much more faleable ware, and completely fupplanted the other.

This is furely a ftrong inftance of the machinations by which the Illuminati have attempted to deftroy the Liberty of the Prefs, and the power they have to difcourage or fupprefs any thing that is not agreeable to the tafte of the literary junto. It was in the course of this transaction that Dr Stark's agent found people talking in the coffeehouses of Leipzig and Halle of the advantages of public libraries, and of libraries by fubfcription, in every town, where perfons could, at a finall expence, fee what was paffing in the learned world. As he could not but acquiefce in these points, they who held this language began to talk of a general Affociation, which should act in concert over all Germany, and make a full communication of its numerous literary productions, by forming focieties for reading and instruction, which should be regularly supplied with every Flying fheets and pamphlets were publication. afterwards put into his hands, flating the great use of such an Association, and the effect which it would

286 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. III.

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 SUPER-STITION 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 fong of the Illuminati.

This difcovery was immediately announced to the public, in an anonymous publication in defence of Dr Stark. It is fuppofed to be his own performance. It difclofes a fcene of complicated villany and folly, in which the Lady in Courland makes a very ftrange figure. She appears to be a wild fanatic, deeply engaged in magic and ghoftraifing, and leagued with Nicholai, Gedicke, and Biefter, againft Dr Stark. He is very completely cleared of the facts alleged againft him; and his three male opponents appear void of all principle and enemies of all religion. Stark however would, in Britain, be a very fingular character, confidered as a clergyman. The frivolous fecrets of

of Maforry have either engrofied his whole mind, or he has laboured in them as a lucrative trade, by which he took advantage of the folly of others. The conteft between Stark and the Triumvirate at Berlin engaged the public attention much more than we fhould imagine that a thing of fo private a nature would do. But the characters were very notorious; and it turned the attention of the public to those clandelline attacks which were made in every quarter on the civil and religious establishments. It was obvious to every perfon, that these reading focieties had all on a fudden become very numerous; and the characters of those who patronifed them only increased the fuspicions which were now raifed.

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 fubjects." The next is a curious work, a fort of narrative Dialogue on the Characters of Nicholai, Gedicke, and Biester. It is chiefly occupied with the contest with Dr Stark, but in the 5th part, it treats particularly of the German Union.

About the fame time appeared fome farther account, in a book called Archives of Fanaticifm and Illuminatifm. But all these accounts are very flight and unfatisfactory. The fullest account is to be had in a work published at Leipfig by Goschen the

283 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. HI.

the bookfeller. It is entitled "More Notes than "Text, or the German Union of XXII, a new Se-"ret Society for the Good of Mankind," Leipzig, 178. The publisher fays, that it was fent 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 feveral reports), might do to the world, and to the trade, if allowed to go on working in fecret. From this work, therefore, we may form a notion of this redoubtable Society, and judge how far it is practicable to prevent fuch fecret machinations against the peace and happines of mankind.

There is another work, " Further Information " concerning the German Union, (Nahere Beleuchtung der Deutsche Union), also showing how, for a moderate price, one may become a Scotch Free Mason. Frankfort and Leipzig, 1789. The author fays that he had all the papers in his hands; whereas the author of More Notes than Text acknowledges the want of fome. 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 Test contains plans and letters, which the Twenty-two United Brethren have allowed to be given out, and of which the the greatest part were printed, but were entrusted only to assured members.

Nº I. is the first plan, printed on a fingle quarto page, and is addreffed, To all the Friends of Reafon, 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 Reafon " under the yoke, and to prevent all instruction, " it is therefore necessary that there be a com-" bination which shall work in opposition to s' them, fo that mankind may not fink anew in-" to irrecoverable barbarifm, when Reafon and 44 Virtue shall have been completely fubdued, o-" verpowered by the reftraints which are put " on our opinions." ----- " For this noble purpofe " a company of twenty two perfons, public in-" structors, and men in private stations, have uni-* ted theinfelves, according to a plan which they " have had under confideration for more than " a year and a half, and which, in their opinion, " contains a method that is fair, and irrefiftable * by any human power, for promoting the en-" lightening and forming of mankind, and that . " will gradually remove all the obstacles which " fuperstition supported by force has hitherto " put in the way."

This address is intended for an enlisting advertifement, and, after a few infignificant remarks

289

on the Affociation, a rix-dahler is required along with the fubfcription of acquiefcence in the plan, as a compensation for the expences attending this mode of intimation and confent.

Whoever pays the rix dahler, and declares his wifh to join the Affociation, receives in a few days, N° II. which is a form of the Oath of fecrecy, alfo printed on a fingle 4to page. Having fubfcribed this, and given a full defignation of himfelf, he returns it agreeably to a certain addrefs; and foon after, he gets N° III. printed on a 4to fheet. This number contains what is called the Second Plan, to which all the fubfequent plans and circular letters refer. A copy therefore of this will give us a pretty full and juft notion of the Order, and its mode of operation. It is entitled,

The Plan of the Twenty-Two,

And begins with this declaration. "We have " united, in order to accomplifh 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 " filent fraternization of all who love the work " of God.

" Qur

CHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. 201 -

" Our first exertion, which has already been "very extensive, confists in this, that, by means of confidential perions, we allow ourfelves to be announced every where as a Society united for the above-mentioned purpose; and we invite and admit into brotherhood with ourfelves every perfon who has a fense of the importance of this matter, and wishes to apply to us and fee our plans.

"We labour first of all to draw into our Affociation all good and learned writers. This we imagine will be the easier obtained, as they must derive an evident advantage from it. Next to fuch men, we feek to gain the mafters and fecretaries of the Post offices, in order to facilitate our correspondence.

"Befides thefe, we receive perfons of every condition and flation, 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 perfon writes to us, we fend him
an oath, by which he must abjure all treachery or difcovery of the Affociation, till circumftances shall make it proper for us to come
forward and show ourfelves to the world.
When he subscribes the oath, he receives the
plan, and if he finds this to be what fatisfies
his mind as a thing good and honourable, he
O o 2

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

"This procedure is to continue till Providence fhall fo far blefs our endeavours, that we acquire an active Brother and coadjutor in every place of note, where there is any litetrary profession; and for this purpole we have fa fecretary and proper office in the centre of the Affociation, where every thing is expedited, and all reports received. When this happy epoch arrives, we begin our fecond operation," That is to fay,

"We intimate to all the Brotherhood in eve-"ry quarter, on a certain day, that THE GER-"MAN UNION has now acquired a confiftence, and "we now divide the fraternifed part of the na-"tion into ten or twelve Provinces or Diocefes, each directed by its Diocefan at his office; and "thefe are fo arranged in due fubordination, "that all bufinefs 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 Affociation, and all the means for attaining it; and they ' alone " alone conftitute the UNION, the name, and " the connection of which is not intended to be " at all confpicuous in the world.

" To this end the business takes a new exter-" nal form. The Brethren, to wit, fpeak not " of the Union in the places where they refide, " nor of a Society, nor of enlightening the " people; but they affemble, and act together " in every quarter, merely as a LITERARY So-" " CIETY, bring into it all the lovers of reading " and of uleful knowledge; and fuch in fact are " the Ordinary Brethren, who only know that " an Affociation exifts in their place of refi-" dence, for the encouragement of literary men, " but by no means that it has any connection " with any other, fimilar Society, and that they " all conftitute one whole. But these Societies " will naturally point out to the intelligent " Brethren fuch perfons as are proper to be fe-" lected for carrying forward the great work. For " perfons of a ferious turn of mind are not mere " loungers in fuch company, but flow in their " conversation the interest they take in real in-" ftruction. And the caft of their reading, which " must not be checked in the beginning in the " fmalleft degree, although it may be gradually " directed to proper fubjects of information, will " point out in the most unequivocal manner their " peculiar ways of thinking on the important fub-" jecta

" jects connected with our great object. Here, " therefore, the active Brethren will observe in " fecret, and will felect those whom they think " valuable acquifitions to the facred Union. " They will invite fuch perfons to unite with " themfelves in their endcavours to enlighten the " reft 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 furnish-" ed with proper books. In this provision at-" tention 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 fomewhat more " than just to look about them. But the gene-" ral tafte may, and must also be carefully and " fkilfully directed to fubjects that will enlarge " the comprehension, will fortify the heart, and, " by habituating the mind to novelty, and to " fuccefsful difcovery, both in phyfics and in " morals, will hinder the timid from being ftart-" led at doctrines and maxims which are fingu-" lar, or perhaps opposite to those which are " current in ordinary fociety, Commonly a man " fpeaks as if he thought he was uttering his " own fentiments, while he is only echoing the " general found. Our minds are dreffed in a " prevailing fashion as much as our bodies, and " with

with fluff as little congenial to fentiment, as
a piece of woollen cloth is to the human fkin.
So carelefs and indolent are men, even in
what they call ferious conversation. Till reflection becomes a habit, what is really a
thought flattles, however fimple, and, if really uncommon, it aftonifies and confounds.
Nothing, therefore, can fo 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 fteadily proceeding accord-" ing to a diffinct and precise plan, may in " time fupplant every other Gazette, a thing. " which its intrinsic merit and comprehensive " plan will eafily accomplifh. 2. To felect a fe-" cretary for our Society, who shall have it in " charge to commiffion the books which they " fhall felect in conformity to the great aim of " the Affociation, and 'who fhall undertake to " commission all other books for the curious in " his neighbourhood. If there be a bookfeller " in the place, who can be gained over and « fworn

296 · THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

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

" And now, every eye can perceive the pro-" greflive moral influence which the Union will " acquire on the nation. Let us only conceive " what fuperfition will lofe, and what inftruc-"tion must gain by this; when, 1. In every " Reading Society the books are felected by our " Fraternity. 2. When we have confidential " perfons in every quarter, who will make it " their ferious concern to fpread fuch performan-" ces as promote the enlightening of mankind, " and to introduce them even into every cot-" tage. 3. When we have the loud voice of the " public on our fide, and fince we are able, ei-" ther to fcout into the fhade 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 a-" lone which give light to the human mind. " 4. When we by degrees bring the whole trade " of bookfelling into our hands, (as the good " writers will bring all their performances into " the market through our means), we shall se bring it about, that at laft the writers who " labour " labour in the caufe of fuperflition and reflraint, will have neither a publifher nor readers. 5. When, laftly, by the fpreading of our Fraternity, all good hearts and fenfible men will adhere to us, and by our means will be put in a condition that enables them to work in filence upon all courts, families, and individuals in every quarter, and acquire an influence in the appointment of court-officers, ftewards, fecretaries, parifh-priefts, public teachers, and private tutors.

"Remark, That we shall speedily get the trade into our hands, (which was formerly the aim of the association called the *Gelchrtenbuchhandlung*), is conceivable by this, that every writer who unites with us immediately acquires a triple number of readers, and finds friends in every place who promote the fale of his performance; fo that his gain is increased manifold, and confequently all will quit the bookfellers, and accede to us by degrees. Had the aboveto named affociation 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 clafs of lite-P p rary

298 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

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 Houfe, when in ftraits through age or misfortune. They will be occupied in the department of the fciences or arts, which this Affociation profeffes principally to cherifh. They are alfo Brethren of the third degree of Scotch Free Mafonry, a qualification to be explained afterwards. The Union-Houfe is a building which the oftenfible Founder of the Union profeffed to have acquired, or fpeedily to acquire at ———, through the favour and protection of a German Prince, who is not named.

ALDERM. N are perfons who hold public offices, and are engaged to exercise their genius and talents in the sciences. These also are Brothers of the third rank of Scotch. Free Masonry; and out of their number are the Diocesans and the Director's of the Reading Societies selected.

The members who are defigned fmply MIN, are Brothers of the fecond rank of Mafonry, and. have also a definite fcientific occupation affigned them.

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

Every

CHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION. 299

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 defire.

In every diocefe will be eflablished at least one Reading Society, of which near 800 are propofed. To each of these will a copy of an Alderman's work be fent. The fame favour will be fhown to a differtation by a Man, or by a Cadet, provided that the manufcript is documented by an Alderman, or formally approved by him upon ferious perusal. This imprimatur, which must be confidered 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 foon fupplant all others. (With respect to affairs of the Union, a fort of cypher was to be employed in it. Each Diocefan was there defigned by a letter, of a fize that Pp 2 marked

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

When every thing has been established in the manner fet 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 fketch of this Conftitution did not come to the hands of the perfon who furnished the bookfeller with the rest of the information. But we have other documents which give fufficient information for our purpose. In the mean time, let us just take the papers as they stand.

Nº IV. Contains a lift of the German Union, which the fender received in manufcript. Here we find many names which we fhould not have expected, and mils many that were much more likely to have been partners in this patriotic fcheme. There are feveral hundred names, but very few defignations; fo that it is difficult to point out the individuals to the public. Some however are defigned, and the writer obferves that names are found, which, when applied to fome individuals whom he knows, accord furprifingly with the anecdotes that are to be feen in , ne

the private correspondence of the Illuminati, and in the romance called Materials for the Hiftory of Socratifm, (Illuminatifm)*. It is but a difagreeable remark, that the lift 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 thefe are feveral whofe cyphers show that they have been active hands. Some of these have in their writings given eviadent proofs of their milconception of the fimple truths, whether dogmatical or historical, of revealed religion, or of their inclination to twift and manufacture them fo as to chime in with the religion and morality of the Sages of France. But it is more diffreffing to meet with unequivocal names of fome who profefs in their writings to confider these subjects as an honest man fhould

* 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 Affociation than any thing that I can give to the public, being written with much acutenefs and knowledge of the human mind, and agreeably diverfified with anecdote and ironical exhibition of the affected wifdom and philanthropy of the knavish Founder and his coadjutors. If the prefent imperfect and defultory account shall be found to intereft the public, I doubt not but that a translation of this novel, and fome other fanciful performances on the fubject, will be read with entertainment and profit.

fhould confider them, that is, according to the plain and common fenfe of the words; whereas we have demonstrative proofs that the German Union had the diametrically opposite-purpose in view. The only female in the lift is the Grafin von der Recke, the lady who gave Dr Stark of Darmstadt fo much trouble about his Tonfure. This Lady, as we have already feen, could not occupy herfelf with the frivolities of drefs, flirtation, or domestic cares. " Femina fronte patet, " vir pectore." She was not pleafed however at finding her name in fuch a Plebeian lift, and gave oath, along with Biefter at the centre, that fhe was not of the Affociation. I fee that the public was not fatisfied with this denial. The Lady has published fome more fcandal against Stark fince that time, and takes no notice of it; and there have appeared many accounts of very ferious literary connections between these two perfons and the man who was afterwards difcovered to be the chief agent of the Union.

No V. is an important document.- It is a letter addreffed to the fworn members of the Union, reminding the beloved fellow-workers that " the " bygone management of the bufinefs has been " expensive, and that the XXII. do not mean " to make any particular charge for their own " compensation. But that it was neceffary that " all and each of the members should know pre-" cifely

SHAP. III. THE GERMAN UNION.

" cifely the object of the Affociation, and the ^{se} way which mature confideration 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 . " confequently with united force. To accom-" plifh this purpofe, one of their number had " composed a Treatise on Instruction, and the " means of promoting it "." This work has been revifed by the whole number, and may be confidered as the refult of their deepest reflection. They fay, that it would be a fignal misfortune fhould this Aflociation, this undertaking, fo important for the happinels of mankind, be cramped in the very beginning of its brilliant progress. They therefore propole to print this work, this Holy Scripture of their faith and practice, by fubfcription. (They here give a fhort account of the work.) And they request the members to encourage the work by fubfcribing, and by exerting more than their usual activity in procuring subscriptions, and in recommending the performance in the newspapers.

* Ucber AUFFRLARUNG und deren Beförderungs-Mittel. The only proper translation of this word would be, clearing up, or enlightening. Instruction feems the fingle word that comes nearest to the precise meaning of Auffklarung, but is not fynonymous.

304 THE GERMAN UNION. . CHAP. III.

newspapers. Four perfons are named as Dioce. fans, 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 Effay on Instruction. Nº VII. is in manufcript, without date. It is addreffed to " a worthy man," intimating that the like are fent to others, to whom will also fpeedily be forwarded an improved plan, with a request to cancel or deftroy the former contained in N° It is added, that the Union now, contains, III. among many others, more than two hundred of the most respectable perfons in Germany, of every rank and condition, and that in the course of the year (1788), a general lift will be fent. with , a request that the receiver will point out fuch 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 fecretary's office is to depend.

Accordingly Nº VIII. contains this plan, but it is not entitled *The Improved Plan*. Such a denomination would have called in doubt the infallibility of the XXII. It is therefore called The *Pro*greffive (Vorlaufig) plan, a title which leaves room for every fubfequent change. It differs , from from the former only in fome unimportant circumftances. Some expressions, which had given offence or railed fuspicions, are softened or cancelled. Two copies of this, which we may call Λ and B, are given, differing also in some circumftances.

" The great aim of the German Union, is the " good of mankind, which is to be attained only " by means of mental Illumination (Auffklarung) " and the dethroning of fanaticism and moral. " defpotifm." 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 prefent fubject, to a differtation printed in 1787 without a name, On the Freedom of the Prefs, 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 pleafes, but exemplifying it in the most fcandalous manner; libelling characters of every fort, and perfons of every condition, and this frequently in the most abufive language, and expressions fo coarle, as flewed the author to be either habituated to the coarfest company, or determined to try boldly once for all, what the public eye can bear. The piece goes on : " The Union confiders it as a " chief part of its fecret plan of operation, to in-" clude Qq

306 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

" clude the trade of bookfelling in their circle. " By getting hold of this, they have it in their " power to encreafe the number of writings which ' " promote instruction, and to lessen that of those " which mar it, fince the authors of the latter " will by degrees lofe both their publishers and " their readers. That the prefent bookfellers " may do them no harm, they will by degrees ¹⁶ draw in the greater part of them to unite " with them."--- The literary newspaper is here ftrongly infifted on, and, in addition to what was faid in the former plan, it is faid, " that " they will include political news, as of migh-" ty influence on the public mind, and as a " fubject that merits the closeft attention of the " moral instructor." For what illumination is " that mind fusceptible of, that is fo blinded " by the prejudice created and nurfed by the ha-" bits of civil fubordination, that it worfhips ftu-" pidity or wickedness under a coronet, and ne-" glects talents and virtue under the bearskin cap " of the boor. We must therefore represent po-" litical transactions, and public occurrences, not " as they affect that artificial and fantaftical " creature of imagination that we fee 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 s of all foreign circumstances, we see it as it af-" fects/

" fects, or ought to affect ourfelves. Be affured " that this new form of political intelligence will " be highly interesting, and that the Gazette of " the Union will soon superfede all others, " and, of itself, will defray all our necessary ex-" pences."

This is followed by fome allufions to a fecret correspondence that is quick, unsusceptible of all difcovery or treachery, and attended with no expence, by which the business of the fecret plan (different from either of those communicated to the fworn Brethren at large) is carried on, and which puts the members in a condition to learn everything 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 fubjects into all offices, &c. and finally, from which every member, whether statesman, merchant, or writer, can draw his own Some paffages here and in another. advantages. 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 faid, that " it is fuppofed that the levy " will be fufficiently numerous in the fpring of " the enfuing year. When this takes place, **a** " general fynod will be held, in which the *plan* " of *fecret operations* will be finally adjusted, and " accommodated to local circumstances, fo as to Q q 2 " be

" be digefted into a law that will need no far-'" ther alteration. A proper perfon will fet off " from this fynod, with full powers, to vifit eve-" ry quarter where there are fworn Brethren, " and he will there establish a Lodge after the " ancient fimple ritual, and will communicate " verbally the plan of fecret operation, and certain " instructions. These Lodges will then establish " a managing fund or box. Each Lodge will alfo " eftablish a Reading Society, under the manage-" ment of a bookfeller refiding in the place, or " of fome perfon acquainted with the mechanical " conduct of things of this nature. There must " alfo be a collector and agent (Expediteur), fo " that in a moment the Union will have its of." " fices or comptoirs in every quarter, through " which it carries on the trade of bookfelling, " and guides the ebb and flow of its correspon-". dence. And thus the whole machine will be " fet 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 exclufion in express terms could not but furprise people, and appear formewhat fuspicious.

Nº IX. is a printed circular letter to the fworn Brethren, and is fubfcribed " by their truly aflociated Brother Barthels, Obcramtfman (firft bailiff)

CHAP. 111. THE GERMAN UNION. 309

" bailiff) for the King of Pruffia, at Halle on the " Saal."

In this letter the Brethren are informed that " the XXII. were wont to meet fometimes at " Halle, and fometimes at Berlin. But una-" voidable circumstances oblige them not only " to remain concealed for fome 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 truft, however, that this ne-" ceffary ftep on their part will not abate the zcal " and activity of men of noble minds, engaged " in the caufe by the conviction of their own They have therefore communica-" hearts. "ted to their worthy Brother BARTHELS all " neceffary informations, and have unanimoufly " conferred on him the direction of the fecreta-" ry'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 Affociation is " freed from an objection made with justice to all " other fecret focieties, namely, that the mem-" bers fubject themfelves to blind and unquali-" fied fubmiffion to unknown fuperiors."---" The " Society 1

" Society is now in the hands of its own avowed " members. Every thing will foon be arranged " according to a conftitution purely republican; a " Diocefan will be chofen, and will direct in " every province, and report to the centre every " fecond month, and inftructions and other in-" formations will iffue in like manner from the " centre.

" If this plan shall be approved of by the Asso-" ciated, H. Barthels will transmit to all the Dio-" cefes general lifts of the Union, and the PLAN " OF SECRET OPERATION, the refult of deep " meditation of the XXII. and admirably calcu-" lated for carrying on with irrefiftible effect " their noble and patriotic plan. To ftop-all " cabal, and put an end to all flander and fuspi-" cion, H. Barthels thinks it proper that the U. " nion shall step forward, and declare itself to " the world, and openly name fome 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 fheet to be annexed as an appendix " to the work, ON INSTRUCTION, declaring " that to be the work of the Society, and a fuf-" ficient indication of its most honourable aim. "He defires fuch members as choose to share " the honour with him, to fend him their names " and proper defignations, that they may appear " in " in that Appendix. And, laftly, he requefts " them to inftruct him, and co-operate with him, " according to the concerted rules of the Union, " in promoting the caufe of God and the happi-" nefs of mankind."

The Appendix now alluded to makes N° X. of the packet fent to the Bookfeller Gofchen of Leipzig, and is dated December 1788. It is alfo found in the book On Inftruction, &c. printed at Leipzig in 1789, by Walther. Here, however, the Appendix is dated January 1789. This edition agrees in the main with that in the book from which I have made fuch copious extracts, but differs in fome particulars that are not unworthy of remark.

In the packet it is written, " The underfigned, " as Member and Agent of the German Union, " in order to rectify feveral miftakes and inju-" rious flanders and accufations, thinks it ne-" ceffary that the public itfelf fhould judge of " their object and conduct."—Towards the end it is faid, " and all who have any doubts may " apply to those named below, and are invited " to write to them." No names however are fubjoined.—In the Appendix to the book it is only faid, " the agent of the German Union," &c. and " perfons who wish to be better informed " may write to the agent, under the address, " To the German Union—under cover to the fhop " of

312 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. III,

, " of Walther, bookfeller in Leipzig."—Here too there are no names, and it does not appear that any perfor has chosen to come from behind the curtain *.

