

## NAPOLEON I. AND FREEMASONRY.

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T is strange that the evidence in favour of the Great Napoleon's membership of the Masonic Brotherhood has never been examined in detail, for the matter is surely one of interest, and—seeing the remarkable part which that remarkable man played in the affairs of Europe, at a time when Continental Freemasonry was struggling out of chaos into regular order—it cannot be without an important bearing upon Masonic history. The story goes that

Napoleon was made a Mason at Malta in 1798, and it is supposed to rest upon the unsupported word of various more or less irresponsible French Masonic authors, the earliest of them writing long after the fall of the Empire. The attitude of the modern critical Masonic historian towards this story is frankly one of reserve, if not scepticism. Bro. R. F. Gould in his *History* does not allude to it, but in his later *Concise History* he remarks—'If we may credit Besuchet, Bonaparte was initiated at Valetta in 1798': in *Military Lodges* he adds—'There is ground for belief that Napoleon was himself a Freemason.' Bro. J. G. Findel in a footnote to p. 443 of his *History*—'If the Emperor Napoleon was a Mason (which is asserted, etc., etc.)' Bro. Woodford in *Kenning's Masonic Cyclopædia* informs us that—'Napoleon I. . . . is said to have been made a Mason at Malta. . . . Be this as it may, etc., etc.' Bro. G. W. Speth—'The question whether Bonaparte was a Freemason or not has never been decided. Rumour says that he was made at Malta.' In 1908 the late Bro. Hector Fleischmann published at Paris a little book of 25 pages octavo, entitled, *Napoléon et la Franc-Maçonnerie*, but this only deals with the use that the Emperor made of the Craft and his influence upon it as Protector. Bro. Fleischmann does not attack the question of the alleged initiation of Bonaparte.

The object of this paper is to discuss this question and if possible to convince the members of this Lodge that the initiation really did take place. But before dealing with the direct evidence there are some preliminary considerations which have an important bearing upon what follows. Briefly these are:—i. It is antecedently probable that Craft Masonry would commend itself to Napoleon during his rise to power. ii. There is incontestable evidence that Napoleon was acquainted with the nature, aims, and organisation of Freemasonry: that he approved of and made use of it to further his own ends.

At one time it was usual to represent the 'Corsican Upstart' as an infidel monster fearing neither God nor Devil, and it is true that he rose to power in a society in which atheism and materialism were all but universal. Yet he himself was throughout his career influenced by a profound belief in and reliance upon T.G.A.O.T.U.—'the Great Author of All' is the expression he uses in his early correspondence—of whose Divine Will he believed himself to be the agent. 'Il aimait beaucoup à parler de religion. . . . Il ne voulait pas entendre parler de matérialisme' (*Mémoires de Bourrienne*). And we remember how, pointing up

into the midnight sky, he rebuked the scoffers on board *l'Orient* during the voyage to Egypt—'Vous avez beau dire, Messieurs, qui a fait tout cela.' 'Napoleon,' says Rose, 'felt the need of religion as the bulwark of morality and the cement of Society.' He was a firm believer in the life to come—'Oh! don't talk to me of a religion which only takes me for this life, without telling me whence I come or whither I go.' He was *tolerant* in matters of religion in the widest sense of the word, and his was a tolerance that made him not only sanction and protect but *reverence* the faith of others. 'Il avait pour les religions une tolérance entière, et ne concevait pas que l'on pût persécuter pour des croyances religieuses.' 'La tolérance religieuse de Bonaparté était la conséquence naturelle de son esprit philosophique' (*Mémoires de Bourrienne*). He was a Christian in the sense that he was convinced of the Divine Nature and Mission of Our Lord, but to him the religions of the Jew and Mohammedan were equally sacred. An *orthodox* Christian he certainly was not, and he was always bitterly opposed to the undue claims and pretensions of official churchmen. The same Emperor who earnestly and sincerely desired that the blessing of Heaven should be pronounced at his coronation by the Head of the Roman Church, whose overturned altars he restored, flatly refused to declare that Church 'the predominant religion' at the bidding of the Pope. His instinctive reverence for what is or should be regarded as sacred is shown by his refusal to take the Communion at his coronation, for being neither an orthodox believer in its efficacy, nor an infidel who regarded it as a *mere* outward ceremony, he shrank from what in him would have been an act of hypocrisy and blasphemy.

What was the meaning which Napoleon attached to those famous watchwords of the Revolution—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity? It has been excellently well expressed by a recent writer<sup>1</sup>:—

The whole gospel of his life was the right of the individual to reach the highest success the world can offer—"la carrière ouverte aux talents." That was his abiding faith, and he was unswerving in his devotion to this ideal. . . . His ideal of liberty therefore was not the levelling of men to one class but the breaking down of the old barriers which prevented a man from rising from one class to another. . . . Every man born into the world should have the opportunity and the inalienable right of passing by talent and force of personality out of the ranks to the highest places of command.

This he put into practice, alike in civil and military affairs; indeed, much of his success is due to the extraordinary genius he had for detecting ability in others and making the most of it. Napoleon's Army—that wonderful Army of France—has been described as 'equality on the march,' and everyone knows of the Marshal's bâton which each private soldier could find in his own knapsack.

Napoleon knew and valued the singular magnetic *influence* he exerted upon all men who came into contact with him, an influence which made itself felt even by those opposed to his plans and ambitions. He trusted much and owed much to this great gift, and left no stone unturned in his efforts to widen and extend its sphere of action so as to include men of *all classes*. 'Il voulait sans doute exercer une grande influence sur les hommes, mais seulement par des choses positives et temporelles, et non à l'aide d'opinions' (*Mémoires de Bourrienne*).

<sup>1</sup>Mr. J. T. Herbert Baily.

Enough has been said to show that the teaching of the three Craft Degrees, if he was acquainted with it, must have received his cordial approval; and the first of the two propositions is established.

