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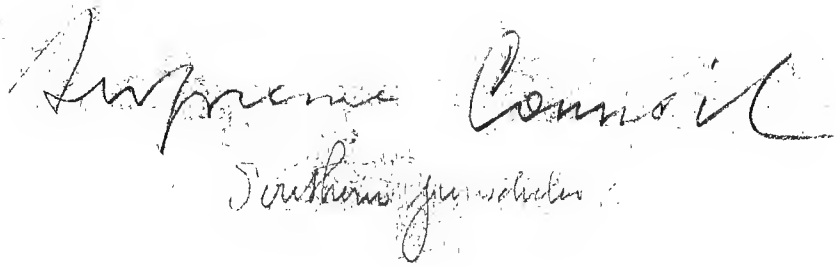

A HISTORICAL INQUIRY

IN REGARD TO

The Grand Constitutions of 1786.



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Scottish rite. Supreme Council for the Southern jurisdiction.

A HISTORICAL INQUIRY

IN REGARD TO

The Grand Constitutions of 1786.

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PREFACE.

THE "Inquiry" which follows was published in 1872, by the Supreme Council for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, as an Introduction to the Latin Constitutions of 1786, in its volume of the Grand Constitutions of the Rite of Perfection, and of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, of Free Masonry.

It has, therefore, come to the knowledge of such persons only as have become owners of that volume, only a score or two of whom reside elsewhere than in the States and Territories of the Southern Jurisdiction.

As the authenticity of the Grand Constitutions of 1786 continues to be denied, upon the same old, untenable and exploded grounds, it is deemed advisable to print and publish this Inquiry, for more general circulation.

It contains *my* reasons for believing those Constitutions to be genuine. I do not assert, and our Supreme Council does not assert, that they are, as a known, proven and established fact; but I do say that they have long been reputed to be so; that there is sufficient evidence to make their authenticity probable; that there is nothing in the grounds on which they have been impeached; and that it is not shown that they are not authentic, nor that they ought to be suspected and doubted.

Albert Pike, 33°

Grand Commander

WASHINGTON: 1° February, 1883.

A HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

THE Supreme Council at Charleston had, originally, only the French imperfect copy, hereinafter given, of these Constitutions of 1786. The Latin copy first appeared appended to the Treaty made at Paris, on the 23d of February, 1834, between the Hicks "Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere," at New York, the Supreme Council of France, and the so-called Supreme Council of Brazil, created by the Cerneau or Hicks body; to which the Supreme Council of Belgium afterwards acceded.

The Latin copy, then published, was certified, as will be seen at the conclusion of the copy now printed, by eight *gentlemen*, the names of some of whom are noble, and all well and honorably known, to have been *by them* carefully examined and compared with the authentic* official copy of the Institutes, etc., "whereof the official† duplicates are deposited and have been carefully and faithfully preserved in all their purity, among the Archives of the Order." Wherefore they certified the copy appended to the Treaty, to be "faithfully and literally conformable to the originals of the said documents."

Setier, who signed this certificate, was the printer by whom the *Recueil des Actes du Suprême Conseil de France* had been published, containing the French copy of the Constitutions, in 1832. The Baron Freteau de Peny and Comte Thiebaut, who also signed it, were members of the Supreme Council of France, of high respectability: and among the other

* 'A l'expédition authentique.' "*Expédition:* the copy of an act of justice, [judicial record,] signed by a public officer."—*Dict. of French Academy.*

† 'Les Ampliations officielles.' "*Ampliation:* Term of Finance, [a Treasury phrase]: The duplicate of an acquittance or other act, which is retained for production."—*Dict. French Academy.* "The Duplicate."—*Fleming and Tibbins Dict.* "Official copy, exemplification, duplicate,"—*Spiers & Surenne's Dict.*

signers was one whose name is known to and honored by the whole civilized world, the Marquis de La Fayette.

This certificate, and any intrinsic evidence afforded by the Constitutions themselves, are all the direct and positive proof we have of their authenticity. It is at least higher evidence than we have of the authenticity of Anderson's Constitutions, especially since the discovery of the *suppressed* edition of 1722: and very few historical or religious documents or books have as direct and explicit evidence in their favor.

Of the French copy, we only know that the copy published in the *Recueil des Actes* is in all respects like that which the Supreme Council of France had in 1817, furnished it by the Bro.·. Comte de Grasse; and that it is no doubt identical with that which the Supreme Council at Charleston had at the beginning.

That Supreme Council never had the Latin copy in its archives *at all*, until the present Grand Commander, about the year 1855, was furnished at New Orleans with an original copy of the Treaty, with the Grand Constitutions in Latin appended, printed in France in 1834.

The odious charge has been again and again repeated, that these Latin Constitutions were *forged* at Charleston. It is quite certain that this is not true, because the Supreme Council at Charleston never had them, until it received copies of the edition published by the Grand Commander. If they were *forged* anywhere, it was not at Charleston: and if anything was forged there, it was the French copy, as it afterwards appeared in the *Recueil des Actes*.

We state elsewhere in this volume, the reasons that have led us to believe that the French Constitutions were but an informal rédaction in French of the substance of the Articles of the Latin Constitutions, without any formulas of preface or authentication, and that they were brought to this country by the Bro.·. Comte de Grasse; and why they were made to allow two Supreme Councils for the United States, and one for the French and one for the English West Indian Islands; while the Latin Constitutions allow but two for all North America.

The character of the men who first became Members of the Supreme Council at Charleston, repels the idea that they forged the French Constitutions. Colonel Mitchell and Major Bowen had been officers in the Army of the United States; Dr. Dalcho was a reputable Clergyman; Dr. Auld a man of high character and physician; Dr. Moultrie a gentle-

man of unimpeachable honour; and as Colonel Mitchell and Dr. Dalcho were the first two members, the forgery, if there was any, must have been committed or procured by, or known to, one or both of *them.*

We, at one time, and for some years, thought it probable that Frederic the Great had nothing to do with these Constitutions, but that they originated in Europe, perhaps at Geneva, not long before the year 1800, and that they were attributed to a Supreme Council convened at Berlin, and purported to have been approved by Frederic, by a pious fraud, similar to those which imputed the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocryphal Gospels to the persons whose names they bear; which created the Charter of Cologne, and Masonic Manuscripts alleged to be in the Bodleian library; to the authorship of the laws of Numa imputed to the Nymph Egeria, and of the Koran to the Angel Gabriel.

But we now believe that they *were* made at Berlin, under the auspices of Frederic, in May, 1786, and that he *was* the Patron and Protector of the high degrees, and did approve these Grand Constitutions. We have not *endeavored* to be convinced, nor have had any opinion which we felt a pride in sustaining: and we now propose to place the reader in possession of the facts that have changed *our* opinion, and leave each to decide for himself.

The Baron de Marguerittes said, on the trial of the Comte de Grasse Tilly, Grand Commander, before a part of the Members of the Supreme Council for the French Possessions of America, claiming to be such Supreme Council, in September, 1818, (after quoting in full, Articles 5, 9, 10, 12 and 17 of the French Constitutions, precisely as these were afterwards printed in the *Recueil des Actes*): "Know, M.·. Ill.·. Brethren, that a Scottish Knight has in his possession the original charter of 1786, signed with his own hand by the late Frederic the Great, King of Prussia. This Code will be placed before your eyes; and you will then acquire the new conviction that there exists no other Regulator, no other Constitution that has instituted the Supreme Councils, and that therefore there cannot be any other Power on earth than these same Supreme Councils of Sov.·. Gr.·. Insps.·. Gen.·., rightfully and legitimately exercising the Supreme and Sovereign Government of the Scottish Masonry."

That Frederic was understood, in the United States, to be the chief of the High Masonry in Europe, is quite certain. On the 2d of November,

1785, the Bro.'. Solomon Bush, who was "Grand Elect, Perfect and Sublime Knight of the East and Prince of Jerusalem, Sovereign Knight of the Sun, and of the Black and White Eagle, Prince of the Royal Secret, and Deputy Inspector General, and Grand Master over all Lodges, Chapters and Grand Councils of the Superior Degrees, in North America, within the State of Pennsylvania," by Letters-Patent *from "the Sovereign Grand Council of Princes, under their hands and seals regularly established by the Sublime Grand Council of Princes,"* addressed a letter to Frederic, as "Most Sublime and Powerful Sovereign, Illustrious Chief of the Grand Council of Masons;" in which he solicits the King, as "our Great Thrice Puissant and Grand Commander," "in the dignified and exalted rank which you have done us the honor to maintain, in your generous Presidency over the two Hemispheres, at the Great East of Berlin," graciously to hear him, upon the subject of the letter.

In it he speaks of the King's "Sovereign guidance of the Grand Council of the Spacious Hemisphere of Knights and Princes;" of "the Regulations and establishments of the Grand Council," and declares that he feels himself called upon, in conformity to them, and in "compliance with the particular desires and partialities of the Sublime Grand Chapter over which I preside, to acquaint our worthy and much beloved Brethren in Council convened, at the Grand East in Berlin," that he had, in pursuance of the powers vested in him, "made, created, constituted and established a Sublime Lodge at the Grand East of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania and North America aforesaid; and on the 20th day of September, 1785, in the presence of a great and numerous Assembly of the Fraternity, publicly consecrated the same, and set it apart for the purposes of Sublime Masonry forever."

Distant from "the Grand East of Berlin," those for whom he spoke desired to comply with "those salutary rules and wise regulations, which have been framed and concerted for our better government," and therefore solicited Masonic intercourse and correspondence, that "we may not abuse the old Landmarks, or deviate from that regard, which is so justly due to the will of our Sovereigns;" and expressed the hope, "that the great ligh of Berlin will condescend to shine upon us."

And he said, "Agreeably to the rules of the Grand Councils, I now nclose a list of the members of our Lodge, in the prescribed form. We wish the Grand Council every success and prosperity," etc.

This letter may be found in the '*Mirror and Keystone*' (Phila.) of July 5, 1854, p. 212.

In the old minute-book (Ill.·. Bro.·. Carson, of Cincinnati, says) of the Grand Lodge of Perfection at Albany, New York, established in 1767, the Lodge is required, under date of September 3d, 1770, to prepare reports, etc., for transmission to Berlin.

We have in our possession a ritual of the Rose Croix of Kilwinning, which is a copy of one certified by Huet de Lachelle, "*Ecuyer Sénéchal du Petit Goave, Grand Maître du Grand et Sublime Chap.·. Provincial d'Hérédom de Kilwinning, séant au Petit Goave, Isle St. Domingue, sous le titre distinctif du St. Esprit,*" on the 26th of October, 1796, in which it is stated by the Bro.·. Lachelle, that the Chapter of Rose Croix established in the Island of Santo Domingo, prior to the year 1788, not being regular, that at the Petit Goave corresponded with the "*Grand Loge du Grand et Sublime Ordre d'Héréde Kilwinning,* in France," sitting at the O.·. of Rouen, to procure regularization; which Grand Lodge *offered its services,* to aid them them in effecting it. "We made our application," he says, "to the Chief of the Order, through the intermediation of the Grand Lodge of France at Rouen. . . . . In 1788 we obtained, from the Sovereign Chief of the Order, our Constitutions of Grand Lodge of the Royal Order of Hérédom of Kilwinning in Santo Domingo." And afterwards he states that the *Chef d'Ordre,* by one of his letters, authorized him to regularize the Chapter La Verité, which had emigrated from Cap François to Baltimore in Maryland, at the commencement of the Revolution on the Island; having been originally established by a Bro.·. who had no authority. It was healed by a Bro.·. sent to Baltimore for the purpose, in the name of the Chief of the Order.

Some individual in Europe, it seems, was regarded as the head of the Order, about the time when Frederic died; as the correspondence spoken of is said to have been attended with great delays; and the first reply from the Grand Lodge of Rouen arrived in 1787.

In 1789, François Xavier Martin, afterwards for many years Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana, in an address delivered at Newbern, in North Carolina, published two or three years afterward in the Free Masons Magazine, London, said that Frederic the Great was, in his lifetime, at the head of Masonry in Europe.

In 'l'Encyclopedie Maçonnique,' of Chémin Dupontés, published at Paris in 1823, Vol. 3, p. 390, is the following Article:

HIGH DEGREES OF SCOTTICISM.

"Here is that wherewith to put to the torture all the present and future Saumaises of Masonry. The Scottish Masonry in twen y-five degrees certainly existed in 1761; but that in thirty-three was generally believed to have been fabricated in America, and not to have been carried to France until 1804, by refugee colonists, who are accused of having falsely attributed it to Frederic, in order to gain for it greater credit.

"But we have *seen*, *handled* and most accurately *copied* a patent of 33d°, delivered by a Consistory at Geneva, in 1797, to the Resp.·. Bro.·. Vill.·. at present an officer of the Grand Orient of France, which would seem to prove, that if Frederic the Great did not organize the Scottish Masonry, in 33 degrees, in 1786, which it was impossible for him to do, considering the state of his health, this Scottish Masonry nevertheless existed in some of the States of Europe. The Bro.·. Vill.·. who might, by having himself regularized by the Gr.·. Orient of France, and depositing with it his patent, have been excused from payment of one half the fees, preferred to retain the patent, and receive the degree anew, as if not in possession of it already. Here follows an accurate description of this document, so important in the history of Masonry.

"It is surmounted by an Eagle with wings displayed, holding a compass in one of its claws, and in the other, a key. A ribbon surrounds it, with the words 'Gr.·. Lodge of Geneva.' At the foot of one of the columns is a woman, holding a balance. The patent commences thus:

"In the name and under the Auspices of the Metropolitan Grand Lodge in Scotland, and under the Celestial Vault of the Zenith, at the 24th degree of Long.·. and 44 deg.·. 12 m.·. Lat.·.

"To our Ill.·. Sov.·. Gr.·. Inspectors General, Free Masons of all the degrees Ancient and Modern, spread over the surface of the two Hemispheres,

"HEALTH. FORCE. UNION.

"We, Sov.·. Gr.·. Insps.·. Gener.·. composing the Consistory established at the Orient of Geneva, by Letters Constitutive of the Metropolitan and Universal Gr.·. L.·. of Edinburgh in Scotland, of date the 10th day of the first month, 5729, after having verified the letters of Knight of Cadosh

and carefully examined the M.·. Ill.·. and Dear. . . . upon the points of instruction and morals, and in all the degrees Ancient and Modern, to the 30th degree inclusive, we have conferred upon him the 31st, 32d and 33d degrees, the last, unique and sublime Degrees of Masonry: to enjoy the rights and honours attached to those high and sublime degrees.

" ' Vall.·. of Geneva, under the vault. . . .'

"[The remainder is effaced.]

"We shall also avail ourselves of this occasion, to mention also the Brief of Rose Croix, given to the same Brother. It has for caption: ' At the Or.·. of the Univ.·., from a Most Holy Place, of the Metropolitan Lodge of Scotland, established at Geneva, by the numbers 77, S.·. F.·. U.·., the Masonic year 5796. It is declared therein that he professes the Christian religion, that he is a Mason, Knight of the Sword, styled of the East. The right is given him to make and perfect Masons to the 6th degree inclusively, called Knight of the Sword or of the East, and to constitute a Lodge by his presence. . . . Blessed be he who shall give him welcome.' "

Ragon (*Orthod. Maç.* 302) gives the same patents, in the same words, prefacing thus:

"1797.—It appears that at this period, there existed at Geneva a Society of Masons-Speculators, delivering patents of the 33d degree. Here is the description of that which was sold to the Bro.·. *Villard-Espinasse*, who afterwards became an officer of the Gr.·. Orient of France, where he took, with the degree, a new patent of the 33d, August 17, 1825."

Ragon's "History" of the Ancient and Accepted Rite is full of errors, and he lavishes, at a safe distance of time and place, abundant vituperation on the original members of the Supreme Council at Charleston. In his *Orthodoxie Maçonnique*, he says that the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite was created in 1797, at Charleston, *by four Jews*, John Mitchell, Frederick Dalcho, Emanuel de la Motta and Abraham Alexander; of whom one only, de la Motta, was a Hebrew. These gentlemen he stigmatizes as speculators, pretenders and forgers, with much volubility, without knowing whether there was any truth in these charges, or whether they were simply libels, as they were.

He simply copies from Clavel, (*Maçonnerie Pittoresque*, 207,) the whole account which the latter gives of the creation of the Supreme Council at Charleston, and the inception of the Rite; except that Clavel says

that the Rite was created in 1801, by *five* Jews, naming Isaac Auld with the four mentioned by Ragon. Why the latter changed the date to 1797, and reduced the number of Jews, he does not inform us. Nothing justified the change of date; and he had no knowledge whatever as to the nativity or lineage of any of the gentlemen whom he slanders.

It was in response to these and other statements, that the Supreme Council at Charleston, by a circular of the 2d of August, 1845, pronounced Clavel's statements to be false and slanderous, exhibiting either a deplorable ignorance of the true history of the Order, or a wanton violation of truth.

Vassal (*Essai on the institution of the Scottish Rite*, cited by Besuchet, 1 *Precis Historique*, 292) says, that the patent given by the Supreme Council at Charleston to the Bro.·. Comte de Grasse, had the signatures, "Dalchs, 33°; Borven, 33°; Dieben, 33°; Abraham Alexander, 33°; De la Hogue, 33°." These, he says, are all *unknown* names, except that of De la Hogue.

For the first three of these, read *Dalcho, Bowen* and *Lieben*.

The tableau of the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection, of South Carolina, for 1802, tells us who the Members of the Supreme Council were.

The Supreme Council at Charleston was opened, (*Circular of Dec.* 4, 1802,) on the 31st of May, 1801, by the Bros.·. John Mitchell and Frederick Dalcho; and in the course of the year 1802 the whole number (nine) of Grand Inspectors General was completed. These were, Col. John Mitchell, Dr. Frederick Dalcho, Emanuel de la Motta, Abraham Alexander, Major Thos. Bartholomew Bowen, Israel de Lieben, Dr. Isaac Auld, Moses C. Levy and Dr. James Moultrie. The Bro.·. Comte de Grasse was a member, before and on the 21st of February, 1802, on which day his patent was issued, certifying that fact, and that he was Grand Commander for life of the French West India Islands. In August he was commissioned Grand Representative in those Islands; and ceased about that time to be a member, by removing from the United States to Santo Domingo.

Col. John Mitchell was a Justice and Notary, then 60 years of age, native of Ireland, late Lieut.·. Colonel in the army of the United States, and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Dr. Frederick Dalcho, then 32 years of age, was a native of Marylanc

He was an Episcopalian, a physician residing in Charleston, and member of the Medical Society of South Carolina.

Dr. Isaac Auld was 32 years of age, and a native of Pennsylvania; of Scotch descent, and a physician.

Thomas B. Bowen, was a printer, aged 60 years, had been Major in the army of the United States, and was a Member of the Cincinnati.

Israel de Lieben was a Commission Merchant, native of Bohemia, and aged 61 years.

Emanuel de la Motta was a Commission Merchant and Auctioneer, native of Santa Cruz, and 42 years of age.

Abraham Alexander was by birth a South Carolinian.

Dr. James Moultrie, 38 years of age, was a native of South Carolina.

We do not know the birth-place of Moses C. Levy. He and De la Motta were no doubt Jews or of Hebrew descent, and so perhaps De Lieben was.

Alexandre-François-Auguste de Grasse Tilly, was son of the Comte de Grasse who commanded the French fleet, sent to the assistance of Washington towards the close of the war of the Revolution, and who, with twenty-five sail of the line, fought the British Admiral, Graves, at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. The son was born at Versailles, in France, about 1766, was made a Mason in the Scottish Mother-Lodge, *du Contrat Social*, at Paris, and in 1796 was a Member of Lodge *la Candeur*, in Charleston. He was there on the 12th of November, 1796, and on the 10th of August, 1799, was one of the founders of the Lodge *la Réunion Française*, of which he was at some time Master. These facts appear by the tableaus, of the Lodge *la Candeur* for 1802, and of *la Réunion Française* for 1804 and 1806; and by a certificate granted Isaac Hermand, by the Lodge *la Candeur*, on the 21st of December, 1796. The Negroes revolted in Santo Domingo in 1791, and all the horrors of servile and civil war tortured that island for several years. The British invaded the island, and to secure the assistance of all the population against them, the French Government abolished Slavery. In 1802 Napoleon sent an expedition there under Le Clerc, to subdue and enslave the Negroes. Then it was that the Bro.·. Comte de Grasse returned to Santo Domingo, and established a Supreme Council at Port-au-Prince. But the expedition ended in defeat and disgrace, the French were expelled again from the 'sland, and he returned to France. It is not known with certainty, but

the presumption is, that he had resided in Santo Domingo, *before* he came to South Carolina. We do not know whether his residence in that State was uninterrupted or not, from 1796 to 1799, and from that year to 1802.

It is not in the least probable, indeed t is absurd to imagine, that Colonel Mitchell and Dr. Dalcho invented or arranged the Ancient and Accepted Rite, or got up the Grand Constitutions. Neither of them was the kind of man to put his hand to that kind of work. It is not probable that either of them could write Latin or French. As we have said, the French copy of the Constitutions, only, was in possession of the Supreme Council at Charleston, until 1859.

This very imperfect French copy, which consists merely of so many Articles, without preface, formality of enactment by any body in Power, or authentication of any sort, contains no list of the degrees, nor even the name of the Rite. It is most probable that de Grasse procured it, in or from Europe, and created the Supreme Council. By Article V. of these Constitutions, it required *three* persons to constitute a quorum and compose a Supreme Council; and therefore Colonel Mitchell and Dr. Dalcho alone *could* not have been, by themselves, such a body. The Bro.·. de Grasse intended establishing a Supreme Council at Santo Domingo, for the French West India Islands; and no other person had any interest to make the Constitutions read so as to allow such a Council, except his father-in-law, Jean Baptiste Delahogue, who also resided in Charleston in 1796,1799 and 1801, and was also a 33d, and appointed to be Lieutenant Grand Commander for the French West Indies. It was for this reason, evidently, that neither of them was placed on the roll of members of the body at Charleston, though the Bro.·. Delahogue had his patent of 33d, as de Grasse did, from that body, and was sent by it to extend the Rite in Louisiana.