There has already been for much faid about Enlightening, that the reader must be almost tired of it. He is affured in this performance that the Il, lumination propofed by the Union is not that of the Wolfenbuitle Fragments, nor that of HORUS, nor that of Babrdt. The Fragments and Horus are books which aim directly, and without any concealment, to deftroy 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 fense of the text, and of the moral instructions contained in it, and are perhaps the most exceptionable performances on the fubject. They are fligmatifed as abfurd, and coarfe, and indecent, even

* Walther is an eminent bookfeller, and carries on the bufinels 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 feeptical and licentious writings which have for much diffurbed the peace of Germany. even by the writers on the fame fide; yet the work recommended fo 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 fome of them, particularly of his Popular Religion, his Paraphrase on the Scrmon on the Mount, and his MORALITY OF RE-LIGION. We have also feen 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 worft of the inftitution. We fee that the outfide alone of the Union is to be fhewn to the public. Barthels felicitates the public that there is no fubordination and blind obedience to unknown Superiors; yet, in the fame paragraph, he tells us that there is a fecret plan of operations, that is known only to the Centre and the Confidential Brethren. The author of Fuller Information fays that he has this plan, and would print it, were he not reftrained by a promife *. He gives us enough however to fhow us that the higher mysteries of the Union are precisely the fame with those of the Illuminati. Christi-Rr anity

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

314 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

anity. is expressly faid to have been a Mystical Affociation, 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 Apolles 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]-----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 fenfe of the Stoics. The Initiated Brethren were to be inftructed by reading proper books. Thole particularly recommended are Basedow's Practical Knowledge, Eberhard's Apology for Socrates, Bahrdt's Apology for Reafon, Steinbardt's Syftem of Moral Education, Meiner's Ancient Mysteries, Bahrdt's Letters on the Bible, and Bahrdt's Completion of the Plan and Aim of 7 ---- C-----. These books are of the most Antichristian character, and fome of them aim at fliaking 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 fimilar 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 ahouse in the neighbourhood of Halle. It is a fort of tavern, in a vineyard immediately without the city. This was bought by DOCTOR KIRL FRIE-DERICH BAHRDT, and fitted up for the amufement of the University Students. He, calls it BAHRDT'S RUHE (Bahrdt's Repose). The author thinks that this must have been the work of the Affociation, becaufe Bahrdt had not a farthing, and was totally unable for fuch an undertaking. He may however have been the contriver of the inflitution. He has never affirmed or denied this in explicit terms; nor has he' ever faid who are the XXII coadjutors. Wucherer, an eminent bookfeller at Vienna, feems to have been one of 'the most active hands, and in one year admitted near 200 members, among whom is his own fhoe-. maker. He has published fome of the most profligate pamphlets which have yet appeared in Germany.

The publication of the lift of members alarmed the nation; perfons were altonifhed to find themfelves in every quarter in the midft of villains who were plotting against the peace and hap, inels of the country, and deftroying every fentiment of R r 2 religion,

religion, morality, or loyalty. Many perfons published in the newspapers and literary journals affirmations and proofs of the falle infertion of their names. Some acknowledged that curiofity had made them enter the Affociation, and even continue their correspondence with the Centre, in order to learn fomething of what the Fraternity had in view, but declared that they had never taken any part in its proceedings. But, at the fame time, it is certain that many Reading Societies had been fet up, during these transactions, in every quarter of Germany, and that the oftenfible managers were in general of very fufpicious characters, both as to morals and loyalty. The Union had actually fet up a prefs of their own at Calbe, in the neighbourhood of Halberstadt. Every day there appeared ftronger proofs of a combination of the Journalists, Reviewers, and even of the publishers and bookfellers, to suppress the writings which appeared in defence of the civil and ecclefiaftical conflitutions of the States of Germany. The extensive literary manufacture of Germany is carried on in fuch a manner that it is impoffible for any thing lefs than the joint operation of the whole federated powers to prevent this. The fpirit of freethinking and innovating in religious matters had been remarkably prevalent in the dominions of the King of Pruffia, having been much encouraged by the indifference

indifference of the late King. One of the vileft things published on this occasion was an abominable farce called the Religion Edict. This was traced to Bahrdt's Ruhe, and the Doctor was arrefted, and all his papers feized and ranfacked. The civil Magistrate was glad of an opportunity of expifcating the German Union, which common fame had also traced hither. The correfpondence was accordingly examined, and many difcoveries were made, which there was no occafion to communicate to the public, and the profecution of the bufinefs of the Union was by this means stopped. But the persons in high office at Berlin agree in faying that the Affociation of writers and other turbulent perfons in Germanyhas been but very faintly hit by this blow, and is almost as active as ever.

THE German Union appears a mean and precipitate Affociation. The Centre, the Archives, and the Secretary are contemptible. All the Archives that were found were the plans and lifts of the members and a parcel of letters of correfpondence. The correspondence and other bufinefs was managed by an old man in fome very inferior office or judicatory, who lived at bed and board in Bahrdt's house for about fix fhillings aweek, having a cheft of papers and a writing-desk in the corner of the common room of the house. Bahrdt

318 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. III.

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

He faid, that he learned Cofmo-political Free Mafonry in England, when he was there getting pupils for his academy-but neglected it on his return to Germany. Some time after his fettlement he was roufed 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 confiderable refemblance to the Prince or General Salms who gave fo 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 fame with that of Nº III.-He then fet up a Lodge of Free Mafonry on Cofmo-political principles, as a preparation for engaging in this great plan-he was flopped by the National Lodge, becaufe he had no patent from it.- This obliged him to work in fecret.-He met with a gentleman in a coffeehoufe, who entreated him to go on, and promifed him great affistance-this he got from time to time, as he ftood most in need of it, and he now found that he was working in concert with many powerful though unknown friends, each in his own circle, The

The plan of operation of the XXII was gradually unfolded to him, and he got folemn promifes of being made acquainted with his colleagues —But he now found, that after he had fo effentially ferved their noble caufe, he was dropped by them in the hour of danger, and thus was made the facrifice for the public good. The laft packet which he received was a requeft from a *Friend to the Union* to print two performances fent him, with a promife of 100 dahlers for his trouble. —Thefe were the abominable farce called the *Religion Edict*, and fome Differtations on that Royal Proclamation.

He then gives an account of his fystem of Free-Masonry, not very different from Weishaupt's Mafonic 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 Missfortunes—Union of the Learned —and at last—perhaps—Amen.

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

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

319

fictitious, 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 perfon in court was convinced that he was, and indeed it is perfectly in Bahrdt's very fingular manner.—This invalidates the whole of his ftory and he afterwards acknowledges the farce (at least by implication) in feveral writings, and boafts of it.

For these reasons I have omitted the narration in detail. Some information, however, which I have received fince, feems 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 fame account, is by Pott, the dear friend of Bahrdt and of his Union, and author of the Commentary Schutz got his materials from one on the Edict. Roper, an expelled fludent of debauched morals, who fubfifted by copying and vending filthy manuscripts. Bahrdt fays, that he found him naked and flarving, and, out of pity, took him into his house, and employed him as an amanuenfis. Roper stole the papers at various times, taking them with him to Leipzig, whither he went on pretence of fickness. At last Schutz and he went to

to Berlin together, and gave the information on which Bahrdt was put in prifon. In fhort 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 fo wonderfully fafculates Germany.

This is all the direct information that I can pick up of the founder and the proceedings of the German Union. The project is coarfe, and palpably mean, aiming at the dahlers of entrymoney and of annual contribution, and at the publication and profitable fale of Dr Bahrdt's books. This circumftance gives it ftrong features of its parentage .--- Philo fpeaks of Bahrdt in his Final Declaration in terms of contempt and abhorrence. There is nothing ingenious, nothing new, nothing enticing, in the plans; and the immediate purpole of indulging the licentious tafte of the public comes fo frequently before the eye, that it bears all the marks of that groffnefs of mind, precipitancy, and impatient overfight that are to be found in all the voluminous writings of Dr Bahrdt .- Many in Germany, however, afcribe the Union to Weishaupt, and fay that it is the IIluminati working in another form. There is no denying that the principles, and even the manner of proceeding, are the fame in every effential circumftance. Many paragraphs of the declama-Sſ tions

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 fame work, blended with flovenly extracts from fome of his own writings-There is the fame feries of delufions from the beginning, as in Illuminatifm-Free Mafonry and Christianity are compounded-first with marks of respect-then Christianity is twisted to a purpole foreign from it, but the fame with that aimed at by Weishaupt-then it is thrown away altogether, and Natural Religion and Atheifm fubstituted for it-For no perfon will have a moment's hefitation in faying, that this is the creed of the author of the books On Instruction and On the Liberty of the Prefs. Nor can he doubt that the political principles are equally anarchical with those of the Illuminati.-The endeavours also to g t posses of public offices, of places of education-of the public mind, by the Reading Societies, and by publications-are fo 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 transanctions, and that he zealoufly promoted the formation of Reading Societies in feveral places .- But I am rather

rather of the opinion that Weilhaupt made those vifits in order to keep Dr Bahrdt within fome bounds of decency, and to hinder him from hurting the caufe by his precipitancy, when fourred on by the want of money. Weifhaupt could not work in fuch an unskilful manner. But he would be very glad of fuch help as this coarfe tool could give him-and Bahrdt gave great help; for, when he was imprisoned and his papers feized, his Archives, as he called them, fhewed that there were many Reading Societies which his project had The Pruffian States had above drawn together. thirty, and the number of Readers was aftonishingly great-and it was found, that the pernicious books had really found their way into every hut. -Bahrdt, by defcending a ftory lower than Weifhaupt,' has greatly increased the number of his pupils.

But, although I cannot confider 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 confider 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. S f 2 Bahrdt

323

Bahrdt made the attempt, and in part fucceeded. Weifhaupt's hopes were well founded—The leaven was not only diffributed, but the management of the fermentation was now underftood, and it went on apace.

It is to be remarked, that nothing was found among Bahrdt's papers to support the story he writes in his diary-no fuch correspondencesbut enough for detecting many of these focieties. Many others however were found unconnected with Bahrdt's Ruhe, not of better character, either as to Morality or Loyalty, and fome of them confiderable 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 furpaffes all our conceptions. The catalogues of new writings in fheets, which are printed twice - a-year for each of the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort, would altonish a British reader by the num-The bookfellers meet there, and in one ber. glance fee the whole republic of literature, and, like Roman fenators, decide the fentiments of diftant provinces. By thus feeing the whole together, their fpeculations are national, and they really have it in their power to give what turn they pleafe to the literature and to the fentiments 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 fomething by which money may be made. Therefore in a luxurious and voluptuous nation, licentious and freethinking books will abound. The writers fuggeft, and the bookfellers think how the thing will tickle. Yet it must not be inferred from the prevalence of fuch books, that fuch is the common fense of mankind, and that the writings are not the corrupters, but the corrupted, or that they are what they ought to be, becaufe they pleafe the public. We need only push the matter to an extremity, and its caufe appears plain. Filthy prints will always create a greater crowd before the fhop-window than the fineft performances of Woollet. Licentious books will be read with a flattering eagernefs, as long as they are not univerfally permitted; and pitiable will be the flate of the nation when their number makes them familiar and no longer entertaining.

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 feduction. 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

326 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111;

or virtue is to be fupported. Man is fuppofed to be, in very effential 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 wickednefs in the first instance, are therefore such as are really addreffed to the general fentiments of mankind : these therefore should be confidered as more expressive of the public mind than those which he afterwards adopts, after this artificial cducation. Therefore Virtue, Patriotifm, Loyalty, Veneration for true and undefiled Religion, are really acknowledged by those corrupters to be the prevailing fentiments; and they are good if this prevalence is to be the test of worth. The mind that is otherwife affected by them, and hypocritically uses them in order to get hold of the uninitiated, that he may in time be made to cherifh the contrary fentiments, cannot be a good mind, notwithstanding any pretensions it may make to the love of mankind.

No man, not Weilhaupt himfelf, has made fronger 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 disconsurable; 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 prefented to the view without all difguise.

- " The more fair Virtue's feen, the more fhe " charms.
- " Safe, plain, and eafy, are her artlefs ways.
- "With face erect, her eyes look strait before;
- " For dauntlefs is her march, her step secure.
- " Not so pale Fraud-now here she turns, now " there,
- " Still feeking darker shades, fecure in none,
- " Looks often back, and wheeling round and " round,
- " Sinks headlong in the danger fhe would fhun."

The mean motive of the Protestant Sceptic is as inconfistent with our notions of honesty as with our notions of honour; and our sufficients are justly raised of the character of Dr Bahrdt and his affociates, 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 fituation of Dr Bahrdt, and the cause between him and

5

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 make all sure, he has written his own life. I shall infert nothing here that is not made out by the two last modes of proos, 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 booksfeller. The story of this publication is curious, and it is instructive.

Bahrdt was in prifon, 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 fpleen and his diflike of all those who had offended him, and in particular all pricits, and rulers, and judges, who had given him fo much trouble. He knew that the strange, and many of them fcandalous anecdotes, with which he had fo liberally interlarded many of his former publications, would fet curiofity on tiptoe, and would procure a rapid fale as foon as the public fhould guess that it was his own performance, by the fingular but fignificant name which the pretended author would affume. He had almost agreed with Walther for a thousand dahlers, (about L. 200), when he

he was imprifoned for being the author of the farce to 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 reft, confifting of stories, and anecdotes, and correspondence. Pott fent him feveral fheets, with which he was fo pleafed, that they concluded a bargain. Bahrdt fays, that Port was to have 400 copies, and that the reft was to go to the maintenance of Bahrdt and his family, confifting 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 confequence to us. Bahrdt's papers had been feized, and fearched 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 thefe. All others were kept in a fealed room. Pott procured the removal of the feals, and got poffession of them. Bahrdt fays, that his wife and daughter came to him in prifon, almost starving, and told him that now that the room was opened, Pott had made an offer to write for their suppose, if he had the use of these papersthat Tt

330 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111,

that this was the conclusion of the bargain, and that Pott took away all the papers. N. B. Pott was the affociate of Walther, who had great confidence in him. (Anecdotenbuch für mune lieben Amt/bruder, p. 400.) and had conducted the bufinefs 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 fucceffively occupy the mind of the reader, are nothing but ftrong degrees of averfion, difgust, and horror. The figure fet up to view is a monster, clever indeed, and capable of great things; but lost to truth, to virtue, and even to the affectation of common decency-In fhort, a fhamelefs profligate .---- Poor Bahrdt was aftonished, -- stared-but, having his wits about him, faw that this life would fell, and would also fell another. -Without loss of time, he faid that he would hold Pott to his bargain-but he reckoned without his hoft. " No, no," faid Pott, " You are not the " man I took you for-your correspondence was

CHAP. 111. THE GERMAN UNION. 331

,

" put into my hands-I faw 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 defired me. I did not work " for you, but for myfelf-therefore you get " not a grofchen." " Why, Sir," faid Bahrdt, " we both know that, this won't do. You and " I have already tried it You received Stark's " manufcript, to be printed by Walther-Walther " and you fent it hither to Michaelis, that I " might fee 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 caft in court - Walther was obliged to " print the work as Stark first ordered, and we " loft all our labour.-So fhall you now, for I " will commence an action this inftant, and let " me fee with what face you will defend your-" felf, within a few weeks of your last appear-" ance in court." Pott faid, " You may try " this. My work is already fold, and difperfed " over all Germany-and I have no objection " to begin yours to morrow-believe me, it will " fell." Bahrdt pondered-and refolved to write one himfelf.

This is another fpecimen of the Union.

Tt₂

 D_R

332 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

DR CARI FRIEDERICH 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, enlifted in the Pruffian fervice as a huffar, 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 publifhed fermons in 1765, and fome controverfial writings, which did him honour-But he then began to indulge in conviviality, and in anonymous pafquinades, uncommonly bitter and offenfive. No perfon was fafe - Professors - Magiftrates - Clergymen - had his chief notice - al-To students - and even comrades and friends. (Bahrdt fays, that these things might cut to the quick, but they were all juft). Unluckily his temperament was what the atomical philosophers (who can explain every thing by æthers and vibrations) call fanguine. He therefore (his own word) was a paffionate admirer of the ladies. Coming home from fupper he frequently met a young Mifs in the way to his lodgings, neatly dreffed in a rofe-coloured filk jacket and train, and a fable bonnet, coftly, and like a lady. One evening, (after fome old Rhenish, as he fays), he faw the lady home. Some time after, the mistres of the house, Madam Godschusky, came into his room, and faid 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 fenfible, and good, and as he " had already paid for it, and her conversation " was agreeable, he did not difcontinue his ac-" quaintance." A comrade one day told him, that one Bel, a magistrate, whom he had lampooned, knew the affair, and would bring it into court, unlefs he immediately retired the bond. This bond was the only evidence, but it Neither Bahrdt nor his friend was enough. could raife 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 fword. 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 prefent to herfelf. The comrade tried to flutter her, and, drawing his fword, fhewed her how men fenced-made paffes at the wall-and then at her-but fhe was too firmhe then threw away his fword, and began to try to force the paper from her. She defended herfelf a good while, but at length he got the paper out of her pocket, tore it in pieces, opened the closet-door, and faid, " There, you b-, " there

334 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

" 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 fquabble to be fure, fays 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 Bahrdt was to have made fome very reverend appearance at church-In fhort, after many attempts of his poor father to fave him, he was obliged to fend in his gown and band, and . to quit the place. It was fome comfort, however, that Madam Godschusky and the young Miss did not fare much better. They were both imprisoned. Madam G. died some time after of fome flocking difeafe. The court-records give a very different account of the whole, and parti-'cularly of the fcuffle; but Bahrdt's ftory is enough.

Bahrdt fays, that his father was fevere—but acknowledges that his own temperament was hafty, (why does not his father's temperament excufe fomething? *Vibratiunculæ* will explain every thing or nothing). "*Therefore* (again) I fometimes "forgot myfelf.—One day I laid a loaded piftol " on the table, and told him that he fhould meet " with that if he went on fo. But I was only "feventeen."



Dr Bahrdt was, of courfe, 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 affiduous in their endeavours to get an establishment for him. But his high opinion of himfelf, his temper, impetuous, precipitant, and overbearing, and a bitter fatirical 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 Gieffen. But in all these places he was no fooner settled than he got into difputes 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 perfonal anecdotes, and indulged in the most cutting farcasms and gross scurrility .-- Being fond of convivial company, his income was infufficient for the craving demand, and as foon as he found that anecdote and flander always procured readers, he never ceafed writing. He had wonderful readinels and activity, and fpared neither friends nor foes in his anonymous performances. But this could not lang, and his avowed theological writings were fuch

336 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

fuch as could not be fuffered in a Professor of Divinity. The very students at Giessen were fhocked with fome of his liberties. After much wrangling in the church judicatories he was just going to be difmissed, when he got an invitation to Marschlins in Switzerland to superintend an academy. He went thither about the year 1776, and formed the feminary after the model of Bafedow's Philanthropine, or academy, at Deffau. of which I have already given fome account. It had acquired fome celebrity, and the plan was peculiarly fuited to Bahrdt's tafte, because it left him at liberty to introduce any fystem of religious or irreligious opinions that he pleafed. He refolved to avail himfelf of this liberty, and though a clergyman and Doctor of Theology, he would outstrip even Basedow, who had no ecclefiaffical orders to reftrain him. But he wanted the moderation, the prudence, and the principle of Baledow. 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 fimple-", The leading pro-" penfities, fays he, of the human mind are " three-Inflinctive liberty (Freyheitstriebe)-in-" flinclive activity (Triebe fur Thatigkeit)-and " instinctive love (Liebes triebe)." I do not wish to misunderstand him, but I can give no other

" ercife 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 furprifed although the Doctor fhould find it difficult to manage the Cyclopedia in his Philanthropine in fuch a manner as to give fatisfaction to the neighbourhood, which was habituated to very different fentiments.—Accordingly he found his fituation as uncomfortable as at Gieffen. He fays, in one of his lateft performances, " that the Grifons were a ftrong " inftance of the immense importance of educa-" tion. They knew nothing but their handi-" crafts, and their minds were as coarse as their " perfons." He quarrelled with them all, and was obliged to abscond after lying fome 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 affociation 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 furniss with proper recommendations.—On his return the plan was carried into execution. The castle or residence of Count Leining Harzburgh at Heidessheim, having gardens, park, U u and

337

and every handfome accommodation, had been fitted up for it, and it was confectated by a folemn religious feftival in 1778.

But his old misfortunes purfued 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, fome were even fhocking to decency .-- It was indifferent to him whether it was friend or foe that he abufed; and fome of them were fo 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 fuffer by it. For his constant practice was to father every new step that he took towards Atheifm on fome other perfon; and, whenever the reader fees, in the beginning of a book, any perfon celebrated by the author for found fenfe, profound judgment, accuraté reasoning, or praised for acts of friendship and kindnefs to himfelf, he may be affured that, before the close of the book, this man will convince Dr Bahrdt in fome private conversation, that fome doctrine, cherished and venerated by all Christians, is a piece of knavish superstition. So loft was Dr Bahrdt to all fense of shame. He

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

Bahrdt's licentious, very licentious life, was the cause of most of these enormities. No income could fuffice, and he wrote for bread. The abominable way 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 coarfe maw of the public was as ravenous as the fenfuality of Dr Bahrdt, who really battened in the Epicurean fty. The confequence of all this was that he was obliged to fly from Heidefheim. leaving his fureties in the Philantbropine to pay about 14,000 dahlers, -befides debts without number to his friends. He was imprisoned at Dienheim, but was releafed I know not how, ' and fettled at Halle. There he funk to be a keeper of a tavern and billiard-table, and his houle became the refort and the bane of the ftudents in the University. - He was obliged therefore to leave the city. He had fomehow got funds which enabled him to buy a little vineyard, prettily sfituated in the neighbourhood. This he fitted up with every accommodation that could invite the students, and called it Bahrdt's Rube. We have already feen the occupations of Dr. P. in this Buen Retiro-Can we call it otium Uu 2 cum

340 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

cum dignitate? Alas no! He had not lived two years here, buftling and toiling for the German Union, fometimes without a bit of bread—when he was fent to prifon at Halle, and then to Magdeburgh, where he was more than a year in jail. He was fet at liberty, and returned to Babrat's Ruhe, not, alas, to live at eafe, but to lie down on a fickbed, where, after more than a year's fuffering encreafing pain, he died on the 23d of April 1793, the most wretched and loathfome victim of unbridled fenfuality.