During the Reign of Terror Freemasonry practically ceased to exist throughout France, only three of the Lodges in Paris making any attempt to continue their labours. In 1798, however, work was resumed with the sanction of the Government. Napoleon was now beginning to be a great power, and in the following year, 1799, he was chosen First Consul. His rise was accompanied by a remarkable revival of the Craft and the Allied Orders, which increased and multiplied abundantly under his rule as Consul and later as Emperor. It is impossible to read the narrative of the negotiations which led to the establishment of the Empire without being struck by the prominent part which prominent Masons had therein, and it must be remembered that the Army, in which the Masonic element had become particularly powerful, was heart and soul with Napoleon. Wherever the French Arms prevailed there we find the Brotherhood taking a new lease of life and entering upon a career of prosperity which continued unchecked until the collapse of the Empire and the Restoration. Then there was a very decided set-back, the King and his supporters distrusting Freemasonry because of its supposed Bonapartist tendencies.

The new Emperor's brothers, the Imperial Princes Joseph, Lucien, Louis, and Jerome, were all Masons, as also his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais (at first regarded as the Imperial Heir apparent), his brother-in-law Murat, and his nephew Jerome<sup>1</sup>. The Empress Josephine is known to have been friendly to Masonry. She was initiated into the 'Maçonnerie d'Adoption' in the Lodge *Les Francs Chevaliers* in 1804-5 at Paris, together with several of the ladies of her court, and became an active member as well as patroness of that Rite.<sup>2</sup> Those who were

<sup>1</sup> Joseph (1768-1844). K. of Naples (1806-8). K. of Spain (1808-13). Nominated by the Emperor himself as G.M. of the G.O. of France (1804).

Louis (1778-1846). K. of Holland (1806-10). G.M.Adj. of the G.O. of France (1804).

Jerome (1784-1860). K. of Westphalia (1807-13). G.M. of the G.O. of Westphalia. His son Jerome also was a Freemason.

Lucien (1775-1840). A member of the G.O. of France.

Eugène Beauharnais (1781-1824). Viceroy of Italy (1805-14). G.M. of Italy and G.M. of the G.O. 'de la Division Militaire' at Milan (1805).

Joachim Murat (1771-1815). K. of Naples (1808). S.G.W. of the G.O. of France (1803). G.M. of the G.L. of Naples (1808). G.M. of the Order of St. Joachim (1806).

<sup>2</sup> The following verse was recited in honour of the Empress on the occasion of her initiation by Bro. H. J. Brad, Orator of the Paris Lodge *Les Amis du Grand Napoléon*:—

Mais aujourd'hui qu'une ardente lumière  
Chez les maçons pour toujours vous éclaire

A des devoirs, à des plaisirs nouveaux,

Belle Vénus, vous êtes destinée;

D'acacia la tête couronnée

Vous marcherez vers les jours les plus beaux.

(See Hector Fleischmann. *Napoléon et la Franc-Maçonnerie*. Paris. 1908. p. 11).

The Empress was in residence at Strasburg for some weeks in 1805 (she arrived with Napoleon on Sep. 26) and again in 1806. She "attended a 'Loge d'Adoption' when the Lodge 'Des Francs Chevaliers,' Orient de Paris, united with the Lodges at "Strasburg for a fête. M<sup>me</sup> la Baronne de Detrich, wife of the Major, presided over "the Lodge, and the Empress witnessed the initiation of M<sup>me</sup> de Cunisy, proposed by "herself." So says Woodford, who gives the date 1845—a slip for 1805. No doubt the candidate was M<sup>lle</sup> de Cunisy, Dame d'Honneur to the Empress. Detrich should be Dietrich—the Baron was Town-Major of Strasburg. It is well to remember the great influence which the Empress Josephine exercised over Napoleon and the reliance he placed upon her judgment and advice. 'Bonaparte avouait un jour confidentiellement à 'l'un de ses premiers dignitaires (Cambacérés) qu'il était convaincu que tant qu'il 'conserverait Joséphine, il jouirait de la sécurité la plus parfaite.' (*Le Normand*) 'Joséphine était aimée de tout le monde; c'était même une croyance devenue populaire, 'que la bonne fortune de Napoléon tenait à la présence de Josephine auprès de lui.' (*Bourrienne*). 'Remarquez, Sire, le pouvoir de votre épouse sur l'esprit de certains généraux. La bonne Joséphine relève leur courage.' (*Gen. Rapp*).

chosen by Napoleon for high honour and office in the State were nearly all of them members of the Craft and Higher Degrees. Of the six who with the Emperor himself formed the Grand Council of the Empire, five were certainly Masons, at their head being the Arch-Chancellor Prince Jean Jacques Régis Cambacérés, the Emperor's right-hand man, and in his time the most active, enthusiastic and indefatigable Freemason in France. The sixth, the Arch-Treasurer Le Brun, formerly Third Consul, is also believed to have been of the Craft, but it is not certain. Of the nine lesser Imperial Officers of State, six at least were active Masons. Of Marshals of France who served under Napoleon at least 22 out of the first 30 were Masons, many of them Grand Officers of the Grand Orient.<sup>1</sup>

The union of all the separate and often mutually hostile 'Rites' under one governing body was from the first a pet project of Napoleon. Mercadier relates that during the Consulate he threatened to abolish Freemasonry altogether unless this was accomplished. Late in 1804, at the request of Cambacérés, he interested himself in the reorganisation of the Grand Orient, with the result that in 1805 the Grand Orient assumed control over the whole body of Freemasonry in the Empire, with the Emperor's brother Joseph as Grand Master, with Cambacérés and Murat as his G.M. Adjoints. Through Cambacérés the Emperor assured the Brethren of his Imperial protection, stating that he had instituted enquiry into the subject of Freemasonry, and that he perceived that their highly moral aim and

' Nous avons vu siéger parmi nous la plupart des Héros que le Monarque associe à ses périls, et plusieurs des Hommes d'Etat dont il interroge la sagesse dans ses Conseils.' (F... de Joly, in an Oration delivered at the Fête d'Hiver, 1808, of the G.O.)  
 ' Bientôt on n' a plus entendu parler que de Mac... et depuis les grands de l'Empire jusqu'aux commis de Bureau, tout s'est précinité en masse dans les Loges.' (From a letter of d'Harmensen to Eques written in 1806).