The earliest assault upon the Grand Constitutions of 1786, so far as we know, was contained in a discourse before the Sov.·. Scottish Chapter, *Père du Famille*, at Angers, in February, 1812, published in *Hermes*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 296. It is as follows:

"After 1750, the Reformed Masonry only was professed in Prussia; and the King of that State, who protected the Order, had never been either its Chief or Grand Master. But if he had been so, on the 1st of May, 1786, he could not then have approved or made regulations for

Masonry; for, before that period, *he had had an attack of asphyxic apoplexy.* His malady lasted eleven months, without interruption or relief. He died in the year 1786. Consult the '*Secret History of the Court of Berlin,*' 2 *vols.* 8*vo.*, 1789, *vol.* 1, *p.* 215, *Letter* 28.

"If this Sovereign died in 1786, after eleven months of an extremely severe disease, how could he take part in the enactment of 1st May in the same year? But Frederic II., we have already said, was not even Grand Master of the Prussian Lodges, still less of the German Lodges. Open the 3d volume of the History of the Prussian Monarchy, published in 1788, 4 vols. in 8vo., by Mirabeau, and you will find this passage: 'It is a pity that Frederic II. . . did not carry his zeal so far as to become Grand Master of all the German Lodges, or at least of the Prussian ones, as it would have given him a considerable increase of power. . . and many of his military undertakings. . . would have had different results, if he had never embroiled himself with the Superiors of this Association.' This passage is extracted from the German work of M. Fischer's. See *Fischer's Geschichte Friederichs des* 2 *ten. vol.* 1."

L' Arche Sainte, 191, and *La Revue Historique, et de la Fr.·. Maç.·., in* 1832, *p.* 86, deny the authenticity of these Constitutions. The former gives no reason. The latter says that all well informed persons are aware that for the last fifteen years of his life, Frederick neither directly nor indirectly occupied himself with Masonry, and that he was always the declared enemy of the high degrees. It refers to *Encyc. der Freimaurerei*, by *Lessing*, *vol.* 1.

The Bro.·. *Le Blanc Marconnay*, 33d., in a Report to the Grand Orient of France, made in August, 1852, in regard to difficulties in Louisiana, considered the authenticity of the Constitutions of 1786. He first said, of the Bro.·. de Grasse, "He never established a Supreme Council in the Island of St. Domingo, as has been asserted. He came direct from South Carolina to France." But the Comte de Grasse did *not* go direct from South Carolina to France. He went to Port-au-Prince, and we have in our possession authentic copies of documents issued by him there. And he *did* confer the 33d degree there, *and create a Supreme Council.* We have, in the Register of the Bro.·. Antoine Bideaud, a list of its Members, of whom he was one.

We do not notice the gross misstatements of the Bro.·. Marconnay, in egard to the union of bodies of the Scottish Rite, with the Grand Lodge

and the Grand Orient of France. Suffice it to say, that, to make the Grand Orient legitimate possessor of the Scottish Masonry, he deliberately falsifies history, as can easily be shown, and as we *have* shown elsewhere.

He imputes the Constitutions of 1786 to Stephen Morin, who wa commissioned in 1761, by the Grand Council (of Emperors of the East and West) and the Gr.·. Lodge of France, then temporarily united, under the Comte de Clermont and his Deputy Chaillon de Joinville. He says, "When Stephen Morin imported the Rite of Perfection, or the Ancient and Accepted Rite, into America, he attempted somewhat to disguise its origin, and to give it more importance than it really had. He consequently fathered the merits of the modifications upon an absolute Monarch, *and extemporized the law of May* 1, 1786, *which he arranged for his own purposes.*" It is amusing to see with what positiveness such assertions are made, without one particle of proof to sustain them or reason to make them, and with abundant evidence against them, long before published, and commonly known.

He refers to and appends a letter written to him, on the 17th of August, 1833, from "The old Scottish Directory of the National Grand Lodge of the Three Globes," signed by the Grand Master, the Senior Warden and three others; in which they said, "Concerning the opinions prevailing among you, we inform you that Frederick the Great is partly the author of the system adopted by our Lodge, but that he never interfered with her affairs, nor prescribed any laws to the Masons, over whom he extended his protection throughout his States. . .

"Such is the state of things, and all that is rumoured among you about enactments and ordinances of Frederick the Great and of a Superior Senate, which must exist, stands on no grounds whatever."

Before we present the other objections, made by the Gr.·. Lodge of the Three Globes in December, 1861, let us dispose of the objection first presented,—that of Frederic's incapacity from sickness.

After 1750, it is said, the *Reformed* Masonry only was practised in Prussia. That this was the *regular* system, of the known Grand Lodges, there is no doubt; but it is also true that in Prussia, as every where in Germany, many other degrees were worked, and Secret Organizations existed, and the Illuminati used the forms and ceremonies of Masonry to conceal their existence and designs.

The *Histoire Secrète de la Cour de Berlin* is a series of letters written by Mirabeau, who was at Berlin in the summer of 1786, and when Frederick died, in a diplomatic capacity on secret service, d'Esterno being the French Minister at that Court.

There is not one word of truth in the statements as to Frederick's health and intellectual capacity in May, 1786. His intellect was as clear then as it ever was; and he attended to *all* his duties and business during his illness *and up to the very day of his death.* Coxe, *Hist. of the House of Austria,* iii. 507, says, that "he had been for some time afflicted with the dropsy, and a complication of disorders, but preserved the vigor of his administration and exerted the powers of his mind, *almost to the last moment.*"

And Schlosser, (*Hist. of 18th Century, transl. by Davison,* p. 382,) after giving an account of the quarrel which broke out between the States of Holland and the Stadtholder William V. (who married the niece of Frederick), in September, 1785, and detailing the occurrences of 17th March, 1786, when the adherents of the States created a tumult at the Hague, says, that on that occasion, Frederick II. showed his accustomed greatness of mind. . . . "He was besieged on all sides with applications to interfere in the affairs of the husband of his niece, but he always recommended his haughty niece to remain within the limits of the Constitution, although he entered into negotiations with the States-General on the subject of the complaints made by the Prince, and in particular caused to be delivered to them two very decided notes respecting the command of the garrison of the Hague." And he adds, that "notwithstanding the decisive tone of these representations, Frederick . . . caused the draft of the instructions sent by him to the Prussian Minister at the Hague to be laid before him, *and struck out, with his own hand,* all such passages as seemed to lay too little stress upon the Constitutional power of the States."

Schlosser says, also, that the letters of Mirabeau, and their gossip, are entitled, generally, to but little credit.

Chemin Dupontès, in a memoir which received the prize in the Lodge *des Cœurs Unis,* in 1824, said, "Frederick the Great protected Masonry; but neither he nor his Council amused themselves with making degrees, and if they had done so, we should recognize their work. Besides, Frederic died on the 17th of August, 1786, after a painful illness of eleven months. He could not, therefore, on the 1st of May of the same year have made or approved any Masonic Regulations."

Clavel says, (*Hist. Pitt.* 207,) that from the year 1774 until his death, Frederick in no wise concerned himself about Masonry; that on the 1st of May, 1786, he was dying, *and absolutely incapable of attending to any business whatever* [which is a fair specimen of Clavel's historical knowledge]; that he was the declared enemy of the high degrees, which he considered an injury to Masonry, [a consideration which never occurred to him, because he thought *all* Masonry a humbug,] and that there never was a Council of the 33d Degree in Prussia, where previously to 1786, the Rite of Perfection had been for the most part abandoned.

And Schlosser says, (iv. 478,) "Frederick himself continued to belong to the Order, till after the Silesian war. He ceased to be a member, shortly before the commencement of the Seven Years' War, at the very time when these Orders began to be abused by every species of deception; and he also commanded such of his Ministers of State as belonged to the Order, to desist from visiting their Lodges."

There is no doubt that Frederick came to the conclusion that the great pretensions of Masonry, in the Blue degrees, were merely imaginary and deceptive. He ridiculed the Order, and thought its ceremonies mere child's play, and some of his sayings to that effect have been preserved. It does not at all follow that he might not, at a later day, have found it politic to put himself at the head of an Order that had become a Power; and, adopting such of the degrees as were not objectionable, to reject all that were of dangerous tendency, that had fallen into the hands of the Jesuits, or been engrafted on the order by the Illuminati.

He had very little veneration for religion, and was not likely to have much for Masonry.

The statement, so often repeated, that Frederick was not in a condition to attend to any business, in May, 1786, we repeat, is a mere bald and naked *falsehood*, contradicted by every account of the closing scenes of his life. There never was the least foundation for it. It is simply a *lie*.

Mirabeau, who is quoted as authority in support of this lie, in his 10th Letter (of the *Histoire Secrète*), written on the 2d of August, 1786, said, "*Au reste, la tête est parfaitement libre, et l'on travaille même beaucoup;*"* and in Letter xiv., on the 17th of August, he wrote, "*Je savais, le mercredi, ... qu'il n'avait parlé qu'à midi aux Secré-*

* For the rest, his head is perfectly clear, and he even labours a great deal.

taries qui attendaient depuis cinq heures de matin: que cependant les dépêches avaient été nettes et précises." *

The great king had the dropsy, and indulged enormously in eating the coarsest viands in huge quantities, almost to the last; and when, after he had died, his body was punctured, and the water let out, he so shrunk up as to seem hardly larger than a child. Only a handful of bones was left: *and yet he was the great King and the great Minister of State, until the very day before his death.*

In the year 1786, he was 74 years of age, and in full possession of those uncommon powers of understanding, by which he had always been distinguished. But his body was not equally vigorous with his mind, he having become dropsical. The Count Hertzberg attended him until the moment of his death, and has given in his "*Mémoire historique sur la dernière année de la vie de Frédéric II.*," a full account of his mental and bodily condition, confirming what Mirabeau said, as we have quoted above, that on the 2d of August, his head was perfectly clear, and he performed a great amount of labor; and that, *the day before his death*, though he said nothing until noon, to the Secretaries in waiting since five in the morning, the despatches dictated by him were perfectly distinct, clear and precise.

The Count Hertzberg says, "He employed the same indefatigable attention to the internal government of his kingdom, and to the management of his affairs, *during the last seven months of his life*, as he had done formerly, and with the same success, notwithstanding the painful malady with which he was all the time afflicted." He did not for a moment remit his practice of reading all the despatches of his foreign ministers, and of dictating, every morning, from five until seven, the answers to be immediately sent. He maintained a regular correspondence with the Ministers of his Cabinet, and those for foreign affairs, on all great political concerns. "He kept up the same exact and daily correspondence with the Ministers in the Department of Justice, and in that of the Finances; and he directed, himself, without any Minister or General, the whole of the military correspondence, dictating his orders to his Secretaries and Aides-de-Camp." *Only a few days before his death*, he thus dictated all the manœuvres to be performed at the reviews in Silesia, "adverting to the minutest circumstances of

* I knew, on Wednesday, . . . that nothing was said until noon, to the Secretaries, who were in attendance from five o'clock in the morning; but tha nevertheless the despatches were perspicuous and precise.

locality." He settled new plans for the cultivation of land, and the improvement of manufactures, weeks after the date of the Grand Constitutions.

On the 6th of *June*, 1786, he wrote to Dr. Zimmerman, at Hanover requesting him to repair to Potsdam, that he might consult him. The doctor did so, immediately, and remained until the 11th of July. He found the king afflicted with dropsy, but in the perfect possession of his intellect and mental vigor; and afterwards published his "*Conversations with the late King of Prussia*," had during that visit.

Mirabeau, in letter of 11th July, 1786, of his *Histoire Secrète*, said: "Parties are very busy at Berlin, especially that of Prince Henry, who is eternally eager, without well knowing what he wishes. But all is silence in the king's presence. *He still is king, and will remain so until the last moment.*"

Count Hertzberg says, that during the last five weeks of his life, though he was much swollen with dropsy, could not lie on a bed, nor move from his chair, he never betrayed the least symptom of uneasiness, or of any disagreeable sensation, but preserved always his serene, tranquil and contented air, and conversed, in the most cordial and agreeable manner, on public news, literature, ancient and modern history, and particularly on rural affairs and gardening. He read, night and morning, the despatches of his foreign ambassadors, and the civil and military reports of his ministers and generals, and dictated the answers to his three Cabinet Secretaries, in the most minute and regular manner; as he did his answers to the letters and applications of individuals; leaving his Secretaries nothing to do, but to add the titles, dates and usual formalities. He gave regularly the verbal orders relative to the duties of the garrison of Potsdam for the day.

"This course of life was continued without variation, *until the 15th of August*, on which day he dictated and signed his despatches, in a manner that would have done honor to a Minister the most conservant with the routine of business." On the 16th, and not until then, he ceased to discharge the functions of a King and Minister of State, and was deprived of his senses, and on the 17th he died. *Mém. Historique*, 8, 9, 10. *Towers, Mémoires of Frédéric III.*, vol. 2, 411 *to* 423.

Thiebault, (*Original Anecdotes of Frederick the Great, translated, Phila.*, 1806, *Vol.* 1, *p.* 141,) says, "He directed his State affairs *to the very last*, and a few moments before his decease, he insisted on signing a

letter addressed to M. de Launay, but his sight and strength failing him, he did little more than blot the paper." Thiebault had been at the Court of Frederick twenty years, and had *personal* knowledge of that whereof he wrote.

See also Count Hertzberg's account of Frederick's transaction of business in August, in the work of Vehse, *Court of Prussia, translated by Demmler, pp.* 286–7. From 4th to 9th of August, he was consulting the Silesian Minister, Hoym, about reclaiming waste land, and establishing manufactures. He read all despatches, until the last. On Tuesday, August 15th, he slept until 11 A. M. Then he transacted all the business of the Cabinet, dictating to the Cabinet Counsellor, Laspeyres, despatches so lucid and well arranged, as would have done honor to the most experienced Minister; among others, instructions for an Ambassador, in four whole quarto pages. Before that, he had given General Rohdich dispositions for manœuvres of the garrison of Potsdam, on the next field-day. These were his last acts as a ruler. Hertzberg, Goitz and Schwerin were in the adjoining room when he died.

From Lord Dover's "*Life of Frederick II.*," *London*, 1832, we take the following facts and circumstances, which are stated there, in addition to those which we have taken from Towers, all of which are also to be found in Lord Dover's book.

Frederick had had gout for some time, and in August, 1785, fever. On the 18th of September, 1785, he had an attack of apoplexy, from which he recovered. During the autumn his fever left him, but was succeeded by a hard dry cough. His legs swelled, and oppression in his chest prevented his sleeping in bed. The gout left him, and never returned. In April, 1786, he was better, and on the 17th of that month he went to Sans Souci, which residence he never afterwards left. He made attempts soon after, to ride on horseback, but weakness compelled him to give that up, and to be wheeled about in a garden chair. "Still, however, under all his sufferings, Frederick continued to execute with extreme punctuality and great mental activity, the duties of his station." *Lord Dover*, ii. 440.

On the 4th of *July*, 1786, he applied himself to public business from half-past *three* in the morning, to seven. Then he ate a huge breakfast, at eleven was helped on horseback, and remained riding, and frequently galloping, about the gardens of Sans Souci, for three hours. He continually held long conversations with Dr. Zimmermann, from the 23d of June to

the 12th of July. During the last seven months of his life, he labored constantly, to confirm his last great work, the Germanic League; to interfere with effect in the troubles of Holland, and to support his rights and those of his subjects, against the reclamation of the City of Dantzic. *Lord Dover*, ii. 460. After dinner, (dining at 12,) he signed all the despatches and letters which he had dictated in the morning. At 5 o'clock he received society, and conversed with them till eight, and passed the rest of the evening in having select passages from ancient authors, such as Cicero and Plutarch, read to him. Then he perused his newly arrived despatches, or took the short intervals of sleep which his sufferings permitted. "This course of life continued till the 15th of August." *Lord Dover*, ii. 464.

We may safely "rest the case," as far as this point is concerned: and it is the one on which the greatest stress has been laid, ever since the writers of the Grand Orient of France commenced the war on the Grand Constitutions. That body, originally created by a revolting Committee of the Grand Lodge of France, and which during the Empire was *compelled* to respect the rights of the Supreme Council of France, to which, receiving from it the degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite in 1804, all its prominent members had sworn allegiance,—that body which had never had or pretended to the least jurisdiction over the degrees above the 18th, *clutched* the whole, when it hastened to prostrate itself and rub its muzzle in the dust before the Bourbon throne, on the fall of the Empire; and, as the Grand Constitutions, permitting but one Supreme Council in France branded that set up 'in its bosom,' as illegitimate and spurious, as it was, its writers denied the authenticity of those Constitutions, which they were all sworn to obey, who had the degrees of the Rite. So Foulhouze afterwards did in Louisiana, and has had imitators among others who had sworn to obey them as the Supreme law of the Rite, whenever and wherever they were made.

Freemasonry first went from England to Germany, and the Lodge of the Three Globes, at Berlin, was thus established, being only a Symbolic Lodge, like the Lodge Royale Yorck.

In 1743, Baron HUNDE was at Paris, and there received the high degrees from the adherents of the Stuarts; and had power given him to propagate these degrees in Germany. But he was not very active, upon his

return there. In 1756 or 1757, a complete revolution took place. The French officers who were prisoners in Prussia introduced the French degrees, and a Commissary named *Rosa* brought from Paris a wagon-load of Masonic ornaments, which were all distributed before they reached Berlin, and he had to order another. In half a year Free Masonry underwent a complete revolution all over Germany, and Chevaliers of the Rose Croix and Kadosh multiplied without number. About 1764 a Bohemian named Leucht, calling himself Johnson, appeared in Germany as a teacher of the true Masonry, who, after a little, informed the German Brethren that the Baron Hunde was Grand Master of the Seventh Province, which included the whole of Germany and the royal dominions of Prussia. The Lodges submitted to him as such: and after two or three years a Convention was held at Altenberg, and the Templar Rite of Strict Observance was established.

Then Dr. Zinzendorf introduced a new system, which he said was from Sweden, and of this a National Grand Lodge was established at Berlin.

Then Starck and after him the Baron Knigge introduced Schisms; and Masonry was filled with Clergymen, Professors, Men of Letters, and persons holding offices in the law-courts. Knigge brought about a General Convention at Wilhelmsbad in Hainault, of members of all Rites and Degrees; at which the Marquis of Costanza and Knigge formed the Eclectic Masonry of the United Lodges of Germany. *Such* was the condition of the Order in Germany in 1776. In 1775 a Lodge of the Eclectic System was established at Munich in Bavaria, *The Lodge Theodore of Good Council*, which held a patent from the Lodge Royal York at Berlin, but had a system of its own, by instructions from the Lodge at Lyons. Of this Lodge at Munich, Dr. Adam Weishaupt was a member, and established the Order of Illuminati, under the inspiration of a bitter hatred of the Jesuits. He was of the Order of Strict Observance, and a Rosicrucian.

Among the prominent members of the new Order (the Illuminati), were Baron Knigge, the most active member next to Weishaupt, the Baron Bassus, Zwack, Nicolaï, a bookseller at Berlin, the Marquis Costanza, Bahrdt, a clergyman, Mirabeau, and the Duke of Orleans. The authentic letters and documents published by Robison show that in the Degrees given to the members generally, the principles of morality and of civil and religious liberty were expounded; but Weishaupt invented higher degrees, made known to few only, and not favorably received by other prominent members, which taught that all religion was falsehood.

Nicolaï was an eminent and learned bookseller at Berlin. He joined the Order in January, 1782 (while he was engaged in hunting out Jesuits), being induced to do so by the Baron Knigge, who afterwards quarreled with Weishaupt and left the Order.

Knigge was converted to Illuminism by the Marquis Costanza, and procured many members for the Order. It was chiefly by his exertions among the Masons in the Protestant countries, that the Eclectic System of Free Masonry was introduced, and afterwards brought under the direction of the Illuminati. This was entirely owing to his extensive connections among the Masons. He travelled extensively, before he embraced Illuminism, from Lodge to Lodge, and even from house to house, to unite the Masons; and afterwards went over the same ground to extend the Eclectic System, and get the Lodges under the direction of the Illuminati, by their choice of Masters and Wardens. He was of a devotional turn, a man of the world who had kept good company, and was offended and shocked by the irreligious projects of Weishaupt. After laboring four years with great zeal, this dissatisfaction and the disingenuous tricks of Weishaupt caused him to break off his connection with the Society, in 1784, and to publish a declaration of what he had done in it.

Nicolaï fell into a bitter quarrel with Dr. *Starck*, of Darmstadt, a court preacher, by accusing him of Jesuitism. Starck was a restless spirit, devoted to Masonry, and had gone through every Mystery in Germany, except Illuminism. He was an unwearied book-maker, and having by diligent inquiry found out that Nicolaï had been entrusted with all the secrets of Weishaupt's higher degrees, he publicly accused him of it, and ruined his moral character.

Dr. Zimmerman, author of "Thoughts on Solitude," and who was with Frederick in June and July, 1786, was an Illuminatus, President of the Order in Manheim, and most active in propagating it in other countries. He was employed by it as a Missionary, and erected Lodges at Neufchâtel and in Hungary, and even in Rome. When in Hungary he boasted of having established more than a hundred Lodges, some of which were in England.

In 1768, Mirabeau, with the Duke de Lauzun and the Abbé Perigord, afterwards Bishop of Autun, reformed a Lodge of Philalethes at Paris which met in the Jacobin College or Convent. While at the Court of Berlin, he became an Illuminatus, and on his return to France imparted some of his illumination to that Lodge, of which he was a Warden in 1788.

Robison gives a list of the Lodges mentioned in the private papers that were seized in Bavaria. The Elector of Bavaria had, a little before the year 1783, issued an edict, forbidding, during his pleasure, all Secret Assemblies, and closing the Masonic Lodges. But the Lodge "Theodore" continued to meet, notwithstanding.

In the beginning of 1783, six persons were summoned before the Court of Enquiry, and questioned respecting the Order of the Illuminati. Their declarations were published, and were very unfavorable. The Elector issued another edict, forbidding all hidden assemblies; and a third, expressly abolishing the Order of Illuminati. It was followed by a search for papers. Weishaupt was deprived of his professor's chair, and banished. The Italian Marquises, Costanza and Savioli were banished, as well as Zwack, a Counsellor. The original correspondence and papers of the Order were not found until 1786 and 1787, in which years large collections were found at the houses of Zwack and Baron Bassus or Batz.

The list already mentioned contains the names of some forty places in Germany, where there were Lodges. There were fourteen in Austria, several in Upper Saxony, Westphalia, Strasburg; many in Livonia, Courland, Alsace, Hesse; many in Holland, Switzerland and Poland; several in America, some at Rome, in England, in Florence, Turin and Naples, and many in France.

The list of prominent members given, contains the names of Noblemen, Counsellors, Professors, Priests and Military Officers.