The account of his case is written by a friend, a Dr Jung, who professes to defend his memory and his principles. The medical defcription melted my heart, and I am certain would make his bitterest - enemy weep. Jung repeatedly fays that the cafe was not venereal, calls it the vineyard difeafethe quickfilver difeafe, (he was dying of an unconquerable falivation), and yet, through the whole of his narration, relates fymptoms and fufferings, which, as a medical man, he could not possibly mean to be taken in any other fense than as effects of pox. He meant to please the enemies of poor Bahrdt, knowing that fuch a man could have no friends, and being himfelf ignorant of what friendship or goodness is. The fate of this poor creature affected me more than any thing I have read for a great while. All his open enemies put together have not faid fo much ill

of him as his trusted friend Pott, and another confident, whole name I cannot recollect, who publissed in his lifetime an anonymous book called *Babrdt with the iron brow*—and this fellow Jung, under the abfurd mask of friendship, exhibited the loathfome carcase 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 feeds of native virtue, which are choaked in the hearts of other men by superstition and defpotism. We see nothing but mutual treachery and base defertion.

I do not concern myfelf with the gradual perversion of Dr Bahrdt's moral and religious opi-But he affected to be the enlightener and nions. reformer of mankind; and affirmed, that all the mifchiefs in life originated from defpotifm fupported by superstition. " In vain," fays he, " do " we complain of the inefficacy of religion. All " positive religion is founded on injustice. No " Prince has a right to prefcribe or fanction any "fuch fystem. Nor would he do it, were not " the priefts the firmeft pillars of his tyranny, " and fuperflition the ftrongeft fetters for his " fubjects. He dares not flow religion as fhe is, " pure and undefiled-She would charm the eyes " and the hearts of mankind, would imme-" diately produce true morality, would open " the

342 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

" the eyes of freeborn man, would teach him " what are his rights, and who are his oppreffors, and Princes would vanish from the face of the earth."

Therefore, without troubling ourfelves with the truth or fallehood of his religion of Nature, and affuming it as an indifputable point, that Dr Bahrdt has feen it in this natural and fo effective purity, it is furely a very pertinent queftion, "Whether has the fight produced on his mind "an effect fo far fuperior to the acknowledged faintnefs of the imprefion of Christianity on "the bulk of mankind, that it will be prudent to adopt the plan of the German Union, and fortunately alienate the minds of profeffing "Christians from each other?" The account here given of Dr Bahrdt's life feems to decide the queftion.

But it will be faid that I have only related fo many inftances of the quarrels of Priefts and their flavish 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 prefident of some inferior ecclesiastical district, he was empowered to take off the centures of the

the church from a young woman who had born a bastard child. By violence he again reduced her to the fame condition, and escaped censure, by the poor girl's dying of a fever before her pregnancy was far advanced, or even legally documented. Alfo, on the night of the folemn farce of confecrating his Philanthropine, he debauched the maid-fervant, who bore twins, and gave him up for the father. The thing, I prefume, was not judicially proved, otherwife he would have furely been difgraced; but it was afterwards made evident, by the letters which were found by Pott, when he undertook to write his life. A feries of these letters had passed between him and one Graf a steward, who was employed by him to give the woman the finall 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 ceafed 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 diftant from each other, and almost frozen to death. The first was found, by its moans, by a fhoemaker in a field by the road-fide, about fix in the morning; the other was found by two girls between the hedges in a lane, fet between two great ftones.

ftones, 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 Gieffen ; but after wasting the greatest part of his wife's little fortune left her by a former husband, he was provoked, by lofing 1000 florins (about L. 110) in the hands of her brother, who would not pay it up. After this he used her very ill, and fpeaks very contemptuoufly 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 fhe is reprefented 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 fight of all the pupils, did he (also undreffed) toy with his naked wife in the When at Halle, he used the poor woman water. extremely ill, keeping a mistres in the house, and giving her the whole command of the family, while the wife and daughter were confined to a feparate part of it. When in prifon at Magdeburge,

burgh, the ftrumpet lived with him, and bore him two children. He brought them all to his house when he was fet 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 overdole of Laudanum given by her father, to procure fleep when ill of a fever. He ended his own wretched life in the fame manner, unable, poor man, to bear his diffrefs, without the fmalleft compunction or forrow for his conduct; and the laft thing he did was to fend for a bookfeller, (Vipink of Halle, who had published some of his vile pieces), and recommend his ftrumpet 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 acquifitions which I made in Eng-" land, Mr — (the name appears at full " length) was the most important. This perfon was " accomplished in the highest degree. With found " judgment, great genius, and correct taste, he " was perfectly a man of the world. He was my " friend, and the only perfon who warmly inte-" rested himself for my institution. To his warm " and repeated recommendations I owe all the " pupils I got in England, and many most respect-X x " able

" able connections; for he was univertally e-" fteemed as a man of learning and of the moft " unblemished worth. He was my friend, my " conductor, and I may fay my preferver; for " when I had not bread for two days, he took " me to his houfe, and fupplied all my wants. " This gentleman was a clergyman, and had a " fmall but genteel and felected congregation, a " flock which required ftrong food. My friend " preached to them pure natural religion, and " was beloved by them. His fermons were ex-" cellent, and delivered with native energy and " grace, becaufe they came from the heart. I " had once the honour of preaching for him. " But what a difference-I found myfelf afraid-" I feared to fpeak too boldly, becaufe I did not " know where I was, and thought myfelf fpeak-" ing to my crouching countrymen. But the li-" berty of England opens every heart, and makes ." it acceffible to morality. I can give a very re-" markable inftance.

" The women of the town in London do not, to be fure, meet with my unqualified approbation in all refpects. But it is impoffible not to be ftruck with the propriety and decency of their manners, fo unlike the clownish impudence of our German wh-. T could not diftinguish them from modest women, otherwise than by their greater attention and eagerness to shew "me

" me civility. My friend used to laugh at my " miftakes, and I could not believe him when he " told me that the lady who had kindly fnewed " the way to me, a foreigner, was a votary of Ve-" nus. He maintained that English liberty na-" turally produced morality and kindnefs. Ŧ " ftill doubted, and he faid that he would con-" vince me by my own experience. These girls " are to be feen in crouds every evening in every " quarter of the town. Although fome of them " may not have even a shift, they come out in the " evening dreffed like princeffes, in hired clothes, " which are entrusted to them without any fear " of their making off with them. Their fine " fhape, their beautiful skin, and dark brown " hair, their fwelling bofom fo prettily fet off by " their black filk drefs, and above all, the gentle " fweetnefs of their manners, makes an impref-" fion in the highest degree favourable to them. " They civilly offer their arm, and fay, " My dear, " will you give me a glafs 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 beautics we faw in the piazzas, . . " we gave our arm to three very agreeable girls, " " and immediately turned in to a temple of the " Cytherean Goddels, which is to be found at . " every/fecond door of the city, and were flown 4 into X x 2

348 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. 111.

" into a parlour elegantly carpeted and furnished, and lighted with wax, with every other accommodation at hand. My friend called for a pint of wine, and this was all the expence. for which we received fo much civility. The conversation and other behaviour of the ladics was agreeable in the highest degree, and not 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 fireet—and fuch is the liberty of England, that my friend ran not the finallest risk of fusilering either in his honour or ulefulnels.—Such is the effect of freedom."

We may be fure, the poor man was aftonified when he faw 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, fuch conduct would ruin him with his own hearers, and in the minds of all his respectable countrymen. He therefore fent a vindication of his character from this flanderous abufe to the publishers of the principal newspapers and literary journals in Germany. The vindication is complete, and B. is convicted of having related what he could not poffibly have feen. It is worthy of remark; that the vindication did not appear in the Berlin Monat schrift, nor. iņ

in any of the Journals which make favourable in the performances of the Enlighteners.

" Think not, indignant reader," fays Arbuthnot, " that this man's life is useles to mortals." It flows in a flrong light the falfity of all his declamations in favour of his fo much praifed natural religion and univerfal kindnefs and humanity. No man of the party writes with more perfuafive energy, and, though his petulance and precipitant felf-conceit lead him frequently aftray, no man has occafionally put all the arguments of thefe philosophers in a clearer light; yet we fee that all is falle and hollow. He is a vile hypocrite, and the real aim of all his writings is to make money, by foftering the fenfual propensities of human nature, although he fees 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 fuperflition. I will not fay that all partifans of Illumination are hogs of the fty of Epicurus like this But the reader must acknowledge that, wretch. in the inftitution of Weishaupt, there is the fame train of fenfual indulgence laid along the whole, and that purity of heart and life is no part of the morality that is held forth as the perfection of human nature. The final abolition of Christianity. is undoubtedly one of its objects-whether as an end of their efforts, or as a mean for the attainment

ment of fome end still more important. Purity of heart is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Christian morality. Of this Dr Bahrdt feems to have had no conception; and his institution, as well as his writings, show him to have been a very coarse fensualist. But his taste, though coarse, accorded with what Weissaupt confidered as a ruling propensity, by which he had the best chance of fecuring the fidelity of his subjects.— Craving defires, beyond the bounds of our means, were the natural consequences of indulgence and fince 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 diffuluteness of manners?

Nothing can more diffinctly prove the crooked politics of the Reformers than this. It may be confidered as the mainfpring of their whole machine. Their pupils were to be led by means of their meaner defires, 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 holl, rather than ferve in heaven.—Dr Bahrdt was a true Apoftle of Illuminatifm; and though his torch was made of the groffeft materials, and "ferved only to difcover " fights of woe," the horrid glare darted into every corner, roufing hundreds of filthy vermin, and directing their flight to the rotten carrion where where they could beft deposit their possion and their eggs; in the breafts, to wit, of the feusual 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 bookfellers and writers foon perceived its importance, and acted in concert.

I might fill a volume with extracts from the criticifms which were published on the Religion Edict fo often mentioned already. The Leipzig catalogue for one year contained 173. Although it concerned the Pruffian States alone, these appeared in every corner of Germany; nay, alfo in Holland, in Flanders, in Hungary, in Switzerland, in Courland, and in Livonia. This flows it to have been the operation of an Affociated Band, as was intimated to the King with fo much petulance by Mirabeau. There was (past all doubt) fuch a combination among the innumerable fcribblers who supplied the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort. Mirabeau calls it a Conjuration des Philosophes, an expression very clear to himfelf, for the myriads of garreteers who have long fed the craving mouth of Paris (" al-" ways thirsting after fome new thing") called themfelves philosophers, and, like the gangs of St .

352 THE GERMAN UNION. CHAP. HIS

St Giles's, converfed with each other in a cant of their own, full of moral, of energie, of bienveillance, &c. &c. &c. unintelligible or mifunderftood 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 folemn invocation of the Divine prefence ever made on the face of this earth, put an end to the propriety of this appellation; for it became necessary (in the progrefs of political Illumination) to declare that oaths were nonfenfe, becaufe the invoked was a creature of the imagination, and the grand federation, like Weifhaupt and Bahrdt's Mafonic 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 fcribblers that has got pofferfion of . the public mind by their management of the literary journals of Germany, and have made liccntious fentiments in politics, in morals, and in religion, as familiar as were formerly the articles of ordinary news. All the fceptical writings of England put together will not make half the number that have appeared in Protestant Germany during the laft twelve or fifteen years. And, in the Criticifms on the Edict, it is hard to fay whether infidelity or difloyalty fills the most pages.

To fuch a degree had the Illuminati carried this favourite and important point that they obtained

tained the direction even of those whose office it was to prevent it. There is at Vienna, as at Berlin, an office for examining and licenfing 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 differtation on The Final Overthrow of Free Masonry, a most excellent performance, showing the gradual corruption and final perversion of that fociety to a feminary of fe-Alfo the Vienna Magazine of Literature dition. and Arts, which contains many accounts of the interferences of the Illuminati in the diffurbances of Europe. The Cenfor who occasioned this prohibition was an Illuminatus, named Retzer. He makes a most pitiful and Jesuitical defence, showing himfelf completely verfant 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 refpecting the ftate of moral and political opinions in Germany about this time. One of them is called, *Proofs of a bidden Combina*tion to deftroy 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 Y y very 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 literarure, gives a progressive account of the changes of fentiment, all supported by the evidence of the books themfelves. The author puts it past contradiction, that in every fpecies of literary composition into which it was poffible, without palpable abfurdity, to introduce licentious or feditious principles, it was done. Many romances, novels, journies through Germany and other countries, are written on purpose to attach praise or reproach to certain fentiments, characters, and pieces of conduct. The Prince, the nobleman, is made defpotic, oppreffive, 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 kindnefs, or oftentatious indifference for the little honours which are fo precious in the eyes of a German .- In fhort, the fystem of Weishaupt and Knigge is carried into vigorous effect over all. In both these performances, and indeed in a vaft number of other pieces, I fee that the influence of Nicholai is much commented on, and confidered as having had the chief hand in all those innovations.

Thuş

Thus I think it clearly appears, that the suppression of the Illuminati in Bavaria and of the Union in Brandenburgh, were infufficient for removing the evils which they had introduced. The Elector of Bavaria was obliged to isfue another proclamation in November 1790, warning his fubjects of their repeated machinations, and particularly enjoining the Magistrates to observe carefully the affemblies in the Reading Societies, which were multiplying in his States. A fimilar 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 Weilhaupt and his agents were still buly and successful. The habit of plotting had formed itfelf into a regular fystem. Societies now acted every where in fecret, in correfpondence with fimilar focieties in diftant places. And thus a mode of co-operation was furnished to the difcontented, the reftlefs, 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 diftinguished. The Hydra's teeth were already fown, and each grew up, independent of the reft, and foon fent out its own offsets .- In all places where fuch fecret practices were going on, there did not fail to appear fome individuals of more than common zeal and X y 2

and activity, who took the lead, each in his own circle. This gave a confiftency and unity to the operations of the reft, and they, encouraged by this co-operation, could now attempt things which they would not have otherwife ventured on. It is not till this flate of things obtains, that this influence becomes fenfible to the public. Philo, in his public declaration, unwarily lets this appear. Speaking of the numerous little focieties in which their principles were cultivated, he fays, "we thus begin to be formidable." It may now alarm—but it is now too late. The fame germ is now fprouting 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 fortress H----, before the troubles in Holland, to form a fociety for the Protection of Princes .- The plan is expressed in very enigmatical terms, but fuch as plainly flow it to be merely an odd title, to catch the public eye; for the Affociation is of the fame feditions kind with all those already spoken of, viz. professing to enlighten the minds of men, and making them imagine that all their hardfhips proceed from fuperflition, which fubjects them, to ufelefs and crafty priest; and from their own indolence and want of patriotifm, which make them fubmit to the mal-administration of ministers. The Sovereign is

is fuppofed 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 infidious plan is the Prince Salms, who so affiduously 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 fome length when it was discovered and suppressed by the States.

Zimmerman, who had been Prefident of the Illuminati in Manheim, was also a most active perfon in propagating their doctrines in other He was employed as a miffionary, countries. and erected fome Lodges even in Rome-alfo at Neufchatel-and in Hungary. He was frequently feen in the latter place by a gentleman of my acquaintance, and preached up all the oftenfible doctrines of Illuminatifm in the most public manner, and made many profelytes. But when it was diffeovered that their real and fundamental doctrines were different from those which he professed in order to draw in profelytes, Zimmerman left . the country in hafte .-- Some time after this he was arrefted in Pruffia for feditious harangues -but he escaped, and has not been heard of fince.-When he was in Hungary he boafted of having

358 THE GERMAN UNION: CHAP. 111.

having erected above an hundred Lodges in different parts of Europe, fome of which were in England.

That the Illuminati and other hidden Colmopolitical focieties had fome influence in bringing about the French Revolution, or at least in accelerating it, can hardly be doubted.-In reading the fecret correspondence, I was always furprised at not finding any reports from France, and fomething like a hefitation about establishing a miffion 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 fame manner as in Germany, and in accelerating its progrefs. Some letters in the Brunf. wick Journal from one Campe, who was an inspector of the seminaries of education, a man of talents, and an Illuminatus, put it beyond doubt. He was refiding in Paris' during its first movements, and gives a minute account of them, lamenting their excelles, on account of their imprudence, and the rifk of fhocking the nation, and thus destroying the project, but justifying the motives, on the true principles of Cofmo-politifm. The Vienna Zeitschrift and the Magazine of Literature and Fine Arts for 1790, and other pamphlets

pamphlets of that date, fay the fame thing in a clearer manner. I fhall lay together fome paffages from fuch as I have met with, which I think will fhew beyond all poffibility of doubt that the Illuminati took an active part in the whole transfaction, and may be faid to have been its chief contrivers. I shall premise a few obfervations, which will give a clearer view of the matter,

СНАР.

CHAP. IV.

The French Revolution.

DURING these diffensions and difcontents, 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 fentiments fo 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 difcusfion, fion, and had made the public familiarly acquainted with topics altogether unfuitable to the absolute monarchy of France.

This acquaintance with the natural expectations of the fubject, and the expediency of a candid attention on the part of Government to thefe expectations, and a view of Legislation and Govern-'ment founded on a very liberal interpretation ofall these things, was prodigiously promoted by the rdsh 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 confent to be the only flaves. But their officers and foldiers who returned from America, imported the American principles, and in every company found hearers who liftened with delight and regret to their fascinating tale of American indepen-During the war, the Minister, who had dence. too confidently pledged himfelf for 'the deftruction of Britain, was obliged to allow the Parifians to amufe themfelves with theatrical entertainments, where English law was represented as oppreffion, and every fretful extravagance of the Americans was applauded as a noble ftruggle 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 Ζz

from the theatre into the ftreet, they found themfelves under all their former reftraints. The iweet 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 fhe lays down her novel.

In this irritable flate of mind a fpark was fufficient for kindling a flame. To import this dangerous delicacy of American growth, Fr nee had expended many millions, and was drowned in debts. The mad prodigality of the Royal Family and the Court had drained the treafury and foreflalled every livre of the revenue. The edicts for new taxes and forced loans were most unwelcome and oppreflive.

The Avocats au parlement had nothing to do with flate-affairs, being very little more than barrifters in the higheft court of juffice; and their higheft claim was to be a fort of humble counfellors to the King in common matters. It was a very flrange inconfiftency in that ingenious nation to permit fuch people to touch on these flate-subjects; for, in fact, the Monarch of France was a despot, and the subjects were flaves. This is the result of all their painful refearch, 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 fo 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 neceflary that it fhould come to an end; the first time that the Monarch confessed that he could not do every thing unlefs they put the tools into his hands. As things were approaching gradually but rapidly to this condition, the impertinent interference (for fo a Frenchman, fubject of the Grand Monarch, must think it) of the advocates of the Parliament of Paris, was popular in the higheft degree; and it must be confessed, that in general it was patriotic, however inconfistent with the conflictution. They felt themfelves pleading the caufe of humanity and natural justice. This would embolden honeft and worthy men to fpeak truth, however unwelcome to the court. In general, it must also be granted that they spoke with caution and with respect to the fovereign powers; and they had frequently the pleafure 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 fort of mediator between the King and his fubjects; and as the avocats faw this, they naturally role in their own effiniation far above the rank in which the conflicution of their government had placed them. For it must always be kept in mind, that the robe was never confidered as the drefs of a Nobleman, although Zz2

though the caflock 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, confider as the light by which they are always conducted; and although even the artificial conftitution of France had long been obliged to bow to the dictates of nature and humanity, and to confer nobility, and even title, on fuch of the profeffors of the municipal law as had, by their skill and their honourable character, rifen to the first offices. of their profession, yet the Noblesse de la Robe never could incorporate with the Nobleffe du Sang, nor even with the Noblesse de l'Epée. The defcendants of a Marquis de la Robe never could rife to certain dignities in the church and at court. The avocats de parlement felt this, and fmarted under the exclusion from court-honours; and though they eagerly courted fuch nobility as they could attain, they feldom 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 prefent fituation of things, being certain of fupport, they went beyond their former cautious bounds, and introduced in their pleadings, and particularly in their joint remonftrances

ftrances against the registration of edicts, all the wire-drawn morality, and cofmo-political jurifprudence, which they had fo often rehearsed in the Lodges, and which had of late been openly preached by the economists and philosophers.

A fignal was given to the nation for engaging " en maffe" in political discussion. The Notables were called upon to come and advife the King; and the points were laid before them, in which his Majefty (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 otherwife; nay, the court thought otherwife; for, in fome of the royal proclamations on this occafion, men of letters were invited to affift with their counfels, and to give what information their reading and experience should fuggest as to the best method of convoking the States General, and of conducting their deliberations. When a Minister thus folicits advice from 'all the world how to govern, he most affuredly 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 Philanthropift of Geneva, fet the example, by fending in his opinion, to be laid on the council-table with the reft. On this fignal, counfel poured in from every garret, and the prefs groaned

ed with advice in every fhape. Ponderous volumes were written for the Bilhop or the Duke; a handfome 8vo for the Notable Officer of cightecn; pamphlets and fingle fheets for the loungers in the Palais Royal. The fermentation was aftonishing; 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 fuch abundance in the confervatories of the Philalethes, and which had been gathered from the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Rouffeau, Raynal, &c. the patriotic counfellors of the Notables had ranfacked 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 fpeeches of former times had been frozen, and were now thawing apace under the beams of the fun of Reafon. For many of these estays were as incongruous and malà-propos as the broken fentences recorded by Mr Addifon in the Spectator. A gentleman who was in Paris at this time, a perfon of great judgment, and well informed in every thing respecting the conflitution and prefont condition of his country, affured me that this invitation, followed by the memorial.

morial of Mr Neckar, operated like an electrical fhock. In the course of four or five days, the' appearance of Paris was completely changed. Every where one faw crowds flaring at papers pasted on the walls-breaking into little partieswalking up and down the fireets in eager converfation-adjourning to coffeehouses-and the conversation in all companies turned to politics alone; and in all these conversations, a new vocabulary, where every fecond word was Morality, Philanthropy, Toleration, Freedom, and Equalifation of property. Even at this early period perfons were listened to without cenfure, or even furprife, who faid that it was nonfense to think of reforming their government, and that it must be completely changed. In fhort, in the courfe of a month, a spirit of liesntiousness and a rage for innovation had completely pervaded the minds of the Parifians. The most confpicuous proof of this was the unexpected fate of the Parliament. It met earlier than ufual, and to give greater eclat to its patriotic efforts, and completely to fecure the gratitude of the people, it islued an arret on the prefent state of the nation, containing a number of refolutions on the different leading points of national liberty. A few months ago thefe would have been joyfully received as the Magna Charta of Freedom, and really contained all that a wife people should defire; but because the Parliament had . had fome time before given it as their opinion as the conflitutional counfel of the Crown, that the States should be convoked on the principles of their last meeting in 1614, which preferved the distinctions of rank, all their pass fervices were forgotten—all their hard struggle with the former administration, and their unconquerable courage and perfeverance, which ended only with their downfal, all were forgotten; and those distinguished members whose zeal and fusserings ranked them with the most renowned heroes and martyrs of patriotism, were now regarded as the contemptible tools of Aristocracy. The Parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure for the parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure of the parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure of the parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure of the parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure of the parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure of the parliament now fet, in a fiery troubled structure of the parliature of the parlia structure of the parlia struc

Of all the barrifters in the Parliament of Paris, the most confpicuous for the display of the enchanting doctrines of Liberty and Equality was Mr Duval, fon of an Avocat in the fame court, and ennobled about this time under the name of Desprésmennil. He was member of a Lodge of the Amis Reunis at Paris, called the Contract Social, and of the Lodge of Chevaliers Bienfaifants at Lyons. His reputation as a barrifter had been prodigiously encreased about this time by his management of a cause, where the descendant of the unfortunate General Lally, after having obtained the refloration of the familyhonours, was striving to get back fome of the estates. estates. Mr Lally Tollendahl had even trained himfelf to the profession, and pleaded his own caufe with aftonishing abilities. But Defpréfinenil had near connections with the family which was in possession of the estates, and opposed him with equal powers, and more addrefs. He was on the fide which was most agreeable to his favourite topics of declamation, and his pleadings attracted much notice both in Paris and in fome of the provincial Parliaments. I mention thefe things with fome interest, because this was the beginning of that marked rivalihip between Lally Tollendahl and Despresmenil, which made fuch a figure in the journals of the National Affembly. It ended fatally for both. Lally Tollendahl was obliged to quit the Atlembly, when he faw it determined on the deftruction of the monarchy and of all civil order, and at laft to emigrate from his country with the lofs of all his property, and to fubfift on the kindnefs of Eng-Desprésimentil attained his meridian of poland. pularity by his difference of the fecret plan of the Court to establish the Cour pleniere, and ever after this took the lead in all the ftrong measures of the Parliament of Paris, which was now overitepping all bounds of moderation or propricty, in hopes of preferving its influence after it had rendered itself impotent by an unguarded stroke. Desprésmenil was the first martyr of that Liberty 3 A

Liberty and Equality which it was now boldly preaching, having voluntarily furrendered himfelf a prifoner to the officer fent 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 feditious preface and notes on the anonymous letters on the Rights of the Prussian States. He alfo, while at Berlin, published an Ffai fur la Secte des Illuminés, one of the strangest and most impudent performances that ever appeared. He there defcribes a fect existing in Germany, called the Illuminated, and fays, that they are the most abfurd and grofs fanatics imaginable, waging war with every appearance of Reafon, and maintaining the most ridiculous superstitions. He gives fome account of these, and of their rituals, ceremonies, &c. as if he had feen them all. Ilis fect is a confused mixture of Christian superstitions, Rofycrucian nonfenfe, and every thing that can raife contempt and hatred. But no fuch Society ever existed, and Mirabeau confided in his own powers of deception, in order to fercen 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

370

Ignis fatuus of his own brain. He knew perfectly that the Illuminati were of a ftamp diametrically oppofite; for he was illuminated by Mauvillon long before.—He gained his point in fome meafure, for Nicholai and others of the junto immediately adopted the whim, and called them *Obfcuranten*, and joined with Mirabeau in placing on the lift of *Obfcuranten* feveral perfons whom they wifhed to make ridiculous.