TABLEAU

DES G.G. OFFICIERS D'HONNEUR

NOMMÉS par le G. . O. . dans ses Séances.  
 30<sup>e</sup>. jour du 7<sup>e</sup>. mois } 5803  
 20<sup>e</sup>. jour du 10<sup>e</sup>. mois }  
 et 7<sup>e</sup>. jour du 9<sup>e</sup>. mois } 5804

Grand-Maitre ...	S. . A. . I. . le PRINCE JOSEPH.
Grand-Maitre Adjoint	S. . A. . I. . le PRINCE LOUIS.
Grand-Administrateur	Le Maréchal MASSENA.
Grand-Conservateur .	DE CHOISEUIL-PRASLIN, Sen. .
1 <sup>er</sup> . Grand-Surveillant	Le Maréchal MURAT.
2 <sup>e</sup> . Grand-Surveillant .	DE LACEPÈDE, G. . Ch. . de la Légion d'honneur.
Grand-Orateur ...	DE LALANDE, M. . de l'Institut.
Grand-Secrétaire ...	DE JAUCOURT, Sénateur.
Grand-Trésorier ...	MAGON-DE-MEDINE, Contre-Amiral.
1 <sup>er</sup> . Grand-Expert ...	BRURNONVILLE, Ambassadeur.
2 <sup>e</sup> . Grand-Expert ...	MACDONALD, Général.
G. . Garde-des-Sceaux	SEBASTIANI, Général.
G. . Garde-des-Archives	Le Maréchal KELLERMANN.
Grand-Architecte ...	DE LUYNES, Sénateur.
G. . M. . des Cérémonies ..	{ DURANTEAU, Législateur.
Grand-Hospitalier ...	{ GIRARDIN, (Stanisl), Tribun.
Grand-Aumonier ...	Le Maréchal AUGEREAU.
	Le Maréchal LÉFÈVRE.

purpose were worthy of his favour<sup>1</sup>. Findel quotes (but without stating his authority) a remark made by Napoleon in answer to a proposal to accord to the Grand Orient a legal status:—'No, no, if Freemasonry is protected, she is not to be feared; but if she is authorised she will become too powerful, and might be dangerous. As she now is, she is dependent upon me, I do not wish to be dependent upon her.' So the Craft was 'protected' and as a natural result much frequented by the fashionable society of the time. More than 1,200 new Lodges were founded under this G.O., and many dormant Lodges and Chapters now resumed work. The names 'Bonaparte,' 'Napoléon,' 'Saint-Napoléon,' 'Joséphine' and 'Sainte-Joséphine,' and Imperial Emblems were adopted by Lodges, and there are traces even of a new grade 'Les Chevaliers de St. Napoléon.' 'Eloges de Sa Majesté l'Empereur' and of his victories became part of the business in open Lodge and were honoured by 'le triple feu de Marengo, d'Austerlitz et d'Iena.' In the *Rituel du G.O. de France*, 1805, it is ordered that all Lodges throughout the Empire are to open and close with the 'triple cri de "Vive Napoléon le Grand et son auguste famille."' The Persian prince Askheri-Khan, brother (or uncle?) of the Shah and special Ambassador to the Emperor, during his stay in Paris in 1807-9 was initiated into the Craft, and received with special honour by the G.O. The birth of the King of Rome was the occasion of an outburst of Masonic enthusiasm with 'séances extraordinaires,' orations and the striking of medals<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 1811 the Emperor interested himself in a similar manner in the *Order of the Temple* at Paris. He summoned the G.M. Bernard Raymond Fabre Palaprat to his presence and made enquiry concerning the aims, statutes, etc. Learning that the anniversary of the Martyrdom of Jacques de Molai was about to be observed, he expressed a wish that the ceremony should be made the occasion of a public religious and military display, which was accordingly done. This is mentioned in an article on Fabre Palaprat in *Biographie des Hommes du Jour*, Paris, 1836, which is transcribed by Dr. James Burnes in the first edition (1837) of his *History of the Knights Templars*. The writer of the Article remarks:—'tout port à croire que l'empereur se proposait de tirer bon parti de l'ordre du Temple et de son culte s'il ne pouvait parvenir à maîtriser la cour de Rome.'

<sup>2</sup> Whoever wished to be well thought of at court, joined the Lodges, while those most nearly allied to the throne of course filled the principal official posts of honour.' (Findel). 'From that time everyone who wished to please the Emperor became a Freemason, and the highest officials were soon made members and officers of the Grand Orient.' (Gould). See also footnote <sup>1</sup> page 99, *Ante*.

The following are among the Lodges named after the Emperor and Empress:—*La L... La Bienfaisance*, founded at Paris in 1784, changed its name to *L... de Napoléon le Grand* (see illustration and description of medal on p. 120). *La R... L... Ecos... de Saint-Napoléon* at Paris in 1805 had for W.M. the famous savant Lacépède, Grand-Chancelier de la Légion d'Honneur, and amongst its members Kellermann, Brune, Masséna, Murat, and Ganthéaume. At Toulouse in 1805 General Chabron, commanding the Military Division of Toulouse, founded *La L... Napoléomagne*. In 1815 it changed its name to *La L... la Concorde*. At Leghorn in 1807 there was a *L... Ecos... Napoléon*, and at Udine in 1808 a *L... Di Napoleone*. At Rome in 1806 or 1807 was founded, under the guidance of General Count Miollis, *La L... la Vertu Triomphante—Sa Majesté l'Empereur*. *La L... de Saint-Napoléon*, Corfu, Ionian Isles, was founded in 1811. There existed in 1812 a *L... de Saint-Jean dans La L... de Saint-Napoléon*. Another *L... de Saint-Napoléon* at Avignon in 1814 had for W.M. the Count de la Bourdonnaye, who is supposed to have concocted the grade 'Les Chevaliers de Saint-Napoléon.' There was also at Paris *La L... les Amis du Grand Napoléon* founded in 1804 or 1805. Two Lodges at least were founded in honour of the Empress. One at Milan was named *La R... L... Joséphine Reale* (i.e., the Royal Joséphine, see post p. 107). The other at Paris held its meetings in the Rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs and was called *La R... L... Ecos... de Saint-Joséphine*. At p. 121 is an illustration of a Summons Form used by this Lodge.

For illustration of King of Rome Medal see p. 120.