There was no persecution of the Order, or prohibition of Secret Assemblies, or edict against the Masonic Lodges, in Prussia, while the Illuminati were being persecuted in Bavaria.

When the impostor Johnson had induced most of the persons of princely and noble rank in Darmstadt, Brunswick, Saxony and elsewhere, to enter into the system of Free Masonry or Templarism taught by him, and had been unmasked by the Baron Von Hunde, the latter took his place, and sought to form an Order of Knighthood for the Nobility, out of the Free Masons. This was the Strict Observance. It severed itself from all other branches of Masonry, and required all its Subordinate Lodges to exclude all members of other Lodges of Free Masons from their meetings. Into this Society many German Princes, Barons and Counts entered. Ferdinand of Brunswick adhered to it to the last; and Prince Louis of Darmstadt entertained immense ideas of what might be accomplished by it. The

reigning Duke Charles of Brunswick, the celebrated General in the Seven Years' War, belonged to this Order. The Grand Lodge at London had appointed Duke Ferdinand Grand Master of all the Lodges in a great part of North Germany; and the members of the Strict Observance succeeded in having him chosen in 1772, as Grand Master of *all* the German Lodges.

The Order becoming thus strong and popular, the ex-Jesuits endeavored to make use of Free Masonry for the furtherance of their views; and the numerous body of Rosicrusians was a tool of the Jesuits in Bavaria.

The biographer of Hippel, a prominent member of the Order, and who publicly acknowledged that he was indebted, *for all his knowledge of men and of the world, to Free Masonry*, says: "His connection with Free Masonry began in 1760, at the very period in which a number of higher consecrated offices were introduced into this Order, in addition to the three gradations of rank in the Order of St. John. These additions found acceptance in Königsberg, at which place a court-preacher, Starck, *who was one of the most active promoters of the higher Free Masonry, filled distinguished offices and had many friends.* At this time, also, Hippel entered into priestly orders."

To counteract the schemes of the Ex-Jesuits, Weishaupt and his friends set on foot Illuminism. As originally founded, it was altogether dissimilar from Free Masonry, of which its founders knew very little. Knigge was the first who gave the Order a form, which he borrowed from Masonry.

Adolphe-François-Frederic, Baron de KNIGGE (we learn from the *Biographie Universelle*), German philosopher and *litterateur*, was born in 1757, a short distance from Hanover. He studied at Göttingen, resided at various Courts and Cities in Germany, and died on the 6th of May, 1796, at Bremen. He became known by many works in German on philosophical subjects, morality and literature.

We learn from Schlosser and from his own letters, that he was a man of the world, acquainted with life and all its intrigues, and with no tendency towards Mysticism or a contemplative life.

Many of the noblest men of the German plains joined the Illuminati, and their names are found on the lists, with those of Weishaupt, Zwack and Knigge. Among the names of the Bavarians persecuted as Illuminati, will be found those of the most distinguished and best men of the country; though many were of a very different description.

The idea of the new Order was conceived in 1776, and its first, or "Min-

erval" degree, "was to be an institution for the cultivation of a free spirit, in a country in which no man dared utter a free word." Von Zwack had procured *some* knowledge of the external forms of Free Masonry, its symbols, degrees and initiation; of all which Weishaupt knew nothing; and classes and gradations were established, and the Order instituted as a branch of Free Masonry, As early as 1778, there were twelve Lodges in Catholic Bavaria, Franconia and the Tyrol. Distinguished men, like Börn and Sonnenfels in Vienna, entered the Order; and when Baron Von Knigge applied his accurate knowledge of Free Masonry to it, the Lodges of Masons became its intruments, to prepare and furnish candidates. Knigge was Chamberlain at Weimar in Saxony, and had lived at Francfurt and Heidelberg, in the very centre of Mysticism and Masonry. He played a prominent part in all the Orders, and then became celebrated as a writer.

He and Zimmermann had a bitter dispute in regard to Secret Orders, the latter being in favor only of what was empty and despotical. Zimmermann was a dull and common-place person, ridiculed by all men of understanding, but bepraised by the newspapers, and accepted by the world as a prophet.

In the year 1780, the Counts Costanza and Saviola travelled to North Germany, to gain recruits among the Free Masons, for the Lodges of the Illuminati, whom they represented as a sect of Free Masons. Knigge received them favorably, and became the friend of and co-operator with Weishaupt. Among the Free Masons, Mystics were at that time everywhere met with; and frequently persons desirous of prostituting the Order, to promote protestant priestcraft or Jesuitical Papism. There were plenty of the latter among the Free Masons of the Strict Observance. Knigge readily found recruits in the Lodges, of Free Masons disinclined to Mysticism, and many of the most noble-minded men in Germany attached themselves to an association antagonistic to despotism and obscurantism. Feder, in Gottingen, was won over to the Order; and Nicolaï, the bookseller at Berlin, joined it when he travelled in Bavaria in 1781.

As has been said, Knigge introduced into the new Order everything that he found in the ceremonies, consecrations, doctrines and hieroglyphs of the various systems of Free Masonry with which he was acquainted, which he found suitable, or calculated to decoy the fashionable and vain. At length an opportunity offered to engraft the new Order completely on Masonry. The Lodges of Free Masonry had fallen into a decline. Hunde's Strict Ob-

servance began to be considered a deception and imposture; and vehement complaints were heard on all hands against Starck's Jesuitism and the influence of the Rosicrucians.

To stop this decline, Conventions were held; and finally, Knigge set up the Eclectic system, in opposition to the Strict Observance; and the latter was declared a deception, though it continued under Prince Ferdinand, its Grand Master. In June, 1782, Knigge received J. J. C. Bode, a very zealous Free Mason, among the Illuminati of the highest order. This brother had played an active and distinguished part in the affairs of Masonry, as one of its officials, and manfully resisted its tendency to Rosicrucianism and Jesuitism. He was a printer and publisher in Hamburg, and had removed thence to Weimar, where he made, in some measure, a business of his Free Masonry; attended Conventions, carried on an extensive correspondence, and superintended the publication of works upon the craft.

All the Free Masons in North Germany, who were in favor of religious and civil liberty, joined Bode; among whom Major Von dem Busche and Leuchseuring, tutor of the princes, were the most remarkable. They made the dissemination of the Eclectic Free Masonry a pretence for spreading the principles of the Illuminati, which, by their instrumentality, found partisans and adherents in foreign countries. Bode was the apostle of the new Order in Saxony. Leuchseuring, in the Prussian dominions, aided by Nicolaï; Feder in the Hanoverian territory; and Von dem Busche in the Netherlands.

Weishaupt permitted Bode to modify the principles of the Order, or rather, to suppress his, Weishaupt's own peculiar notions taught in the higher degrees, as too far advanced for North Germany. The Order soon embraced all classes, and its members consisted at the same time of the most distinguished men of the higher ranks of life, and the students of the universities, among whom it took its origin. In Bavaria, too, many of its members rejected every noble principle and all religion.

Dissensions soon grew up in the bosom of the Order, between the Bavarians and those of the Free Masons whom Knigge had gained for the Order; and a dispute between Weishaupt and Knigge respecting the Constitution of the Order and its ceremonies ended, in 1784, in a complete separation of the North German party, of which those of Prussia were a part.

Knigge wanted to incorporate into the Order the whole pomp of the

Catholic Church; its consecration, ceremonies, garments, etc. The Bavarians opposed this, for they were Catholics.

In 1784, upon obtaining possession of a document which developed the plans of the Illuminati, the Jesuits urged the Elector of Bavaria to persecute the Order, though one of his ministers, the ablest men in Bavaria, several of his daily companions, and members of the first families in the Electorate belonged to it. Utzschneider, himself an Illuminatus, a Baron of the Exchequer, communicated the document to the Rosicrucians, Free Masons and Jesuits; he and others leaving the Order, to gain the favor of the Jesuits by informing against their late friends. Utzschneider first handed in a secret accusation to the Elector, and then publicly complained to him in person. Early in 1784, an anonymous public warning appeared against the Order, declaring its principles dangerous to the well-being of the State, and destructive of morality. The Order answered by a public challenge to its accusers, to prove their allegations; and these published a "Necessary Appendix" to the warning. This introduction to the persecution was managed with Jesuitic cunning, and probably had some connection with Knigge's prudent secession from the Order in the same year. In June, 1784, a general ordinance issued, strictly prohibiting all Secret Societies in Bavaria; but, as there were in the Order some 2,000 men, of the highest ranks and most distinguished families, their adversaries moved with deliberation and caution.

Meetings of Illuminati and Free Masons were prohibited by name, in March and August, 1785. The Edict of the 1st of March was against the Free Masons, and was ascribed to the Duchess Clementine, mistress of Utzschneider. On the 9th of September, 1785, a formal accusation against the Illuminati was published, signed and sworn to by Utzschneider Priest Cosandey and Professor Grünberger, with long lists of names of persons alleged to belong to the Order. Dreadful charges were made and yet, says Schlosser, from whom we have quoted the whole account (*vol.* iv. *pp.* 472, *et seq.*), "the views of the Illuminati, in despite of the abuses which resulted from the Secret Constitution of the Order, had contributed most materially to introduce and diffuse light into the darkness of the Middle Ages which prevailed in the benighted countries of Germany" (*p.* 493).

Count Seinsheim, Montgélas, Charles Von Dalberg, afterwards Coadjutor of Mayence and Prince Primate, and Ernest II., Duke of Gotha, were

among the members of the Order. Mauvillon, a friend of Mirabeau, wa one of the most active, and cherished revolutionary ideas. He hated courts, and had ample cause to do it from his experience in Hesse-Cassel, under Frederic, the brutal Landgrave of that State, who sold 17,000 of his subjects to England, to fight and die in the American Colonies, and emulated the oppressions of Charles, Duke of Würtemberg. As a military man of large scientific knowledge, Mauvillon was favored by Ferdinand of Brunswick, and there became intimate with Mirabeau, and was marked as a most suspicious person, by Zimmermann and the Jesuits.

The Bavarian persecution was commenced by two ex-Jesuit fathers, both of them Electoral Privy Councillors, before the discovery of the scandalous papers found in Zwackh's house in October, 1786. Weishaupt was banished, and found an asylum in Ratisbon, his friends being forbidden to write to him, and the Jesuits of Munich beseeching the authorities of his city of refuge to drive him away. His friends who visited him were seized by the Inquisition on their return, for having held Lodges; and, on their way, eaten meat on a fast-day. Two of them were deprived of their offices, and one put in a penal garrison. Another was banished from the University. Schlosser gives a long list of persons deprived of their places, arrested without lawful grounds, and otherwise persecuted. The censorship of the press was exercised with more severity than before. Counter-statements from persons condemned were forbidden. Secret conversations were watched, and knavish spies were everywhere. Cabinet Orders sent men to the house of correction. Banishments and confinements in fortresses were common.

During these troubles, from 1778 to 1786, Joseph II. of Austria was endeavoring to extend his power by acquiring Bavaria, and Frederic was as actively engaged in thwarting his efforts, defeating him, finally, and creating the Germanic League in 1785.

"Though far, in other respects, from cherishing the spirit of a spying and persecuting police, either in his words or actions," says Schlosser (iv. 490), "Frederic had kept a sharp eye upon the Order" (of Illuminati) "and its proceedings, long before the storm burst upon its head." "The governments of North Germany," he says again, "showed some indulgence to the Illuminati, on account of the Free Masons, although the former members of the Order were everywhere under a species of police superintendence, like the Carbonari of our days."

As to the religious, or irreligious principles of the Order, Frederic was, of course, indifferent. He had no religious creed, and his ideas agreed with those of Voltaire and other free-thinkers in France. It was only in its political aspect that the Order claimed his attention.

He consulted Frenchmen alone, in introducing his new excise regulations, and employed them afterwards to collect the excises. He consulted a French Farmer-General as his oracle on the first institution of his oppressive financial schemes, and unconditionally followed his advice. This was the physician Helvetius, whom the King received as his friend at Sans Souci, and who was a Free Mason as well as a philosopher, a member of the Lodge in which Franklin acted as Junior Warden when Voltaire was initiated. The lowest estimate of the number of Frenchmen employed in Prussia, in connection with the revenue, is 500. Zimmerman gives the number at 3,000; Mirabeau and Mauvillon regard 1,500 as nearest the truth; of these, many must have been Free Masons.

In France, as is well known, the Rite of Perfection was worked, after 1759, in 25 degrees.

The Rite of Strict Observance was the third Masonic innovation of the Jesuits. It consisted of six degrees; Apprentice, Companion, Master, Scottish Master, Novice and Templar. The Baron Von Hunde (Charles Gathel) added a seventh, which was kept concealed, styled *Eques Professus*.

The clerks of the Relaxed Observance (*de la late Observance*) was created by a schism in the Strict Observance. Among other of its chiefs were the Baron de Raven and the Preacher Starck. There were ten degrees; Apprentice, Companion, Master, African Brother, Knight of St. Andrew, Knight of the Eagle or Master Elect, Scottish Master, Sovereign Magus, Provincial Master of the Red Cross, and Magus, or Knight of Splendor and Light. The tenth was subdivided into five parts; Knight Novice of the third year; Knight Novice of the fifth year; Knight Novice of the seventh year; Knight Levite; Knight Priest.

The same schism produced the *High* Observance, in which they dealt with Alchemy, Magic, etc., and the *Exact* Observance, the teachings of which partook of that of the first two Observances, that had for their bases Jesuitism and Catholicism.

In 1767, the Order of Architects of Africa, or African Brothers, was established at Berlin. It had eleven degrees, none of them contained in the Rite of Perfection. About 1770, Zinnendorf (Knight Commander of the

Strict Observance, Director of the Lodges in Prussia, Member of the Lodge of the Three Globes, and Prior of the Templars, who founded a Lodge in 1768 at Potsdam, and one in 1769 at Berlin, both of the Templar Régime), established a Rite known by his own name. It contained four degrees, besides the Symbolic ones, *i. e.*, Scottish Apprentice and Companion; Scottish Master; Clerk, or Favourite of St. John, a Swedish degree; and Bro.·. Elu.

The Eclectic Rite was settled in 1783, in General Assembly, by the Grand Lodges of Francfurt and Wetzlar. It consisted of the three Blue degrees only.

The degrees of the Illuminati were, 1st, of the Nursery:—Preparation, Novice, Minerval, Illuminatus Minor; 2d, of Masonry:—Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master, Illuminatus Major or Scottish Novice, Illuminatus Diligens, or Scottish Knight; 3d, of the Mysteries; *Lesser*:—Presbyter, Priest, Prince, Regent; *Greater*:—Magus, Rex.

All these Rites and Orders existed in Prussia, and if dangerous any where, they were dangerous there. *But while Frederic II. lived*, his government took no measures of repression against any of them, nor did they create, in Prussia, any trouble or excitement. Frederic had protected the Jesuits, when they were persecuted elsewhere; and it was certainly a wiser policy to put himself at the head of all the Masonic Orders, and select a certain number of degrees out of all the Rites, including none of the degrees of the Strict Observance above the third, and none of the Illuminati, than to make war upon, and by persecutions make more dangerous, the Masons in his Kingdom: and being himself a Mason, it was easy to effect this.

"In this country," Robison says, "we have no conception of the authority of a National Grand Master. When Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by great exertion among the jarring sects in Germany, had got himself elected Grand Master of the Strict Observance, it gave serious alarm to the Emperor, and to all the Princes in Germany; and contributed greatly to their connivance at the attempts of the Illuminati to discredit that party. In the great cities of Germany, the inhabitants paid more respect to the Grand Master of the Masons, than to their respective Princes."

That Frederic was not favorably disposed towards the higher degrees, or what were called so, of the Strict Observance and other Rites, is very probable. He spoke sneeringly of all Free Masonry, and regarded it as a hollow and empty affair, not worthy to engage the time and attention of rational

men. Compared with the cares of a king or a minister, it seemed to him mere nonsence and idle tom-foolery. But when it became dangerous to thrones, or when it seemed that it might become so, and when its off-shoot or graft, Illuminism, became so effective an antagonist of Papism and Jesuitry, it became worthy Frederic's attention. He managed it *somehow*. There were no disturbances or trouble caused by it in *his* kingdom.

At the time when the Illuminati were thus suppressed in Bavaria and elsewhere, they had their circles all over Germany. Francfurt sur le Mein instructed Mayence, Darmstadt, Nieuwied, Cologne and Weimar. Weimar instructed Cassel, Gottingen, Wetzlar, Brunswick and Gotha. Gotha carried its light to Erfurt, Leipsic, Halle, Dresden and Dessau. Dessau had charge of Torgau, Wittenberg, Mecklenburg and Berlin. Berlin communicated with Stettin, Breslau, Franckfurt sur l' Oder ; and Franckfurt sur l' Oder took care of Kœnigsberg and the cities of Prussia. *Essai Sur la Secte des Illuminés* (by *M. de Luchet*) ; *Paris*, 1789.

Prussia was a Protestant Kingdom. Frederic was a philosopher, in the meaning of that word at that day, holding the opinions of Voltaire, Rousseau, d' Alembert, Condorcet and others. He was opposed to all tyranny over the conscience, and of course to Papism. To prevent the extension of Romanism in Germany, and to limit the power and dominions of Austria, were the great purposes of his life. Within his own kingdom he resolved to govern, and did govern everything. It will be seen that, towards the last of his life, he had reasons for wishing to control the Masonic Order.

Frederic's greatest merit in the cause of Germany was in warding off the last comprehensive plan of the Roman church for the conversion of the Protestants. He preserved Germany from the attempt of Maria Theresa to make Catholicism the religion of the Empire. *Vehse, Court of Prussia*

The Country of the Elector Palatine was under a Papal Sovereign, of the bigoted line of the House of Neuberg. The Elector of Saxony had returned to the fold of the Roman church in 1697, when the crown of Poland was put on his head.

In the 18th century, the Church of Rome attempted by intrigue to bring Germany back to the fold. Snares were laid for Wurtemberg and Hesse Cassel. These Frederic thwarted.

The Jesuits were spread over Germany, from the Palatinate and Swabia, through Franconia and the Rhenish Provinces, and extended into Westphalia, Saxony and Silesia.

Frederic, in 1749, still allied with France, endeavored to make head against the Austro-Jesuit movement, with the help of the Courts of the Palatinate and Cologne.

He secured the Protestant religion in Wurtemberg and Hesse Cassel. It was owing to him alone that the Elector of Hesse Cassel, William, who succeeded in 1785, was a Protestant. When, in 1753, the Heir Presumptive of the Dukedom of Wurtemberg married the Princess of Brandenburg-Schwedt, Frederic insisted on a pledge in the marriage contract, that the children of the marriage should be brought up in the Protestant religion. Their son Frederick I., King of Wurtemberg, succeeding in 1797, became, after sixty-five years, the first Protestant ruler of that Kingdom.

Frederic's interference in these affairs, excited against him the Roman Catholic Potentates of Europe, whose spirit of revenge was formidably manifested in the coalition of 1756, when Austria and France united for his destruction. The principal motive which actuated Louis XV. in forming this coalition, was a religious one. This the papers of the Duke de Choiseul prove. His object was to crush Frederic and Protestantism. Frederic saved Germany in 1756, by the resolute stand he made against the House of Hapsburg.

Yet he tolerated and protected the Catholics, in his own Kingdom; and the Jesuits, when they were expelled from all other European countries. He allowed freedom of speech and of printing,—freedom of speech even in political matters; freedom of the press in regard to everything except matters of State. He even invited the Jesuits banished from other countries, to come to Prussia.

The friendship of Frederic for Voltaire, and their long and intimate correspondence are well known. He had great regard for the other writers who were engaged, during the latter part of his life, in promulgating liberal opinions in France, and consequently he must have approved of the principles taught in the Masonic Lodges, of which men like Helvetius and Franklin were members; of the principles of the *real* Scottish Masonry: for these principles were his own.

Frederic II., says Schlosser, had the best reasons for taking the Jesuits in Silesia under his protection, of whose schools, besides, Voltaire gave him

the most favorable account. Prussia did not then possess Münster or Posen, portions of the Archbishopric of Treves or Cologne, and had therefore nothing to fear from Romish influence, and would otherwise have been obliged to make large contributions from the public treasury for the purposes of education, of which the Jesuits took charge without pecuniary aid. He was in truth perfectly indifferent what his subjects thought or believed, provided they only served, paid taxes, and were obedient. *Hist. of the 18th Century*, iv. 462.

In November, 1780, Joseph II. ascended the throne of Austria. He desired to obtain possession of Bavaria, for which, in 1785, he proposed to exchange Belgium. His plan was favoured by Russia, and the Elector Charles-Theodore; to prevent which, Frederic formed a Confederation, known as the Germanic League, among the principal Powers of Germany, and thus defeated it. The treaty between them was signed on the 23d of July, 1785, the parties being Prussia, and the Electors of Saxony and Hanover. It was afterwards joined by the Elector of Mentz, the Duke of Deux-ponts, as heir presumptive of Bavaria, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Baden, Saxe Gotha and Weimar, by Anspach and Baireuth, the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Princes of Anhalt-Dessau, Bernberg and Cöthin and the Prince-Bishop of Osnabruck. Its object was to maintain the Constitution of the German Empire, and check the ambitious designs of the Court of Austria. 2 *Vehse, Court of Austria, translated by Demmler*, 436.

The Free Masons were, in 1785, numerous enough to make their support desirable, either to Austria or Prussia. Each sought it.

Vehse says, (*Court of Austria*, ii. 312, *trans. of Demmler*,) that *Joseph II. put himself at the head of the Secret Orders*, partly from vanity, and partly *for the purpose of using them.* The Free Masons and Illuminati, he says, "were made the tools of his plans for the acquisition of Bavaria. The Barons Bassus, Costanza and Knigge, while thinking they subserved the Order of Free Masonry, were the dupes of Joseph, "*until Frederic opened their eyes.*"

How did he open their eyes? or, rather, how did he bring the influence of the Masonry of which these men were the chiefs, over from Joseph II. to himself? *We think it was by the sensible and effective measure of putting himself at their head.* If he did so, the Constitutions of 1786 were a natural result.

The question whether Frederic did put himself at the head of the Free Masonry of the higher degrees, and form a scale *which rejected all those invented in Germany*, including those of the Rite of Strict Observance, the Eclectic Rite and the Illuminati, is one of probability. To decide it, one must understand what was the condition of Free Masonry and Illuminism in Germany, and especially in Prussia, in 1785 and 1786.