Mirabeau was not more difcontented with the Court of Berlin for the finall regard it had teftified for his eminent talents, than he was with his own Court, or rather with the minister Calonne, who had fent him thither. Calonne had been greatly diffatisfied with his conduct at Berlin, where his felf-conceit, and his private projects, had made him act in a way almost contrary to the purpofes of his miffion. Mirabeau was therefore in a rage at the minister, and publifhed a pamphlet, in which his celebrated memorial on the flate of the nation, and the means of relieving it, was treated with the utmost feverity 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 fole objects-and he found that taking the fide of the difcontentcd was the best field for his eloquence and reflefs ambition-Yet there was no man that was

3 A 2 ·

was more devoted to the principles of a court than Count Mirabeau, provided he had a fhare in the administration; and he would have obtained it, if any thing moderate would have fatisfied him-but he thought nothing worthy of him but a place of active truft, and a high department. For fuch offices all knew him to be totally unfit. He wanted knowledge of great things, and was learned only in the buffling detail of intrigue, and at any time would facrifice every thing to have an opportunity of exercifing his brilliant eloquence, and indulging his passion for fatire and reproach. ---- The greateft obftacle to his advancement was the abject worthlefinels of his character. What we utually call profligacy, viz. debauchery, gaming, impiety, and every kind of fenfuality, were not enough-he was deftitute of decancy in his vices-tricks which would difgrace a thief-catcher, were never boggled at in order to fupply his expences-For inftance-Ilis father and mother had a process of separation-Mirabeau had just been liberated from prifon for a grofs mifdemcanour, and was in want of money-He went to his father, fided 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 fimilar conduct got the fame fum from her, -and both memorials were prefented. Drinking

372

ing was the only vice in which he did not indulge-his exhaufted conflitution did not per-` mit it. His brother the Viscount. on the contrary, was apt to exceed in jollity. One day the Count faid to him, " How can you, Brother, fo " expole yourfelf ?" " What ! fays the Vifcount, " how infatiable you arc-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 himfelf a candidate in his own order at Aix-But he was fo abhorred by the Nobleffe, that they not only rejected him, but even drove him from their meetings. This affront fettled his measures, and he determined on their ruin. He went to the Commons, disclaimed his being a gentleman, fet up a little shop in the market-place of Aix. and fold trifles-and now, fully refolved what line he fhould purfue, he courted the Commons, by joining in all their exceffes against the Nobleffe, and was at last returned a member of the Affembly.

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

In the year 1785, Mirabeau, in conjunction with the

the Duke de Lauzun and the Abbé Perigord, afterwards Bishop of Autun, (the man so pussed 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 Anis Reunis, which had now rid itself of all the infignificant mysticism of the fect. This was now become troublefome, and took up the time which would be much better employed by the Chevaliers du Solcil, and other still more refined champions of reason and univerfal citizenship. Mirabeau had imparted to it fome 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 underftood was practifed by his Brethren in Germany, for keeping up their connection, and conducting their correspondence. - A letter was therefore fent from this Lodge, figned by these two gentlemen, to the Brethren in Germany, requelling their affiltance and inftruction. In the course of this year, and during the fitting 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,

party, in France to overturn the conflictution comp'etely, 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 themfelves) fhould alone lead to preferment. They meant to abolish the laws which protected property accumulated by long continued and fuccefsful industry, and to prevent for the future any luch 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 neceffary preparations for all this, they intended to root out all religion and ordinary morality, and even to break the bonds of domeflic life, by deftroying 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 detelled name of Orleans, ftained with every thing that can degrade or difgrace human nature. He only wanted Illumination, to fhew hmn in a fystem all the opinions, difpositions,

politions, and principles which filled his own wicked heart. This contemptible being was illuminated by Mirabeau, and has fhown himfelf the most zealous difciple 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 ferve " it with his honour, his fortune, and his blood." -He has kept his word, and has facrificed them all-And he has been treated in the true spirit of the Order-uled 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 affociation of banditti, viz. that of cheating each other. As the managers had the fole possession of the higher mysteries, and led the reft by principles which they held to be falle, and which they employed only for the purpole of fecuring the co-operation of the inferior Brethren, fo 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 fycophants, who ate his bread and pandered to his grofs appetites. Although we very foon find him acting as an Illuminatus, we cannot suppose him to lost to common fense as to contribute his fortune, and rifk

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 furely hoped to obtain the crown of his indolent relation. And indeed Mirabeau faid to Bergasse, that " when the project was mentioned to " the Duke of Orleans, he received it with all " poffible favour," (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 confequences. This is put out of doubt by his behaviour at Verfailles on the dreadful 5th and 6th of October 1789. The depositions at the Chatelet prove in the most incontestable manner, that during the horrors of these two days he was repeatedly feen, and that whenever he was recognifed by the croud, he was huzzaed with Vive Orleans, Vive notre Roi Orleans, &c .--· He then withdrew, and was feen in other places. While all about the unfortunate Royal Family were in the utmost concern for their fate, he was in gay humour, chatting on indifferent fubjects. His last appearance in the evening of the 5th was, about nine o'clock, conversing in a corner with men difguifed in mean drefs, and fome in womens clothes; among whom were Mirabeau, Barnave, Duport, and other deputies of the Re- .

publican .

publican party-and thefe men were feen immediately after, concealed among the lines of the Regiment de Flandre, the corruption of which they had that day completed. He was feen again next morning conversing with the fame perfons in womens drefs. And when the infulted Sovereign was dragged in triumph to Paris, Orleans was again feen, ulking in a balcony behind is children, to view the procession of devils and furies; anxioufly hoping all the while that fome diffurbance would arife in which the King might perifh. -I should have added that he was feen in the morning at the top of the flairs, pointing the way with his hand to the mob, where they flould go, while he went by another road to the King. In fhort he went about trembling like a coward, waiting for the explosion which might render it fafe for him to fhew himfelf. Mirabeau faid of him, " The " fellow carries a loaded piftol in his bofom, but " will never dare to pull the trigger." He was faved; notwithstanding his own folly, by being joined in the accufation with Mirabeau, who could not refcue himfelf without striving also for Orleans, whom he defpiled, while he made use of his fortune .--- In fhort, Orleans was but half illuminated at this time, and hoped to be King or Regent. Yet he was deeply verfed in the preparatory leffons of Illuminatifm, and well convinced of its fundamental truths. He was well affured of the great

great influence of the women in fociety, 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 Louisd'ors, by his grand procureur the Abbé Sieyes, and were fent to meet and to illuminate the two battalions of the Regiment de Flandre, who were coming to Verfailles for the protection of the Royal Family. The privates of one of these regiments came and informed their officers of this attempt made on their loyalty .--45,000 livres were given them at St Denys, to make them difband themfelves-and the poor lads were . . at first dazzled by the name of a fum that was not familiar to them-but when lome 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 faw it. (Depositions at the Chatelet, Nº 317). Mademoifelle Therouane, the favorita of the day at . the Palais Royal, was the most active perfon of the armed mob from Paris, dreffed 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 Oreans acknowledged, before his death, that he had expended above L. 50,000 Sterling in corrupting the Gardes Françoifes. The armed mob which came from Paris to Verfailles on the 5th of Octo-3 B 2 ber,

ber, importuning the King for bread, had their pockets filled with crown-pieces; and Orleans was feen on that day by two gentlemen, with a bag of money fo 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 th. Chatelet, N 177).

But fuch was the contempt into which his, grofs profligacy, his cowardice, and his niggardly difpofition, had brought him with all parties, that, if he had not been quite blinded by his wicked ambition, and by his implacable refentment of fome bitter taunts he had gotten from the King and Queen, he mult have feen very early that he was to be facrificed as foon as he had ferved the purpofes of the faction. At prefent, his affiftance was of the utmost confequence. His immenfe, fortune, much above three millions Sterling, was almost exhausted during the three first years of the Revolution. But (what was of more confequence) 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 fects in Germany, had got himself elected Grand Master of the Strict Objervanz; it gave ferious 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 difcredit that party. In the great cities of. Germany, the inhabitants paid more respect to the Grand Master of the Mafons than to their respective Princes. The author thority of the D. of Orleans in France was still greater, in confequence of his employing his fortune to fupport 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 Affociation was called the Grand Orient de la France, and in 1785 contained 266 of these Lodges, (fee Freymaurerische Zeitung, Neuwied, 1787.) Thus he had the management of all those Secret Societies; and the licentious and irreligious fentiments which were currently preached there, were fure of his hearty concurrence. The fame intrigue which procured him the fupreme chair, must have filled the Lodges with his dependents and emiffaries, and thefe men could not better earn their pay, than by doing their utmost to propagate infidelity, immorality, and impurity of manners.

But fomething more was wanted: Difrefpect for the higher Orders of the State, and difloyalty to the Sovereign.—It is not fo eafy^{*} to conceive how

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

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, Prefident of the Seminary of the Eudifts at Caen in Normandy, and a fecond edition was publifhed at Paris in 1792. The author was butchered in the maffacre of September. He fays, that on the death of a friend, who had been a very zealous Mafon, and many years Mafter of a respectable Lodge, he found among his papers a collection of Mafonic writings, containing the rituals, catechifms,

catechilms, and fymbols of every kind, belong-. ing to a long train of degrees of Free Malonry, together with many discourses delivered in different Lodges, and minutes of their proceedings. The perufal filled him with aftonishment and an-For he found that doctrines were taught, xiety. and maxims of conduct were inculcated, which were fubverfive of religion and of all good order in the ftate; and which not only countenanced difloyalty and fedition, but even invited to it." He thought them fo dangerous to the flate, that he fent an account of them to the Archbishop of Paris long before the Revolution, and always hoped that that Reverend Prelate would reprefent 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 fuch exceffes. But he was difappointed, and therefore thought it his duty to lay them before the public *.

Mr

* Had the good man been fpared but a few months, his furprife at this neglect would have ceafed. For, on the 19th of November 1793, the Archbishop of Paris came to the Bar of the Assembly, accompanied by his Vicar and eleven other Clergymen, who there renounced their Christianity and their clerical vows; acknowledging that they had played the villain for many years against their conficiences, teaching what they knew to be a lie, and

Mr Lefranc fays expressly, that this shocking perversion of Free Masonry to feditious purposes was, in a great meafure; 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 Mafonic Fraternity was hostile to Christianity and to good morals, and that it was the contrivance of the great schifmatic Faustus Socinus, who, being terrified by the fate of Servetus at Geneva, fell on this method of promulgating his doctrines among the great in fecret. This opinion is but ill fupported, and is incompatible with many circumstances in Free Masonry-But it is out of our Mr Lefranc then takes partiway at prefent. cular notice of the many degrees of Chivalry cultivated in the Lodges, and fhows how by artful changes in the fucceffive explanations of the fame fymbols, 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 \mathbf{of}

and were now refolved to be honeft men. The Vicar indeed had behaved like a true *Illuminatus* fome time before, by running off with another man's wife and his ftrong box.—None of them, however, feem to have attained the higher myfteries, for they were all guillotined not long after.

384

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, inconfistent with universal " benevolence, and with the native and impre-" fcriptible rights of man; civil fubordination is " actual oppression, and Princes are ex officio " ufurpers and tyrants." These principles he fairly deduces 'from the Catechifms of the Chevalier du Solcil, 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 fupport and encouragement that feditious doctrines were permitted in the Lodges. Many noblemen and gentlemen were difgufted and left thefe Lodges, and advantage was taken of their absence to improve the Lodges still more, that is, to make them still more anarchical and Numbers of paltry fcribblers who feditious. haunted the Palais Royal, were admitted into the Lodges, and there vented their poifonous doctrines. The Duke turned his chief attention to the French guards, introducing many of the privates and inferior officers into the obfcure and even the more respectable Lodges, so that the officers were frequently difgusted in the Lodges by the infolent behaviour of their own foldiers, under

3 C

the

the mafk of Mafonic Brotherhood and Equality—and this behaviour became not unfrequent even out of doors. He afferts with great confidence that the troops were much corrupted by thefe intrigues—and that when they fometimes declared, on fervice, that they would not fire on their Brethren, the phrafe had a particular reference to their Mafonic Fraternity, becaufe they recognifed many of their Brother Mafons 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 Mafon Lodge.

Mr Lefranc then turns our attention to many peculiarities in the Revolution, which have a refemblance to the practices in Free Mafonry. Not only was the arch rebel the Duke of Orleans the Grand Mafter, but the chief actors in the Revolution, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, and others, were diffinguifhed office-bearers in the great Lodges. He fays that the diffribution of France into departments, diffricts, circles, cantons, &c. is perfectly fimilar, with the fame denominations, to a diffribution which he had remarked in the correfpondence of the Grand Orient *.—The Prefident's

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

Prefident's hat in the National Affembly is copied The fcarf of a Municipal Officer is the fame with that of a Brother Apprentice .-- When the Affembly celebrated the Revolution in the Cathedral, they accepted of the highest honours of Masonry by paffing under the Arch of Steel, formed by the drawn fwords of two ranks of Brethren.-Alfo · it is worthy of remark; that the National Affembly protected the meetings of Free Mafons, while it peremptorily prohibited every other private meeting. The obligation of laying afide all stars, ribbands, croffes, and other honourable diffinctions 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, fays Mr Lefranc, was made by a zealous Mafon.-He farther observes, that the horrible and fanguinary oaths, the daggers, death-heads, croffbones, 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 difgust at deeds of horror, and have paved the way for those shock-. ing barbarities which have made the name of Frenchman abhorred over all Europe. Thefe deeds were indeed perpetrated by a mob of fa-3 C 2 natics :

natics; 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 affertions, that all the irreligious and feditious doctrines were the subjects of perpetual harangues in the Mafon Lodges, and that all the principles of the Revolution, by which the public mind was as it were fet on fire, were nothing but enthuliaftic 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 cafe in " every country where the minds of the lower " claffes of the State are in any way confiderably 45 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 afleep, " now makes him prick up his ears, and liften " with avidity to the filly tale, and he cannot " hinder fretting thoughts from continually rank-" ling in his mind."

Mr Latocnaye fays expressly, " That notwithflanding the general contempt of the public for the Duke of Orleans, his authority as Grand Mafter of the Mafons gave him the greateft opportunity

388

" opportunity that a feditious mind could defire " for helping forward the Revolution. He had ready to his hand a connected fystem of hid-" den Societies, protected by the State, habitu-" ated to fecrecy and artifice, and already tinged " with the very enthulialm which he wilhed to " infpire. 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 Sieyes, and other emiffaries, they were " harangued with all the fophiltical declamation " or cant of Mafonry,"

Mr Latocnaye fays, 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 ' Neuwied 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 amufing themfelves with a little folemn 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 fubmission, 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 inftance :

" A candidate for reception into one of the " higheft

" higheft Orders, after having heard many threat-« enings denounced against all who should be-" tray the Secrets of the Order, was conducted " to a place where he faw the dead bodies of fe-" veral who were faid to have fuffered for their " treachery. He then faw his own brother tied " hand and foot, begging his mercy and inter-" ceffion. He was informed that this perfon was " about to fuffer the punifhment due to this of-"fence, and that it was referved for him (the " candidate) to be the inftrument of this just ven-" geance, and that this gave him an opportunity " of manifesting that he was completely devoted " to the Order. It being observed that his coun-'ee tenance gave figns of inward horror, (the per-" fon in bonds imploring his mercy all the while), ** he was told, that in order to fpare his feelings, " a bandage fhould be put over his eyes. A dag-" ger was then put into his right hand, and be-" ing hood-winked, his left hand was laid on the " palpitating heart of the criminal, and he was " then ordered to ftrike. He inftantly obeyed; • " and when the bandage was taken from his eyes, " he faw that it was a lamb that he had flabbed. " Surely fuch trials and fuch wanton cruelty are " fit only for training confpirators."

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

390

" great deal of noife, and much nonfenfe." " Non-" fenfe," faid the other, " don't judge fo rashly, " young man; I have worked thefe twenty-five " years, and the farther I advanced, it interested " me the more; but I ftopped fhort, and nothing " fhall prevail on me to advance a ftep farther." In another conversation the gentleman faid, "I " imagine that my ftoppage was owing to my " refufal about nine years ago, to liften to fome " perfons who made to me, out of the Lodge, " propofals which were feditious and horrible; " for ever fince that time I have remarked, that " my higher Brethren treat me with a much " greater referve than they had done before; " and that, under the pretext of further inftruc-" tion, they have laboured to confute the no-" tions which I had already acquired, by giving " fome of the most delicate fubjects a different " turn. I faw that they wanted to remove fome " fufpicions which I was beginning to form con-" cerning the ultimate fcope 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 fecret Fraternity of Free Mafonry in the French Revolution, and that he will allow it to be highly probable that the infamous Duke of Orleans had, from the beginning, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of France. It is not my province to prove or disprove this point, point, only I think it no lefs evident, from many circumftances 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 fubordinate detail of the business, and for this purpose requested a deputation from the *Illuminati*.

* The depositions at the Chatclet, which I have already quoted, give repeated and unequivocal proofs, that he, with a confiderable number of the deputies of the National Affembly, had formed this plot before the 5th of October 1789. That trial was conducted in a ftrange manner, partly out of refpect for the Royal Family, which still had fome 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 fafety for any perfon who differed from the opinion of the frantic populace of Paris. The chief points of accufation were written in a schedule which is not published, and the witnesses were ordered to depose on these in one general Yes or No; fo that it is only the leaft important part of the evidence that has been printed. I am well informed that the whole of it is carefully preferved, and will one day appear.

In

392 ·

In fuch a caufe as this, we may be certain that no ordinary perfon would be fent. One of the deputies was Amelius, the next perfon in the order to Spartacus and Philo IIis worldly name was Johann. J. C. Bode, at Weimar, privy-counfellor to the Prince of Heffe-Darmstadt, (See Fragmente der Biographie des verstorbenes Ereyberr Bode in Weimar, mit zuverlassigen Urkunden, Svo. Riom. 1795. See alfo Endliche Shickfall der Freymaurerey, 1794; also Wicner Zeitschrift fur 1793).-This perfon has played a principal part in the whole scheme of Illumina-He was a perfon of confiderable and tion. fhowy talents as a writer. He had great talents for conversation, and had kept good company. With refpect to his mystical character, his experience was great. He was one of the Templar Masons, and among them was Eques à Liliis He had fpeculated much about the Convallium. origin and hiftory of Malonry, and when at the Willemsbad convention, was converted to Illu-He was the great inftigator of Nichominatifm. lai, Gedicke, and Biefter, to the hunt after Jefuits which fo much occupied them, and fuggeft. ed to Nicholai his journey through Germany. Leuchtfenring, whom I mentioned before, was only the letter carrier between Bode and thefe He was just fuch a man as Weithree authors. shaupt withed for; his head filled with Mafonic fanaticifin.

fanaticism, attaching infinite importance to the frivolities of Masonry, and engaged in an enthufiastic and fruitless refearch after its origin and history. He had collected, however, fuch a number of archives, (as they were called), of Free Masonry, that he fold his manufcript to the Duke of Saxe Gotha, (into whole fervice Weishaupt engaged himself when he was driven from Bavaria), for 1500 dahlers. This little anecdote flows the high importance attributed to these matters by perfons of whom we should expect better things. Bode was also a most determined and violent materialist. Besides all these qualities, fo acceptable to the Illuminati, he was a discontented Templar Mason, having been repeatedly difappointed 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 fole direction of the Mafon Lodges, and of the whole Fraternity, his hopes revived of rifing to fome of the Commanderies, which his enthusiafm, or rather fanaticism, had made him hope to fee one day regained by the Order-but when he found that the next and favourite object was to root out the Strict Obfervanz altogether, he started back. But Philo faw 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 Illuminatifm,

minatism, by a magnificent display of a world ruled by the Order, and conducted to happinefs by means of Liberty and Equality. This did the business, as we fee by the private correspondence, where Philo informs Spartacus of his first difficulties with Amelius. Amelius was gained over in August 1782, and we fee by the fame 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 Jefuits and the Rofycrucians. It was also Bode that procured the important accellion of Nicholai to the Order. This he brought about through Leuchtfenring; and lastly, his numerous connections among the Free-Mafons, together with Knigge's influence among them, enabled the Illuminati to worm themfelves 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 Bussche, called in the Order Bayard; therefore probably a man of respectable character; for most of Spartacus's names were fignificant, like his own. He was a military man, Lieutenant-Colonel in the fervice of Hesse-Darmstadt. This man also was a discontented Templar Mason, and his name in that Fraterni-

3 D 2

ty

ty had been Eques a Fontious Eremi. He was Illuminated by Knigge. He had also been unfuccessful both at court and in the field, in both of which fituations 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 fitting, and all Paris was giving advice. The alarm that was raifed about Animal Magnetism, which was indeed making much noife at that time, and particularly in Paris, was affigned by them as the great motive of the journey. Bode alfo faid that he was anxious to learn what were the corrections made on the fystem of the Chevaliers Bienfaifants. They had taken that name at first, to screen themfelves from the charges against them under the name of Templars. They had corrected fomething in their fystem when they took the name Philalethes. And now when the Schifms of the Philalethes were healed, and the Brethren again united under the name of Amis Reunis, he fuspected that Jesuits had interfered; and because he had heard that the principles of the Amis Reunis were very noble, he wished to be more certain that they were purged of every thing Jefuitical.