Prince Askheri-Khan was initiated 24th November, 1808, at Paris in *La R... Mère et le Contrat-Social Réunis*. He was received with great ceremony by the G.O. at the Fête d'Hiver, 1808, when Orations in his honour were pronounced by the VV.FF. de Joly and Comte Régnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Ministre d'Etat. The treaty with Persia was signed 4th May, 1807. Most of the Lodges mentioned in this footnote—I Rites. It is to be noticed that Lodges and Chapters of this type were particularly profuse in their display of attachment to the Emperor's cause.

Bro. Gould in *Military Lodges* has recorded the progress of Masonry in the Army, and he states that the Regimental Lodges were always opened and closed with the cry 'Vive l'Empereur.' It is significant that more than 400 Army Lodges ceased work at the fall of the Empire and that very few were constituted afterwards—in 1820 only three survived. In 1816 some of the more zealous partizans of the fallen dynasty instituted the 'Maçonnerie Napoléonienne' with General Bertrand for its first G.M.—a quasi-Masonic system dedicated to its restoration.

It is generally admitted that the success of Napoleon's schemes was in no small degree due to his amazing capacity for knowing and grasping and *personally directing* the smallest details, at the same time keeping the closest watch upon the movements of his subordinates, a supervision from which not even the members of his own family were exempt. "Tout ce qui composait son service était soumis à la surveillance la plus rigoureuse." 'Le consul aimait à être instruit de tout' (Le Normand). 'Napoleon not only ruled, but superintended personally all the details of a vast administration. He did not confine himself to giving orders, he watched over their execution, and called to account those of his officials who were responsible for it' writes the son of Jerome, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, in the Final Report of the Commission superintending the publication of the *Correspondence de l'Empereur Napoleon I<sup>er</sup>*, 1869. We may rest assured that the Masonic activity briefly described above was not permitted without the sanction and approval of the great Master Mind then watching over the Fortunes of France and, it may be added, his own. But it is quite clear that, while astutely availing himself of the Lodges and Chapters to assist in the consolidation of his power, he himself carefully abstained from any *official* participation in their labours.

We have arrived, then, at the certainty that Napoleon was in possession of Masonic 'instruction,' and it is now our business to consider when *and how* he obtained it. There are some who hold that he was 'instructed historically' (*i.e.*, entrusted with the secrets of Freemasonry without going through the regular form of initiation) at the time when Cambacérès approached him with a view to obtaining his patronage for the Grand Orient. Bro. Findel apparently favours this view, but he has no better reason for doing so than is disclosed in the following footnote to p. 443 of his *History*:—

If the Emperor Napoleon was a Mason (which is asserted by the French Masonic Authors of the period, and Kloss too considers it as very likely), before he became Emperor, he ought properly speaking to have been well acquainted with the Institution and its tendencies without making any special enquiries on the subject.

But there is a fallacy here which will be exposed fully later on. In *A. Q. C.*, vol. viii., (1895), p. 188, Bro. G. W. Speth printed a translation of an important letter written by Thory in 1818 which *seemed* to him (Bro. Speth) to support the theory of 'historical instruction.' The genuineness of the letter is vouched for by one 'P. Morand, 33; 8<sup>th</sup> October, 1843,' who was then in possession of the original and who is described by Bro. Speth as a well known Paris Freemason and literateur. As this letter constitutes the chief, in fact the *only*, evidence in favour of *historical instruction* as opposed to *initiation* I cannot do better than reproduce the translation:—

Paris, 16<sup>th</sup> March, 1818.

You ask me Sir, why it was that in my work on Free Masonry I did not say a word as to the secret motives which led Bonaparte to protect this association, when, as you say, his aversion to secret societies was well known to the world, he regarding the members as being opposed to his government.

This is true Sir, but I did not believe it my duty then to make public the political intrigue which led to this result; if I had done so I would have compromised many persons, and might have endangered myself, but now when all or most of the parties to this affair with Bonaparte, are no more, I can give you the direct information; you may rely on the authenticity of the statement inasmuch as I was a confidential party to the whole affair.

The Freemasons having been without a Grand Master since the death of the Duke of Orleans, conceived the idea of proposing to the Prince Cambacérès to accept this dignity. He mentioned it to Bonaparte and represented to him that the association of Freemasons properly directed, instead of being prejudicial to his interest, might be made very useful to him politically.

Before deciding upon the matter, the Emperor required a memoir on the objects and principles of the association, especially as to what is called the Secret of the Freemasons. Cambacérès convoked the chiefs of the order at his hotel, and communicated to them the Emperor's answer. M. Pyron and some others were charged with the duty of preparing the memoir; they presented it a few days afterwards.

In their report, these gentlemen declared that the Free Masons were the successors of the Templars; that the ultimate object of the members was the restoration of the Order of the Temple, that all their allegories related to the death of Jacques de Molay, that the vengeance alluded to in the Elu degrees, and in Kadosh, was that which the Templars formerly swore to execute upon King Philip the Fair, the destroyer of the Order, and upon his successors, but this vengeance was accomplished by the accession of Napoleon to the imperial throne.

Bonaparte, upon reading this memoir, was enchanted with an explanation so re-assuring. He determined to protect the Freemasons, he gave them his brother, then King of Spain, for Grand Master, and Cambacérès was named Grand Master Adjunct. He directed his generals, the members of his court, and all public functionaries to enter the lodges. It was thus that Cromwell favoured all the coteries and societies of this kind.

M. Pyron showed me the memoir before presenting it to the Arch chancellor. I endeavoured to dissuade him from presenting it, by demonstrating to him its absurdity, and especially its falsehood and the atrocity of its conclusions; he would hear nothing.

After these details you can readily see, Sir, why I could not speak in my book of the causes which induced Bonaparte to favour

the Association with his protection, besides these matters are not good to be made public in the Lodges, and if some imprudent person should do so, all good Frenchmen would desert them.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.—THORY.

Now it may be remarked that this letter is at the most inconclusive—Napoleon may have had *previous* knowledge or not. Moreover it is dated *thirteen years after* the event, and the statement that Joseph Bonaparte was 'King of Spain then,' *i.e.*, in the winter 1804-5, does not increase our confidence in its general accuracy.<sup>1</sup>

It is now time to turn our attention to the alternative view—that Napoleon was at some time 'initiated.' It is generally supposed that Besuchet (*Précis Historique de l'Ordre de la F.M.*, 1829) is the earliest authority for this statement, so often repeated but always with a doubt implied or expressed, but in reality there is a mass of evidence of various dates earlier than Besuchet's time which shall now be considered in detail. Much of it would seem to have escaped the notice of Masonic historians hitherto.