On the 19th of August, 1773, the celebrated brief of Pope Clement XIV. was published, which abolished the Order of Jesuits all over the world. "The abolition of the Order operated precisely in the same manner in Bavaria and in the other blind countries of the Catholic or rather Ecclesiastical States of Germany, as the removal of the Archbishop of Cologne," Schlosser says, "a few years ago,—the darkness became thicker than before. The ex-Jesuits, now become Martyrs, proved more dangerous and pernicious in the form of an opposition which creeps into Secret Societies, and assumes a thousand protean forms, than they had previously been as a dominant and envied power. . . . It was principally the Jesuits, who, under Leopold and Francis, destroyed all the fruits of Joseph's exertions and labors in Austria; and true to the spirit of the casuistry which they had learned in their Order, they continued to offer a hypocritical homage to enlightenment during the reign of Joseph, and distinguished themselves under the following reigns by a foul system of espionage, calumny and accusations."—*Schlosser*, iv. 459–461.

The Bishops in Bavaria were especially enraged at the abolition of the Order, and protected and aided the Jesuits. The Saxon Prince, Clement, Bishop of Treves and Augsburg, had a Jesuit for Confessor, and was completely surrounded by the Order; and all its fanatics were collected in Augsburg and Dillingen, and there railed against Protestants from the pulpits. Charles Theodore of the Palatinate allowed the same at Heidelberg and Dusseldorf. In Bavaria, the ex-Jesuits continued to be the favorites at Court, and Frank, the King's Confessor, exercised unlimited powers over his Sovereign, until his death in 1795.

Of course it was foreseen that the Jesuits would labor assiduously for the restoration of the Order. The result was, that "a design was entertained in Bavaria of instituting another Secret Society to oppose the secret association of the Jesuits in favor of ignorance and superstition; and for the maintenance of what its founders called knowledge and light; and whose members therefore were to be distinguished as the *Illuminati*." These were

anxious to prevent the restoration of the Order of Jesus, "and therefore their struggle for life and death with the Jesuits and Papism, which appears incapable of maintaining its ground without Jesuits." *Schlosser*, iv. 463, 4.

The impartial account of the Illuminati given by Schlosser is entitled to full credit. He says, after speaking of Weishaupt, Knigge and others: "As to the associations themselves, we can neither say so much evil of the Free Masons and the Illuminati, as Barruel and Germans of his stamp have said, nor bestow upon them such commendations as the enemies of the Jesuits and their doctrines are accustomed to do." He very sensibly remarks that the men, their Orders, and the longing after secret initiations and revelations, were not the *causes*, but the *effects* of a new order of things, that had been slowly developing itself.

Robison (*Proofs of a Conspiracy*), is generally correct in the account he gives of the establishment of the different Rites and bodies in Germany. In regard to the *principles*, either of these organizations or of the Illuminati, he argues like a prosecuting attorney, and his conclusions do not always legitimately flow from the evidence which he produces.

The Lodge *des Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Sainte Cité*, at Lyons, in France, was the most zealous and systematic of all the Cosmopolitan Lodges, and erected many Lodges in France, and granted constitutions to many in Germany. In 1769 and 1770, all the Lodges in Alsace and Lorraine put themselves under its patronage; and one of its daughter-Lodges, *Theodor von der guten Rach*, at Munich, was suppressed by the Elector of Bavaria in 1786. It had others at Regensburg, Spire and Worms.

When we scrutinize the Constitutions ascribed to Frederic, we find in them passages which so perfectly apply to the circumstances that existed at their imputed date, as to form strong evidence that they were written at that time.

For example, in the preface, after speaking of the division of Masonry into Rites, these words are found: "But still other divisions, springing from the first, *caused the constitution of new associations*, most of which have nothing whatever in common with the liberal art of Masonry, except the name, *and some forms preserved by their founders* to keep secret their purposes,—purposes often exclusive, *sometimes dangerous*, and almost always opposed to the traditional principles and sublime doctrines of Free Masonry."

"The well-known dissensions which those new associations excited and

long kept alive in the Order, *exposed it to the suspicion and distrust of almost all Monarchs, and to the cruel persecutions of some.*" . . . .

"Recent and urgent representations which of late have reached us from every quarter, have satisfied us *of the urgent necessity of erecting a strong barrier* against that spirit of intolerance, sectarianism, schism and anarchy, *which late innovators are busily laboring to introduce among the brethren*, aiming at objects more or less narrow, inconsiderate or reprehensible, and proposed for specious reasons, and which, *by changing the nature of the true art of Free Masonry*, necessarily tend to lead it astray, and may thus bring the Order into general contempt, and lead to its extinction. *And we*, ADVISED OF WHAT IS NOW PASSING IN THE NEIGHBORING KINGDOMS, cannot but admit the existence of this urgent and pressing necessity."

Certainly these passages faithfully describe the condition of things existing in Free Masonry in Germany, in 1786, the perversion of its forms and ceremonies to the purposes of the Illuminati, and the disturbances and troubles caused by the latter Order in Bavaria and elsewhere; as well as the at least supposed and firmly believed possession of the Rite of Strict Observance by the Jesuits. A forger, after the French Revolution, would hardly have thought of assigning these particular reasons. That great cataclysm had effaced the remembrance of these things, as if they had never been. Starck and Wœllner, both preachers, and Protestants, of course shared these sentiments, in regard both to the Jesuits and Illuminati; and it is not probable that d' Esterno, a French Nobleman, Minister of the King of France, and no friend of Mirabeau, was in favor either of the revolutionary plots of one, or the Papistical machinations of the other.

In December, 1861, the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, at Berlin, put forth a Protocol, in regard to the Edition of the Grand Constitutions of 1786, impeaching their authenticity on five grounds.

1st. That Frederic attended to Masonic affairs for only seven years after his initiation, "and was never engaged in them afterwards; but kept himself aloof from every direct participation in them, devoting himself with almost superhuman exertions, exclusively to the troubles and cares of government, and to the command of his army."

When one is endeavoring to establish or disprove a proposition, by an argument founded on probabilities, nothing should be *invented*, to serve as a make-weight. The last clause of the foregoing sentence avails itself of the *supposed* fact that Frederic was so *exclusively* and *unremittingly* en

gaged in the matters spoken of, as to have neither time nor inclination to attend to Masonry, or, in fact, to anything else, to aid the conclusion supposed to follow from his indifference to Masonry when a few years had elapsed after his initiation.

But every one knows that Frederic *always* found time to attend to many other matters than the cares of government and the command of his army. After the peace of Teschen, signed on the 13th of May, 1779, he "returned to Potsdam, and to those peaceful occupations, which continued, without interruption, till his death." Soon after the war ended, the Prince de Ligne visited him by invitation; and during his stay, they conversed together daily, for five hours. "The universality of his conversation," the Prince says, "completed my enchantment at his powers. The arts, war, medicine, literature, religion, philosophy, morality, history and legislation passed in review by turns." *Lord Dover*, ii. 407. Never was a King and Military Commander who found more time for correspondence with men of letters, for study, for conversation, than Frederic II.

That he paid no attention to Masonry, after a few years had passed from the time of his initiation, is true. It is true, also, that he considered the expectations of great benefit to humanity to result from it, utterly chimerical, and its ceremonies puerile. In its 3d ground, the Protocol says, "It does not correspond at all to the manner of thinking and acting of the Sublime Sovereign, to have occupied himself, near the end of his earthly career, with things which he had characterized as idle, valueless and play-work." He *had* so characterized Masonry in general, not speaking of the High Degrees; and a King and General like him was not likely to be much impressed by the ceremonies, secrets, or learning, of the degrees of Apprentice, Fellow and Master.

But when Masonry had widely extended itself in his dominions and over the neighboring States, and Noblemen, Generals and Statesmen were made members of the Order, and even Monarchs; when another Order claiming to be connected with and based upon it, obedient to a single head, and managed by men of intellect, had become a power in Germany, professing the principles of civil and religious liberty, revolutionary in its aims, and desiring to overturn all thrones, and this, too, numbering among its members men of the highest rank, the most vigorous intellect and the noblest characters, might not Frederic have come to think Free Masonry powerful and dangerous, and to deem it wise to put himself at the head of the

high philosophical and chivalric degrees, excluding the Strict Observance, supposed to be controlled by the Jesuits, and Illuminism, governed by the revolutionists, from the scale of degrees of Free Masonry altogether.

We may at least say that Frederic's former contempt for Masonry is of little value in this inquiry, except to build a *probability* on; and it amounts to very little in the attempt to determine what he was likely to do or not to do, when circumstances and the nature and importance of the Order had so changed.

He was eminently a politic man. He preferred protecting and befriending the Jesuits, to persecuting them, when they were suppressed everywhere. He was a latitudinarian and sceptic in religion, and bitterly opposed to Jesuitry and Papal domination. So were the principles of the Scottish Masonry. He had, in 1786, just succeeded in establishing the Germanic League, and was wise enough to lose no opportunity and neglect no means to strengthen that league and to counteract the designs of Joseph on the one side and the Bavarian Jesuits on the other. He had kept a watchful eye on the Illuminati, Schlosser tells us. The chiefs of Masonry had been, we have seen, used as instruments by Joseph, *until Frederic showed them their error.* How could he otherwise draw them away from Joseph, than by becoming their Patron and Protector? It is not a question of what he *thought* of Masonry, in what estimation he held it, what he cared for its principles; but of what policy would lead him to do. Wherefore the first argument of the Protocol amounts to nothing.

Barruel, a Catholic, in his "*Memoires pour servir a la Histoire du Jacobinisme,*" iv. 302, says that the Germanic Union was "a new coalition formed by the principal Adepts of Illuminism, and disastrously famous in Germany:" and, at p. 291, speaks of "that threat of Weishaupt that he would conquer, or rather destroy the Strict Observance and the Rose Croixes." When General Count Pappenheim, Governor of Ingoldstadt, and Count Leinsheim, Minister, and Vice-President of the Council at Munich, were of the Illuminati, Secret Orders were no longer unworthy of Frederic's attention.

Weishaupt, writing to Zwack, in January, 1783, sketched a plan for a system of Confederated Masonic Lodges, to furnish candidates for Illuminism, and to get the upper hand of and destroy the Strict Observance. "The most important affair for us," he said, "is to establish an Eclectic Masonry. With that we have all we wish." Many Lodges, among their

the English Lodge Edessa, of Francfurt, he said, were ready to accede to his plan. In support of this project, he enlisted the Dukes Ferdinand of Brunswick and Charles of Hesse-Cassel and the Prince of Neuwied, and, for a time, Charles Augustus, Duke of Saxe Weimar. Others of its adherents were the Count de Kollowrath, Ernest Louis, Duke of Saxe Gotha, the Count Von Stolberg. uncle of the Prince of Neuwied, and with him the whole of that Court, the Count de Cobentzl, Treasurer at Eichstadt, Sauer, Chancellor at Ratisbon, and Sonnenfels, Councillor and Censor at Vienna. His great obstacles were the jealousy of the Rose Croixes, and that of the Brethren of the Strict Observance, and the Philalethes.

In the new or Eclectic System established at Wilhelmsbad, the Illuminati governed, gained entrance into the Directories, and fraternized with the Brethren of the Strict Observance. The Master of a Lodge (*Discours d' un Vénérable sur le dernier sort de la Franc-Maçonnerie*) lamented this, and said that it was owing to the labors of Bode, and to the assistance given him by Knigge. "To the great astonishment," he said, "to the great grief of all true Brethren, it was by means of Bode and him, that throughout all Germany, the greatest part of our Lodges were impregnated and infected with this Illuminism."

In 1783, the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, at Berlin, by circular letter, anathematized all Brethren who lent themselves to Illuminism; but the letter made little impression; and the chiefs of Illuminism, in their Instructions for the Degree of Illuminatus Dirigens, said, "Of all the Lodges legitimately constituted in Germany, there is but one, that is not united to our Superiors; and that one has had to cease its labors."

Barruel says, "A more astounding mystery still, and which would seem to be beyond the reach of human faith, if the progress of the Illuminati did not explain it, was the inactivity and species of sleep in which the German Courts remained buried, in the midst of the dangers which that of Bavaria had made so present and so palpable." Frederic II. had died, when the proofs against the Illuminati were discovered; but the Illuminati, Barruel says, accuse him of instigating the Court of Munich to persecute the chiefs and leading adepts. He admits that Frederic himself took no measures against them in his States.

Why did he not? Those who deny that he concerned himself about Masonry, must find a reply, if they can. It is undeniable that he was reputed, even in America, to be at the head of the high degrees; and whenever

the meaning of the Camp of the 32d degree, and of its words is discovered it will be found, we believe, that they have allusion to him as the representative of liberal ideas and the acknowledged head and chief of antipapism on the Continent of Europe.

2d. "In the year 1762, the third Silesian Campaign engaged the whole attention of the King." [No one has ever claimed that he had any personal share in enacting the Regulations of 1762, which were in fact made at Bordeaux in France, by nine Commissioners.] "On the 1st of May, 1786, he resided, *a martyr to the gout, decrepit and weary of life*, in his castle of Sans Souci, near Potsdam, not in Berlin. Soon after the 10th of September, 1785, he went from Berlin to Potsdam, and never returned to Berlin: and on the 17th of April, 1761, he removed to the castle of Sans Souci, which he never afterwards left."

3d. "It is therefore a falsehood that King Frederic the Great had convoked, on the 1st of May, 1786, *in his residence at Berlin*, a Grand Council for regulating the high degrees."

Frederic was not troubled with the gout, *at all*, in 1786. It had left him in the fall of 1785. The phrase "decrepit and weary of life," involves a falsehood, or rather two. He had the dropsy: he could not sleep, except in a chair: he was feeble of body, could not ride without suffering great fatigue: but his intellect was as keen, clear, and vigorous and bold as ever. He could labor in the discharge of his kingly duties, as many hours in the twenty-four as ever, and the work was as well done as ever. The protocol plainly means the word "decrepit" to give the impression that he was feeble of mind as well as body, and not in a condition to pay attention to the making of Constitutions for the Scottish Masonry.

So it means that the phrase "weary of life" shall give the impression that he no longer took an interest in the affairs of this life. Nothing could be more false. His interest in every thing that concerned his kingdom, his power, his influence, or that concerned improvements in agriculture and the discipline of his army, education and religious freedom, or the maintenance of Protestant ascendancy, continued unabated to the very last day of his life. He was *not* weary of life. No man was ever less so. He ate gluttonously and with relish and was as fond of amusing conversation as any man. He was anxious to live. Not satisfied with his regular physicians, he invited Dr. Zimmerman to his court, and took his remedies.

The Grand Lodge of the Three Globes could not have been ignorant of what Frederic's true condition was, during his last illness. To misrepresent it, by the use of words carefully selected for the purpose, was not creditable practice. It was not employed as a pettifogger, to make out a case after the mode resorted to in small courts; but it was assuming to decide authoritatively as a judge, and speaking *ex cathedrâ*.

The simple *fact* relied on in grounds 2d and 3d, and the deduction from it, are, that Frederic was not at Berlin, after the 17th of April, and so could not have held a Council at Berlin, on the 1st of May, 1786.

The Constitutions do purport to have been sanctioned and signed by him at Berlin; and it is equally true that he was at Potsdam, seventeen miles distant. *We* date documents, often, at the Grand Orient of Charleston, and yet sign and issue them at Washington. Berlin was the capital of Prussia, and the Masonic Grand Orient. The convention of Inspectors—held at all—would naturally be held there. The Ministers of Frederic resided and had their offices there. On the 31st of May, in each year, they arrived at Potsdam, where Frederic had *always* resided, and made their reports to the King. The Treasury was at Berlin, (*Thiebault, Orig. Anecd. of Frederic the Great,* ii. 93; *transl. Phila.*, 1806). It was natural enough that the Constitutions should purport to have been sanctioned and signed at the capital.

When Frederic was about to commence the Seven Years' War, in 1756, he published his Declaration of Motives, at Berlin; and it is probable that most of the public acts of the Government were dated at the same place. We have not the means of verifying this; but it is natural to suppose so, especially as, we repeat, from the time he became King, he *always* lived at Potsdam.

This ground is rather a *thin* one.

4th. "The Documents kept from time to time in the Archives of the Grand National Mother Lodge, do not show the slightest trace of the above mentioned documents, or of the existence of a Grand Council in Berlin."

We do not know why they should, as the Grand National Mother Lodge was simply a *symbolic* Lodge, which *turned itself* into a Grand Lodge. It had nothing to do with the Scottish Masonry; and it is not in *its* archives that one would look to find documents relating to a Rite of Masonry or to degrees which it knew nothing of.

It is quite certain that there *were* bodies of the Higher Degrees and of

different Rites, at Berlin. During the life-time of Frederic the Great, none of these were in any way interfered with. But his successor, Frederic William III., was but a little while (some two years) on the throne, when he followed the example of Bavaria, in persecuting the Illuminati and higher degrees; and the latter soon disappeared from Prussia. It would hardly be deemed very suspicious or strange, if documents concerning a Supreme Council were not to be found in the archives of the Grand Lodge of a State. Frederic died three months and a half after the date of the Constitutions; and as the persecution soon followed, it is not strange that no traces remain in Prussia of the existence of a Supreme Council there.

5th. "Of the persons who are said to have signed those documents, only Stark and Wœllner are here known; *the others* ARE ENTIRELY UKNNOWN, *nowhere mentioned in any of the numerous Masonic books or writings collected here.*"

Unfortunately for the reputation of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, as Students of History, the name of *d' Esterno*, one of the signers, is *not* unknown. *He was the French Ambassador at Berlin*, when Mirabeau went there, during Frederic's last illness, and when he died. He is spoken of by Mirabeau (*Hist. Sécrète de la Cour de Berlin*), in *Letters* vi. and xiv. Mirabeau was sent there at the instance of Prince Henry, second brother of Frederic, who spoke of d'Esterno as "the upright and worthy Comte d'Esterno," but as not of a character decided or active enough for the actual circumstances. He wrote to Calonne, Minister of the King of France, to send some man of a different description, and Calonne sent Mirabeau; and Mirabeau complained to Calonne that he was not well received by d'Esterno.

The signatures not effaced, are *D'Esterno*, *Stark*, *Wœllner* and *H. Willelm*, and the initial letter *D.* . . . We do not find the name of Willelm in the *Biographia Universelle* or its Supplement; but neither do we find those of the Baron Von Hunde, of Counts Constanza or Costanza and Savioli, of the Baron Bassus or Batz, or of Payne, Sayer or Anderson.

Starck, the Protocol says, *could* not have signed the documents of 1762, and 1786. Nobody pretends that he signed the regulations of 1762. He went, it says, in 1781, from Königsberg in Prussia, to Darmstadt, as first Preacher of the Court there; and declares, in his Defence against the Accusations of Nicolaï and others, published in 1787, that he had had nothing to do with Masonry since 1777, and had been very indifferent to every thing

that had happened among the Free Masons; so much so, as not to wish to answer letters from former friends on such subjects.

That he resided at Darmstadt, some 250 or 275 miles from Berlin, did not make it impossible for him to visit the latter place. The account given of him in the *Biographie Universelle* is as follows:

"STARCK (*Jean Auguste de*), Preacher of the Court of Hesse-Darmstadt, born at Schwerin, the 29th of October, 1741, was son of the President of the Consistory of that city. Brought up in the Lutheran faith, he applied himself by turns to theology, belles-lettres and the study of the oriental languages, and distinguished himself by his acumen and aptitude. In 1761, he became a member of the Teutonic Academy of Göttingen, and in 1762, was invited to occupy the chair of Oriental Languages and Antiquities in the College of St. Peter at Petersburg, which place he filled with distinction during two years and a half."

Pleading a desire to travel, in order to perfect himself in his studies, he resigned his chair and went to Paris, with recommendations from the French Minister in Russia to the Bishop of Orleans, and others. He arrived at Paris in October, 1765, and abjured Protestantism on the 8th of February, 1766. He was offered the post of Director of the College of St. Peter at Petersburg, and a chair in the University of Rostock; but preferred to obtain one at Paris; failing in which, he returned to Germany, where his abjuration not being known, he resumed the exercise of the Protestant religion.

In 1770 he was invited to Königsberg, once the capital of Prussia, and where Frederic I. was crowned in 1701, to exercise the functions of Professor of Theology and Preacher to the Court. Six years after, he was Preacher-in-Chief and Superintendent-General; but had hardly received these appointments, when, to every one's astonishment he voluntarily resigned them, making his valedictory on the 1st of January, 1777. He went then to Mitau, to fill a chair of Philosophy, in which he no longer had to teach the Lutheran religion. But in 1781 he accepted the place of first preacher of the Court of Darmstadt, and that of chief of the Consistory, which he resigned, to occupy himself exclusively with the duties of his chair. His enemies accused him of being secretly a Catholic, which accusation he did not repel, but his conduct gave color to it.

Starck was held in great consideration at Darmstadt. To the end he wrote against the philosophical system, and Biester, Gedicke and Nicolaï

accused him of Jesuitism. The Landgravè, afterwards Grand Duke, of Hesse Darmstadt, held him in especial esteem, and in 1807 conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Order of Louis, for merit, and in 1811 made him a Baron. He died in March, 1816. His works are numerous and profound. Among them are, "Sur les Anciens et Nouveaux Mystères," published at Berlin, in 1782; Nicaise, or a collection of Free-Masonic letters, translated from the French, published at Francfurt, in 1785–1786; and a work on Crypto-Catholicism, Proselytism, Jesuitism, Secret Societies, and the charges against himself, published at Francfurt, in the same years. None of these are within our reach.

The publication of the first two of these works is pretty good proof that he had *not* abandoned Masonry, either in 1782 or in 1785 and 1786. His "defence" is not within our reach. Robison says of him (*Proofs of Consp.*, 207): "Starck, however, would in Britain, be a very singular character, considered as a clergyman. The frivolous Secrets of Masonry have either engrossed his whole mind, or he has labored in them as a lucrative trade, by which he took advantage of the folly of others." He says this of him, in connection with his defence of Jesuitism. The biographer of Hippel, in the *Nekrologie*, 1797, *Vol.* I. 274–5, says that the additions to St. John's Masonry "found acceptance at Königsberg, at which place a Court preacher, Starck, *who was one of the most active promoters of the higher Free Masonry*, filled distinguished offices and had many friends."

It is certainly not even improbable that Starck, opposed to Illuminism, and therefore, perhaps, having become discontented with Masonry, should have had his love for the Higher Degrees, which he received in France, revive when Frederic offered (if he did so) to take the Scottish Masonry under his protection. If he published works in regard to it, and a collection of Masonic letters, in 1782 and 1785-6, he had certainly not abandoned it.