396

The deputies accordingly arrived at Paris, and immediately obtained admiffion into thefe two Fraternities^{*}. They found both of them in the ripeft flate for Illumination, having flaken off all the cabaliftical, chemical, and myftical whims that had formerly difturbed them, and would now take up too much of their time. They were now cultivating with great zeal the philofophico political doctrines of univerfal citizenfhip. Their leaders, to the number of twenty, are mentioned by name in the Berlin Monatfchrift for 1785, and among them are feveral of the first actors in the French Revolution. But this is nothing diffinctive, becaufe perfons of all opinions were Mafons.

The

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

1. Ein wichtiger Auffchlufs über ein noch wenig bekannte Veranlasfung der Französchen Revolution, in the Vienna Zeitfchrift for 1793, p. 145.

2. Endliche Shickfall des Freymaurer-Ordens, 1794, p. 19.

3. Neuefle 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, Gottingen, var. loc.

6. Beyirage zur Biographie des verstorbenes Frey-Herr v Bode, 1794.

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

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 bufiness which had fucceeded fo well in fpreading their doctrines and maxims over Germany. Befides, their doctrines had not been digested into a system, nor had the artful methods of leading on the pupils from bad to worse been practifed. For hitherto, each individual had vented in the Lodges his own opinions, to unburden his own mind, and the Brethren liftened for inftruction and mutual encou-Therefore, when Spartacus's plan ragement. was communicated to them, they faw at once its importance, in all its branches, fuch as the ufe of the Malon Lodges, to filh for Minervals-the rituals and ranks to encice the young, and to lead them by degrees to opinions and meafures which, at first fight, would have shocked them. The firm hold which is gotten of the pupils, and indeed of all the inferior claffes, by their reports in the course of their pretended training in the knowledge of them elves and of other mcn-and, above all, the provincial arrangement of the Order, and the clever ful ordination and entire dependence on a felect band or Pandæmonium at Paris, which fhould infpire and direct the whole.--I think, (although

(although I have not express affertions of the fact), from the sublequent conduct of the French revolters, that even at this early period, there were many in those focieties who were ready to go every length proposed to them by the Illuminati, fuch 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 Atheifm, or a philosophical chimera which they were to call Religion. Mirabeau had often fpoken of the last branch of the Illuminated principles, and the converfations held at Verfailles during the awful pauses of the 5th of October, (which are to be feen in the evidence before the Chatelet in the Orleans process), can hardly be fuppofed to be the fancies of an accidental moh.

Mirabeau was, as I have faid, at the head of this democratic party, and had repeatedly faid, that the only use of a King was to ferve as a pageant, in order to give weight to public meafures in the opinion of the populace.—And Mr Latocnaye fays, that this party was very numerous, and that immediately after the imprudent or madlike invitation of every fcribbler in a garret to give his advice, the party did not fcruple 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 alfo much tinged with the Cofino-political philofophy of the times. The King's brothers, and the Princes of the blood, prefented a memorial to his Majesty, which concluded by faying, that " the effervescence of the public opinions had " come to fuch 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 fpread his " poifonous fentiments, in which the rights of " the throne were not only difrespected, but " were even disputed-that the rights of the " higher classes in the state ran a great risk of " being fpeedily fupprefied, and that nothing " would hinder the facred right of property from " being ere long invaded, and the unequal dif-" tribution of wealth from being thought a pro-" per fubject of reform."

When fuch 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 Verité, the Social Contract, &c. and in the course of a very tew-weeks in the end of 1788, and

400

401

in

and the beginning of 1789, (that is, before the end of March), the whole of the Grand Orient, including the Philalethes, Amis Reunis, Martinistes, &c. had the fecrets of Illumination communicated to them. The operation naturally began with the Great National Lodge of Paris, and those in immediate d pendence on it. It would also feem, from many circumstances that occurred to my observation, that the Lodges in Alface and Lorraine were illuminated at this time, and not long before, as I had imagined. Strafburg I know had been illuminated long ago, while Philo was in the Order. A circumstance strikes me here as of fome moment. The fects of Philalethes and Amis Reunis were refinements engrafted on the fystem of the Chevaliers Bienfaifants at Ly-Such refinements never fail to be confiderons. ed as a fort of herefy, and the profesfors will be beheld with a jealous and unfriendly eye by fome, who will pride themfelves on adhering to the old faith. And the greater the fuccess of the herefy, the greater will be the animofity between the parties.-May not this help to explain the mutual hatred of the Parifians and the Lyonnois, which produced the most dreadful atrocities ever perpetrated on the face of the earth, and made a shambles and a defert 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 Arbutung fays 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 fubsequent 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 flupid Bavarians (as the French were once pleafed to call them) their inftructors in the art of overturning the world. 'The French were indeed the first who put it in practice. These committees arole 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 perfons who wifh to addrefs the Brethren, " (F. S. je demande la parole, which the F. S. re-" ports to the V. G. M. and which he announces " to the Brethren thus, " Mes freres, frere tel " demande la parole, la parole lui c/t accordée,") is exactly copied by the Jacobin Club. There is furely

402

furely no natural connection between Free Mafonry and Jacobinifm—but we fee the link—Illuminatifm.—

The office bearers of one of the Lodges of Philalethes in Paris were Martin, Willermooz. (who had been deputy from the Chevaliers Bienfaijants to the Willemfbad Convention), Chappe, Minet, de la Henriere, and Savatier de l'Ange *. In another (the Contract Social) the political committee confifted of La Fayette, Condorcet, Pethion, d'Orleans, Abbé Bertholis, d'Aiguillon, Bailly, Marq. de la Salle, Despresmenil. This particular Lodge had been founded and conducted by one De Leutre, an adventurer and cheat of the first magnitude, who fometimes made a figure, and at other times was without a shilling. At this very time he was a fpy attached to the office of the police of Pa-3 E 2 ris.

* Minet was (I think) at this time a player. He was fon of a furgeon at Nantcs—robbed his father and fled—enlifted in Holland—deferted and became fmuggler—was taken and burnt in the hand—became player, and married an actrefs then became prieft—and was made Bifhop of Nantes by Couflard in difcharge of a debt of L. 500. Mr Latocnaye often faw Couftard kneel to him for benediction It cannot be fuppofed that he was much venerated in his pontificals in his native city.—It feems Minet, Minet, is the call of the children to a kitten—This was prohibited at Nantes, and many p^{cr-} fons whipped for the freedom ufed with his name.

ris*. The Duke of Orleans was Warden of the Lodge. The Abbé Sieyes was a Brother Orator, but not of this Lodge, nor (I think) of the former. It was probably of the one conducted by Mirabeau and the Abbé Perigord. But it appears from the piece from which I am at prefent borrowing, that Sieves was prefent in the meetings of both Lodges, probably as vifiting Brother, employed in bringing them to common measures. I must observe, that the fublequent conduct of fome 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 fanctum fanctorum among themselves, without inviting all to the conference. Observe too that the chief leffon which they were now taking from the Germans

* He now' (or very lately) keeps the best company, and lives in elegance and affluence in London.

Augur, febænobates medicus, magus, omnia novit Græculus efuriens; in cælum jufferis, ibit *. Ingenium velox audacia perdita, fermo Promptus.

Juvenal

All fciences a hungry Frenchman knows,
 And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes.

Jchajon's Translation.

mans was the method of doing business, of mana, 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 fhort time into a fet of fecret affiliated focieties, corresponding with the mother Lodges of Paris, receiving from thence their principles and instructions, and ready to rife up at once when called upon, to carry on the great work of overturning the ftate.

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 fchemes and plots have extended no farther than the nation where they took their rife. But here we have feen that they take in the whole world. They have repeatedly declared this in their manifeftos, 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 focieties were early formed, and were working in fecret before the opening of the National Affembly, 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

wę

we fee Weishaupt's wish accomplished in an unexpected degree, and the debates in a club giving laws to folemn affemblies of the nation, and all France bending the neck to the city of Paris. The members of the club are Illuminati, and fo are a great part of their correspondents.--Each operates in the ftate as a Minerval would do in the Order, and the whole goes on with fystematic regularity. The famous Jacobin Club was just one of these Lodges, as has been already observed; and as, among individuals, one commonly takes the lead, and contrives for the reft, so it has happened on the prefent 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 reft only echoed its difcourfes, 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. Begebenh. 1793. p. 448.) before the Revolution, and corresponded with another Lodge at Strafburg; and thefe two produced mighty effects during the year 1790. In a performance called Memoires Postbumes de Custine it is faid that when that General was bending his course to Holland, the Illuminati at Strafburg, 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 raifed 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, fays, that Zimmerman, of whom I have fpoken more than once, went to France to preach liberty. He was employed as a miffionary of Revolution in Alface, where he had formerly been a most fuccessful missionary of Illuminatifm. Of his former proceedings the following is a curious anecdote. He connected himfelf with a highly accomplished and beautiful woman, whole conversation had fuch charms, that he fays fhe gained him near a hundred converts in Spire alone. Some perfons of high rank, and great exterior dignity of character, had felt more tender impreffions-and when the lady informed them of certain confequences to their reputation, they were glad to compound matters with her friend Mr Zimmerman, who either paffed for her hufband, or took the fcandal on himfelf. 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 fabre in his hand, and bawl out, " Behold, Frenchmen, " this is your God. This alone can fave you." The author adds, that when Custine broke into Germany, Zimmerman got admission to him, and engaged to deliver Manheim into his bands. To

To gain this purpole, he offered to fet fome corners of the city on fire, and affured him of fupport. Cuftine declined the offer.-Zimmerman appeared against him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and accufed him of treachery to his caufe.-Cuftine's anfwer is remarkable. "Hard-" ly," faid he, " had I fet my foot in Germa-" ny, when this man, and all the fools of his " country, befieged me, and would have deli-" vered up to me their towns and villages-" What occasion had I to do any thing to Man-" heim, when the Prince was neutral?" Zimmerman found his full account in Robefpierre's bloody fway-but the fpurt of his atrocities was also the whole of Zimmerman's career. He was arrested, but again liberated, and foon after a-. gain imprisoned, after which I can learn no more of him. The fame thing is positively afferted in another performance, called Cri de la Raison, and in a third, called Les Masques arrachées. Obferve too, that it is not the clubs merely that are accufed of this treachery, but the Illuminati. De la Metherie alfo, in his preface to the Journal de Physique for 1790, fays expressly that " the " caufe and arms of France were powerfully " fupported in Germany by a fect of philofo-" phers called the Illuminated." In the preface to the Journal for 1792, he fays, that " Letters " and deputations were received by the Affem-" bly ٠.

" bly from feveral Corresponding Societies in " England, felicitating them on the triumph of " Reafon and Humanity, and promifing them " their cordial affistance." He read some of these manifests, and fays, that " one of them re-" commended ftrongly the political education of " the children, who should be taken from the " parents, and trained up for the flate." Another lamented the baleful influence of property. faving that ... the efforts of the Affembly would " " be fruitlefs, till the fence was removed with " which the laws fo anxioufly fecured inordinate " wealth. They should rather be directed to the " fupport of talents and virtue; because proper-" ty would always fupport 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 fhort, the counfel 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 guit the Affociation. Anacharfis Cloots, born in Pruffian Westphalia, a keen llluminatus, came to Paris for the express purpole of forwarding the great work, and by intriguing in the style of the Order, he got himself made one of the Reprefentatives of the Nation. He feems to have been one of the completest fa-

natics

natics in Cofino-politifm, and just fuch a tool as Weifhaupt would choofe to employ for a coarfe and arduous job. He broke out at once into all the filly extravagance of the unthinking herd, and his whole language is just the jargon of Illumination. Citizen of the World-Liberty and Equality, the imprescriptible Rights of Man-Morality, dear Morality-Kings and Prjefts are ufeless things-they are Despots and Corrupters, &c.---He declared himfelf an atheift, and zealoufly laboured to have atheifm established by law. He conducted that farcical procession in the true flyle of the most childish ritual of Philo, where counterfeited deputies from all quarters of the world, in the dreffes of their countries, came to congratulate the nation for its victory over Kings and Priefts. It is also worthy of remark, that by this time Leuchtfenring, whom we have feen fo zealous an Illuminatus. after having been as zealous a Protestant, tutor of Princes, Hofrath and Hofmeister, was now a fecretary or clerk in one of the Bureaus of the National Affembly of France.

I may add as a finishing touch, that the National Affembly of France was the only body of men that I have ever heard of who openly and fystematically proposed to employ association, and to inftitute a band of patriots, who should exercise this prosession either by fword, pistol, or poison;

poilon; -- and though the propofal was not completed, it might be confidered as the fentiments of the meeting; for it was only delayed till it should be confidered how far it might not be imprudent, because they might expect reprifals. The Abbé Dubois engaged to poifon the Comte d'Artois; but was himself robbed and poifoned by his accomplices .- There were ftrong reasons for thinking that the Emperor of Germany was poiloned -- and that Mirabeau was thus tricked by his pupil Orleans, alfo Madame de Favras and her fon .- 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 infolence and oppression of the Crown and the Nobles, nor the mifery and flavery of the people, nor that there were fufficient provocation and caufe for a total change of meafures and of principles. But the rapidity with which one opinion was declared in every corher, and that opinion as quickly changed, and the change announced every where, and the perfect conformity of the principles, and famenels of the language, even in arbitrary trifles, can hardly be explained in any other way. It may indeed be faid " que les beaux genies fe ren-3F2 " contrent.

" contrent,—that wits jump. The principles are the fame, and the conduct of the French has been fuch as the Illuminati would have exhibited; but this is all—the Illuminati no longer existed." Enough has been faid on this last point already.—The facts are as have been narrated. The Illuminati continued as an Order, and even held affemblies, though not fo frequently nor fo formally as before, and though their Areoagus was no longer at Munich. But let us hear what the French themfelves thought of the matter.

In 1789, or the beginning of 1790, a manifelt was fent from the GRAND NATIONAL LODGE of Free 'Masons (fo it is entitled) at Paris, figned by the Duke of Orlcans as Grand Master, addressed and fent 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 opportunitics, and the practicability of the thing, to kindle and propagate the spirit of revolution through all lands. This is a most important article, and deferves a very ferious attention. I got it first of all in a work called, Hochste wichtige Erinnerungen zur rechten Zeit uber einige der allerernsthaftesten Angelegenheiten dieses Zeitalters, von L. A. Hoffmann, Vienna, 1795.

The author of this work fays, " That every " thing he advances in these memorandums is " confistent

" confistent with his own personal knowledge, " and that he is ready to give convincing proofs " of them to any respectable perfon who will ap-" ply to him perfonally. He has already given " fuch* convincing documents to the Emperor, " and to feveral Princes, that many of the machi-" nations occasioned by this manifesto have been . " detected and ftopped; and he would have no " fcruple at laying the whole before the public, " did it not unavoidably involve feveral wor-" thy perfons who had fuffered themfelves to. " be misled, and heartily repented of their er-" rors." He is naturally (being a Catholic) very fevere on the Protestants, (and indeed he has much reason), and by this has drawn on himself many bitter retorts. He has however defended ' himfelf against all that are of any confequence tohis good name and veracity, in a manner that fully convinces any impartial reader, and turns to the confusion of the flanderers.

Hoffman fays, that " he faw fome of those " manifest; that they were not all of one tenor, " fome being addressed to friends, of whose sup-", port they were already affured." One very important article of their contents is Earness exhortatations to establish in every quarter secret schools of political education, and schools for the public education of the childrent of the people, under the direction of well-principled masters; and offers of pecuniary offstance

affiftance for this purpose, and for the encourage. ment of writers in favour of the Revolution, and for indemnifying the patriotic bookfellers who fuffer 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 faid in the National Affembly " that this method was the most "-effectual for accomplishing their purpose of set-" ting Europe in a flame." " But much ex-" pence," fays the speaker, " will attend it, and " much has already been employed, which can-" not be named, becaufe it is given in fecret." The Affembly had given the Illumination war-hoop-" Peace with cotrages, but war with palaces."-A polivoir revolutionnaire is mentioned, which fuperfedes all narrow thoughts, all ties of morality. Lequinio publishes the most detestable book that ever issued from a printing prefs, Les Prejugés vaincus, containing all the principles, and expreffed in the very words of Illuminatifm.

Hoffman fays, that the French Propaganda had many emission vienna, and many friends whom he could point out. 'Mirabeau in particular had many connections in Vienna, and to the certain knowledge of Hoffman, carried on

a

414

' a great correspondence in cyphers. The progrefs of Illumination had been very great in the Austrian States, and a statesman gave him accounts of their proceedings, (qui font redreffer les cheveux), which make one's hair stand on end. " I no longer wonder," fays he, " that the Neuche . " Arbutung des Spartacus und Philo was forbid-" den. O ye almighty Illuminati, what can you " not accomplifh by your ferpent-like infinua-" tion and cunning !" Your leaders fay, " This " book is dangerous, becaufe it will teach wicked " men the most refined methods of rebellion, and " it must never get into the hands of the com-" mon people. They have faid fo with the most " impudent face to fome Princes, who did not " perceive the deeper-laid reafon for fupprefling " the book. The leaders of the Illuminati are, " not without reason, in anxiety, left the infe-" rior classes of their own Society should make " just reprifals for having been to bafely tricked, " by keeping them back, and in profound igno-" rance of their real defigns; and for working " on them, by the very goodnefs of their hearts, to " their final ruin; and left the Free Mafons, whom " they have also abused, should think of reven-" ging themfelves, when the matchlefs villany of " their deceivers has been fo 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 perfon faid aloud, that " the Illuminatifm difcovered by this book was " High Treafon, 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 fpirit of the " Illumination fystem as at prefent, but only not " fo documented by their conflitutional acts, as it " is now by the Neueste Arbutung des Spartacus " und Philo. My majoric connections were for-" merly extensive, and my publication entitled " Eighteen Paragraphs concerning Free Mafonry, " procured me more acquaintance with Free Ma-" fons of the greatest worth, and of Illuminati " equally upright, perfons of respectability and " knowledge, who had difcovered and repented " the trick and inveigling conduct of the Order. " All of us jointly fwore opposition to the Illumi-" nati, and my friends confidered me as a pro-" per inftrument for this purpole. To whet my " zeal, they put papers into my hands which " made me fhudder, and raifed my diflike to the " highest pitch. I received from them lists of the " members, and among them faw names which " I lamented exceedingly. Thus flood matters " in 1790, when the French Revolution began ťo

415

to take a ferious turn. The intelligent faw in.
the open fyllem of the Jacobins the complete
hidden fyllem of the Illuminati. We knew
that this fyllem 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 feat of government."

" He farther relates how they in Vienna want-" ed to enlift him, and, as this failed, how they " have abufed him even in the foreign newfpa-" pers.

" I have perfonal knowledge (continues he) " that in Germany a fecond Mirabeau, Mauvil-" lon, had propofed in detail a plan of revolu-" tion, entirely and precifely fuited to the prefent " flate of Germany. This he circulated among " feveral Free Mafon Lodges, among all the Illu-* minated Lodges which flill remained in Ger-" many, and through the hands of all the emif-" faries of the Propaganda, who had been al-" ready dilpatched to the frontiers (vorposten) of " every diffrict of the empire, with means for " flirring up the people." (N. B. in 1792 Mauvillon, finding abundant fupport and encouragement in the appearance of things round him, when the French, arms had penetr. ted every where, 3 G

where, and their invitations to revolt had met with fo hearty a reception from the difcontented in every flate, came boldly forward, and, in the Brunfwick Journal for March 1792, declared that " he heartily rejoiced in the French Revolution, " wifhed it all fuccefs, and thought himfelf liable " to no reproach when he declared his hopes that " a fimilar revolution would fpeedily take place in " Germany.")

In the Hamburgh Political Journal, August, September, and Offober 1790, there are many proofs of the machinations of emillaries from the Mafon Ladges of Paris among the German Free Mafons-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 Mafon Lodge. It confilts of perfons of all nations, and is under the direction of the Grand Master, the Duke of Orlcans. De Leutre is one of the Wardens. They have divided Europe into colonics, to which they give revolutionary names, fuch as the Cap, the Pike, the Lantern, &c. They have minifters in these colonies. (One is pointed out in Saxony, by marks which I pre-· fume are well understood). A fecret prefs was found in Saxe Gotha, furnished with German types, which printed a feditious work called the Yournal of Humanisy. This journal was found in the mornings lying in the ftreets and highways. The

The house belonged to an *Illuminatus* of the name of Duport, a poor *l*choolmafter—he was affociated with another in Stralburg, who was allo an *Illuminatus*.—His name was Meyer, the writer of the Stratburg Newspaper. He had been fome time a teacher in Salzmann's academy, who we fee was alfo an *Illuminatus*, but displeased with their proceedings almost at the first. (Private Correspondence).

"I have perfonal knowledge (continues Profeffor Hoffmann,) that in 1791, during the temporary dearth at Vienna, feveral of thefe emiflarics were bufy 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 fome of them, and expofed them in my *Patrictic Remarks on the prefent Dearth*, and had the fatisfaction of feeing my endeavours of confiderable effect."

Surely there facts flow that the Anarchifts of France knew of the German Illuminati, and confided in their fupport. They also knew to what particular Lodges they could addrefs themfelves with fafety and confidence.—But what need is there of more argument, when we know the zeal of the Illuminati, and the unhoped 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 3 G 2 would would eagerly put their hand to the plough? And, to complete the proof, do we not know from the lifts found in the fecret correspondence of the Order, that they already had Lodges in France, and that in 1795 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 lefs active. They had Lodges at Geneva and at Bern. At Bern two Jacobins were featenced to feveral years impriforment, and among their papers were found their patents of Illumination. I allo fee the fate of Geneva afcribed to the operations of Illuminati refiding there by feveral 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 Affembly and Convention; which make it evident that their principles and their practice are precifely those of the Illuminati, on a great feale.