For what is perhaps the most remarkable reference we are indebted to a work which has recently (July, 1913) been issued by the Paris Anti-Masonic Press, '*La Renaissance Française*,' from the pen of M. Benjamin Fabre. It is entitled '*Franciscus, Eques a Capite Galeato*,' and is especially interesting because of the very large number of documents, bearing upon the affairs of the Craft in France a century ago, which appear in print for the first time, many extracts being reproduced in facsimile. The documents constitute the remains of the Masonic correspondence of a Brother prominent in the Primitive Rite of Narbonne, and there can be no doubt of their authenticity. Included with them is a letter written by Pyron to this Brother Franciscus '*Eques a Capite Galeato*' (whose identity is not disclosed but can be easily recognised)<sup>2</sup> written at the time of his (Pyron's) well known dispute with the Grand Orient, that is in 1805,<sup>3</sup> less than a year after the negotiation with Bonaparte. Only an extract is necessary for our present purpose:

Le Grand-Orient chercha à sortir de sa léthargie. nomma un Grand-Maitre, des grands officiers d'honneur; nous en fimes autant. Il prit des nôtres; nous primes des siens. Et nos batteries étaient en présence, lorsque Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roy, membre de notre Rit, désira la réunion de ces deux Rits en un seul corps Maçonique.

<sup>1</sup> 'Thory . . . can be proved to have distorted historical facts, and misquoted documents to suit his own views.' (Gould, *History*, vol. iii., p. 137).

<sup>2</sup> *Eques a Capite Galeato*—Chevalier à la tête casquée—Knight with the helmeted head. The name he bore as a member of the *Strict Observance*. M. Fabre is so careful to withhold this Brother's true name that I do the same, and refer to him throughout as *Eques*. But his identity must be obvious to all students of French Freemasonry. This is the description he gives of himself in the *Tableau* or Register of the Primitive Rite of Narbonne:—Le Marquis de C d'A (né en 1753), chevalier de MALTE, colonel de chasseurs au service de MALTE, ex-maitre du GRAND-ORIENT, conseiller d'honneur du DIRECTOIRE ECOSSAIS DE SEPTIMANIE, et son député AU CONVENT DE LYON en 1778; représentant de la 3<sup>e</sup> PROVINCE DE LA STRICTE-OBSERVANCE au Convent général de WILHELMSBAD, en 1782; de la 12<sup>e</sup> Classe des AMIS-REUNIS de Paris; commissaire aux Archives du REGIME DES PHILALETHES; membre du Convent de Paris en 1785, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The letter may have been written *early* in 1806. Pyron makes a vigorous defence against the charges of his opponents.



Translated into English:—

The Grand Orient sought to awake out of its lethargy, elected a Grand Master, Grand 'Officiers d'honneur'; we did the same. It took some of ours; we took some of theirs. And our batteries were drawn up in position, when His Majesty the Emperor and King, member of our Rite, desired the union of these two Rites into one single Masonic body.

Pyron is writing as an officer of the recently-formed Grande-Loge Générale de France du Rit Ecossais of whose rights and privileges he was always a most ardent upholder. Here we have, then, a clear, definite statement that the Emperor was, at the time of the Union of the Grand-Orient and the Grande-Loge, a member of some one or other of the 'Ecossais' Rites, of which type the Grande-Loge was entirely composed. This statement has never before been printed except in M. Fabre's book from whence I have taken it. It is a statement made in a private letter written by one eminent Mason, familiar with all the intricacies of the Masonic politics of the time, and addressed to another equally eminent and equally well informed. It is not mentioned as something new or surprising or something not likely to be known by the man to whom he was writing, but on the contrary as a fact which must have been known by him and which is only recalled to his memory as bearing upon the writer's account of the causes of the differences which subsequently arose between the two parties to the Union, namely, the Grande-Loge and the Grand Orient. It is also clear that Pyron wishes to strike a note of regretful *surprise* that the Emperor had chosen to champion the cause of the Grand Orient rather than that of the Grande Loge du Rit Ecossais. For these reasons this letter of Pyron's must be admitted as *good evidence* that Napoleon was, at some time or other prior to the consultation with Cambacères, received into Freemasonry as worked in a Lodge of some one or other of the so-called 'Scotch' Rites. (Presently evidence will be produced which will help us to determine which one.) One other point to be insisted upon, as vital to the whole argument, is that if this admission took place prior to the assumption by Napoleon of the Imperial rank then the probability is greatly in favour of a regular *initiation* in open Lodge in the usual manner.

Here we take leave of M. Fabre's book and proceed to the consideration of a second piece of contemporary testimony. In 1806 there appeared at Paris the second of the three volumes of a Masonic publication entitled 'Miroir de la Vérité'—a collection of Masonic essays, poems, reports of meetings, and similar items of interest to the Craft and allied degrees, written by various authors and at various dates.<sup>1</sup> It was edited by a well-known Brother Abraham (who was himself one of the principal contributors), and is dedicated on the title-page and at the head of the preface 'A Tous Les Maçons Des Deux Hemisphères.' Anton Firmin Abraham was a very prominent Mason of the time, and a leading spirit in the propagation of the 'Ecossais' type of Freemasonry, and the 'Rit Ecossais' occupies its fair share of the space in the *Miroir*. In the '*Tableau Général des*

<sup>1</sup> Miroir de la Vérité, Dédié A Tous Les Maçons . . . Par le F... Abraham, Membre du G... O... de France, premier Fondateur et Vble... de la Rble... L... des Elèves de la Nature . . . A Paris, chez Collin, Libraire, porte du Coq au Louvre, et rue du Coq, No. 3, MDCCCVI., 383 pp. 8°. According to Brunet (1820 ed.) the other volumes appeared in 1800 and 1808.