Wœllner had been elected, in 1775, the Protocol says, *alt Schottischer Oöermeister*, and held this office until 1791, when he was elected National Grand Master. "Nowhere in the archives can be found evidence that he took an interest in the High Degrees." Two letters, it says, were sent him by "*les Philalethes chefs lêgitimes du rêgime Maçonnique de la respectable Loge des Cœurs Réunis, à l' Orient de Paris,*" in 1786 and 1787, in relation to a convention to be held at Paris. He must therefore have been known in France as in some manner connected with French Masonry.

This is what the *Biographie Universelle* informs us about Wœllner:

"*Johann Christopher von* Wœllner, was born in 1732, at Dœberitz, a town in the Electoral March. He was a Minister of Religion, and studied theology at Halle. In 1755 he was Curate of Gross- Behnitz, in the environs of Berlin. He wrote a Memoir on the partition of communal property which brought him into notice. Prince Henry, brother of Frederic, took him into his Council, and the Hereditary Prince received from him essons in public economy. This was the origin of the favour he enjoyed with that Prince, after the latter came to the throne.

"*To gain this favor, he became initiated a Rose Croix, and propagated its doctrines zealously.* The Rose Croix of Berlin formed a sect of peculiar character. Bischoffswerder was at their head, *an intriguing man who had the whole confidence of the King*—a mystic, believer in magic, seeker of the philosopher's stone, &c. In public they were accused of being Jesuits in disguise, because they seemed to favor the doctrines, or at least the ceremonies of the Catholic religion."

The Grand Lodge of the Three Globes knew as little about Wöllner as about Starck.

The fact that names like those above, none of them ministers or favorites of Frederic, appear upon the Constitutions, and that those of Herzberg, Le Catt, the Count de Goertz and Möllendorf do not figure there, seems to us to be a strong proof of their authenticity. If they were forged, why was the name of d' Esterno selected—a name not found at all in the Biographie Universelle, and not at all likely to have been known at Charleston in 1801. Who at Charleston, in fact, knew anything about Starck or Wöllner? Even the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes at Berlin is blissfully ignorant that such a person as d' Esterno was ever known. Why should the names of Starck and Wöllner have been selected, one Court Preacher at Darmstadt, the other not generally known as possessed of the High Degrees? And why that of Willelm, about whom nothing at all can be discovered?

The initial D . . may be that of the name of Denina, who had become known to Frederic as the author of the History of the Revolutions of Italy, and whom Frederic, in consequence of the merit of that work, had engaged in his service, and sent for him from Turin. He appears to have been a man of labor and instruction, but of moderate abilities. He published, subsequently, two or three works upon the subject of the reign of Frederic, the literary men of Prussia, &c. 2 *Lord Dover*, 433.

The very fact that neither of the signers is known to have resided at Berlin, except d' Esterno, a Frenchman; and that two of them did not reside even in the kingdom, proves it almost impossible that the Constitutions could have been forged anywhere, after the French Revolution, and very improbable that they were forged at all. What forger would have selected these names? If they are genuine, it proves that the Supreme Council was not a Prussian but a European body; and *that* a forger would never have thought of.

Dr. Robert B. Folger, in his compilation called a history, says of the Grand Constitutions of 1786: "The signatures are wanting, or at least most of them; *and we are told by the Charleston people*, in a note appended to the document, that this imperfection is owing to the effects of attrition and sea-water, to the action of which it has been frequently exposed." Doctor Folger, 33d, is not told so by "the Charleston people," at all. The note is appended in the copy published in *France*, in 1834, certified by Lafayette and others to be a true copy of the original, actually compared by them. "The Charleston people" are or were, probably, not respectable enough to be entitled to decent words from Dr. Folger; but we incline to think that the word of the good Marquis de Lafayette will weigh as heavy as his. Of the ignorance of history which makes the learned Doctor say that Frederic "died in the month of *May*, 1786, at the very time when he was said to be at work at these Institutes;" and that "for full *eleven* months before his death he was *powerless*, and a part of the time *insensible*, having suffered from *paralysis*,"—of loose and audaciously incorrect statements like these, we need say nothing. Before undertaking to write "history," Dr. Folger would have done well to read some books on the subject about which he proposed to treat, and not have resorted to the easier plan of saying what *nobody* else had ever said, and so becoming a writer of fiction.

Dr. Folger thinks the Constitutions forged because the Latin is bad. We do not see why forged Latin should necessarily be bad, or bad Latin be necessarily forged.

One specimen of his criticism will suffice:

In Article XI. he prints, "Gradum Equitis Kadosch, item xxxi, et xxxii non tribuentur" and asks "What barbarian wrote that Latin document?

In our edition we read, "Gradus . . . non tribuentur;" and no school-boy could be "barbarian" enough to make such a blunder as to write "gradum tribuentur." Of course it is not barbaric Latin, but a mere error of copyist or printer; and so are *all* that he points out. We do not remember that any of them existed in the copy printed in 1834 (which we have not seen since 1859); and do not remember making any corrections. But if they did exist there, they were so plainly and palpably mere errors, that there could be no reason for not correcting them. Whoever wrote the Constitutions, it is very evident from the general style, that he knew by far too much of the Latin grammar to make such blunders ignorantly, even if the Latin is not Ciceronian or classical.

The criticisms upon the effacement of part of the signatures, and upon the reason assigned for it, are answered by the simple statement that a number of honorable gentlemen have certified that the names were so effaced, and that they saw and examined the originals. If Dr. Folger does not believe them, and does believe that they lied, wilfully and deliberately, it is his right, we suppose. But we think that he is the first man, living or dead, who ever coolly branded Lafayette as a wilful liar.

It would be time and labor very poorly expended to go over and expose all the misrepresentations of Dr. Folger in regard to the Supreme Council at Charleston, and these Grand Constitutions. The beginnings of Free Masonry itself, in its present form, late in the 17th or early in the 18th century, and those of many rites of it subsequently created, are hidden in obscurity. Nothing was published about them, and no records were kept. The Scottish Rite began like the rest, and was only known when it began to be strong. If Dr. Folger were to rail by the week at the "revivers" of Masonry in 1717 for forging their Constitutions, or against the Rite of Perfection because its founders are wholly unknown, as the date of its origin is, it would amount to very little; but it would amount to just as much as his railing against the founders of the Supreme Council at Charleston.

"The suicide of the soul is to think evil."

CONCLUSIONS.

We think we may safely say that the charge that the Grand Constitutions were forged at Charleston is completely disproved, and that it will be

contemptible hereafter to repeat it. No set of speculating Jews constituted the Supreme Council established there; and those who care for the reputations of Colonel Mitchell and Doctors Dalcho, Auld and Moultrie may well afford to despise the scurrilous libels of the Ragons, Clavels and Folgers.

And, secondly, that it is not by any means *proven* or *certain* that the Constitutions were *not* really made at Berlin, as they purport to have been, and approved by Frederic. We think that the preponderance of the evidence, internal and external, is on the side of their authenticity, apart from the positive testimony of the certificate of 1832.

And, thirdly, that the Supreme Council at Charleston had a perfect right to adopt them as the law of the new Order, no matter where, when, or by whom they were made, as Anderson's Constitutions were adopted in Symbolic Masonry; that they are and always have been the law of the Rite, because they *were* so adopted; and because no man has ever lawfully received the degrees of the Rite without swearing to maintain them as its supreme law; for, as to the articles themselves, there is no substantial difference between the French and Latin copies.

And, thirdly, that there is not one particle of *proof*, of any sort, circumstantial or historical or by argument from improbability, that they are not genuine and authentic. In law, documents of great age, found in the possession of those interested under them, to whom they rightfully belong, and with whom they might naturally be expected to be found, are admitted in evidence without proof, to establish title or facts. They prove themselves, and to be avoided must be disproved by evidence. *There is no evidence against the genuineness of these Grand Constitutions.*

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCOTTISH MASONRY IN THE UNITED STATES,

AND THE CREATION AND FOUNDERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, AT CHARLESTON, IN 1801.

In 1758, certain Masons, styling themselves "Sovereign Princes and Grand Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem," founded at Paris a body called "The Chapter" (or Council) "of

Emperors of the East and West." Their Rite seems in the beginning to have consisted of twenty-five degrees; at least, all the writers who speak of its original scale, assign to it that number.*

The rite established (or adopted) by this chapter or council, consisting of twenty-five degrees, has ordinarily been known as the Rite of Perfection, or of Hérédom.†

In 1759 the Council of Emperors of the East and West is *said* to have established a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Bordeaux.‡

In 1761 Lacorne, enraged because the Grand Lodge refused to act with him in his character of Deputy or Substitute-General of the Grand Master, and its members to sit with him, set up a new Grand Lodge. Both Grand Lodges granted charters, and the Council of Emperors constituted lodges and chapters at Paris and throughout France.§

In the midst of this confusion, Etienne (or *Stephen*) Morin was commissioned—some writers say by the Council of Emperors, and others by the Grand Lodge. Ragon says, by the Grand Lodge of *Lacorne*.‖

The patent to Etienne Morin, which all the writers agree, and the copies extant show, was granted on the 27th of August, 1761, runs as follows:

"To the glory of the Grand Architect of the Universe.

"At the Grand Orient of France, and by the good pleasure of His Most Serene Highness, and the thrice Illustrious Brother, Bourbon, Comte de Clermont, Prince of the Blood, Grand Master and Protector of all the Regular Lodges. At the Orient of a place well lighted, where peace, silence and harmony reign, *Anno Lucis*, 5761, and according to the vulgar style, the 27th August, 1761.

"LUX EX TENEBRIS.

"We, the undersigned, Deputies General of the Royal Art, Grand

* Levesque, Aperçu 56. 1 Thory, Acta Lat. 74. Vidal Fezandié, Essai Hist. 145. Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 48, 49, 129. Clavel, Hist. Pitt. 167. Besuchet, 1 Precis Hist. 37. Rebold, Hist. Gén. 136. † Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 129.

‡ Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 78. Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 171.

§ Levesque, 57. Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 78. L'Arche Sainte, 46.

‖ Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 78. Ragon, Orthod. Maç 131, Clavel, Hist. Pitt. 206, say from the Council of Emperors. The Advocates of the Grand Orient, in its controversies with the Supreme Council of France, say, from the Grand Lodge. See, for example, l'Arche Sainte, 49. The patent speaks for itself.

Wardens and Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem, established at the Orient of Paris; and we, Perfect Grand Masters of the Grand Council of the regular lodges under the protection of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge, by the sacred and mysterious numbers, do declare, certify and prescribe to all the well-beloved brethren, knights and princes spread over the two hemispheres, that we being assembled by order of the Deputy-General President of the Grand Council, a petition communicated to us by the respectable Bro.·. Lacorne, Deputy of our Thrice Illustrious Grand Master, Knight and Prince-Mason, was read while we were in session, representing that our very dear Bro.·. Etienne Morin, Grand Elect, Perfect and Sublime Ancient Master, Knight and Sublime Prince of all the Orders of the Sublime Masonry of Perfection, Member of the Royal Lodge *de la Trinité*, etc., being about to sail for America, and desiring to be able to work under legal authority for the advancement and increase of the Royal Art in all its perfection, prays that it will please the Grand Council and Grand Lodge to grant him letters-patent for the giving Charters of Constitution.

"Upon the report that has been made us therein, and we knowing the eminent qualities of the very dear Bro.·. Etienne Morin, we have unhesitatingly granted him this slight satisfaction for the services that he has always done to the Order, and whereof his zeal guarantees to us the continuance.

"For these causes, and for other good and sufficient reasons, applauding and encouraging the very dear Bro.·. Etienne Morin in his designs, and wishing to give him testimonials of our gratitude, we have, by unanimous consent, constituted and instituted him, and do by these presents constitute and institute him, and do give to the Brother Etienne Morin, whose signature is on the margin of these presents, full and entire power to form and establish a *lodge*, for the purpose therein of receiving candidates, and extending the Royal Order of Freemasons in all the perfect and sublime degrees; to take care that the statutes and general regulations of *the Grand and Sovereign Lodge in particular*, be kept and observed; and never to admit therein any but the true and legitimate brethren of Sublime Masonry.

"To regulate and govern all the members who shall compose *the said Lodge* which he may establish in the four quarters of the globe, where he shall arrive or may remain, under the title of 'Lodge of St. John,' surnamed '*Perfect Harmony;*' giving him power to select such officers to aid

him in governing his lodge, as he shall think proper, whom we command and enjoin to obey and respect him. We order and command all masters of regular lodges, of whatever rank they may be, spread over the surface of the earth and sea, we pray them and enjoin upon them, in the name of the Royal Order, and in presence of our Th.·. Ill.·. Grand Master, to recognize as we do, our very dear Brother Etienne Morin, in his character of our Gr.·. Inspector, in all parts of the New World, appointed to enforce the observance of our laws, and as Resp.·. Master of the Lodge *la Parfaite Harmonie;* and we do by these presents constitute our very dear Brother Etienne Morin, our Grand Master Inspector, and do authorize and empower him to establish in every part of the world the Perfect and Sublime Masonry, etc., etc., etc.

"Consequently, we pray all our brethren in general to give to our said Brother, Etienne Morin, such aid and assistance as shall be in their power; requiring them to do likewise towards all the brethren who shall be members of his Lodge, and towards those whom he has admitted and constituted, and shall hereafter admit and constitute in the Sublime Degrees of High Perfection, whom we give him full and entire power to multiply, and to create Inspectors in all places where the Sublime Degrees are not established; well knowing his great knowledge and capacity.

"In testimony whereof, we have delivered to him these presents, signed by the Deputy-General of the Order, Grand Commander of the White and Black Eagle, Sovereign Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, and by us Grand Inspectors, Sublime officers of the Grand Council and Grand Lodge established in this capital; and we have sealed them with the great seal of our Ill.·. Grand Master, His Most Serene Highness, and with that of our Grand Lodge and Sovereign Grand Council. At the Grand Orient of Paris, the year of The Light, 5761, and, according to the vulgar Era, the 27th August, 1761.

"*Signed:* Chaillon de Joinville, Deputy-General of the Order, Ven.·. Master of the first Lodge in France, called *St. Antoine,* Chief of the Eminent Degrees, Commander and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, etc., etc., etc. . . . The Bro.·. Prince De Rohan, Master of the Grand Lodge *l' Intelligence,* Sovereign Prince of Masons, etc., etc., etc. . . . Lacorne, Deputy of the Grand Master, Resp.·. Master of the Lodge *de la Trinité,* Grand Elect Perfect Knight, Sublime Prince Mason, etc., etc., etc. . . . Maximilien de St. Simeon, Sen.·. Warden, Gr.·. El.·. Perf.·. Kt.·. and Pr.·

Mason, etc. . . . Savalette de Bukoly, Grand Keeper of the Seals, Grand Elect Perfect Knight and Prince Mason, etc. . . . Taupin, Grand Ambassador of His Highness, Grand Elect Perfect Master, Knight, Prince Mason, etc. . . . The Count de Choiseul, Ven.·. Master of the Lodge *des Enfans de la Gloire*, Grand Elect Perfect Master, Knight and Prince Mason, etc. . . . Boucher de Lenoncourt, Ven.·. Master of the Lodge *de la Vertu*, Grand Elect Perfect Master, Kt.·. Pr.·. Mason, etc. . . . Brest de la Chaussée, Ven.·. Master of the Lodge *de l'Exactitude*, Grand Elect Perfect Master, Kt.·. and Pr.·. Mason. *By order of the Grand Lodge also signed*, Daubantin, Gr.·. El.·. Perf.·. Mason, Kt.·. Pr.·. Mason, Ven.·. of the Lodge *Saint Alphonse*, Gr.·. Secretary of the Gr.·. Lodge and Sublime Council of the Princes Masons in France."

We translate from a copy in the Register of Ill.·. Bro.·. Jean Baptiste Marie Delahogue, Deputy Grand Inspector-General, written throughout with his own hand, in 1798 and 1799, and remaining in the archives of the Supreme Council at Charleston, certified throughout by himself and the Ill.·. Bro.·. Count Alexandre François Auguste de Grasse-Tilly, and authenticated by the seal of the Sublime Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Charleston. This copy, certified by the Brother Delahogue to be copied by him from the Register of the Bro.·. Hyman Isaac Long, is the oldest extant of which we have any knowledge; and, as may be seen, it agrees substantially with that given by Ragon.*

Every one can determine for himself from whom this patent emanated.

The Grand Lodge of France, as originally constituted, was strictly a *Symbolic Grand Lodge*, and its constitutions were like those of Anderson, except that they contained an article (the last), which forbade any superiority being admitted in the "Scottish Masters;" of which a writer in La Franc Maçonnerie, in 1744, complained, averring that most of the Masters and Wardens did not know that Masonry consisted of seven degrees.† And it is positively asserted by Vidal Fezandié, Clavel and others, that the Grand Lodge of France never did know any other than the symbolic degrees.‡

The patent to Ill.·. Bro.·. Morin, on its face, emanated from the Depu-

* Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 132.

† Freemason's Quarterly Mag., 1853, p. 600, quoted from Kloss,

‡ Vidal-Fezandié, Essais Hist. 152. Clavel, Revue Historique etc., de la Franc Maçonnerie, 20.

General of the Grand Master, the "Grand Sovereign Lodge of St. John Jerusalem," through its Wardens and Officers; and the "Grand Council of the Regular Lodges under the protection of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge," by its Perfect Grand Masters.

Now, we still have remaining "the statutes agreed by the Honorable Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Orient of Paris, governed by the Very High and Very Mighty Lord Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, Prince of the Blood, Grand Master of all the regular Lodges of France, to serve as rules for all those of the kingdom." *Articles* xxiii *and* xlii provided for the supremacy of the Scottish Degrees; the former securing to those who possessed them the right of sitting covered in lodge; and the latter appointing them "Superintendents and Inspectors of the Work;" "for," says the latter, "they alone are permitted to censure any errors in the work. They have the right of speaking at any time, and of being always armed and covered; and if they fall into error, can be reprimanded by Scottish Masons only." These regulations were sealed with the mysterious seal of the Scottish lodge or grade, in red wax, with golden and azure threads. *Kloss* (vol. i., p. 83) thinks that they show that "the Grand Lodge of France" did recognize the Scottish degrees, although it had shortly before assigned to the sixty Masters and Wardens, as a reason for making new regulations, the necessity of *avoiding* these degrees.*

It is to be noticed, in connection with this, that there is some confusion of dates. All the writers give the year 1762 as the date of the revocation by the Grand Master, Count de Clermont, of the powers of Lacorne, and the appointment of Chaillon de Joinville (or de Jonville) as his General Deputy; and they all say that the revocation of the powers of one was contemporaneous with the appointment of the other; but, according to the patent of Morin, de Joinville was Deputy-General, and Lacorne Deputy also, of the Grand Master, in August, 1761, and they were acting in concert. The writers say also that in 1762, on the 24th of June, after de Joinville was appointed, negotiations were set on foot, and the old Grand Lodge and that of Lacorne were united, and new regulations made.†

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* Freemason's Quarterly Mag., 1853, pp. 606–609.

† Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 79. Boubée, Etudes sur la F. Maçonnerie, 101. Levesque, 57. Rebold, 164. Besuchet, Precis Hist. par J. C. B., vol. i, pp. 41 42. Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 50.

The most probable solution of the matter is, that the patent to Morin was issued in 1762, or that de Joinville was appointed, and the two Grand Lodges united, in 1761; at any rate, that the patent was granted after this union. If it had been granted before, while Lacorne was going on with his new Grand Lodge, and after his powers were revoked, how could de Joinville have united with him in granting the patent, and recognized him as Deputy of the Grand Master? And the regulations cited by Kloss, were either those of the *Lacorne* Grand Lodge, or of the united Grand Lodge; and in all probability the recognition of the superiority of the Scottish degrees was one condition of the Union; for Chaillon de Joinville himself claims in the patent the rank of "Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret;" and he does not entitle himself "Grand Inspector," as those below him in rank do.

The authority to Morin was, it seems, a *joint* authority, given by both bodies and the Deputies-General of the Grand Master; the Grand Lodge giving him power to establish a symbolic lodge, and making him a kind of Deputy Grand Master for America, and the Grand Council giving him power to confer the higher degrees, and the rank of Inspector over all bodies of those degrees, with power of substitution.

On the 21st of September, 1762, it is said, nine commissioners from the Council of Emperors of East and West of Paris, and from the Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Bordeaux, met at the latter place, and settled the Regulations of the Masonry of Perfection in thirty-five articles.

Wherever and whenever made, the testimony of all the writers is unanimous, that these Constitutions became as early as 1762, the law of the Rite of Perfection.* That Brother Morin accepted them as such, is clear; because he either carried them with him to America, or received them soon after his arrival there, and furnished them to the Deputy Inspectors whom he appointed. In what year he went to America we do not know; but it was not long after 1761; for in 1769, he was in Kingston, Jamaica. In two old rituals of the twenty-fourth degree (Kadosh), in our possession,

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* Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 294. Chemin Dupontés, Cours Pratique de la Franc Maçonnerie, 213. Vidal-Fezandié, Essai Hist. 167. Count Muraire, de l'Independence des Rites Maçonniques, 3. Discourse before the Sov.·. Chap.· Ecoss.·. du Pére de Famille, at Angers, 1. Hermes, 296. Kauffmann & Cherpin, Hist. Phil. 452. L'Univers. Maç. 119.

is the following note: "The Grand Inspector, Stephen Morin, founder of the Lodge of Perfection, in a Consistory of Princes of the Royal Secret, held at Kingston, Jamaica, in January of the Masonic Year, 5769, informed the Princes Masons that latterly there had been some excitement at Paris, and investigations had been made there, to learn whether the Masons tyled 'Kadosch,' were not in reality the Knights Templar; and that it had in consequence been determined, in the Grand Chapter of Communication of Berlin and Paris, that the degree should for the future be styled 'Knights of the White and Black Eagle,' and that the jewel should be a 'Black Eagle.'" That degree is so styled in the Regulations of 1762.

Before tracing the progress of this Rite in America, let us briefly refer to certain important events that occurred in France prior to the year 1801.

Lacorne, the unworthy Deputy of the Grand Master Comte de Clermont, established, as we have seen, in or about 1761, a separate Grand Lodge of his own.

In 1762, the powers of Lacorne were revoked, and the Bro.·. Chaillon de Joinville was appointed Deputy or Substitute General.