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

" In the moment that we fend freedom to a " nation on our fronticr, we must fay to them, " You must have no more Kings"—for if we are " furrounded by tyrants, their coalition puts " our own freedom in danger.—When the " French French nation fent us hither, it created a great
committee for the general infurrection 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 21ft of November, the Prefident of the Convention faid to the pretended deputies of the Duchy of Savoy, " Reprefentatives of an inde-" pendent people, important to mankind was " the day when the National Convention of " France pronounced its fentence, *Royal dignity is* " *abilith d.*—From that day many nations will in " future reckon the era of their political exiftence. " —From the beginning of civil eftablifhments " Kings have been in oppofition to their nations " Low they rife up to annihilate Kings.— " Reafon, when the darts her rays into every " corner, lays open eternal truths—She alone en-" ables us to pafs fentence on defpots, hitherto " the feare-crow of other nations."

But the most distinct exhibition of principle is to be feen in a report from the diplomatic committee, who were commissioned to deliberate on the conduct which France was to hold with other nations. On this report was founded the decree of the 15th of December 1793. 'The Reporter address he Convention as follows.

" The

" 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, muft " be treated as an enemy in the countries where " we let our foot. This is the genuine relult of " our principles .- But it is not with Kings alone " that we are to wage war-were these our fole " enemics, we fhould only have to bring down " ten or twelve heads. We have to fight with all " their accomplices, with the privileged orders, * who devour and have oppressed the people " during many centuries.

"We must therefore declare ourfelves for a revolutionary power in all the countries into which we enter, (loud applauses from the Affembly)—Nor need we put on the cloak of humanity—we difdain fuch little arts.—We must clothe ourfelves with all the brilliancy of reason, and all the force of the nation. We need not mask our principles—the despots know them alaly. The first thing we must do is to ring the alarum bell, for infurrection and uproar.— We must, in a folemn manner, let the people fee the banishment of their tyrapts and privileged "casts cafts—otherwife, the people, accuftomed to their
fetters, will not be able to break their bonds.—
It will effect nothing, merely to excite a rifing
of the people—this would only be giving them
words, inflead of flanding by them.

" And fince, in this manner, we ourfelves are the Revolutionary Administration, all that is against the rights of the people must be overthrown, at our entry—We must display our principles by actually destroying all tyranny; and our generals, after having challed away the tyrants and their fatellites, must proclaim to the people that they have brought them happines; and then, on the spot, they must suppress titles, feudal rights, and every species of fervitude."

"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 Revolutionary Authority appears, there must nothing of the old establishment remain.—A popular system must be introduced —every office unit be occupied by new functionaries—and the Sanfculottes must every where have a stare in the Administration.

"Still nothing is done, till we declare aloud the *precificn* of our principles to fuch as want only a half freedom.—We muft fay to them—If you think of compromifing with the privileged cafts, we cannot fuffer fuch dealing with "tyrants

CHAP. IV.

" tyrants-They are our enemies, and we must " treat them as enemies, becaufe they are neither " for Liberty nor Equality .- Show yourfelves dil-" poled to receive a free conflication-and the " Convention will not only fland by you, but will " give you permanent fupport ; we will defend " you against the yengeance of your tyrants, 'a-" gainft their attacks, and againft their return .---" Therefore abolifh from among you the Nobles " -- and every ecclefialtical and military incor-" poration. They are incompatible with Equali-" ty .--- Henceforward you are citizens, all equal " in rights-equally called upon to rule, to defend, " and to ferve your country .- The agents of the " French Republic will inflruct and affift you in " forming a free conflication, and affure you of . " happiness and fraternity."

This Report was loudly applauded, and a decree formed in precife conformity to its principles.—Both were ordered to be translated into all languages, and copies to be furnished to their generals, with orders to have them carefully difperfed in the countries which they invaded.

And, in completion of these decrees, their armies found it easy to collect as many discontented or worthless perfons in any country as sufficed for setting up a tree of liberty. This they held as a sufficient- call for their interference.—. Sometimes they performed this ceremony themfelves felves—a reprefentation was eafily made up in the fame way—and then, under the name of a free conflitution, the nation was forced to acquiefce in a form dictated at the point of the bayonet, in which they had not the finalleft liberty to choofe —and they were plundered of all they had, by way of compenfating to France for the trouble fhe had taken.—And this they call Liberty.—It needs no comment.—

Thus have I attempted to prove that the prefent awful fituation of Europe, and the general fermentation of the public mind in all nations, have not been altogether the natural operations of difcontent oppression, and moral corruption, although these have been great, and have operated with fatal energy; but that this political fever has been carefully and fyftematically heightened by bodies of men, who professed to be the phyficians of the State, and, while their open practice employed cooling medicines, and a treatment which all approved, administered in secret the most inflammatory poifons, which they made up fo as to flatter the difeafed fancy of the patient. Although this was not a plan begun, carried on, and completed by the fame perfons, it was undoubtedly an uniform and confistent scheme, proceeding on the fame unvaried principle, and France undoubtedly now fmarts under all the woes of German Illumination.

42S

I beg leave to fuggest 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 thefe villanous machinations against the peace of • the world, the attack has been first made on the principles of Morality and Religion. The confpirators faw that till these are extirpated, they have no chance of fuccels; and their manner of proceeding shews that they confider Religion and Morality as infeparably connected together. We learn much from this-Fas cft et ab hofte doceri .---- They endeavour to deftroy our religious fentiments, 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 fight, and stand in the way.-They are careful, on this occasion, to give such a view of those reftraints, that the real origin of them does not appear.---We are made to believe that they have been altogether, the contrivance of priests and defpots, in order to get the command of us.---They

.

They take care to fupport these affertions by facts, which, to our great fhame, and greater misfortune, are but too numerous .--- Having now the puffions on their fide, they find no difficulty in perfuading the voluptuary, or the difcontented, that tyranny actually exerted, or refolved on in future, is the fole origin of religious re-He feeks no further argument, and ftraint. gives himfelf no trouble to find any .-- Had he examined the matter with any care, he would find himfelf just brought back to those very feelings of moral excellence and moral depravity that he willes to get rid of altogether; and these would tell him that pure Religion does not lay a fingle reftraint on us that a noble nature would not have laid on itfelf-nor enjoins a fingle duty which an ingenuous and warm heart would not be afhamed to find itfelf deficient in. He would then fee that all the fanctions of Religion are fitted to his high rank in the fcale 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 flate of mind, (an attainment in the power of any kind heart that is in earneft in the enquiry); he will think that no punishment is too great for the unthankful and groveling foul which can forego fuch hopes, and reject . 3 H 2 thefe

1.

these noble proffers, for the comparatively frivolous and transitory gratifications of life. He is not frightened into worthy and virtuous conduct by fears of fuch 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 fight, in the inftructions of Illuminatifun. In these the eye must be kept always directed to the Defpot. This is the bugbear, and every thing · is made to connect with prefent or future tyranny and oppression - Therefore Religion is held out as a combination of terrors-the invention of the ftate-tools, the priefts .- But it is not eafy to fliffe the fuggestions of Nature-therefore no pains are fpared to keep them down, by encreafing the uncertainty and doubts which arife in the courfe of all speculations on fuch subjects. Such difficulties occur in all fcientific difcuffions,-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 miftakes even in bis fcience, the most fimple of all others .- Nor does the mechanic or the chemist reject all his fcience, because he cannot attain clear conceptions of fome of the natural relations which operate in the phenomena under his con, fideration.

fideration .- Nor do any of these students of nature brand with the name of fool, or knave, or bigot, another perfon who has drawn a different conclusion from the phenomenon.---In one point they all agree-they find themfelves poffeffed of faculties which enable them to fpeculate, and to difcover; and they find, that the operation of those faculties is quite unlike the things which they contemplate by their meansand they feel a fatisfaction in the pofferfion of them, and in this diffinction .---- But this feems a misfortune to our Illuminators. I have long been struck with this. If by deep meditation I have folved a problem which has baffled the endeavours of others, I should hardly thank the perfon who convinced me that my fuccefs was entirely owing to the particular flate of my health, by -which my brain was kept free from many irritations to which other perfons are exposed. Yet this is the conduct of the Illuminated-They are abundantly felf-conceited; and yet they continually endeavour to deftroy all grounds of felfestimation .--- They rejoice in every discovery nut is reported to them of fome refemblance, unnoticed before, between mankind and the' inferior creation, and would be happy to find that the refemblance is complete. It is very true, Mr Pope's " Poor Indian, with untutor'd mind," had no objection to his dog's going to heaven with him;

" And

" And thinks, admitted to that equal fky,

" His faithful dog fhall bear him company."

This is not an abject, but it is a modest fentiment. But our high-minded philosophers, who, with Beatrice in the play, " cannot brook obe-" dience to a wayward piece of marl," 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 Metherie 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 Phylique, that particular form of crystallization which men have been accuflomed to call God .- Dr Prieftley again deduces all intelligence from elastic undulations, and will probably think, that his own great difcoveries have been the quiverings of fome fiery marsh miasma. While Pope's poor Indian hopes to take his dog to heaven with him, thefe Illuminators hope to die like dogs, and that both foul and body shall be as if they never had been.

Is not this a melancholy refult of all our Illumination? It is of a piece with the termination of the ideal Philofophy, viz. profeffed and total ignorance. Should not this make us flart back and hefitate, before we pout like wayward children at the rubs of civil fubordination, and before we make a facrifice to our ill human of all that we value

value ourfelves for ? Does it not carry ridicule and abfurdity in its forehead ?-Such affertions of perfonal worth and dignity, (always excepting Princes and priefts), and fuch abject acknowledgments of worthlefinefs .-- Does not this, of itfelf, flow that there is fome radical fault in the whole? It has all arifen from what they have called Illumination, and this turns out to be worfe than darknefs-Bût we also know that it has all arisen from felf-conceited discontent, and that it has been brought to its prefent state by the rage of fpeculation. We may venture to . put the queflion to any man's confcience-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 with 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 propenfity.-It feems a misfortune of the age-for we fee that it is a natural fource of difturbance and revolution.-But here it will be immediately faid, "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, lettus, in all our fpeculations on fubjects which engage the paffions, guard ourfelves

felves with the most anxious care against the rish of having our judgments warped by our defires .---There is no propenfity of our nature of which the proper and modeft indulgence is not beneficial to man, and which is not hurtful, when this indulgence is carried too far .-- And if we candidly perufe the page of hiftory, we shall be convinced that the abufe is great in proportion as the subject is important. What has been fo ruinoufly perverted as the religious principle ?- What horrid fuperstition has it not produced? The Reader will not, I hope, take it amifs that I prefume to direct his attention to fome maxims which ought to conduct a prudent man in his indulgence of a fpeculative difpolition, and apply them to the cafe in hand.

Whoever will for a while call off his attention from the common affairs of life, the Curæ hominum, et rerum pondus inane, and will but reflect a little on that wonderful principle within him, which carries him over the whole univerfe, and fhows him its various relations.—Whoever alfo remarks what a lefs than nothing he is, when compared with this unmeasureable fcene—Whoever does this, cannot but feel an inexpressible pleafure in the contemplation.—He must rife in his own effimation, and be disposed to cherist with fondness this principle which to eminently raises him above all around him. If all the fources

of human vanity this is furely the most manly, the most excusable, and the most likely to be extravagantly indulged. - We may be certain that it will be fo indulged, and that men will frequently fpeculate for the fake of fpeculation alone, and that they will have too much confidence in the refults of this favourite occupation.-As there have been ages of indolent and abject credulity and supersition, it is next to certain that there * are allo times of wild and extravagant fpeculation -and when we fee it becoming a fort of general paffion, we may be certain that this is a cafe in point.

This can hardly be denied to be the character · of the prefent day. It is not denied. On the contrary it is gloried in, as the prerogative of the 18th century. All the fpeculations of antiquity are confidered as glimmerings (with the exceptions of a few brighter flashes) when compared with our prefent meridian fplendor. We should therefore liften with caution to the inferences from this boafted, Illumination. Alfo, when we reflect on what passes in our own minds, and on what we obferve in the world, of the mighty influence of our defires and paffions on our judgments, we fhould carefully notice whether any fuch warping of the belief is probable in the prefent cafe. That it is fo is almost certain-for the general and immediate effect of this Illumination is to leffen

fen or remove many reftraints which the fanclions of religion lay on the indulgence of very flrong paffions, and to diminifh our regard for a certain purity or correctness of manners, which religion recommends, as the only conduct fuited to our noble natures, and as abfolutely necessary for attaining that perfection and happiness of which we are capable. -For furely if we take away religion, it will be wifdom " to eat and to drink, fince to-mgrrow " we die." If, moreover, we fee this Illumination extolled above all feience, as friendly to virfue; as improving the heart, and as producing a just morality, which will lead to happinefs, both for ourfelves and others, but perceive at the fame time that these affertions are made at the expence of principles, which our natural feelings force us to venerate as fupreme and paramount to all others, we may then be certain that our informer is trying to millead and deceive'us .- For all virtue and goodnefs, both of heart and conduct, is in perfect harmony, and there is no jarring or inconfiftency. But we must pass this fentence 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, patifly minifters, who, in the prefence of invoked Deity, and in the face of the world, have fet their them feal to a fyftem of activines directly opposite to those recommended in their writings; which doctrines they folemnly .

folemnly profess to believe, and folemnly fwear to inculcate .- Surely the informations and inftructions of fuch men fhould be rejected .--- Where shall we find their real opinions? In their folemn oaths ?---or in these infidel differtations ?---In either cafe, they are deceivers, whether mifled by vanity, or by the mean defire of church-emoluments; or they are proflitutes, courting the fociety of the wealthy and fenfual.-Honefty, like juffice, admits of no degrees.- A man is honeft, or he is a 'mave-and who would truft a knave? -But fuch men are unfuitable inftructors for another reafor -- they are unwife ;-- for, whatever they may think, they are not refpected as men of worth, but are inwardly defpifed as parafites, by the rich, who admit them into their company, and treat them with civility, for their own reafons. We take inftructions not merely from the knowing, the learned, but from the witenot therefore from men who give fuch evidences " of weaknefs.

Such would be the conduct of a prudent man, who littens to the influctions of another with the ferious intention of profiting by them. In the prefent cafe, he fees plain proofs of degraded felf-effimation, of difficult, and of mean motives. But the prudent man will go furtherhe will remark that difficult manners, and actions which are inevitably fubverfive of the peace and 3 1 2 order,

order, nay, of the very existence of society, are the natural and neceffary confequences of irreligion. Should any doubt of this remain in his mind; fhould he fometimes think of an Epictetus, or one or two individuals of antiquity, who were eminently virtuous, without it c influence of ' religious fanctions, he fhould recollect, that the Stoics were animated by the thought, i'nt will. the wife man was playing the game of life, the gods were looking on, and pleafed with his fkill. Let him read the beautiful account given by Dr Smith of the rife of the Stoic philosophy, and he will fee that it was an artificial, but nobly, attempt of a few exalted minds, enthulially in virtue, aiming to fleel their fouls against the drendful but unavoidable misfortunes to which they were continually exposed by the daily recurring revolutions in the turbulent democracics of ancient Greece. There a Philofopher was this day a Magillrace, and the next day a captive and a flave. He would fee, that this fair picture of mental happinefs and independence was fitted for the contemplation of only a few choice fpirits, but had no influence on the bulk of mankind. He muft admire the noble characters who were animated by this manly enthufiafm, and who have really · exhibited fome wonderful pictures of virtuous heroifm; l dt he will regret, that the influence of these maply, these natural principles, was not more -

more extensive. He will fay to himfelf, " How " will a whole nation act, when religious fanc-" tions are removed, and men are actuated by rea-" fon alene?"-Ile is not without instruction on this important fubject. France has given an awful lefton to turrounding nations, by fhewing them what is the natural effect of fhaking off the religious principle, and the veneration for that pure morality which characterifes Chriftianity. By a decree of the Convention, (Jone 6. 1794), it is declared, that there is nothing criminal in the prorailenous commerce of the fexes, and therefore 1 othing that deregates from the female character, when woman forgets that fhe is the depolitary of all domettic faildaction,---that her honour is the facred bond of focial life-that on her modefty and delicacy depend all the refpect and confidence that will make a man attach himfelf to her fociety, free her from labour, fhare with her the fruits of all his own exertions, and work with willingucfs and delight, that the may appear on all occafions his equal, and the ornament of all his acquifitions. In the very argument which this felected body of fenators 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 re-" moving her fhame, and by relieving her from " the fear of want." The fenators fay, " the " Republic

" Republic wants citizens, and therefore must " not only remove this temptation of thame, 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 confidered only as the fhe animal, the breeder of Sansculottes. This is the just morality of Illumination. It is really amufing (for things revolting to nature now amufe) to obferve with what fidelity the principles of the Illuminati have expressed the fentiments which take possession of a people who have flaken off the fanctions of religion and morality. ' The following is part of the address to Psycharion and the company mentioned in page 257 : " Once more, Pfycharion, I " indulge you with a look behind you to the flow-" cry days of childhood. Now look forwards, " young woman! the holy circle of the marriageable " (munn'aren) welcome you. ---- Young men, " honour the young woman, the future breeder " (, harrerin)!" Then, to all,-" Rejoice in " the dawn of Mumination and of Freedom. Na-" tu e at laft chjoys her facred never fading " rights. Long was her voice kept down by ci-" il fubordination; but the days of your majo-" rity now draw nigh, and you will no l. ger, " under the authority of guardians, account it a " reproach to confider with enlightened eyes the " fectet work-thops of Nature, and to enjoy your " work

" work, and duty." Minos thought this very fine, but it raifed a terrible diffurbance, and broke up the affembly. Such are the effects of this boafted enlightening of the human mind with refpect to religion and morality. Let us next confider what is the refult of the mighty informations which we have got in refpect of our focial or political connections.

II. We have learned the fum-total of this political Illumination, and fee that, if true, it is melancholy, deflructive of our prefent comforts, numerous as they are, and affords no profpect of redrefs from which we can profit, but, on the contrary, plunges mankind into conteft, mutual injury, and univerfal milery, and all this for the chan e only of prevailing in the conteft, and giving our posterity a chance of going on in peace, if no change shall be produced, as in former times, by the cflorts of ambitious men. But the Illumination appears to be partial, nay falle. What is it? It holds out to the Prince nothing but the refignation of all his poffessions, rights, and claims, fanctioned by the quiet possession of ages, and by all the feelings of the human heart which give any notion of right to his loweft fubject. All thefe poffessions and claims are discovered to have arifen from usurpations, and are therefore tyran.y. It has been discovered, that all fubordia at fubjections were enforced, therefore their continuance is Havery.

Mavery. But both of these historical affertions are in a great degree falle, and the inferences from them are unreafonable. The world has gone on as we fee it go on at prefent. Most principalities or fovereignties have arifen as we fee perfonal authorities and influence arife every day among ourfelves. Bufinels for the whole mult be done. Moft men are fufficiently occupied by their private allairs, and they are indolent even in thefethey, are contented when another does the thing for them. There is not a little village, nor a fociety of men, where this is not feen every day. Some men have an enjoyment in this kind of vitarious employment. All men like influence and power, and thus are compendated for their trouble. Thus many petty managers of public affairs arife in every country. The mutual animolitics of individuals, and flill more, the animofities of tribes, clans, and different : Jociatione, give rife to another kind of fuperiors-to leaders, who direct the ftruggles of the reft, whether for offence or defence. The defeendants of Ifrael faid " they wanted a man to go out before the " people, like other nations." As the fmall bufinels of a few individuals réquires a manager or a leader, fo do fome more general affairs of thefe petty superiors, and many of these also are indolent enough to with this trouble taken off their hands; and thus another rank of fuperiors arifes, and

440

and a third, and fo on, till a great State may be formed; and in this gradation each clafs is a competent judge of the conduct of that clafs only which is immediately above it. All this may arile, and has often arilen, from voluntary conceffion alone. This conceffion may proceed from various caufes, -- from confidence in fuperior talents -- from confidence in great worth, -- moft generally from the refpect or deference which all men feel for great poffetilions. This is frequently founded in felf-interest and expectations of advantage; but it is natural to man, and perhaps fprings from our influctive fympathy with the fatisfactions of others--we are unwilling to difturb them, and even wifh to promote them.

But this fubordination may arife, and has often arifen, from other caules-from the love of power and influence, which makes fome men cager to lead others, or even to manage their concerns. We fee this every day, and it may be perfectly innocent. It olten arifes from the defire of gain of one kind or another. Even this may frequently be indulged with perfect innocence, and even with general advantage. Frequently, however, this fubordination is produced by the love of power or of gain pufhed to an immodernte degree of ambition, and rendered unjust. Now there arife oppression, tyranny, fufferings, and flavery. Now appears an oppofition between the rights or claims of the ruler and of

3 K

the people. Now the rulers come to confider themtelves as a different clafs, and their tranfactions are now only with each other.—Prince becomes the rival or the enemy of Prince; and in their contefls one prevails, and the dominion is enlarged. This rivalfhip may have begun in any rank of fuperiors, even between the first managers of the affairs of the fmallest communities; and it mult be remarked that they only are the immediate gamers or lofers in the contest, while those below them live at ease, enjoying many advantages of the delegation of their own concerns.

No human fociety has ever proceeded purely in either of these two ways, but there has always been a mixture of both.-But this process is indifpenfably neceffary for the formation of a great nation, and for all the confequences that refult only from fuch a coalition.-Therefore it is neceffary for giving rife to all those comforts, and luxuries, and elegances, which are to be found only in great and cultivated flates. It is neceffary for producing fuch enjoyments as we fee around us in Europe, which we prize fo highly, and for which we are making all this flir and diffurbance. I believe that no man who expects to be believed will flatly fay that human nature and human en-. joyments are not meliorated by this cultivation .---It feems to be the intention of nature, and, notwithftanding the follies and vices of many, we can have

have little hefitation in faying that there are in · the most cultivated nations of Europe, and even in the highest ranks of these nations, men of great virtue and worth and of high accomplishment-Nor can we deny that fuch men are the finest fpecimens of human nature. Roulleau wrote a whimfical pamphlet in which he had the vanity to think that he had proved that all their fruits of cultivation were lolles to humanity and to virtue-Yet Rouffeau could not be contented with the fociety of the rude and unpolifhed, although he pretended that he was almost the fole worshipper of pure virtue.- He supported himself, not by affifting the fimple peafant, but by writing mufic for the pampered rich.

This is the circumflance entirely overlooked, or artfully kept out of fight, in the boafted 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 thefe 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 vefted with fupreme power, and interested by some great and endearing motive, such as

443

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 fubordination which is indifpentiably necessary. Its grievances are immediately felt, and they are heightened ten fold by a delicacy or fenfibility which fprings from the great improvements in the accommodations and enjoyments of life, which the gradual ufurpation and fubfequent fubordination have produced, and continue to fupport. But we are determined to have the elegance and grandeur of a palace without the prince.--We will not give up any of our luxurics and refinements, yet will not fupport those high ranks and those nice minds which produced them, and which must continue to keep them from degenerating into barbarous fimplicity and coarfe fenfuality .--- We would keep the philosophers, the poets, the artist, but not the Mœcenafes .-- It is very true that in fuch a flate • there would be no Conjuration des Philosophes; for in fuch a state this vermin of philosophes and fcribblers would not have existed. -In fhort, we would have what is impoffible.