*LL.. de la Correspondance du G.. O.. de France* for 1802 he is described as 'homme de lettres,' resident in Paris, a member of the G.O. Of three Paris Lodges he was 'First Founder'—*L'Océan-Français* (constituted 5th November, 1798), *Les Elèves de la Nature* (11th March, 1801), and *Les Elèves de Minerve* (3rd May, 1802). Of the first he was in 1799 'Corres.. General,' and he was the first W.M. of the other two. He was the Deputy at Paris for Lodges at Douai (*La Parfaite Union*), Geneva (*La Fraternité*), and Lyons (*La Parfaite Harmonie*). In 1804 he published '*L'Art du Tuileur*' and later a volume entitled '*Règlemens Généraux de la Maçonnerie Écossaise*,' the latter being founded on the Masonic collections of Peuvret, another ardent 'Écossais' Mason, which passed into his hands at the latter's death in 1800.

At p. 55 of the *Miroir*, vol. II., 1806, there is an Article from Bro. Abraham's pen, headed '*Des LL.. D'Adoption*,' from which the following passage is extracted and translated:—

But to-day, when a general Peace, when days unclouded and serene have all of a sudden succeeded to the tempest of the Revolution; when Masonic Temples are again opening their doors in all parts (of the country), when the precious rays of the directing luminary cause the bright light of the regular lodges to shine forth, when the august Order swells with pride at counting among its members the Peacemaker of Europe, the immortal Bro. *Bonaparte*, the conqueror of the Rhine; the modest and virtuous Bro. *Moreau*, and those heroes worthy to follow in their steps. . . .

This reference to 'l'immortel F.. *Bonaparte*' first appears in print in 1806, but it is evident that it was written in 1801 soon after the preliminaries were signed (October 1st, 1801), which resulted in the Peace of Amiens. Napoleon did not become *Emperor* until May, 1804. Here, then, is a second independent statement of Napoleon's membership made quite naturally and casually as a matter of general knowledge in the *Masonic* world of France at the time, and made (as was Pyron's) by an eminent and well informed Brother. But there is more to follow. Turning to p. 89 of the *Miroir* we have an official report of a:—

Fête De La Paix Générale, Célébrée par la R. L.. des  
Arts Réunis, à l'O.. de Dijon,

which was held on 'le huitième jour du neuvième mois de la V.. L.. 5801, 17 brumaire an 10, (i.e., 8th November, 1801). In the course of the report we learn that:—

At the East was erected a triangle bearing the flags of the friendly powers surmounted by that of the French Republic over which hovered the Crown of Immortality; in the centre of the triangle was the inscription:—

à la Paix, à Buonaparte, à Moreau,

and further on:—

After having given way for a moment to the joy inspired by the welcome presence of these very dear Brethren (i.e., the visitors) complete silence reigned along the Columns and the W.M. impro-

vised a Discourse in which he painted with the greatest vigour the precious advantages of the Peace and exalted the inestimable accomplishments of those heroes to whom we are indebted for it.

To the word *héros* there is appended the following in a footnote:—

Les DD.. et RR. FF.. Buonaparte et Moreau.

A little lower in the same report we read:—

The first toast was that of the French Government, its prosperity and the glory of its Arms; with it was coupled that of the Consuls of the Republic and in particular that of the hero to whose bravery and genius France owed the General Peace; this toast, the chief of all, commanded by the W.M., was honoured *avec le feu le plus patriotique; la musique s'est aussitôt empressée de faire retenter l'At..*

The essentially *Masonic* character of this proceeding is to be noticed. Turning on to p. 104 (still the *Miroir*) we have another official report of a:—

Fête. A jamais célèbre dans les fastes de la M.. Donnée par la Respectable L.. de la Parfaite-Union, O.. de Montauban, département du Lot, à l'occasion de la Paix générale.

This took place on 'le 19<sup>e</sup>.. J.. du 9<sup>e</sup>.. M.. de l'an de la V.. L.. 5801' (*i.e.*, 19th November, 1801). Among the decorations of the Lodge was:—

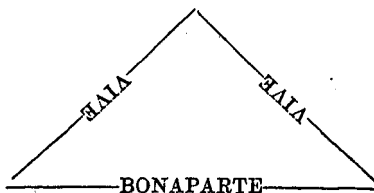
A Temple of Peace borne on two Columns. . . . . On the façade of this temple brilliantly illuminated:—

A LA PAIX, AU HEROS PACIFICATEUR,

above which. . . . . a bust of Bonaparte with these words:—

*He robs himself of rest that he may give it to us.*

The Toast List, which is given in full, proves conclusively that Napoleon was honoured *as a Brother Mason*. The first toast was 'A LA REPUBLIQUE,' the second was 'AU 1<sup>er</sup>.. CONSUL BONAPARTE,' and the eulogy terminates with:—



(See illustration).

It is hardly necessary to point out that this refers to the peculiar method of drinking a health *with Masonic honours* in use in French Lodges of the period. The details of this piece of ceremonial are well known and need not here be described. It is sufficient to remark that the compliment was paid to none but Brother Masons. Thus the *Miroir de la Vérité* provides us with three independent pieces of *contemporary* evidence that Napoleon Bonaparte was a Mason some two and a-half years before he assumed the title of 'Empereur des Français.'

Next in order comes the concluding passage of a '*Discours prononcé dans la L... St. Louis de la Martinique, le 22 janvier, 1806,*' by F... Valleteau de Chambrefy:—

At last Masonry, at the end of many centuries of persecution, is at rest under the auspices of a powerful Prince, His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon I., who has declared himself the Protector of the Masonic Order in France, after having himself shared in our labours (*après avoir lui-même participé à nos travaux*) and become acquainted with the purity of our principles and the wisdom of our mysteries.

This reference was given in the *Freemasons Magazine*, 5th April, 1862, p. 267, by Bro. Charles Purton Cooper (Q.C., P.G.M., Kent, 1853-1860). To this may be added some particulars concerning the Lodge *St. Louis de la Martinique*. This was a Paris Lodge constituted 11th January, 1761, and re-constituted by the Grand Lodge in October of 1771, and again by the Grand Orient on 25th July, 1774, and it was one of the three Lodges which continued to work throughout the Reign of Terror. In 1802 it joined with another Paris Lodge *les Amis de la Liberté*, and the united Lodge was registered in the 'Tableau' of the G... O... for the year 1802 as:— *La R... L... du Point Parfait, ci-dev S. Louis de la Martinique*, with rank dating from 11th January, 1761. The W.M. in 1802 was the well known banker Fustier of the Rue S. André-des-Arts No. 41-2. Of the orator Bro. Valleteau de Chambrefy I know nothing except that in the note in the *Freemasons Magazine* he is described as 'sixty years since. . . . well known in the capital of the ancient Courts of Savoy,' which would be at the very time at which he delivered the 'Discours' in question.