The parties forming the two Grand Lodges then entered into negotiations, and effected a temporary reconciliation; and on the 24th of June, 1762, the two Grand Lodges were united in one, regulations were drawn up for the administration of all the Lodges of France, and Masonic Constitutions granted under its authority, to give union and regularity to the work.*

The reconcilation between the two Grand Lodges was not sincere; the members of the old Grand Lodge, forced to admit the low men who were of the party of Lacorne to sit among them, did so with reluctance, and determined to get rid of them. At the election of officers on the 2d of June, 1765, not one of that faction was elected. Enraged at that, they did not appear at the feast of the Order, on the 24th of June, but withdrew from the Grand Lodge, and published defamatory libels against it, protesting against the recent elections.†

On the 5th of April, 1766, the Grand Lodge expelled the authors of these libels, and renewed the decree of expulsion on the 14th of May.‡.

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* Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 79. Boubee, 101. Rebold, 164. Levesque, 57. Besuchet, 1. Precis Hist. 41, 42. Ragon, Orthod. Mac. 50.

† Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 86. Levesque, 59. Boubée, 101.

‡ Levesque, 59. Boubée, 101. 1 Thory, Acta Lat. 87.

On the 14th of August of that year, troubled on every side by the pretensions of the councils, chapters and colleges of the high degrees that were constituting Lodges in Paris and throughout France, distributing circulars and embarrassing the Grand Lodge, it issued a decree suppressing all their Constitutions, and interdicting the Lodges from regarding or recognizing them, under pain of being declared irregular and erased from the rolls. This decree created new divisions in the French Lodges. The Councils of the high degrees persisted, and continued to send out circulars and instructions.*

On the 2d of October, it was moved in the Grand Lodge to repeal the decree of 14th August against the Councils and Chapters of the high degrees. It was moved to divide the Grand Lodge into three chambers; one to take cognizance of the symbolic degrees; the second, to take that of the high degrees as far as the Ecossais; and the third, that of the still higher degrees. The motion did not prevail.†

At the feast of the Order, on the 24th of June, 1767, the brethren, divided into two hostile factions, met face to face; on each side were heard expressions of ill-will; the quarrel grew serious, and the dispute more bitter, until they came to blows. The scandal thus caused was so great, that the government was constrained as a measure of prudence, to intervene, in order to end the strife and prevent the recurrence of scenes so disgraceful; and on the next day, the Minister ordered all Masonic labors to cease.‡

The Grand Lodge met no more until 1771; but the Lacorne faction continued to meet and work, and to use the title of "Grand Lodge of France."§ In the beginning of 1768, they applied to the Grand Lodge of England for a regular correspondence with it, and received from it a book of Constitutions, etc.‖ In 1769 they were granting charters as a Gr.·. Lodge.¶

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* Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 87. Levesque, 59. Boubée, 101.

† Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 88. Clavel, Hist. Pitt, 227.

‡ Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 90. Vidal-Fezandié, Essai, 151. Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 51–54. Clavel, Hist. Pitt. 227–229. L'Arche Sainte, 46. Besuchet, 1 Precis Hist. 43, 44.

§ Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 90. Hist. de la Fond. du G.·. O.·. de France, 23. Clavel, Hist. Pitt. 229.

‖ Preston, Illustr. ed. of 1785, p. 292. Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 92.

¶ Levesque, 62. 2 Thory, Acta Lat. 95. Besuchet, 1 Precis Hist. 45. Clavel, Hist. Pitt. 229.

In 1771, the Comte de Clermont died, and the faction Lacorne offered the Grand Mastership, through the Duke de Luxembourg, to the Duke de Chartres, afterwards Duke of Orleans and Philippe Egalité.*

On the 21st or 24th of June, 1771, the old Grand Lodge resumed its labors. The factionists appeared among them, fortified with the acceptance of the Grand Mastership by the Duke de Chartres, who had appointed the Duke de Luxembourg his Deputy. This they refused to transfer, except on condition that the decree against them should be repealed, and everything done in their absence from the Grand Lodge revised. The Grand Lodge acceded to their demands, repealed the decree of expulsion, and elected the Duke de Chartres Grand Master. Then those who had been expelled recriminated anew, charging on the Grand Lodge embezzlement and extortion; and on their demand a committee of eight members was appointed to report a plan for remedying the evils that afflicted French Freemasonry.†

The act of acceptance of the Grand Mastership, by the Duke de Chartres, throws so much light on the connection between the Grand Lodge of France and the Council of Emperors of the East and West, that we subjoin it entire.

"In the year of the Great Light, 1772, on the 3d day of the month Ijar, or the 5th day of the second month of the Masonic year 5772, and of the birth of the Messiah the 5th day of April, 1772, by virtue of the proclamation made in open Grand Lodge on the 24th day of the 4th March of the Masonic year 5771, of the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Excellent Prince, His Most Serene Highness, Louis Philippe Joseph d' Orleans, Duc de Chartres and Prince of the Blood, to be Grand Master of all the regu lar lodges of France; and the like proclamation by the Sovereign Council of Emperors of the East and West, Sublime Scottish Mother-Lodge, on the 26th day of the month Elul, 5771 (of the same prince), to be Sovereign Grand Master of all the Scottish Councils, Chapters and Lodges of the Grand Globe of France; offices which his Most Serene Highness has been pleased to accept, for his love of the Royal Art, and to unite all Ma-

* Thory, Acta Lat. 97. Boubée, 101.

† Levesque, 63, 64. Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 98. Boubée, 101. L'Archc Sainte 46. Bescuchet, 1 Precis Hist. 45, 46, 47. Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 56–64. Clavel Hist. Pitt. 230.

sonic laborers under a single authority. In faith whereof, his Most Serene Highness has signed the present instrument of acceptance.

Signed, LOUIS-PHILIPPE-JOSEPH D'ORLEANS."*

This letter of acceptance was followed by another, not less important, which we also give :—

"WE, Anne-Charles-Sigismond de Montmorency-Luxembourg, Duc de Luxembourg and de Chatillon-Sur-Loire, Peer and First Christian Baron of France, Brigadier of the Armies of the King, etc.

"Invested by his late Most Serene Highness, the Th.·. Resp.·. and Th.·. Ill.·. Bro.·. Count de Clermont, Gr.·. Master of all the regular lodges of France, with the whole plenitude of his power, not only to rule and administer the whole Order, but for a still more brilliant office, that of initiating into our mysteries the Th.·. Resp.·. and Th.·. Ill.·. Bro.·. Louis-Philippe d'Orleans, Duc de Chartres, afterwards called, by the will of the whole body of Masons, to the supreme government:

"Do CERTIFY that we have, in our capacity of Administrator-General, received the written acceptance of the Prince; wherefore we do command the Grand Lodge of France, that it communicate the same to all regular lodges, that they may share in this great event, and unite with us in whatever may be for the glory and good of the Order.

"GIVEN at our Orient, A. M. 5772, and of the vulgar era, 1st May, 1772, sealed with our arms, and countersigned by one of our secretaries.

Signed, MONTMORENCI-LUXEMBOURG.

"*Par Monseigneur:*

"*Signed,* D'ATESSEN."†

The Grand Lodge was disquieted at the acceptance by the Grand Administrator-General of the Order, of the Presidency of the Council of Emperors of the East and West; and to tranquilize it, he made the following declaration:

"The Most Respectable Grand Lodge of France, having made known to us its disquiet at our acceptance of the Presidency of certain bodies, we hasten to quiet its apprehensions by this present declaration :—

"For which causes, and in view of the resolution of the Most Respecta-

* Moreau, Precis, 147. † Besuchet, 1 Precis Hist. 47.

ble and Sov.·. Gr.·. Lodge, on the 29th of August last, and having heard the Ven.·. Brethren, its commissioners and delegates, in regard to the motives for that resolution; and desiring to quiet the apprehensions entertained by the said Most Resp.·. and Sov.·. Grand Lodge on the score of the inconveniences which it apprehends may result from the acceptance by us, heretofore or hereafter, of the presidency of any Masonic bodies, other than the Most Resp.·. and Sov.·. Gr.·. Lodge.

"We do declare that we do not recognize, nor do we mean to recognize any body whatever, as independent of the Most Resp.·. and Sov.·. Gr.·. Lodge, with which is now united the sublime body of Emperors of the East and West, Sublime Mother-Lodge *Ecossaise*, the two forming but one and the same body, and uniting in itself the plenitude of the Masonic knowledge and legislative power of the Order.

"We moreover declare, that in accepting the aforesaid presidencies, we did not intend to confer upon, or recognize in, these particular bodies, any kind of jurisdiction, pre-eminence or even concurrence with the said most Resp.·. and Sov.·. Grand Lodge, to give them the right to pass any legislative act, or to validate any such act that they may have enacted.

"Given at our Orient, under the mysterious seal of our arms, and the countersign of one of our secretaries; vulgar style, the 4th September, 1772.

"*Signed*, Montmorenci-Luxembourg.

"*Par Monseigneur:*

"*Signed*, d'Atessen."*

In explanation of this, Clavel informs us† that, on the 24th of June, 1771, in Grand Lodge, the presidents of the several chapters of the high degrees, which the Grand Lodge had denounced, and who had united with the Lacorne faction, demanded to be recognized, offering to make the Duc de Chartres Grand Master General of the high degrees, so that there should thenceforward be but one chief for the whole of French Masonry. The Duke of Luxembourg, who presided, supported this claim; and the assembly, influenced by him, decreed the recognition of the dissident bodies, and proclaimed the Duc de Chartres, Sov.·. Gr.·. Master of all the Scottish Councils, Chapters and Lodges of France.

The members of the committee appointed by the Grand Lodge came to

* Besuchet, 1 Precis Hist. 50. † Hist. Pitt. 230. Thory, Fond. du G.·. O.·. 25

an understanding with the Lacornists, put the Duke of Luxembourg at their head, invited many Masters and deputies of Lodges to join them, held meetings, and entertained and discussed a project for a new organization. Some protested against the irregularity of all this, and were expelled from their meetings; and on the 24th of December, 1772, having arranged the details of the new organization, they issued a manifesto declaring the Grand Lodge of France *dissolved*, and replaced by a new national Grand Lodge, under the title of the "Grand Orient of France." They recognized the Duc de Chartres as Grand Master, and the Duke de Luxembourg as Administrator-General; drew up new statutes, remedied many existing abuses, and especially annulled the life-tenures of Masters of Lodges, making them elective for a limited term.*

Ragon says that the Grand Lodge with which the Sovereign Council was united in 1772, was the Lacorne faction.†

Besides the printed authorities, we shall now have occasion to refer to certain MSS., registers, and other documents, remaining among the archives of the Supreme Council of Sov.·. Inspectors-General of the thirty-third degree at Charleston, and of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana. We append a brief description of the principal of them.

There are at Charleston four books, in MSS.

One is the register of the Ill.·. Bro.·. Jean Baptiste Marie Delahogue, Deputy Grand Inspector-General, in his own handwriting throughout, and certified throughout by himself and the Ill.·. Bro.·. Count Alexandre François Auguste de Grasse-Tilly, *manibus propriis*. It was made out in 1798 and 1799.

The second is a register made out by the Ill.·. Bro.·. Jean Baptiste Aveilhé, Deputy Gr.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., for the Ill.·. Bro.·. Pierre Dupont Delorme, Deputy Gr.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., at Port au Prince, Island of Santo Domingo, in December, 1797.

* Besuchet, ub. sup. et. seq. Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 56–64. Clavel, Hist Pitt. 230. Thory, 1 Acta Lat. 102. Levesque, 64, 65. L'Arche Sainte, 46. Boubée, 102, 103. Rebold, Hist. Gen. 164, 165. Vidal-Fezandié, Essai, 156. The Baron de Marguerittes, on the trial of the Bro.·. de Grasse-Tilly, in 1818 pamph. 54. L'Encyc. Mac. vol. iii. pp. 273–284. Thory, Fond. du G·. O.·. 33

† Ragon, Orthod. Maç. 126.

The third is a Register of one hundred pages, some of the Documents wherein are certified by the Ill.·. Bro.·. Count de Grasse, some by the Ill.·. Bro.·. Pierre Dupont Delorme, and some by the Ill.·. Bro.·. John Mitchell, and which appears to have belonged to the Ill.·. Bro.·. Moses Holbrook.

And the fourth is the Cahier of a degree of "Grand Commander of the Temple," followed by copies of patents of the degree granted to different brethren from the 21st of December, 1798, to the 22d of July, 1808, most of them certified by the Ill.·. Bro.·. Louis Claude Henri de Montmain.

And the principal MSS. in the archives of the M.·. W.·. Grand Lodge of the State of Louisiana, is the Register made out by the Ill.·. Bro.·. Antoine Bideaud, Sov.·. Gr.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., at Santiago de Cuba, in January, 1806, for the Ill.·. Bro.·. Jean Baptiste Villadieu, Sov.·. Prince of all the Masonic Orders, containing copies of documents dated at Cap Français in July, August and September, 1802, issued by the Ill.·. Bro.·. Count de Grasse, as Sov.·. Gr.·. Insp.·. General, and by the Supreme Council established by him at that place for the Windward and Leeward French islands.

The rank and office of Deputy Grand Inspector assumed gradually more and more importance, in the estimation of its possessors, in a country so remote from the governing power as America then was, and where necessarily so much latitude was left to discretion. We find them after a time calling themselves "Deputy Grand Inspectors General," and treating that official rank as a *degree*. Immediately following the copy of the Regulations of 1762, in the *Recueil des Actes du Suprême Conseil de France*, are *Institutes* in ten articles; *Statutes* in eighteen; *General Regulations* in twenty-six, and a collection of *Instructions* in many articles, under different heads, "extracted from the collections of constitutional Balusters," and all of unknown origin and date; the "General Regulations" being simply dated the 25th day of the 2d month, Ijar, of the year of the world, 5732, and signed "Adington, *Grand Chancellor*;" and the "Instructions," the last of all, dating in the caption of the copy "at the O.·. of the world, under the C.·. C.·., etc., 17° 58′, south, under the sign of Capricorn, the 9th day of the second month, named Ijar, 5081; by order of the Grand Sovereign Consistory of the Metropolitan Princes of Hérédom, to be transmitted to the Grand Deputy of the Grand Consistory established at 18° 47′ N.·. Lat.·.;" and signed "Adington, *Chancellor*;" and at the end signed "Adington, *Grand Chancellor.*"

17° 58′ is the latitude of Kingston, in the Island of Jamaica, and 18° 47′

is that of Jeremie, in the Island of Santo Domingo. The Grand Sovereign Consistory at Kingston, as will be seen, claimed, and was admitted to have Supremacy over that at Charleston; and Jeremie, as we know by authentic records in our possession, was the chief seat of the Scottish Masonry in the Island of Haïti or Santo Domingo.

The 1st article of these Institutes declares that: "The Grand Inspectors-General of the Order, and Presidents of the Sublime Councils of the Princes of the High Masonry, duly recognized and patented, have the imprescriptible title of Chiefs of the High Masonry." Article 2d declares that the Governing Body is called "The Grand Consistory;" and Article 3d, that Grand Inspectors-General and Presidents of the Grand Councils of the Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret, are members of right [*nés*] of the Grand Consistory; and the first article of the "Instructions," which are probably the latest, provides that in any country where there is no Grand Consistory or Grand Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, the oldest Grand Inspector-General, or if there be none, the oldest Prince of the Royal Secret is invested with the administrative and dogmatic power, and consequently the title of "Sovereign." Other provisions are, that he may initiate, and grant patents with no other formality than the counter-signature of his Grand Chancellor; that in cases not provided for, his decisions have the force of law, and are final in his jurisdiction; that other Inspectors-General and Princes must report to the "Sovereign;" that a *Supreme Council* of Gr.·. Insp.·.-Gen.·., or Gr.·. Council of Appeal and Legislation be established, etc.

The Inspectors-General had thus, prior to 1801, assumed in the new world to be superior to ordinary Princes of the Royal Secret; and the chief, oldest, or only Inspector in a country had assumed to himself the title of "*Sovereign* Grand Inspector-General," and an authority over other Inspectors, though still continuing subordinate to the Grand Consistory. It required but little more to make their office a new degree, and to invest them with a superior and permanent governing power.

We are not in possession of all the successive deputizations, or their dates, by which the powers of Stephen Morin were transferred, and successive Deputy Inspectors created. But there is a record* of the filiation of

* Register of Delahogue, MSS., Charleston. Reading from the *Livre d'Or* of the Bro.·. de Grasse, by the Baron de Marguerittes, on the trial of De Grasse, pamph., p. 69.

his powers. We learn from it that "Stephen Morin, Inspector-General of all the Lodges, Chapters, Councils and Grand Councils, etc., etc., etc., in all parts of the new world, gave the degree of Grand Deputy Inspector-General, etc., etc., etc , to the Brother Francken, at Jamaica; at what date we do not find:

That the Bro.·. Francken communicated it to the Bro.·. Moses M Hayes, at Boston; at what date we do not find:

That the Bro.·. Hayes communicated it to Bro.·. Barend M. Spitzer, at Charleston. [But the Bro.·. Spitzer, in the patent of Deputy Inspector-General, granted by him 2d of April, 1795, to the Bro.·. John Mitchell, states that he does so by authority of a Convention of Inspectors, convened in Philadelphia on the 25th day of June, 1781].*

That all the Deputy Grand Inspectors, met in Sublime Council at the O.·. of Philadelphia, conferred it on the Bro.·. Moses Cohen. [But the Bro.·. Moses Cohen, in his patent of Dep.·. Gr.·. Insp.·. to Bro.·. Hyman Isaac Long, himself claims by patent from Bro.·. Barend M. Spitzer, Deputy Grand Inspector, given at Charleston, on the 12th of January, 1794].†

That the Bro.·. Moses Cohen communicated it to the Bro.·. Hyman Isaac Long. [The copy of his patent is dated at the Orient of a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, N. Lat. 17°42′, the 11th day of the 11th month, called Thebat, of the Restoration, 5554, and of the Vulgar Era, 11th January, 1794, which is an evident error of the copyist, for 1795.]‡

On the 12th of November, 1796, the Bro.·. Hyman Isaac Long, "Deputy Grand Inspector-General and Prince Mason," granted his several letters-patent of that date to "Alexander François Auguste de Grasse-Tilly, of Versailles, in France, Ancient Captain of Cavalry, and an Engineer in the service of the United States of America;" "to Jean Baptiste Marie Delahogue, of Paris in France, Councillor in the Supreme Court of Cap Français;" Pierre Croze Magnan, Dominique Saint Paul, Alexis Claude Robin, Remy Victor Petit, and Jean Abraham Marie, creating each of them "Patriarch Noachite and Sovereign Knight of the Sun and H. S., Deputy Grand Inspectors-General, etc., etc., etc." We have one copy in blank of all, and several copies in full of those to *de Grasse* and *Dela-*

* Register of Moses Holbrook, MSS. at Charleston.

† Register of Brother Holbrook, at Charleston, MSS., p. 9.

‡ Register of Aveilhé pp. 8, 9, MSS. at Charleston.

*hogue.** The patent of each, it appears, was authenticated by the signatures of all the others, as well as by that of the Bro.·. Long; and there are also other names on the patents of *Delahogue* and *De Grasse*, viz.: *P. G. N. Toutain*, Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., *M. P. de Remoussin*, Dep.·. Insp.·., *Dupuy*, Dep.·. Insp.·., *R. Allemand*, Dep.·. Insp.·., *M'l Fronty*, Dep.·. Insp.·., and *Jean Baptiste Grochan*, Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·.; and on that of *De Grasse*, also, *Grand* Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., *A. Placide*, *Jean Javain*; and on that of *Delahogue*, besides the names on both, those of *P. Rigaud*, Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., *T. B. T. Maureau*, Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·.†

And each [of those of *De Grasse* and *Delahogue*] is endorsed, recognized, confirmed and approved by the Grand Sublime Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, etc., etc., etc., at the Orient of Kingston, in the island of Jamaica, at its session of the 10th day of the 6th month, 7797, according to advices received from it by the Grand Sublime Council at the Orient of Charleston, South Carolina, and deposited in the archives the 7th day of the month called Tammuz, 5558, the 21st June, 1798, of the Vulgar Era. This is dated "Charleston, 16th February, 1802," and signed "*Alex. F'ois. Auguste de Grasse*, Minister of State, Gr.·. Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·. and P.·. M.·., etc.," and certified as a true copy of the original by "*J. B. M. Delahogue*, Dep.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., P.·. M.·."‡

On the same day (12th November, 1796) the Bro.·. Long, as Deputy Grand Inspector-General, acting for the Princes of Masonry at Kingston, granted his patent to the Bro.·. *Delahogue*, authorizing and empowering him, assisted by the Bros.·. *De Grasse*, *Magnan*, *Saint Paul*, *Petit*, *Robin*, and *Marie*, to establish "a Lodge of H. S.," at Charleston, South Carolina."§

Under this patent, the brethren named in it established "a Grand Sublime Council of the Princes of the Royal Secret," at Charleston, on the 13th day of the eleventh month of the Masonic year, 7796, that is, the 13th of January, 1797, which was approved and confirmed by the Grand Council of Sub.·. Princes of the R.·. S.·. at Kingston, Jamaica, on the 10th of August, 1797.‖

On the 2d of April, 1795, as we have mentioned, the Bro.·. Barend Moses Spitzer granted to Bro.·. John Mitchell, Esquire, native of Ireland,

* Register of Delahogue, MSS. Register of Brother Holbrook, MSS.
† Register of Bro.·. Holbrook.
‡ Register of Bro.·. Delahogue. § Register of Bro.·. Delahogue.
‖ Register of Bro.·. Holbrook

and late Deputy Quarter Master-General in the armies of the United States of America, Justice of the Quorum, and Notary Public in South Carolina," a patent, raising him to "the degree of K. H. and further, to the highest degrees in Masonry," and creating him Deputy Inspector-General.*

The Count Alexander François Auguste de Grasse-Tilly (son of the Count de Grasse who commanded the French fleet in the West Indies and on the coast of the United States, in the latter part of the war of the American Revolution), was a native of Versailles, in France, and born about the year 1766, and made a Mason in the Resp.·. Scottish Mother-Lodge *du Contrat Social*, at the O.·. of Paris.† In 1796, he was a member of the Lodge *la Candeur*, No. 12, at Charleston.‡ On the 12th of November, 1796, he was in that city, and, as we have seen, there received his patent as Knight Kadosh, and Deputy Grand Inspector-General. On the 21st of Dec., 1798, at Charleston, he received from the Bro.·. Louis Claude Henri de Montmain the degree and patent of "Grand Commander of the Temple Mason."§

On the 10th of August, 1799, he was one of the founders of the Lodge *la Réunion Francaise*, at Charleston, which was on that day installed, under a charter from "the Grand Mother-Lodge of Ancient York Masons of the State of South Carolina."‖ He was at some time Master of that Lodge.¶

Jean Baptiste Marie Delahogue, (father-in-law of the Comte de Grasse,) native of France, received a Mason in the Lodge *la Constance*, at Paris,** is described in a certificate granted by the Lodge *la Candeur* at Charleston, on the 21st of December, 1796, to Bro.·. Isaac Hermand, signed by the Bro.·. Delahogue as Master, and by the Bros.·. de Grasse, P. Croze Magnan, Robin, St. Paul, and Lavelette, as "Master and Founder of the Lodge *Saint Jean de la Candeur*, at Charleston," by virtue of the powers granted to him by the Scottish and English Lodge *de la Constance* at Paris,

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* Register of Bro.·. Holbrook, p. 9.