I have no hefitation in faying, that the British Constitution is the form of government for a great and refined nation, in which the ruling fentiments and propensities of human nature feem most happily blended and balanced. There is no occasion to vaunt it as the ancient rights of Britons, tons, the wildom of ages, &c. It has attained its prefent pitch of perfection by degrees, and this not by the efforts of wildom, but by the flruggles of vice and folly, working on a rich fund of good nature, and of manly fpirit, that are confpicuous in the British character. I do not hefitate to fay 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 diffurbance, and the greateft probability of man's . arriving at the highest pitch of improvement in , every thing that raifes him above the beafts 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 fame watchful care is neceffary for preferving our ineftimable bleffings 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 fketch that we can draw of focial life, deduced from our knowledge of human nature.--And what is this knowledge? It is a well digefted 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

-We fhould go at once to the original-we fhould confider how men bave acted-what bave been their mutual expectations-their fond propenfities-what of thefe are inconfiltent with each other-what are the degrees of indulgence which bave been admitted in them all without diffurbance. -I will venture to fay that whoever does this, will find himfelf imperceptibly fet down in the British parliament of King, Lords, and Commons, all looking at each other with fomewhat of a cautious or jealous eye, while the rest of the nation are fitting, "each under his own vine, and " under his own fig tree, and there is none to " make him afraid."

A most valuable refult of fuch contemplation will be a thorough conviction that the grievance which is most clamorously infilted on is the inevitable confequence of the liberty and fecurity which we enjoy. I mean ministerial corruption, with all the difmal tale of placemen, and penfioners, and rotten boroughs, &c. &c. Thefe are never feen in a defpotic government-there they are not wanted-nor can they be very apparent in an uncultivated and poor flate-but in a luxurious nation, where pleafures abound, where the returns of industry are fecure; here an individual looks on every thing as his own acquisition-he does not feel his relation to the state-has no patriotifin -thinks that he would be much happier if the ftate

ftate would let him alone.-He is fretted by the reftraints which the public weal lays on himtherefore government and governors appear as checks and hindrances to his exertions-hence a general inclination to refift administration .- Yet public bufinefs must be done, that we may lie down and rife again in fafety and peace .- Administration must be supported-there are always perfons who with to pollefs the power that is excreifed by the prefent minifters, and would turn them out.-How is all this to be remedied ?-I fee no way but by applying to the felfish views of individuals-by rewarding the friends of administration-this may be done with perfect virtue-and 'from this the felfifh will conceive hopes, and will fupport 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 fystematic opposition be confidered as a necessary part of a practical conftitution, it is almost indispensable + and it is no - where fo prevalent as in a pure democracy.-Laws may be contrived to make it very troublefomebut can never extirpate it, nor greatly diminish it --- this can be done only by defpotifin, or by national virtue.-It is a fhameful complaint-we should not reprobate a few ministers, but the thousands who take the bribes .- Nothing tends fo much to diminish it in a corrupted nation as great limitations

We Lave not differenced therefore, by this boaftert Idumination, that Princes and fuperiors are ufclefs, and nufl vanish from the earth; nor that the people have now attained full age, and are fit to govern themfelves. We want only to revel for a little on the last fruits of national cultivation, which we would quickly confume, and never allow to be raifed again .-- No matter how this progress began, whether from concelfion or ulurpation-We pollels it, and if wile, we will preferve it, by preferving its indifpenfable fupports. They have indeed been frequently employed very improperly, but their most pernicious abuse has been this breed of fcribbling vermin, which have made the bodypolitic fmart in every limb.

Hear what opinion was eitertained of the fages, of France by their Prince, the Father of Louis XVI. the unfortunate martyr of Monarchy. "By the principles of our new Philofophers, the Throne no longer wears the fplendour of divinity. They maintain that it arole from violence, and that by the fame juffice that force erected it, force may again thake 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 "refeind

" refcind the contract, and refume it whenever " their perfonal advantage, their only rule of " conduct, requires it. Our philosophers teach " in public what our paffions fuggeft only in fe-" cret. They fay to the Prince that all is per-" mitted only when all is in his power, and " that his duty is fulfilled when he has pleafed " his fancy. Then, furcly, if the laws of felf-" interest, that is, the felf-will of human pal-"fions, shall be fo 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 unma-" nageable and mutinous, and their ruler hard-" hearted and inhuman. The people will be in-" ceffantly either oppressed, or in an uproar."-"What fervice will it he if I order fuch a book " to' be burnt-the author can write another by " to-morrow." This opinion of a Prince is unpolifhed indeed, and homely, but it is juft.

Weishaupt grants that " there will be a ter-" rible convulsion, and a form—but this will " be fucceeded by a calm—the unequal will now " be equal—and when the cause of diffension is " thus removed, the world will be in peace."— True, when the causes of diffension are removed. Thus, the destruction of our crop by vermin is 3' L at

CHAP. IV.

at an end when a flood has fwept every thing away-but as new plants will fpring up in the wafte, and, if not inflantly devoured, will again cover the ground with verdure, fo the industry of man, and his defire of comfort and confideration, will again accumulate in the hands of the diligent a greater proportion of the good things of life. In this infant state of the emerging remains of former cultivation, comforts, which the prefent inhabitants of Europe would look on with contempt, will be great, improper, and hazardous acquifitions. The principles which authorife the propofed dreadful equalifation will as justly entitle the idle or unfuccessful of future days to strip the possession of his advantages, and things must ever remain on their favage level.

'III. I think that the impression which the infincerity 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 offensible 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 fmothered but did they pretend to eradicate them, and proclaim

claim hominem homini lupum, all would fpurn at their instruction .- We are wheedled, by tickling our fancy with the notion that facred virtue is not only fecure, but that it is only in fuch hearts that it exerts its native energy. Senfible that the levelling maxims now spoken of are revolting to the mind, the Illuminators are under the neceffity of keeping us from looking at the flocking. picture, by difplaying a beautiful scene of Utopian happinels-and they rock us alleep 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 lovelinefs of pure virtue, purged of the corruptions which fuperstitious fears have introduced, and also purged of the felfill thoughts which are avowed by the advocates of what their opponents call true religion. This is faid to hold forth eternal rewards to the good, and to threaten the wicked with dreadful punifhment. Experience has fhown how inefficient fuch motives are. Can they be otherwife, fay our Illuminators? Are they not addreffed to a principle that is ungenerous and felfish? But our doctrines, fay they, touch the hearts of the worthy. Virtue is beloved for her own fake, and all will yield to her gentle fway. But look, Reader, look at Spartacus the mur-3 L 2 derer,

derer—at Cato the keeper of poilons and the thief—Look at Tiberius, at Alcibiades, and the reft 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 fweet harmony if you will accompany their notes with those of religion, and neither clog them with the groveling pleasures of fense, nor damp the whole with the thought of eternal filence.

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 faid to me that nothing fo much affected him as the revolution in the hearts of men.—Characters which were unspotted,

* De la Metherie lays, (*fourn. de* Phyf. Nov. 1792), that Condorcet was brought up in the houle of the old Duke of Rochefoucault, who treated him as his fon-got Turgot to create a lucrative office for him, and raifed him to all his eminence-yet he purfued him with malicious reports-and actually employed ruffians to affaffinate him. Yet is Condorcet's writing a model of humanity and tendernefs.

452

unfpotted, hearts thoroughly known to himfelf, having been tried by many things which fearch the inmost folds of felfishness or malevolencein fhort, perfons whole judgments were excellent, and on whofe worth he could have refled his honour and his life, fo fascinated by the contagion, that they came at last to behold, and even to commit the molt atrócious crimes with delight. - He used sometimes to utter a figh which pierced my heart, and would fay, that it was cauled by fome of those things that had come acrofs his thoughts. He breathed his laft among us, declaring that it was impoffible to recover peace of mind, without a total oblivion of the wickedness and miseries he had beheld. What a valuable advice, " Let him that think-" eth he standeth, take heed lest he fall." -When the prophet told Hazael that he would betray his Prince, he exclaimed, " Is thy. fervant " a dog, that he should do fuch a thing ?" Yet , next day he murdered him.

Never. fince the beginning of the world, has true religion received fo complete an acknowledgment of her excellence, as has been extorted from the fanatics who have attempted to defroy her. Religion flood in their way, and the wretch Marat, as well as the fleady villain Weifhaupt, faw that they could not proceed till they had eradicated all fentiments of the moral government

vernment of the universe. Human nature, improved as it has been by Religion, fhrunk from the tafks that were imposed, and it must therefore be brutalized-The grand confederation was folemnly fworn to by millions in every corner of France-but, as Mirabeau faid 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 nonfenfe, unworthy of fansculottes, and all religion to be a farce .--- Not long after, they found that they had fome use for a Godbut he was gone-and they could not find another .-- Their conftitution 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 fense of human duty.---Whatcan we expect but villany from an Archbishop of Paris and his chapter, who made a public profeffion that they had been playing the villains for many years, teaching what they thought to be a bundle of lies? What, but the very thing which they have done, cutting 'each others throats .--Have not the enlightened citizens of France applauded

plauded the execution of their fathers! Have not the furies of Paris denounced their own children ?-But turn your eyes from the horrifying fpectacle, and think on your own noble defcent and alliance. You are not the accidental productions of a fatal chaos, but the work of a Great Artift, creatures that are cared for, born to noble profpects, 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 falle and fluttering glare of French Philosophy, but conducted by this clear, fingle light, perceivable by all, " Do to others " what you fhould reafonably expect them to do " to you."

Think not the Mule whole fober voice you hear, Contracts with bigot frown her fullen brow, Cafts round Religion's orb the mifts of Fear, Or fhades with horror what with fmiles fhould

glow.

No-fhe would warm you with feraphic fire, Heirs as ye are of Heaven's eternal day, Would bid you boldly to that Heaven afpire, Not fink and flumber in your cells of clay. Is this the bigot's rant ? Away ye vain,

Your doubts, your fears, in gloomy dulnefs freep;

Go-foothe your fouls in fickness, death, or pain, With the fad folace of eternal fleep.

Yet know, vain sceptics, know, th' Almighty Mind,

Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire, Bade his free foul, by earth nor time confin'd,

To Heaven, to immortality alpire.

Nor fhall 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 fuffer'd or enjoy'd.

Mason.

The unfortunate Prince who has taken refuge in this kingdom, and whofe fituation among us is an illustrious mark of the generofity of the nation, and of the fovereignty of its laws, faid to one of the Gentlemen about him, that " if this country was to escape the general " wreck of nations, it would owe its preferva-" tion to Religion."—When this was doubted, and it was observed, that there had not been wanting many Religioniss in France: " True," faid the Prince, " but they were not in earnest. "—I fee here a ferious intereft in the thing. "The people know what they are doing when "they go to church—they understand fomething "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 confider this fubject as of more particular importance to themfelves than even to the men .- While woman is confidered as a refpectable moral agent, training along with ourfelves for endless improvement; then, and only then, will she be confidered by lordly man as his equal :--- then, and only then, will fhe be allowed to have any rights; and those rights be refpected. Strip women of this prerogative, and they become the drudges of man's indolence, or the pampered playthings of his idle hours, fubject to his caprices, and flaves to his mean paffions. Soon will their prefent empire of gallantry be. over. It is a refinement of manners which fprang from Christianity; and when Christianity is forgotten, this artificial diadem will be taken from their heads, and, unlefs they adopt the ferocious fentiments of their Gallic neighbours, and join in the general uproar, they will fink into the infignificance of the women in the turbulent republics of Greece, where they are never feen in the 3 M

the buly haunts of men, if we except four or five, who, during the course of as many centuturies, emerged from the general obfcurity, and appear in the historic page, by their uncommon talents, and by the facrifice of what my fair countrywomen still hold to be the ornament of their fex. I would remind them that they have it in their power to retain their prefent honourable station in fociety. They are our early instructors, and while mothers in the respectable flations of life continued to inculcate on the tender minds of their fons a veneration for the precepts of Religion, their pliant children, receiving their instructions along with the affectionate carefles of their mothers, got impreffions which long retained their force, and which protected them from the impulses of youthful paffions, till ripening years fitted their minds for listening to ferious instruction from their public Sobriety and decency of manners teachers. were then no flur, on the character of a youth, and he was thought capable of ftruggling for independence, of pre-eminence, fit either for fupporting or defending the state, although he was neither a toper nor a rake. I believe that no man who has feen thirty or forty years of life will deny that the manners of youth are fadly changed in this respect. And, without prefuming to fay that this has proceeded from the negleft, glect, and almost total ceffation of the moral education of the nurfery, I think myself well warranted, from my own observation, to fay 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 becaufe they were fingular. Quintilian fays that in the time immediately prior to his own, it had been the general practice of the ladies of rank to fperintend the moral education both of fons and daughters. But of late, fays he, they are fo engaged in continual and corrupting amufements, fuch as the flows of gladiators, horferacing, and deep play, that they have no time, and have yielded their places to Greek governeffes and tutors, outcasts of a nation more fubdued by their own vices than by the Roman arms. I dare fay this was laughed at, as croaking about the corruption of the age. But what was the confequence of all this ?- The Romans became the most abandoned voluptuaries, and, to preferve their mean pleafures, they crouched as willing flaves to a fucceffion of the vileft tyrants that ever difgraced humanity.

What

What a noble fund of felf-effimation would our fair partners acquire to themfelves, if, by reforming the manners of the young generation, they fhould be the means of reftoring peace to the world! They have it in their power, by the renewal of the good old cuftom of early inftruction, and perhaps still more, by impressing on the minds of their daughters the fame fentiments, and obliging them to respect fobriety and decency in the youth, and pointedly to with hold their fmiles and civilities from all who tranfgrefs thefe in the imalleft degree. This is a method of proceeding that will most certainly be victorious. Then indeed will the women be the faviours 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 prefumptuoufly expected to employ in extending their influence over mankind. The empire of beauty

* I have met with this charge in many places : and one book in particular, written by a Pruffian 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 fays that infidelity has become very prevalent, among the ladies in the higher circles. Indeed this melancholy account is to be found in many paffages of the private correspondence of the *Illuminati*.

beauty is but fhort, but the empire of virtue is durable; nor is there an inflance 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 fordnefs and affection; fo that if any thing can make head against the felfish and overbearing difpolitions of man, it is his respectful regard for the But mere fondness has but little of the raféx. tional creature in it, and we fee it harbour every day in the breaft that is filled with the meaneft and most turbulent passions. No where is it fo ftrong as in the harems of the East; and as long as the women ask nothing of the men but fondnefs and admiration, they will get nothing elfethey will never be refpected. But let them roufe themselves, affert their dignity, by shewing their own elevated fentiments of human nature, and by acting up to this claim, and they may then command the world.

V. Another good confequence that fhould refult from the account that has been given of the proceedings of this confpiracy is, that fince the faicinating picture of human life, by which men have been wheedled into immediate anarchy and rebellion, is infincere, and a mere artificial creature of the imagination it can have no fleadinefs, but must be changed by every freak of fancy, or by

by every ingenious fophift, who can give an equal plaufibility to whatever fuits his prefent views. It is as much an airy phantom as any other whim of Free Mafonry, and has no prototype, no original pattern in human nature, to which recourse may always be had, to correct mistakes, and keep things in a conftant 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 diftance from the eye, that no falle light of local fituation might pervert the judgment or engage the paffions? Was it not declared to be the mafterpiece of human wildom? Did not the nation confider it at leifure? and having it continually before their eves, did they not, ftep by ftep, give their affent to the different articles of their Constitution, derived from it, and fabricated by their most choice Illuminators? And did not this Conftitution draw the applaufes of the bright geniules of other nations, who by this time were bufy in perfuading, each his countrymen, that they were ignoramules in statistics, and patient slaves of oppression or of ancient prejudices? Did not panegyrics on it iffue from every garret in London? Where is it now? where is its fucceffor? Has any one plan of government fubfilted, except while it was fupported by the incontroulable and inexorable

inexorable power of the guillotine? Is not the prefent 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 confolidation 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 fecret meetings. We fee that their uniform progress has been from frivolity and nonfense to wickedness and fedition. Weifhaupt has been at great pains to fhow the good effects of fecrecy in the Affociation, and the arguments are valid for his purpofe .--- But all his arguments are fo many diffualive advices to every thinking and The man who really wifnes to diffober mind. cover an abstruse truth will place himself, if posfible, in a *calm* fituation, and will by no means expose himself to the impatient hankering for secrets and wonders-and he will always fear that a thing which refolutely conceals itfelf cannot bear the light. All who have ferioufly employed themfelves in the difcovery of truth have found the great advantages of open communication of fentiment.

fentiment. And it is against common fense to imagine that there is any thing of vaft importance to mankind which is yet a fecret, and which must be kept a fecret in order to be useful. This is against the whole experience of mankind-And furely to hug in one's breaft a fecret of fuch mighty importance, is to give the lie to all our profeffions of brotherly love. What a folecifm ! a fecret to enlighten and reform the whole world.---We render all our endeavours impotent when we grafp at a thing beyond our power. Let an affociation be formed with a ferious plan for reforming its own members, and let them extend their numbers in proportion as they fucceed-this might do fome good .- But must the way of doing this be a fecret ?- It may be to manywho will not look for it where it is to be found-It is this,

" Do good,-feck peace,-and purfue 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 felfish.

Now, in either cafe, the danger of fuch fecret affemblies is manifest.—Mere frivolity can never feriously occupy men come to age. And accordingly we fee that in every quarter of Europe where Free Masonry has been established, the Lodges

Lodges have become feedbeds of public mifchief. I believe that no ordinary Brother will fay, that the occupations in the Lodges are any thing better than frivolous, very frivolous indeed. The distribution of charity needs be no fecret, and it is but a very fmall part of the employment of the meeting.-This being the cafe, it is in human nature that the greater we suppose the frivolity of such an affociation to be, the greater is the chance of its ceasing to give fufficient occupation to the mind, and the greater is the rifk that the meetings may be employed to' other purposes which require concealment. When this happens, felf-interest alone must prompt and rule, and now there is no length that fome men will not go, when they think themselves in no danger of detection and punifhment. The whole proceedings of the fecret focieties of Free Majons on the Continent (and I am authorifed to fay, of fome Lodges in) Britain) have taken one turn, and this turn is perfectly natural. In all countries there are men of licentious morals. Such men with to have a fafe opportunity of indulging their wits in fatire and farcafm; and they are pleafed with the fupport of others .- The defire of making profelytes is in every breaft-and it is whetted by the reftraints of fociety .-- And all countries have discontented men, whofe grumblings will raife difcontent in others, who might not have attended to fome of the

465

the trifling hardfhips and injuries they met with, had they not been reminded of them. To be difcontented, and not to think of fchemes of redrefs, is what we cannot think natural or manly;—and where can fuch fentiments and fchemes find fuch fafe utterance and fuch probable fupport as in a fecret fociety? Free Mafonry is innocent of all thefe things; but Free Mafonry has been abufed, and at laft totally perverted and fo will and muft any fuch fecret affociation, as long as men are licentious in their opinions or wicked in their difpofitions.

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 facrifice of their amufement to the fafety of the ftate. I cannot think the facrifice great or coftly. It can be no difficult matter to find as pleafant a way of paffing a vacant hour-and the chatitable 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 difpofitions, without the chance of being miltaken in the worth of the perfon 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 fee fo many fufferers and infidels among ourfelves.

But not only are fecret focieties dangerous, but all focieties whole object is mysterious. The whole hiftory of man is a proof of this polition. In no age or country has there ever appeared a mysterious affociation which did not in time become a public nuifance. Ingenious or defigning men of letters have attempted to flow that fome of the ancient mysteries were useful to mankind, containing rational doctrines of natural religion. This was the ftrong hold of Weishaupt, and he quotes the Eleufinian, the Pythagorean, and other myfteries. But furely their external figns and tokens were every thing that is flocking to decency and civil order. It is uncommon prefumption 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 fuch account of them. I would defire any perfon who admires the ingenious differtations of Dr Warburton to read a dull German book, called Caracteristik der Mysterien der Altern, published at Frankfort in 1787. The author contents himfelf with a patient collection of every fcrap of every ancient author who has faid any thing about them. If the reader can fee any thing in them but the most absurd and immoral polytheifin and fable, he must take words in a fense that is useles in reading any other piece of ancient composition. I have a notion that the Dionysiacs of

3 N 2

of Ionia had fome fcientific fecrets, viz. all the knowledge of practical mechanics which was employed by their architects and engineers, and that they were really a Mafonic Fraternity. But, like the Illuminati, they tagged to the fecrets of Mafonry the fecret of drunkennefs and debauchery; they had their Sifter Lodges, and at last became rebels, fubverters of the States where they were protected, till aiming at the dominion of all Ionia, they were attacked by the neighbouring States and difperfed. They were Illuminators too, and wanted to introduce the worfhip of Bacchus over the whole country. Και τω Διονυσω την Ασιαν όλην καθίερωσαντες, με-X'PI THE INSIGHT. Strabo.-Perhaps the Pythagoreans had also fome scientific secrets; but they too were Illuminators, and thought it their duty to overfet the State, and were themfelves overfet.

Nothing is fo dangerous as a myftic Affociation. The object remaining a fecret in the hands of the managers, the reft fimply put a ring in their own nofes, by which they may be led about at pleafure; and flill panting after the fecret, they are the better pleafed the lefs they fee of their way. A myftical object enables the leader to fhift his ground as he pleafes, and to accommodate himfelf 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 affociated by their prejudices, prejudices, and waiting for a leader to concentrate their ftrength and fet them in motion. And once great bodies of men are fet in motion, with a creature of their fancy for a guide, even the engineer himfelf cannot fay, " Thus far fhalt thou " go, and no farther."

VII. We may alfo gather from what we have feen, 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 these ranks must be filled, if fociety exifts 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 fuch men continually in mind of a state in which they might be at their eafe; and it is unkindness unmixed, because all the change that they will produce will be, that James will ferve John, who formerly was the fervant of James. Such declamations naturally tend to caufe men make light of the obligations and · duties of common patriotifm, becaufe thefe are represented as subordinate and inferior to the greater and more noble affection of universal benevolence. I do not pretend to fay that patriotifm is founded in a rationally-perceived pre-eminence or excellence of the fociety with which we

·are

are connected. But if it be a fact that fociety will not advance unlefs its members take an intereft in it, and that human nature improves only in fociety, furely this intereft fhould be cherifhed in every breaft. Perhaps national union arifes from national animofity;—but they are plainly diftinguifhable, and union is not neceffarily productive of injuffice. The fame arguments that have any force against patriotifm are equally good against the preference which natural inftinct gives parents for their children; and furely no one can doubt of the propriety of maintaining this in its full force, fubject however to the precife laws of juf-, tice.