For the next reference the scene shifts to Italy. In the *Freemasons Magazine* dated 13th December, 1862, Bro. Cooper has another note in which he draws attention to a Toast given at a banquet at Milan held by the Lodge Royal Josephine on the Feast of St. Joseph, 1807. The Toast is as follows:—

A Napoleone il Grande, Frate, Imperadore, e Re, Protettore.

(Translation)

To (the health of) Napoleon the Great, Brother, Emperor, and King, Protector (of the Craft).

The manuscript proceedings of the Lodge are stated to be then (1862) in the Masonic collection of a Brother at Chambrey, from whom Bro. Cooper derived his information. In connection with this it will be remembered that Napoleon crowned himself King of Italy in the Cathedral at Milan on 26th May, 1805, and on the 7th June following he appointed his step-son Eugène Beauharnais (son of the Empress Josephine) Viceroy of Italy, and at the same time Prince Eugène became 'Grand Master of Italy and of the G... O... de la Division Militaire' at Milan. The title of the Lodge was *La R... L... Josephine Reale* (i.e., The Royal Josephine), and it was, of course, so named in honour of the Empress-Mother of the Viceroy. There is nothing to shew that the Prince Eugène was present at the Banquet on March 19th (Feast of St. Joseph), 1807, but he was in Milan and could hardly fail to be aware of the compliment paid to his august step-father.

In the year 1816 there was published at Paris a work in two volumes, entitled, *Confessions de Napoléon*, written by one Dufay. The title-page proclaims that the book is furnished *Avec une Gravure représentant l'Initiation de Napoléon par les Illuminés*. These *soi-disant* 'Confessions' of Napoleon are in number legion, and as a rule are of little or no value from a historical point of view, still this must be passed as evidence that in 1816 there was a popular belief that the Emperor had at some time been connected with the Illuminati. We know, of course, that Illuminism and Freemasonry are essentially separate and distinct things, but it is impossible to deny that there was a considerable intercourse between the continental Masonic Lodges and the famous organisation of Weishaupt, so much, indeed, that in popular estimation the two became merged into one and the same body.

The next piece of evidence is to be found in the third volume of *Mémoires Historiques et Secrets de l'Impératrice Joséphine*. . . . par Mlle. M. A. Le Normand. . . . Paris, three volumes, 8vo., 1st edition 1820, 2nd edition 1827. The book is included in the Napoleonic bibliography at the end of the Napoleon volume (volume ix.) of the *Cambridge Modern History*, where it ranks fairly well from the point of view of its trustworthiness. At p. 313 there is a long 'Note Communiquée' relating to Napoleon's dealings with mystical and occult matters, but, unfortunately, the name of the author of this 'Note Communiquée' is not given. I extract and translate the portions which concern our present enquiry:—

It seems certain that Bonaparte received his first initiation, as a neophyte to the Universal Sect of the Francs-Juges, in 1795. He took the Oath before a general Assembly of the Brethren who were gathered together in the Forest of Fontainebleau:—'That never should a free man render obedience to a King.' He subjected himself to the most severe penalties if he violated his promise *aux amis invisibles*.

A second initiation took place at the time of his victories in Italy; Bonaparte admitted afterwards to his most intimate friends that he was not only astonished at the strange ceremony of which he was in a manner the sole recipient, but also to find himself in the midst of the greater part of the chiefs of his army who vied with each other in repeating on their weapons: "Death to tyrants whatever may be their titles and even their qualifications."

It was at Cairo that the illustrious initiate met the chief of the philadelphes. It appears that he had several conversations with him in a celebrated mosque; there then took place a third and last initiation. Already the general of the army of Egypt perceived in the majority of the officers of his army an inclination to treat him with an insolent superiority; Kléber was of the number. He foresaw from this time a series of downfalls as startling as had been his rise. He consulted the supreme master of the great work (*le suprême maître du grand œuvre*). This Egyptian passed his life with the Beys, but the people in general regarded him as a divine personage and one who held mental intercourse with the angels.

The return of Bonaparte to France was the work of the philadelphes. Having become first consul of the republic he renewed his oath.

Bonaparte had a great number of philadelphes attached to his personal service (*autour de sa personne*).

The style of this 'Note communiquée' is not such as to encourage the serious student to rely upon the accuracy of its *details*, nevertheless it contains a distinct reiteration of the statement made by Pyron, Abraham, Valleteau, etc., and is additional evidence, which cannot be set aside, that the story of Napoleon's initiation was not an invention of late Masonic writers. It is not quite clear what is intended by the reference to the 'Universal Sect of the Francs-Juges.' The 'Francs-Juges' are generally supposed to have been the outcome and survival of the famous Secret Tribunals of Westphalia, the *Vehme* or *Fehme*, but it is much more probable that the body referred to in the Note was some French offshoot from the Illuminati of Weishaupt, and that this initiation was the same already recorded by Dufay in 1816. Napoleon was in Paris, more or less unemployed, from September, 1794, to March, 1796, except during the months of March, April and May of 1795, when he was absent on an unsuccessful attempt to recover Corsica from the English. The second and third initiations, however, point clearly to 'Ecoissais' perversions of true Freemasonry. 'At the time of (*à l'époque de*) his victories 'in Italy' is vague and should mean the interval March, 1796—December, 1797, but it may, perhaps, be held to include the date of the capture of Malta (June, 1798).<sup>1</sup> It is certain that 'Ecoissisme' was very prevalent in the French Army during the Italian campaign and later, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was no less so during the operations in Egypt. Now, one of the most important of the 'Ecoissais' Rites was the 'Rit Primitif de Narbonne,' or 'Philadelphes de Narbonne,' founded at Narbonne in 1780 by a certain Vicomte C . . . d'A . . . and his six sons, of whom *Eques a Capite Galeato* was the eldest. Of this Rite the Society known as 'The Philadelphes of the Army' was a branch or offshoot which spread throughout the Army with extreme rapidity and quickly acquired very considerable power.<sup>2</sup> In its early years truly Masonic, this Society later developed into an association almost frankly political in its aims. We should naturally expect to find that the second initiation, if it took place while Napoleon was on active service, was carried out in some form of *Army Lodge*, and the description given by the writer of the 'Note Communiquée,' namely, that 'the greater part of the chiefs of his army' were present, fully bears this out. That it