† Tableau for 1802 of the Lodge and Chapter *des Sept Frères Réunis*, at Cap. Francais.

‡ Certificate granted Bro.·. Isaac Hermand, by the Lodge *la Candeur*, 21st of Dec., 1796.

§ Register of the Bro.·. De Montmain, MSS., Charleston, p. 12.

‖ Tableau for 1804 of the Lodge *la Réunion Français*, at Charleston.

¶ Tableau for 1806 of same Lodge.

** Tableau for 1804 of Lodge *la Candeur*, at Charleston.

founded under the auspices of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.* In 1801 he was borne on the tableau of that Lodge (*La Candeur*) as a retired member.†

On the 12th of November, 1796, as we have seen, he received his patent as Deputy Inspector-General.

On the 24th of May, 1801, the Bro.·. John Mitchell, "K. H. P. R. S., Deputy Inspector-General," granted to "Frederick Dalcho, Esquire, late First Lieutenant in the First Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers, in the service of the United States of America, and Paymaster to the regular troops in the State of Georgia), Physician in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, and member of the Medical Society of said State," a patent, certifying him to be K. H. and Prince of the Royal Secret, and creating him Deputy Inspector-General.‡

In 1783, the "Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection" of South Carolina was established at Charleston, by the Bro.·. Da Costa, Deputy Inspector, by patent from the Bro.·. Moses M. Hayes.§

On the 13th of June, 1796, its lodge-room, records, jewels, and furniture were destroyed by fire, and the labors of the Lodge were virtually suspended until July, 1801.‖

On the 12th of May, 1788, the by-laws and regulations of the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem were ratified at Charleston.¶ That body was established on the 20th of February, 1788, by the Bro.·. Joseph Myers, appointed Deputy Inspector for South Carolina, by the Bro.·. Hayes, Barend M. Spitzer, Deputy Inspector for Georgia, and Bro.·. Forst, Deputy Inspector for Virginia.**

In October, 1799, the Bro.·. De Grasse was Deputy Sovereign Grand Commander of the "Grand Council and Sublime Orient" of Charleston, as appears by his attestation to copies of two decretals of "The Grand and

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* Original certificate on parchment, archives of Sup.·. Council at Charleston.

† Tableau for 1801 of Lodge *la Candeur.*

‡ Register of Bro.·. Moses Holbrook.

§ Annual Register for 1802 of Subl.·. Gr.·. Lodge of Perfection of South Carolina. Circular of Sup.·. Council at Charleston, 4th of December, 1802.

‖ By-laws of Subl.·. Gr.·. Lodge of South Carolina, in Register of Bro.·. Holbrook.

¶ Register of Bro. Holbrook.

** Circular of Sup.·. Council at Charleston, 4th of December, 1802.

Most Puissant Council of the Valiant Princes and Sublime Masons of the Royal Secret," at Kingston, Jamaica, addressed to the Grand Council at Charleston—one on the 10th of August, 1797, and the other on the 26th of December, 1798. By them the Council at Kingston ratified the acts of the Bro.·. Long, as Deputy Inspector, and the creation of the Grand Council at Charleston; but, they first strongly censured that body for some of its acts; required its sovereign and officers to take an oath that they would never thereafter, under any pretext, make at Charleston any Grand Deputy Inspectors without the consent of the Sov.·. Sub.·. Council at Kingston, "under the penalty of being quashed and adjudged rebels and perjurers;" and said "We hope to see proofs of its submission to the orders of our Sovereign Council and Sublime Orient of Kingston, and greater regularity in its work." The Council at Charleston submitted, and, by the second decretal, that at Kingston expressed itself highly satisfied with its truly Masonic course, and the regularity of its proceedings.*

We have been able to learn nothing further in regard to the establishment of Scottish Masonry in South Carolina, prior to the year 1801. Up to that year, the highest degree known in America, either in the United States or the West Indies, was, so far as we can learn, that of Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, rituals of which, as the twenty-fifth and last degree, are remaining in the archives of the Supreme Council at Charleston; and the highest rank was that of "Deputy Grand Inspector General," a title which all the successors of the Bro.·. Morin assumed.

Without any thing that we can discover to herald it, a new Rite suddenly appears in South Carolina, fully developed, and apparently mature at its advent.

On the 31st of May, 1801, a "Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree for the United States of America," was opened at Charleston, with the high honors of Masonry, by the Bros.·. John Mitchell and Frederick Dalcho, *Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General;* and, in the course of the year, 1802, we are told the whole number of Grand Inspectors-General was completed, agreeably to "*the Grand Constitutions.*"†

The circular of the 4th of December, 1802, announcing the creation of "The Grand and Supreme Council of the Most Puissant Sovereigns, Grand

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* Register of the Bro.·. Delahogue.

† Circular of the Sup.·. Council at Charleston, of 4th of December, 1802.

Inspectors-General in Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree," stated, as the law of its existence, and the source of its powers, that "on the 1st of May, 5786, the Grand Constitution of the thirty-third degree, called The Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General,' was finally ratified by his Majesty, the King of Prussia, who, as Grand Commander of the Order of Prince of the Royal Secret, possessed the sovereign Masonic power over all the craft. In the new constitution this high power was conferred on a supreme council of nine brethren in each nation, who possess all the Masonic prerogatives in their own district, that His Majesty individually possessed, *and are Sovereigns of Masonry.*"

It also gave a list of the thirty-three degrees. The first eighteen are the same as those of the Rite of Perfection; the eighteenth being the Rose Croix. Then follow:—

19. Grand Pontiff.
20. Grand Master of all Symbolic Lodges.
21. Patriarch Noachite, *or Chevalier Prussien.*
22. Prince of Libanus.
23. Chief of the Tabernacle.
24. Prince of the Tabernacle.
25. Prince of Mercy.
26. Knight of the Brazen Serpent.
27. Commander of the Temple.
28. Knight of the Sun.
29. K.——H.
30, 31, 32. Prince of the Royal Secret; Princes of Masons.
33. Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General—officers appointed for life.

On the 5th of July, 1801, the Grand Council of Princes of Jerusalem, at Charleston, granted a warrant for "A Grand Elect Perfect and Sublime Lodge of Perfect Masons, at Charleston," which was signed by the Bros.·. John Mitchell, T. B. Bowen, E. De La Motta, Abraham Alexander and Isaac Auld, as Sov.·. Gr.·. Insp's.·. Gen.·.*

* Register of Bro.·. Holbrook.

And the Annual Register for 1802, of the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection and other bodies in Charleston, gives the list of members of the Supreme Council as follows:—

Col. John Mitchell, Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander.
Dr. Frederick Dalcho, Lieutenant Grand Commander.
Emanuel de la Motta, Treasurer General of the Holy Empire.
Abraham Alexander, Secretary General of the Holy Empire.
Major T. B. Bowen, Grand Master of Ceremonies.
Israel de Lieben, Sov.·. Gr.·. Inspector-General.
Dr. Isaac Auld, " "
Moses C. Levy, " "
Dr. James Moultrie, " "

And, as its representative in Santo Domingo, "Augustus de Grasse, Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander for the French West Indies."

On the 21st of February, 1802, the Supreme Council at Charleston granted the Bro.·. Alex. François Auguste de Grasse-Tilly a patent, certifying that he possessed the degrees from Secret Master to Sov.·. Gr.·. Insp.·. Gen.·., inclusive (naming each); that he was a member of the Supreme Council of the Thirty-third degree; and, that he was "Grand Commander for life of the Supreme Council in the French West India Islands;" and giving him power "to constitute, establish, direct, and inspect all lodges, chapters, councils, colleges, and consistories of the Royal and Military Order of the Ancient and Modern Freemasonry over the surface of the two hemispheres, conformably to the Grand Constitutions."*

On the 12th of March, 1802, at Charleston, as Sov.·. Gr.·. Inspector-Gen.·. Thirty-third Degree, and Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander for the Windward and Leeward French Islands of America, he *viséd* the Register, made out by the Bro.·. *Aveilhé*, for the Bro.·. *Delorme*.†

Ragon and other partisans of the Grand Orient deny that the Count de

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* Circular of Sup.·. Council at Charleston, 4th of December, 1802. Copy of Patent in Register of Bro.·. Holbrook.

† Register of Bro.·. Aveilhe, MSS. at Charleston.

Grasse went from Charleston to Santo Domingo, and that he ever established there a Supreme Council of the Thirty-third Degree.*

As we have seen, he was at Charleston on the 12th of March, 1802.

On the 18th of March, 1802, as Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander for the French islands, and dating at Cap Français in Santo Domingo, in the Supreme Council of the Thirty-third Degree, at that Orient, he granted the Bro.·. Pierre Dupont Delorme a patent as Prince of the Royal Secret and Deputy Inspector. Still, it is possible that that may in reality have been done at Charleston.

In the latter part of February and early part of March, 1802, the negro forces of Toussaint, in Santo Domingo, were beaten by the French troops under Le Clerc, and forced to retreat into the mountains, leaving the ports and sea-coast in possession of the French. The Cape had been taken on the 4th of February by Hardy and Rochambeau, and, in the same month, Port au Prince and all the southern portion of the island was also reconquered by Boudet and Latouche; and early in May all the rebels had submitted, and the pacification was complete. Foreign ships began to frequent the harbors, and commerce to give an air of returning prosperity to the scene of desolation.†

The survivors of those who had fled to different countries at the commencement of the rebellion in 1791, and during its progress, returned in great numbers during the spring and summer of 1802; and, among them, several of those who had settled in Charleston, South Carolina, and Portsmouth, Virginia, in each of which places they had established lodges. Among others, De Grasse and Delahogue repaired to Santo Domingo, and organized at the Cape a Supreme Council.

For late in 1802, De Grasse was borne on the annual Register of the Sublime Grand Lodge of Perfection of South Carolina, as an honorary member, and its representative in and to the Sublime Grand Lodge in Sar Domingo.

On the 24th of June, 1802, he was Senior Warden of the Lodge and Sen.·. Gr.·. Warden of the Chapter *des Sept Frères Réunis*, that day established

* Ragon Orthod. Maç., 303. Le Blanc Marconnay, Bulletin du Gr.· Orient No. 23, p. 151. État de la Maçonnerie, dans l'ancienne isle Sain Domingue.

† Alison, Hist. of Europe, vol. ii., pp. 246–7–8.

at the Orient of Cap Français, in San Domingo; and the tableaux of those bodies for that year in my possession are signed by him as Senior and Senior Grand Warden, *manu propriâ.**

And, on the same tableaux, are three other members of the lodge and chapter, described as Sov.·. Grand Inspectors-General, Thirty-third Degree, viz.: the Bro.·. Dalet, Master of the Lodge, the Bro.·. Caignet, Jun.·. Warden, and the Bro.·. Louis Hero, First Expert.

On the 8th of July, 1802, at Cap Français, he granted Bro.·. Antoine Bideaud a patent as Deputy Grand Inspector-General, and received his submission in writing.†

On the 3d of August, 1802, the Supreme Council at Charleston, by a patent of that date, made him their Grand Representative for the West India islands.‡

On the 16th of September, 1802, the Supreme Council at Cap Français granted to the Bro.·. Bideaud a patent as Sovereign Grand Inspector-General, "from the Orient of the Grand Supreme Council of the Most Puissant Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General under, etc., answering to 19° 46′, north latitude;" signed by the Bros.·. De Grasse (as Sov.·. Grand Commander), Delahogue (as Lt. Grand Commander), and Jean Louis Michel Dalet, as Secretary-General of the Holy Empire.§

And the Register of the Bro.·. Antoine Bideaud, remaining in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, from which we gather some of these facts, made out at Santiago de Cuba, in 1806, gives the following as a list of members of the Supreme Council in question, on the 21st of February, 1803.

Alexander François Auguste de Grasse, Most Potent Sovereign.
Jean Baptiste Marie Delahogue, M. Ill. Lt. of the Sovereign.
[Louis] Hero, Treasurer of the Holy Empire.
Jean Louis Michel Dalet, Secretary of the Holy Empire.
Armand Caignet, Grand Master of Ceremonies.
——— ———, Gr. Captain of the Guards.

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* Tableaux of the Lodge and Chapter, *des Sept Frères Réunis*, 1802.

† Patent to Bro.·. Bideaud, and his submission, in his Register, MSS. in Gr.· Lodge of Louisiana.

‡ Patent in Register of Bro.·. Bideaud.

§ Patent in the Register of Bro.·. Bideaud.

Pierre Gervais Nicolas Toutain, Sov. Grand Insp. General.
Antoine Bideaud, " " "
——— ———, " " "

In October, 1802, the negroes again revolted, and in October, 1803, the French rule in the islands was ended. The insurgents were successful from the beginning, and had virtually conquered the island in Februry, 1803.*

The French residents of the island were compelled to take refuge else where; and, among others, the Count de Grasse and the Bros.·. Delahogue, Toutain, Croze-Magnan, Armand Caignet, Hannecart Antoine and Robert Allemand, fled to Paris.

"The hand of time," the Grand Orient said, in its circular of 31st of July, 1819, "had now [in 1804] effaced in France the remembrance of these degrees, which had gone out from its own bosom; even of some tha were exclusively French; so that they were brought back there as strangers, and were not reclaimed."†

Before the Bros.·. De Grasse and Delahogue, it seems, the Bro.·. Germain Hacquet, a notary at Port au Prince, born at Paris about 1761, arrived at Paris; who stands on the Tableau for 1801 of the Lodge Réunion des Cœurs, of the Ancient Constitution of York, at Port Republicain [the new name of Port au Prince], in Santo Domingo, thus: "Venerable, Germain Hacquet, notary public, born at Paris, aged 40 years, R.·. A.·. R.·. C.·. P.·. of the R.·. S.·. and Dep.·. Gr.·. Insp.·." He was at the same time an honorary member of the Lodge Des Frères Réunis, at Cap Français, of the Ancient Constitution of York, working under a charter from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.‡

Vassal says that he arrived at Paris early in 1804, with a patent of Grand Inspector-General, granted him in New York, and a second patent, as Metropolitan Deputy Grand Master of Hérédom.§

With these powers, Vassal says, he established a Council of the High Scottish Degrees—first, in the several bodies of la Triple Unité, and, sec ond, in those of the Phœnix, at the Orient of Paris; and afterwards constituted, in the bosom of the Phœnix, a Grand Consistory, as the governing body of the Scottish Rite of Hérédom, with the title of Grand Consistory of that Rite for France.

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* Alison, Hist. of Europe, vol. ii., pp. 249, 250. † Hermes, vol. ii., p. 110.
‡ Tab. for 1801 of the Lodges *la Réunion des Cœurs* and *des Frères Réunis*.
§ Essay on the institution of the Scottish Rite, cited by Besuchet, 1 Precis Hist., 274 to 276.

Ragon says* that the Bro.·. Hacquet practiced the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, in 1803, in the Lodge des Sept Ecossais at Paris; and was adroit enough, the following year, to induce the Grand Orient to accept his twenty-five degrees of Hérédom; in exchange for which "stuff," he was appointed by that body the President of the Grand Consistory of Rites.

On the 22d of September, 1804, the Bro.·. Count de Grasee, in his capacity of Sov.·. Commander *ad vitam* for the French Islands of America, and by virtue of his patent as Deputy Inspector, from the Supreme Council at Charleston, aided by the Lt. Commander, Delahogue, and the Sov.·. Gr.·. Insps.·. General, Armand Caignet, Hannecart Antoine, and Pierre Gervais Nicolas Toutain, who had also come from San Domingo, uniting some Scottish Masons at Paris also with him, organized and established a Supreme Council of the thirty-third degree, for France, at Paris; and on the 22d of October, 1804, acting in concert with the Scottish Mother-Lodge Saint Alexandre d'Ecosse, the Supreme Council established at Paris a Scottish General Grand Lodge. In the establishment of this body, the Scottish Rite of Hérédom, re-established in France by the Bro.·. Hacquet in 1803, *fused* with the Ancient and Accepted Rite. The Bro.·. Toutain was a Deputy Grand Inspector of the Rite of Perfection by patent from the Grand Consistory at Kingston in Jamaica; and also had special powers, dated April 25, 1803, from that body.

It is beyond all question that the Grand Constitutions of 1786 were not made at Charleston. The Ill.·. Bros.·. Colonel Mitchell, Dr. Auld, Dr. Dalcho and Dr. Moultrie were *very* far above any suspicion of that sort,—*so* far, that men like Clavel and Ragon, and others who would be unknown as earth-worms, if not Masons, are too short-sighted even to see them. The gentlemen of South Carolina, in that day, did not commit forgery. Whatever the origin of the Grand Constitutions, they came from Europe to Charleston, and were accepted and received by the honorable gentlemen and clergymen who were of the first Supreme Council, in perfect good faith. The scurrilous ribalds who have spoken of them as mercenary Jews could not comprehend what manner of men these noble gentlemen were.

The following additional information in regard to some of the original members of the Supreme Council in Charleston has been furnished by the

* Ragon, Orthod. Maç., 307.

kindness of the Ill.·. Bro.·. Wilmot G. Desaussure, 32°, of Charleston, and of Jacob C. Levy, Esq., of Savannah, Georgia, son of Moses C. Levy, who became a member of the Supreme Council soon after its organization.

[*From letter of Ill.·. Bro.·. Desaussure.*]

Moses C. Levy, as you will perceive from the manuscript, was of Hebrew extraction, born in Poland, and emigrating to this country at an early age. By honesty, integrity and industry, he acquired a considerable property; he was a man fond of literature and of literary men, and had gathered quite a valuable collection of books, chiefly connected with Hebrew and Eastern lore; a number of these were lost or destroyed by a fire in Charleston sometime about 1838. Mr. Levy was very much respected in the community. The manuscript must fill what else I have been enabled to learn.

Abraham Alexander, I have failed to learn anything of, further than the brief allusion to him in the manuscript. There are several families here of that name, but none have been able to tell anything, nor in fact know of any connection with him. So far as I could learn from the memories of the older inhabitants, Mr. Alexander was not of Israelitish extraction.

Israel de Lieben was of Hebrew extraction, and is buried in the Hebrew cemetery, but I have not been able to see his tombstone, and am unable to tell the time of his death. No will appears on record, and Bro. Levin tells me that the tradition among the Hebrews, is that, although a married man, he left no children.

Francis B. Bowen, I can learn nothing of at all. No one whom I have asked has any recollection of him. Even Mr. Jacob C. Levy could not recall him to memory.

Dr. James Moultrie, was a South Carolinian by birth, and of Scottish descent. He was a near kinsman of Genl. William Moultrie of the Revolutionary War, and was a practicing physician of repute and standing. He died on the 20th November, 1836, at the age of 70 years and 2 months. He certainly left two sons *viz:* Dr. James Moultrie and Dr. William Moultrie; the former of whom I knew tolerably well, he was a P. M. of the Blue Lodge of which I am a member, he died three or four years ago; the other brother, Dr. William Moultrie, does not live in Charleston, and was alive a short time since.

Col. John Mitchell, I can learn very little about. That little induces the belief that he was a South Carolinian, and from some old papers, I infer that he died between 1808 and 1817, but this is entirely inference. I

hnd him as a proxy representative of some Blue Lodges in 1808, and then lose all traces of him. None of the families here of similar name are able o tell of him.

Dr. Frederick Dalcho, M.D., died 24th November, 1836, but a few days after Dr. James Moultrie. From an obituary of him, he appears to have been English by birth, a native of the City of London. Under charge of a maternal uncle, he removed when a child to Maryland, and was educated chiefly in Baltimore, where he took his degree as a physician, and as a physician he first came to Charleston, but whether upon an English slave-ship as mentioned in Mr. Levy's manuscript, I do not know; the obituary simply mentions that he came as a physician. He entered into the ministry of the Episcopal Church in 1814, and continued in it until his death. He was a zealous promoter of the charities and literary associations of that sect, and left several religious tracts, etc., as the results of his labors. Dr. Dalcho died at the age of 67 years. The likeness of him in his Ahiman is a very good one, according to my remembrance of him. He was quite respected in the community, and I believe continued a zealous Mason so long as his health lasted, which was until a year or two of his death. I do not remember that he had any children, certainly I do not remember seeing any about his premises. I think his wife survived him.

[*Memoir by Jacob C. Levy, Esquire.*]

A letter from Mr. N. Levin, of Charleston, South Carolina, dated December, 1871, addressed to my son, mentions that the Sov. Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the A. and A. R., had written him to procure all the information he could of Moses C. Levy (the said S. Yates Levy's grandfather), who was a very prominent Mason, and an active member of the Supreme Council, established in Charleston, S. C., in 1801. * * *

I have every impulse and desire to make the effort desired, with regret that the failing memory of old age furnishes but little of the past to do justice to the subject; and feel most grateful to the Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander, as the only child of the man whose memory he seeks to preserve; grateful on account of my love for the being, who devoted a long life to rear his only child for the safe journey of Life Love and Gratitude for the labor of half a century to secure his son, with a forethought that embraced the contingencies of this checkered life. * * *

From the infirmities inflicted by old age, being now in the 84 h yeai of life, I have been unable to use my pen before the middle of February

1872, and as the subject matter refers to things about the early part of the present century, it is more than can reasonably be expected, that memory has not from year to year been fading away or perished, concerning the obscure life of one who through his life avoided filling the smallest space in the public eye,—one who looked to domestic duties, always preferring before all things, to exercise those virtues that found their chief reward in self-approval.

An impartial fellow citizen and one who himself possessed many virtues, wrote his obituary, which was a moral photograph. It yet may be read on his obelisk in the Old Jewish Burial Place in Charleston (this cemetery escaped the bombardment of the recent Civil War).