But I am in the wrong to adduce paternal or filial affection in defence of patriotifm and loyalty, fince even those natural inftincts are reprobated by the *Illuminati*, as hostile to the all-comprehending philanthropy. Mr de la Metherie fays, that among the memorials fent from the clubs in England to the national Affembly, he read two, (printed), in which the Affembly 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,

Indeed, of all the confequences of Illuminaton. the most melancholy is this revolution which it feems to operate in the heart of man,-this forcible facrifice of every affection of the heart to an ideal divinity, a mere creature of the imagination. -It feems a prodigy, yet it is a matter of experience, that the farther we advance, or vainly fuppofe 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 differtation on the nurfing of infants by a French academician, Le Cointre of Verfailles. He indelicately fupports his theories by the cafe of his own fon, a weak puny infant, whom his mother was obliged to keep continually applied to her bofom, fo that fhe rarely could get two hours of fleep during the time of fuckling him. Mr Le Cointre fays, that fhe contracted for this infant " une partialité tout-à-fait deraisonable."-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, folves it by ftimuli on the papillæ, and on the nerves of the fkin, and by the meeting of the humifying aura, &c. and does not feem to think that young Le Cointre was much indebted to his mother. It would amufe me to learn that this was the wretch Lc Cointre, Major of the National Guards of Verfailles, who countenanced

countenanced and encouraged the flocking treafon 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 fystems of moral philosophy, which were chiefly fearches after the *fummum bonum*, and systems of moral duties, tended more to form and firengthen 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 eafier victory over the natural or inflinctive attachments of mankind, and make the facrifice to univerfal philanthropy lefs coftly to the heart. I do not however pretend to, fay that this is really the cafe; but I think myfelf fully warranted to fay, that increafe of virtuous affections in general has not been the fruit of modern Illumination. I will not again ficken the reader, by calling his attention to Weishaupt and his affociates or fucconfors. But let us candidly contemplate the world around us, and particularly the perpetual advocates of universal philanthropy. What have heen

been the general effects of their continual declamations? Surely very melancholy; nor can it eafily be otherwife .-- An ideal standard is continually referred to. This is made gigantic, by being always feen indiffinctly, as through a mift, or rather a fluttering air. In comparison with this, every feeling that we have been accultomed to refpect vanishes as infignificant; and, adopting the Jefuitical maxim, that " the great end fanchifies " every mean," this fum of Cosmo-political good is made to eclipfe or cover all the prefent evils which must be endured for it. The fact now is. that we are become to familiarifed with enormities, fuch as brutality to the weaker fex, cruelty to old age, wanton refinement on barbarity, that we now hear unmoved accounts of fcenes, from which, a few years ago, we would have fhrunk back with horror. With cold hearts, and a metaphyfical fcale, we meafure the prefent miferies of our fellow-creatures, and compare them with the accumulated mileries of former times, occafioned through a course of ages, and ascribed to the ambition of Princes. In this artificial manner are the atrocities of France extenuated ; did we ftruggle, and partly fucceed, in reafoning ourfelves out of all the feelings which link men together in fociety .- The ties of father, hufband, brother, friend,-all are abandoned for an emotion which we must even strive to excite, --- universal philanthropy.

3 O

philanthropy. But this is fad perversion of na-" He that loveth not his brother whom he ture. " hath feen, how can he love God whom he hath " not feen?"-Still lefs can he love this ideal being, of which he labours to conjure up fome indiflinct and flecting notion. It is also highly abfurd; for, in trying to collect the circumftances which conflitute the enjoyments of this Citizen of the World, we find ourfelves just brought back to the very moral feelings which we are wantonly throwing away. Weishaupt allures us by the happinefs of the patriarchal life as the fummum bonum, of man. But if it is any thing more than eating and fleeping, and bullying with the neighbouring patriarchs, it must confist in the domestic and neighbourly affections, and every other agreeable moral feeling, all which are to be had in our prefent flate in greater abundance.

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

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis.

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

Equily ineffective are the declamations of Cofino-politifm on a mind filled with felfish paffions;—they just ferve it for a fubterfuge.— The ties of ordinary life are broken in the first place, and the Citizen of the World is a wolf of the defert.

The unhappy confequence is, thet the natural progrefs of liberty is retarded. Had this *ignis fatuus* not appeared and mifled us, the improvements which true Illumination has really produced, the increase in fciences and arts, and the improvement in our estimate of life and happines, would have continued to work filently and gradually in all nations; and those which are less fortunate in point of government would also have improved, bit by bit, without losing any fensible 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, fuch as Britons enjoy, might have taken place over all.

Inftead of this, the inhabitants of every State are put into a fituation where every individual is alarmed and injured by the fuccels of another, becaufe all pre-eminence is criminal. Therefore there mult be perpetual jealoufy and ftruggle. Princes are now alarmed, fince they fee the aim of the 3 O 2 lower 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; fo that liberty, such as *can* be enjoyed in peace, is banished from the country.

VIII. When we fee how eagerly the Illuminati endeavoured to infinuate their Brethren into all offices which gave them influence on the public mind, and particularly into feminaries 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 themfelves for teachers of youth. There is no part of the feelet correspondence of Spartacus and his Affociates, in which we fee more varied and artful methods for fecuring 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 infpection of the schools in the Electorate. They are treated by Spartacus as perfons of the greatest confequence, and the instructions given them flick at no kind of corruption. Weifhaupt is at pains, by circuitous and mean arts, to induce young gentlemen to come under his care, and, to one whom he defcribes in another letter as a little master who must have much indulgence, he caules it to be intimated, thạt

that in the quarters where he is to be lodged, he will get the key of the ftreet-door, fo that he can admit whom he will. In all this canvalling he never quits the great object, the forming the mind of the young man according to the principles of universal Liberty and Equality, and to gain this point, fcruples not to flatter, and even to excite his dangerous paffions. We may be certain, that the zeal of Cofmo-politifm will operate in the fame way in other men, and we ought therefore to be folicitous to have all that are the instructors of youth, perfons of the most decent No queflion but fobriety and hypocrimanners. fy may inhabit the fame breaft. But its immediate effect on the pupil is at least fafe, and it is always cafy for a fentible parent to reprefent the reftrictions laid on the pupil by fuch a man as the effects of uncommon anxiety for his fafety. Whereas there is no cure for the lax principles that may fical upon the tender mind that is not early put on its guard. Weifhaupt undoubtedly thought that the principles of civil anarchy would be eafieft inculcated on minds that had already shaken off the reftraints of Religion, and entered into habits of fenfual indulgence. We shall be fafe if we trust his judgment in this matter.----We should be particularly observant of the character and principles of Men of Talents, who offer themfelves for these offices, because their

their influence muft be very great. Indeed this anxiety flot ld extend to ad offices which in any way give the holders any remarkable influence on the mirds of confiderable numbers. Such fhould always be filled by men of immoust characters and approved principles; and in times like the prefent, where the moft effectial queftions are the fubjects of frequent difficultion, we fhould always confider with fome diffruit the men who are very clutions in declaring their opinions on thefe queffions.

It is a great misfortune undoubtedly to feel ourfelves in a intuation which makes us damp the enjoyments of life with formuch fulpicion. But the hiftory, of mankind flows us that many great revolutions have been produced by remote and apparently frivolous caufes. When things come to a height it is frequently impoflible to find a cure—at any rate medicina fero paratur, and it is much better to prevent the diseafe—principiis obfta —prenienti occurrite morbo.

IX. Nor can it be faid that thefe are vain fears. We know that the enemy is working among us, and that there are many appearances in these kingdoms which flrongly refemble the contrivance of this dangerous Affociation. We know that before the Order of Infuminati was broken up by the Elector of Bavaria, there were feveral Lodges in Britain, and we may be certain that they are not not all broken up. I know that they are not, and that within thele two years fome Lodges were ignorant, or alleded to be fo, of the corrupted principles and dangerous defigns of the Illuminati. The conflictution of the Order flows that this may be, for the Lodges themfelves were illuminated by degrees. But I must remark that we can hardly fuppofe a Lodge to be eftablished in any place, unless there be fome very zealous Brother at land to inftruct and direct it. And I think that a perfon can hardly be advanced as far as the rank of Scotch Knight of the Order, and be a fafe man either for our church or flate. I am very well informed that there are feveral thoufands of fubfcribing Brethren in London alone, and we can hardly doubt but that many of that number are well advanced. The vocabulary alfo of the Illuminati is current in certain focieties among us. These focieties have taken the very name and conflication of the French and German focieties. Corresponding-Affiliated -Provincial -Refcript-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 Peine's Age of Reafon appeared, the most sceptical writings of Eng-

land

land kep* within the bounds of decency and of argument, and we have not, in the course of two centuries, one piece that flould be compared with many of the blackguard productions of the German preffes. Yet even those performances generally met with tharp reproof as well as judicious This is a tribute of commendation to refutation. 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 feen almost every Englifh performance of note. I cannot express the furprife and difguft which I felt at the number and the grofs indecency of the German differtations which have come in my way fince I began this little hiftory,-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 licentioufnefs of the prefs has been equally remarkable in France, even before the Revolution .- May this fenfe of propriety and decency long continue to protect us, and fupport the national character for real good breeding, as our attainments in manly fcience have hitherto gained us the refpect of the furrounding nations.

I cannot help thinking that British fentiment, 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 fee few of those kind endeavours, which real love for our conflitutional government would induce a writer to employ in order to lesten the fretful-difcontents of the people; and there is frequently betrayed a fatisfaction at finding administration in straits, either through mifconduct or misfortune. Real love for our country and its government would (I think) induce a perfon to mix with his criticifms fome fentiments of fympathy with the embarafinent of a minister loaded with the business of a great nation, in a fituation never before experienced by any minister. The critic would recollect that the minister was a man, fubject to error, but not neceffarily nor altogether base. But it seems to be an assumed principle with fome 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 practifed abroad.-Nay,

X. The deteftable doctrines of Illuminatifm have been openly preached among us. Has not Dr Prieftly faid, (I think in one of his letters on

the

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 fystem of " government, the great crifis, dreadful as it may ", appear, will be a confummation devoutly to be " wished for ;- and though calamitous to many, " perhaps to many innocent perfons, will be even-" tually glorious and happy."-Is not this equivalent to Spartacus faying, " True-there will be " a storm, a convulsion-but all will be calm " again ?"-Does Dr Prieftly think that the Britifh will part more eafily than their neighbours in France with their property and honours, fecured by ages of peaceable possession, protected by law, and acquiefced in by all who with and hope that their own descendants may reap the fruits of their boneft industry ?- Will they make a lefs manly ftruggle ?- Are they lefs numerous ?- Must his friends, his patrons, whom he has thanked, and praifed, and flattered, yield up all peaceably, or fall in the general ftruggle? This writer has already given the most promising specimens of his own docility in the principles of Illuminatifm, and has already passed through feveral degrees of initiation. He has refined and refined on Christianity, and boafts, like another Spartacus, that he has, at last, hit on the true secret .- Has he not been preparing the minds of his readers for Atheism by his theory of mind, and by his commentary

tary on the unmeaning jargon of Dr Hartley. I call it unmeaning jargon, that I may avoid giving it a more apposite and difgraceful name. For, if intelligence and defign be nothing but a certain modification of the vibratiunculæ or undulations of any kind, what is fupreme 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 fuperinduced on any other already exifting, and this without the least difturbance or confusion, fo may the inferior intelligences in the univerfe be only fuperinductions on the operations of this fupreme intelligence which pervades them all.-And thus an undulation (of what ? furely of fomething prior to and independent of this modification) is the caufe 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 furely, if any thing can tend to diminish the force of our religious fentiments, and make all Dr Priestly's discoveries in Christianity infignificant, this will do it.

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

3 P 2

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 hypothefis.-For Sir Ifaac Newton must be allowed to have paved the way for much of the atomical philosophy of the moderns. Newton's æther is affumed 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 mulcular motion. of animal fenfation, and even of intelligence and volition, by the undulations of etherial 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 demonftrate the propositions in Euclid's Elements.

Yet fuch is the reafoning that fatisfies Dr Prieftly.—But I do not fuppofe 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 "rarå "temporis (et loci) felicitate, ubi fentire quæ velis, et "quæ fentias 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 fhop

fhop and publisher. I make no doubt but that his mind will now take a higher flight,-and we may expect to fee him fire " that train by which " he boafted that he would blow up the religious " establishment of his stupid and enflaved native " country."-Peace be with him.-But I grieve that he has left any of his friends and abettors among us.-A very eminent one faid in a company a few days ago, that " he would willingly " wade to the knees in blood to overturn the elfa-" bliffment of the Kirk of Scotland," I underftand that he propofes to go to India, and there to preach Christianity to the natives. Let'me befeech him to recollect that among us Christianity is still confidered as the gospel of peace, and that it strongly diffuades us from bathing our feet in . blood.

I understand that more apossles of this mission are avowed enemies of all religious establishments, and indeed of all establishments of any kind. But, as I do not see a greater chance of one pastor or one patriarch being in the right, either as to religious or political matters, than a number of pastors or patriarchs, who have confulted together, and compared and accommodated their opinions; and as I can find nothing but quarrels and ill-will among independents, I should be forry to have any of our establishments destroyed, and am therefore apprehensive of some danger from the zealous

zealous fpreading of fuch doctrines, especially as they make it equally necessary to admit the preaching up no religion, and no civil establishment whatever.

Seeing that there are fuch grounds of apprehenfion, I think that we have caufe to be on our guard, and that every man who has enjoyed the fweets of British liberty should be very anxious indeed to preferve it. We fhould difcourage all fecret affemblies, which afford opportunities to the difaffected, and all converfations which foster any notions of political perfection, and create hankerings after unattainable happinefs. These only increase the discontents of the unfortunate, the idle, and the worthlefs .- Above all, we should be careful to difcourage and check immorality and licentiousness in every shape. For this will of itfelf fubvert every government, and will fubject us to the vile tyranny of the mob.

XI. If there has ever been a feafon in which it was proper to call upon the public instructors of the nation to exert themfelves in the caufe of Religion and of Virtue, it is furely the prefent. It appears from the tenor of the whole narration before the reader, that Religion and Virtue are confidered 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 these confpirators have prefuppofed -

`486

fed that there is deeply rooted in the heart of man a fincere veneration for unfophifticated Virtue, and an affectionate propenfity to Religion; that is, to confider this beautiful world as the production of wildom and power, refiding in a Being different from the world itfelf, and the natural object of admiration and of love.-I do not speak of the truth of this principle at prefent, but only of its reality, as an impression on the heart These principles must therefore be of man. worked on,-and they are acknowledged to be ftrong, becaufe much art is employed to eradicate them, or to overwhelm them by other powerful agents.-We also fee that Religion and Virtue are confidered by those corrupters as closely united, and as mutually supporting each other. This they admit as a fact, and labour to prove to be a miftake .--- And lastly, they entertain no hopes of complete fuccefs till they have exploded both.

This being the cafe, I hope that I shall be clear of all charge of impropriety, when I address our national instructors, and earnessly defire them to confider 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 accuscifed of indifference and infincerity.—I know that

a'

a modelt man reluctantly comes forward with any thing that has the appearance of thinking himfelf wifer or better than his neighbours. But if all are fo bafhful, where will it end? Muft we allow a parcel of worthlefs profligates, whom no man would truft with the management of the most triffing concern, to pafs with the ignorant and indolent for teachers of true wifdom, and thus entice the whole world into a trap. They have fucceeded with our unfortunate neighbours on the continent, and, in Germany, (to their fhame be it fpoken), they have been affifted even by fome faithlefs clergymen.

But I will hope better of my countrymen, and I think that our clergy have encouragement even from the native character of Britons. National comparisons are indeed ungraceful, and are rarely candid-but I think they may be indulged in this inflance. It is of his own countrymen that Voltaire fpeaks, when he fays, that " they refem-" ble a mixed breed of the monkey and the ti-" ger," animals that mix fun with mischief, and that fport with the torments of their prey.____ They have indeed given the most shocking proofs of the justness of his portrait. It is with a confiderable degree of national pride, therefore, that I compare the behaviour of the French with that of the British in a very similar situation, during the civil wars and the ularpation of Cromwell. There

There have been more numerous, and infinitely more atrocious, crimes committed in France during any one half year fince the beginning of the Revolution, than during the whole of that tumultuous period. And it fhould be remembered, that to all other grounds of discontent was added. no fmall share of religious fanaticism, a passion (may I call it) which feldom fails to roufe 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 confpicuous in the British character,-a fund to which I am perfuaded we owe the excellence of our conftitutional government-No where elfe in Europe are the claims of the different ranks in fociety fo generally and fo candidly admitted. All feel their force, and all allow them to others. Hence it happens that they are enjoyed in fo much peace-hence is happens that the gentry live among the yeomen and farmers with fo eafy and familiar a fuperiority:

-Extrema per illos Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Our clergy are also well prepared for the tafk. For our anceftors differed exceedingly from the prefent Illuminators in their notions, and have enacted that the clergy shall be well instructed in natural philosophy, judging that a knowledge of the

3 Q

the fymmetry of nature, and the beautiful adjustment of all her operations, would produce a firm belief of a wifdom and power which is the fource 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 impreffion, and feels no reluctance, but on the contrary a pleafure, in thinking man the fubject of his government, and the object of his care. This point being once gained, I should think that the falutary truths of Religion will be highly wel: I should think that it will be easy to come. convince fuch minds, that in the midst of the immenfe variety of the works of God, there is one great plan to which every thing feems to refer, namely, the crouding this world, to the ut. most 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 feems 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 refults of the belief of God's moral government of the universe, coincide, in every circumstance of fentiment, disposition, and conduct, with those that are most productive of enjoyment (on the whole) in focial life. The fame train of thought will fhew, that the

the real improvements in the pleafures of fociety, are, in fact, improvements of man's rational nature, and fo many fleps toward that perfection which our own conficiences tell us we are capable of, and which Religion encourages us to hope for in another flate of being.—And thus will "the ways of Wifdom appear to be ways " of pleafantnefs, and all her paths to be " peace."

Dwelling on fuch topics, there is no occasion for any political difcuffion. This would be equally improper and hurtful. Such difcuffions never fail to produce ill-humour.-But furely the higheft complacence must refult from the thought that we are co-operating with the Author of all wifdom and goodnefs, and helping forward the favourite plans of his providence. Such a thought must elevate the mind which thus recognifes a fort of alliance with the Author of narure.—Our brethren in fociety appear brethren indeed, heirs of the fame hopes, and travelling to the fame country. This will be a fort of moral patriotifm, and fhould, I think, produce mutual forbearance, fince we difcover imperfections in all creatures, and are confcious of them in ourfelves-notwithstanding which, we hope to be all equal at last in worth and in happines.

I fhould gladly hope that I fhall not be accufed of prefumption in this address. There

3Q2

is no profession that I more fincerely respect than that of the religious and moral instructor of my country. I am faying nothing here that L 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 fludy of the works of God have given me fomewhat more acquaintance with them than is probably attained by those who never think of the matter, being continually engaged in the buftle of life. Should one of this defcription fay that all is fate or chance, and that " the fame thing " happens to all," &c. as is but too common, I fhould think that a prudent man will give fo much preference to my affertion, as at least to think ferioufly about the thing, before he allow himfelf any indulgence in things which I affirm to be highly dangerous to his future peace and happinefs.- For this reafon I hope not to be accufed of going out of my line, nor hear any one fay " Ne futor ultra crepidam." The prefent is a feafon of anxiety, and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite to the general good.

It is in fome fuch hopes that 'I have written these pages; and if they have any fuch effect, I shall think myself fortunate in having by chance hit on something useful, when I was only try-. ing to amuse myself during the tedious hours of bad bad health and confinement. No perfon is more fenfible of the many imperfections of this performance than myfelf. But, as I have no motive for the publication but the hopes of doing fome good, I truft 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 Mafonry, the first object of my curiofity. . My curiofity 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 Mafonry.-But, obferving their connection, I thought that I perceived the progress of one and the fame defign. This made-me cager to find out any remains of Weilhaupt's Affociation. I was not furprifed when I faw marks of its interference in the French Revolution .- In hunting for clearer proofs I found out the German U. nion-and, in fine, the whole appeared to be one great and wicked project, fermenting and working over all Europe .- Some, highly refpected friends encouraged me in the hope of doing fome fervice by laying my informations before the public,

lic, and faid that no time fhould be loft.—I therefore fet about collecting my fcattered facts.—I undertook this tafk at a time when my official duty preffed hard on me, and bad health made me very unfit for ftudy.—The effects of this muft appear in many faults, which I fee, without being able at prefent to amend them. I owe this apology to the public, and I truft that my good intentions will procure it acceptance *..

Nothing

* While the fheet commencing p. 465 was printing off, T get a fight of a work published in Paris last year, entabled La Conjuration d'Orleans. It confirms all that I have faid refpecting the use made of the Free Mason Lodges...... It gives a particular account of the formation of the Jacobin Club, by the Club Breton. This last appears to have been the Aflociation formed with the affistance of the German Deputies. The Jacobin Club had feveral committees, finilar to those of the National Aflembly. 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 fimilar Clubs in other places.

The author of the above-mentioned work writes as follows, (vol. 3. p. 19.) We may judge of what the D. of Orleans could do in other places, by what he did during his flay in England. During his flay in London, he gained over to his interest Lord Stanhope and Dr Price, two of the most respectable members of the Revolution Sa. ety. This Society had no other object (it faid) but to support the Revolution, which had driven James II. from the throne of his ancestors.

Orleans

Orleans made of this affociation a true Jacobin Club.— It entered into correspondence with the Committee of Enquiry of our Commune, with the fame Committee of our Jacobin Club, and at last with our National Affembly. It even fent to the Affembly an oftentible letter, in which we may fee the following phflages:

"The Society congratulates the National Affembly of "France on the Revolution which has taken place in that country. It cannot but earneftly with for the happy conclution of fo important a Revolution, and, at the fame time, express the extreme fatisfaction 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 in France before the month of March 1790; and that before this time, the conduct of the D. 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 refolves unanimoufly to invite all the "people of England to effablish Societies through the "kingdom, to support the principles of the Revolution, (look back to p. 412. of this work), " to form corre-" spondences between themselves, and by these means to " citablish a great concerted Union of all the true Friends " of Liberty."

Accordingly (fays the French author) this was, executed, and Jæbbin Clubs were established in feveral cities of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

176 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. CHAP. IV.

that we run no rifk of the contagion; but that Britain will continu., by the abiding prev lence of honour, of virtue, and of true religion, to exhibit the faireft fpecimen of civil government that ever was feen on earth, and a national character and conduct not unworthy of the inclimable bleffil is that ye enjoy. Our excellent Sovereign, •t his accellion to the throne, declared to his . I aliament that HE GLORIED IN HAVING BEEN LORN A BRITON.-Would to God that all and such of his lubjects had entertained the fame lofty notions of this good fortune. Then would they have laboured, as he has done for near foryears, to support the honour of the British name by letting as bright an example of domeflic and of public virtue.-Then would Britons have been indeed the boalt of humanity-then we should have viewed these wicked plots of our neighbours with a finile of contempt, and of fincere pity-and there would have been no need of the imperfect but well-meant performance.

THE LNP

00097760

•

.

Digitized with financial assistance from Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj on 11 March, 2020