On the same monument is cut an epitaph, in *choice classical Hebrew poetry*, written in the latter part of his life, by *himself*, with directions that it should be placed on his tomb. It is in English, as follows :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

MOSES CLAVA LEVY,

WHO DIED ON THE 5TH OF NISSAN,

5599

NEARLY 90 YEARS OLD—

A NATIVE OF POLAND, AND

FOR 54 YEARS AN INHABITANT

OF THIS CITY.

HE WAS A KIND HUSBAND,

A FOND PARENT, A FIRM FRIEND,

AN INDULGENT MASTER ;

INCORRUPTIBLE IN INTEGRITY,

SINCERE IN PIETY,

UNOSTENTATIOUS IN CHARITY.

THIS STONE IS PLACED

BY HIS ONLY SON AND CHILD.

Apart from the great length of time, little of any interest can be written of one who pursued his daily labor in his dry-goods store ; his Masonic

studies and interest being the only gratification and pleasure outside of his humble home and its modest surroundings.

In my efforts to meet the wishes of the Sov.·. Gr.·. Com.·., perhaps the exact facts may not be too strictly exact, as more than half a century has passed, and with it conventional changes of opinion that formerly would not have been tolerated; even religion itself has become far more moral as men advance with civilization and refinement.

My lingering memory only supplies me that my father, Moses C. Levy, was born in the Kingdom of Poland, in the old city of Cracow, and that his father removed to the town of Brody. That about the close of the war with England, he left his country and remained in London, where he engaged himself to my mother, and sailed for Charleston, S. C., and after some time returned to England and married my good mother, leaving London for Charleston, and never leaving it. I can only define the time by a knowledge of my birth-day, which was on the 19th of December, 1778. I remember that his middle name "Clava" was a sort of family pride, from the fact, that his uncle, in the early part of the last century was physician to the King of Poland, who conferred on him the honor that had a Key for its Insignia—the golden Key.

When my father was about transferring his Masonic honors, I was advancing to manhood, probably 1803 or 1804, or rather advanced boyhood. I remember his asking if I wished to be a Mason, I presume this must have been at the time of some change in the proceedings of Masonic affairs. It was his duty to ask me, but he could neither advise nor dissuade me—with the thoughtlessness and impulse of youth, I declined. He left the impression on my mind, that he had devoted much time, and spent much money in the laudable cause. I remember as a child, my delight in the glimpse I had occasionally of the beautiful eagle and tiny sword and other insignia that were connected with what was called the 33d degree of Sublime Masonry.

My father, although pious and practicing the formula of external religion from long habit, disliked ostentation both in worship and in charity; for he was "an Israelite without guile," and if his son is at liberty to quote the Apostle St. Paul, "He walked orderly and followed the laws." When the scrupulous among his congregation (especially the ladies), asked his counsel about fasting on the sacred day of Atonement, as their health was feeble, he told them that their physician was the surest and proper guide to direct them.

When upwards of four score, he was visited by certain honored missionaries preparing to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem; on their arrival in Charleston, and in answer to their inquiry where they could find a reliable Jew, their friends named my father, on whom they called. After introducing themselves and the purpose of their intended misson, they commenced a theological conversation; told him that their mission was to convert the heathen, and particularly the Jews, fulfilling a duty, no doubt honestly entertained, and then began the work of his conversion.

"My friends," said he, "there are more roads to Heaven than one; if you are right, I in a very short time will know it; at this supper time of life that I have reached, it is scarcely worth while to depart from the spirit of that law which has given me peace through life."

I only have a faint recollection of one of the gentlemen, the Reverend Mr. Stuart, who, I think, had a high reputation among his clerical friends and the public. He then said, "We are going to Jerusalem, and shall visit the Beni Israel (the children of Israel); tell us, what should be our friendly salutation, that will find sympathy? We have a tolerable knowledge (elementary) of Hebrew, but no more." Upon which, my Father opened the Hebrew Bible, and pointed out some appropriate sacred aphorism, that suited the occasion. When they were about leaving, the old man took from his valuable Oriental library and gave each of his visitors a Hebrew Bible. This was his constant practice, when visits of this sort were made. Many months after this, some person called on him with a volume of the New Testament translated into Hebrew, with a request, to know what was said, "Tell the Rev. Mr. Stuart that I thank him for the excellent *New* Wine he sent me, in compliment for the *Old* Wine I gave him."

It is impossible, after so long an interval of time, at my age, with a memory daily fading, and in some particulars entirely lost, to furnish what is desired, respecting his quiet and unobtrusive life, in or out of the Masonic World.

In the early part of the century, I have a clear recollection of my father's Masonic friends coming to see him. I remember when Col. Mitchell, Doctor Dalcho and some others, discussing (as outside curiosity ascertained) the measure of abdicating or transferring their powers. The greedy curiosity of a boy, regarding esoteric wonders, only assured me from fragments of conversation that my father disagreed with his friends, and that after

some days or weeks they all changed their opinion and adopted the course he suggested, yielding to his judgment.

He greatly assisted to relieve the monetary troubles of his Synagogue, with his advice, labor and means, and established a permanent fund, giving largely to it, as a pattern for his co-religionists to follow.

It was only last summer that chatting with Mr. Nathan Hayden, President of the Chatham Bank, who in former days, was his tenant, in Charleston, "Your Father," said he, "in his leases to govern tenants, bound them as strongly as the law allowed, but then, after I was so bound, he allowed me to do whatever I pleased.

"I remember he built three brick houses after a great fire in Charleston, and fixed the rent at six hundred dollars per annum; after renting one at this rate, he failed in getting more than four hundred for each of the remaining two, and when the first of the tenants paid him the $600 quarterly, he gave a receipt for that sum and then returned two hundred, saying, 'Your neighbor pays me only $400, and this return is only fair, but the lease must remain as agreed upon.'"

He thought wisely that to investigate our interest too strictly, is to put a sponge to all the virtues.

There are many men who are cursed with the selfish unhappy aphorism of there being something pleasant in the misfortunes of one's friends, and disappointment at their good fortune. He had some of this class, but when they got into trouble or wished to confide safely their property in their wills for the benefit of their kinsfolk across the Atlantic, they never failed to select him, and I carried out their intentions.

He was in politics conservative. *I have yet the certificates of* 150 *old United States Bank Shares.* "I wish you never to sell them. I think these shares scattered over the whole country, will be the anchor that must hold the union of the States in security!" So he honestly thought, and my only comfort is that I obeyed his wish.

When asked if he would subscribe to build a Turkish Mosque, in this country, he said he would if there were worshippers living here.

The old gentleman was ready with pleasantry when attacked. I remember he had a poor negro boy whose money value was about $150. The boy had a defective bone in his leg, and Dr. S—— was called, remarkable for his surgical skill and his bad temper. After some weeks, the boy was able to limp as he walked. "Come with me," said my father, "I do not like

to owe for doctor's bills." I accordingly went to Dr. S——, who was in a bad humor. On asking for the bill, it was only one line—

"*To attendance on Tommy,* $750,"

which was forthwith paid. On meeting the doctor some weeks after in market, where they frequently met, Dr. S—— had two of his admirers with him, and a whisper signified the joke that was hatching.

"Well, old gentleman, I am sorry you look sick, why don't you send for me? I can cure you and make you well." "Why, to speak the truth, doctor, I am sick, and I am satisfied you *can* make me well; but then your bill would positively make me sick again." This put the doctor in excellent humor, and was one of his best stories after dinner for many years, it was said.

Trifles of this sort are often successful in describing human characteristics.

One his peculiar humors was never to indorse or ask an indorsement from others; he would often lend money, for he was firm in his friendship where he had confidence.

Without a knowledge of this, I once found some embarrassment in the outset of life, with the responsibility of a young family, and asked him to indorse a note for me, for $3,000. "You knew," he said, "or, I thought you knew, that I never indorse." And before I could exhibit any disappointment, he added, "If it is the same thing to you, I would much rather give you the money."

In thus feebly, but most willingly, endeavoring to meet the wishes of the Sov.·. Gr.·. Commander, I am sure the great length of time that has passed, as well as my weakness, advanced age and decaying memory, will secure his excuse and earn his sympathy.

Regarding the other gentlemen named, I have but a faint remembrance.

Mr. Israel De Lieben, I remember,—a stout old gentleman, who lived on the western side of the Bay in Charleston, S. C.

He was an auctioneer—of genial cheerfulness, obliging, fond of society and the presence of his friends around his hospitable board, enjoying his cigar and the song, in those days a conventional fashion.

He was a married man, but left no family.

I am not sure, but have an impression that he was a native of Hanover, on the Continent of Europe.

He was a respectable man, and was respected.

I also remember Mr. A. Alexander; I think he was by birth an Englishman. I knew him as the Secretary of the then Collector of the Custom House in Charleston. He was a caligraphist of the first order. His grandson, of his name, now lives in Atlanta, Georgia, doing business in that growing town, where possibly something more satisfactory might be obtained from this gentleman.

I also faintly remember Colonel Mitchell, who was known by the community generally, a stout gentleman with a defective look from an accident hat damaged his eye—a gentleman whom I really cannot give any account of. When a boy, he and DeLieben came very frequently to our house.

I think I had a faint impression that he was generally among those who were connected with shipping. He was greatly respected, and Masonry was always associated with his appearance.

A name not inquired after, among this circle, and very fresh in my memory, is Doctor Dalcho. He also very often came to my father, I suspect on affairs of the Lodge.

He came to Charleston in the very early part of the century, and was on board of an English slave-ship, as surgeon. He left the sea, and practiced as a physician in Charleston, and was skillful, gaining much reputation during a yellow-fever epidemic, by his success and devotion to the poor patients gratutiously. I think that, subsequently, he practiced clerical duties in the Episcopal Church, and subsequently, I think, he acted as an editor of one of the Charleston daily papers.

I regret that the foolish thoughtlessness of youth deprived me of the privilege of owning myself a Mason. I now have reason to increase that feeling, for it would have enabled me to fulfil much that is now sought for the archives of a society in the service of humanity, and seeking to practice what harmonizes with reason as most conducive to virtue.

J. C Levy.

The valuable information which follows, in regard to the Ill.·. Brethren, founders of the Supreme Council, Israel De Lieben and Emanuel de la Motta, has been kindly procured and furnished by Ill.·. Bro.·. Nathaniel Levin, 32°, and Kt.·. Commander of the Court of Honour, of Charleston, South Carolina, of date June 2d, 1872:

"I regret to state that the materials afforded are very meagre. The immediate

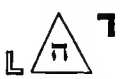
relatives have long since passed away, the records, books, and papers hav been destroyed by fire, and but one or two persons are living from whom I can procure information. What I write is gleaned from them, and can be regarded as reliable.

Israel De Lieben, an Israelite, was born in Prague, Bohemia, in the year 1740. After attaining his majority, he emigrated to the United States, and in the year 1770, settled in the City of Charleston, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits, and by active industry and sterling integrity, acquired, after some years, a handsome competency. About the year 1780, he married a Miss Emanuel. He was a man of education and character, a scrupulous observer of his faith, but liberal and tolerant in his religious opinions. He was an early, zealous and devoted friend of Masonry, and practiced its pure principles with remarkable fidelity.

He was simple and unostentatious in his manners. His charities were not circumscribed by sectarian lines. The poor of every creed were his recipients, and he was spoken of by them as the "liberal-handed Jew."

After a long, prosperous and useful life, he died in this city on the 28th January, 1807, and his remains now repose in the old Jewish burial ground of Charleston.

At the head of his tombstone the following figures are engraved:



Emanuel de la Motta was born in Spain, January 5th, 1761. His family fled from that intolerant country to avoid Spanish persecution, and branches of the old stock settled in Savannah and Charleston.

It was in this city that the young de la Motta was raised and educated, and the family saved sufficient of their former fortune to render them secure from want. Their son Emanuel devoted himself to Jewish literature and Masonic study. He was regarded in the community as a man of rare endowments, to which were united a nobility and loftiness of character which he sustained with undeviating rectitude. Strict, yet unbigoted in his faith, he was liberal and unostentations in his charities, dignified, yet assuasive in his manners; he was beloved by all who knew him. The faithfulness and integrity with which he performed his public trusts, won for him the confidence and regard of his fellow-citizens. He died May 15, 1821, leaving

a wife and eight children, the eldest of whom was Dr. Jacob de la Motta, of Charleston, at one time surgeon in the U. S. army, and afterwards a practicing physician in this city.

All the members of the family are dead.

Both De Lieben and de la Motta served their country in the war of the Revolution, and the latter in the year 1812, and both rose from the ranks to military positions of honor and trust.

ADDENDA.

TO BE READ AFTER THE 1° PARAGRAPH ON PAGE 142.

[*From Carlyle's "History of Friedrich II. of Prussia." Book xxi. Chap.* 9.]

NOT till January, 1786, when symptoms worse than ever, of asthma, of dropsy, began to manifest themselves, did he call in Selle, the chief Berlin Doctor, and a man of real sagacity, as is still evident; who from the first concluded the disease to be desperate; but of course, began some alleviatory treatment, the skilfullest possible to him. Selle, when questioned, kept his worst fears carefully to himself: but the King noticed Selle's real opinion,—which, probably, was the King's own, too;—and finding little actual alleviation, a good deal of trouble, and no possibility of a victorious result by this warfare on the outworks, began to be weary of Selle; and to turn his hopes—what hopes he yet had—on the fine weather soon due. He had a continual short, small cough, which much troubled him; there was fear of a new suffocation-fit; the breathing always difficult.

But spring came, unusually mild; the King sat on the southern balconies in the genial sun and air, looking over the bright sky and earth, and newbirth of things: "Were I at Sans-Souci, amid the gardens!" thought he. *April 17th*, he shifted thither: not in a sedan, as Marwitz told us of the former journey; but "in his carriage, very early in the morning, making a long roundabout through various villages, with new relays,"—probably with the motive Marwitz assigns. Here are two contemporaneous excerpts:

1°. *Mirabeau at Sans-Souci.* This same day, April 17th, it appears, 'the 'King saw Mirabeau, for the second and last time. Mirabeau had come to Berlin '19th January last; his errand not very precise—except that he infinitely wanted 'employment, and that at Paris the Controller-General Calonne, since so 'famous among mankind, had evidently none to offer him there. He seems to 'have intended Russia, and employment with the Czarina—after viewing Berlin a 'little, with the great flashy eyesight he had. He first saw Friedrich January '25th. There pass in all, between Friedrich and him, seven letters or notes, two

'of them by the King; and on poor Mirabeau's side, it must be owned, there is a 'massively respectful, truthful and manly physiognomy, which probably has 'mended Friedrich's first opinion of him. This day, April 17th, 1786, he is at 'Potsdam; so far on the road to France again—Mirabeau senior being reported 'dangerously ill. "My Dialogue with the King," say the Mirabeau Papers, "was "very lively; but the King was in such suffering, and so straitened for breath, "I was myself anxious to shorten it: that same evening I traveled on."

'Mirabeau senior did not die at this time: and Controller-General Calonne, 'now again eager to shake off an importunate and far too clear-sighted Mirabeau 'junior, said to the latter: "Back to Berlin, couldn't you? Their King is dying, 'a new King coming; highly important to us!"—and poor Mirabeau went. Left 'Paris again, in May; with money furnished, but no other outfit, and more in the 'character of newspaper vulture than of Diplomatic Envoy,' as perhaps we may transiently see.

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From Sans-Souci the King did appear again on horseback; rode out several times ("Condé," a fine English horse, one of his favorites, carrying him,—the Condé who had many years of sinecure afterward, and was well known to touring people); the rides were short; once to the new palace to look at some new vinery there, thence to the Gate of Potsdam, which he was for entering; but finding masons at work, and the street encumbered, did not, and rode home instead; this, of not above two miles, was his longest ride of all. Selle's attendance, less and less in esteem with the King, and less and less followed by him, did not quite cease till June 4th; that day the King had said to Selle, or to himself, "It is enough." That longest of his rides was in the third week after; June 22d, Midsummer-Day. July 4th, he rode again; and it was for the last time. About two weeks after, Condé was again brought out; but it would not do: Adieu, my Condé; not possible, as things are!—

During all this while, and to the very end, Friedrich's affairs, great and small, were, in every branch and item, guided on by him, with a perfection not surpassed in his palmiest days; he saw his Ministers, saw all who had business with him, many who had little; and in the sore coil of bodily miseries, as Hertzberg observed with wonder, never was the King's intellect clearer, or his judgment more just and decisive. Of his disease, except to the doctors, he spoke no word to anybody. The body of Friedrich is a ruin, but his soul is still here; and receives his friends, and his tasks as formerly. Asthma, dropsy, erysipelas, continual want of sleep; for many months past he has not been in bed, but sits day and night in an easy chair, unable to get breath except in that posture. He said

one morning, to somebody entering, "If you happen to want a night-watcher, I could suit you well."

His multifarious military business came first; then his three clerks, with the civil and political. These three he latterly, instead of calling about 6 or 7 o'clock, has had to appoint for 4 each morning: "My situation forces me," his message said, "to give them this trouble, which they will not have to suffer long. My life is on the decline, the time which I still have I must employ. It belongs not to me, but to the State." About 11, business, followed by short surgical details or dressings (sadly insisted on in those books, and in themselves sufficiently sad), being all done,—his friends or daily company are admitted: five chiefly, or (*not* counting Minister Hertzberg) four, Lucchesini, Schwerin, Pinto, Görtz; who sit with him about one hour now, and two hours in the evening again;—dreary company to our minds, perhaps not quite so dreary to the King's; but they are all he has left. And he talks cheerfully with them 'on literature, history, on the 'topics of the day, or whatever topic rises, as if there were no sickness here.' A man adjusted to his hard circumstances, and bearing himself manlike and kinglike among them.

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Friedrich's dismissal of Selle, June 4th, by no means meant that he had given up hope from medicine; on the contrary, two days after, he had a Letter on the road for Zimmermann at Hanover; whom he always remembers favorably since that *Dialogue* we read fifteen years ago. His first Note to Zimmermann is of June 6th, "Would you consent to come for a fortnight, and try upon me?" Zimmerman's overjoyed answer, "Yes, thrice surely yes," is of June 10th; Friedrich's second is of June 16th, "Come then!" And Zimmermann came accordingly,—as is still too well known. Arrived 23rd June; stayed till 10th July; had thirty-three Interviews or *Dialogues* with him; one visit the last day; two, morning and evening every preceding day;—and published a Book about them which made immense noise in the world, and is still read, with little profit or none, by inquirers into Friedrich. Thirty-three Dialogues throwing no new light on Friedrich, none of them equal in interest to the old specimen known to us.

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Friedrich to the Duchess-Dowager of Brunswick.

"Sans-Souci, 10th August, 1786.

"My adorable Sister,—The Hanover Doctor has wished to make himself "important with you, my good Sister; but the truth is, he has been of no use "to me (*m'a été inutile*). The old must give place to the young, that each

"generation may find room clear for it; and Life, if we examine strictly what its "course is, consists in seeing one's fellow creatures die and be born. In the "meanwhile, I have felt myself a little easier for the last day or two. My heart "remains inviolably attached to you, my good Sister. With the highest consid- "eration,—my adorable Sister,—Your faithful Brother and Servant,

"FRIEDRICH."

This is Friedrich's last Letter;—his last to a friend. There is one to his Queen, which Preuss's Index seems to regard as later, though without apparent likelihood; there being no date whatever, and only these words: "Madam,—I am much "obliged by the wishes you deign to form: but a heavy fever I have taken "(*grosse fièvre que j'ai prise*) hinders me from answering you."

On common current matters of business, and even on uncommon, there continue yet for four days to be Letters expressly dictated by Friedrich; some about military matters (vacancies to be filled, new Free Corps to be levied). Two or three of them are on so small a subject as the purchase of new Books by his Librarians at Berlin. One, and it has been preceded by examining, is, Order to 'the Potsdam magistrates to grant 'the Baker Schröder, in terms of his petition, 'a Free-Pass out of Preussen hither, for 100 bushels of rye and 50 of wheat, 'though Schröder will not find the prices much cheaper there than here.' His last, of August 14th, is to De Launey, Head of the Excise: "Your Account of "Receipts and Expenditures came to hand yesterday, 13th; but is too much in "small; I require one more detailed,"—and explains, with brief clearness, on what points and how. Neglects nothing, great or small, while life yet is.

Tuesday, August 15th, 1786.—Contrary to all wont, the King did not awaken till 11 o'clock. On first looking up, he seemed in a confused state, but soon recovered himself; called in his Generals and Secretaries, who had been in waiting so long, and gave, with his old precision, the Orders wanted,—one to Rohdich, Commandant of Potsdam, about a Review of the troops there next day; Order minutely perfect, in knowledge of the ground, in foresight of what and how the evolutions were to be; which was accordingly performed on the morrow. The Cabinet work he went through with the like possession of himself, giving, on every point, his Three Clerks their directions, in a weak voice, yet with the old power of spirit,—dictated to one of them, among other things, an 'Instruction' for some Ambassador just leaving; 'four quarto pages, which,' says Hertzberg, 'would have done honour to the most experienced Minister;' and, in the evening, he signed his missives as usual. This evening still,—but—no evening more. We are now at the last scene of all, which ends this strange eventful History.

TO BE READ AFTER PARAGRAPH 3, P. 164.

From "Posthumous Works of Frederic II., translated by Thomas Holcroft"—London, 1789, Vol. XII. p. 358.

Extract of letter from d'Alembert to Frederic, October 11, 1782.

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"I have entreated the marquis d'Eterno, who has lately departed to reside as "ambassador from France in Prussia, should he find an opportunity, to lay at "your majesty's feet all the sentiments with which I am penetrated, as well as my "grief at being myself unable to express them personally. The marquis d'Eterno "is a prudent, well-bred, virtuous, and enlightened man, with whom I have reason "to believe your majesty will be satisfied. May he continue to maintain that "good intelligence which so long has reigned between your majesty and France."

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From the same, p. 362.

Extract of letter from Frederic to d'Alembert, October 30, 1782.

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"But I quit these too cloudy and mournful reflexions, to speak on subjects less "gloomy; and first of the marquis d'Eterno, who is just arrived, and who appears "to me a man of excellent qualities, as far as I can judge from a first conversation."

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TO BE READ AFTER LAST PARAGRAPH OF P. 167.

From the same, p. 364.

Extract of letter from Frederic to d'Alembert, October 30, 1782.

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"Our academy has lately acquired a new member, who flies from tribulation "which some reasonable and modest phrases had drawn upon him at Turin. His "name is Denina; he is an abbé, and was a professor in the university of Turin. "He is probably known to you by his History of the Revolutions of Greece, and "of Italy. He comes to proclaim that aloud, in Germany, which he silently "thought, in Italy."

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