<sup>1</sup> Bonaparte was appointed by the Directory to the command of the Army of Italy in Feb., 1796, and left Paris on 11th March. The Treaty of Campo Formio was concluded in Oct., 1797, and he returned to Paris on 5th Dec. In April, 1798, he was given the command of the Egyptian Expedition, and sailed from Toulon on 19th May. Malta was occupied on 12th June. Setting sail again on the 19th, Egypt was reached on 2nd July. Napoleon entered Cairo after the battle of the Pyramids on the 21st, and finally quitted Cairo on 10th February, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> Frost in his *Secret Societies of the European Revolution*, London, 1876, vol. i., p. 146, quotes Nodier's authority for the statement that 'the Emblem' of the Army Philadelphes was identical with that adopted for the Legion of Honour. The Insignia chosen for the Legion consisted of a white enamelled five-rayed star bearing the portrait of Napoleon and a wreath of oak and laurel. Legend—*Napoleon Empereur des Français*. On the reverse—The French Eagle grasping a thunderbolt. Legend—*Honneur et Patrie*. The Ribbon was of scarlet watered silk. Presumably Frost and Nodier allude to the five-rayed star derived from the Pentalpha, an emblem found in all Masonic and quasi-Masonic systems.

was a Lodge of Army *Philadelphes* is likely because of the importance and strength of that organisation in Army circles at the time, and it is confirmed by the reference to the 'chief of the philadelphes' in the next paragraph. But there is another and independent reason for coming to the same conclusion. We have seen that Bro. Abraham claims Napoleon and General Moreau as Masons in a manner which suggests that there was some connection between the entry of the one and of the other. Again, their names are found coupled together in each of the Peace Festival Reports. Now, in 1801 General Moreau succeeded Colonel Oudet as 'Absolute Chief,' or 'Censor,' of the Army *Philadelphes*. It is, therefore, a natural inference that both the second and third of the initiations referred to by the writer of the 'Note Communiquée' were ceremonies carried out in the body of an Army *Philadelphes* Lodge, and if so, then Napoleon received the first of the three symbolic Craft Degrees in Italy at some time between March, 1796, and December, 1797 (or possibly at Malta in June, 1798), and the second Degree at Cairo at some time between 24th July, 1798, and 10th February, 1799.

Concerning Colonel Jacques Joseph Oudet, Bro. Gould has given some particulars in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiv., p. 43; while fuller accounts are to be found in books on *Secret Societies* such as the well known works by Nodier, Witt, Frost, Heckethorn, and others. In these Colonel Oudet and the Army *Philadelphes* are represented as hostile to Napoleon and engaged in plots against his government and attempts upon his life. The story of the connection of the *Philadelphes* as a Society with these nefarious schemes is now discredited, but it is quite possible that Oudet and a section of the members disapproved of Bonaparte's Imperial ambitions as inconsistent with the aims of the Order and a violation of the Oath of a *Philadelphes*. Such an attitude on their part in no way weakens, but on the contrary it strengthens, the evidence of Napoleon's membership. In the 'Note Communiquée' quoted above, the *Francs-Juges* and the *Philadelphes* are represented as hostile to Napoleon during the closing years of the Empire and, after repeated warnings, determined upon his removal.

Who was the personage described as 'the chief of the philadelphes' with whom Napoleon conferred in the mosque? Was it Col. Oudet, the Censor of the Army *Philadelphes*, or was it *Eques a Capite Galeato*, who continued to be at the head of the P.R. of Narbonne until his death, which took place in 1814? *Eques* is ruled out as it is certain that he did not serve in Egypt. That it was Oudet is very likely, for although I have exhausted time and patience in vain search for evidence that he was in Egypt with Napoleon, yet it is more than probable that he was, for he went through the Campaign of Italy, and the officers of the Army of Egypt were almost entirely recruited from those who had gained their experience under the future Emperor in his successful Italian venture. Thus the meeting described in the Note may quite well have been with this Colonel Oudet, who was certainly the head of the Army branch of the *Philadelphes*. And who was the other personage, mentioned a little later, the 'Egyptian'—*le suprême maître du grand œuvre*—and what was the nature of the 'grand œuvre'? From the context it is evident that the author of the Note did not mean 'the chief of the philadelphes' over again, and the Colonel does not answer to the description at all. There is, however, a reference in the 'Memoirs of Josephine,' vol. iii., p. 37, which may, perhaps, explain the meaning intended by the writer of the Note. The Empress,

in describing a painful interview with Napoleon on the eve of the divorce, makes the Emperor say:—

des mouvemens continuel qui ne m'ont pas laissé une seule minute pour remplir mes devoirs d'initié à la secte des Egyptiens.

To which the editor of the Memoirs adds in a footnote:

Bonaparte fut initié au Grand-Caire dans ces mystères dont l'Egypte a été le berceau, et dont un petit nombre d'adeptes ont conservé le souvenir.

A careful examination of the 'Note Communiquée' conveys the impression that its writer had no personal knowledge of the different secret organisations he refers to so easily and fluently, and that he is but reproducing, possibly with embellishments of his own, the current rumours of the time. The fact which stands out clearly is that *it was generally believed at the time when that note was written* that Napoleon had undergone a ceremony or ceremonies of 'initiation' and that The Philadelphie Rite, a recognised branch of French Freemasonry, was therein concerned.

Let us return for a moment to Pyron. Amongst many other Masonic advantages, he enjoyed that of membership of the Rit Primitif de Narbonne. M. Fabre's book contains a series of letters written by him to *Eques a Capite Galeato* commencing in January of 1807. In the first of these he makes a request apparently for promotion in the Rite; in the second (dated 8th May, 1807) he acknowledges the receipt of his 'Diplôme de membre du Rit Primitif' and thanks *Eques* for having enabled him to reach 'la troisième Division,' i.e., the most advanced of the ten degrees which made up the Rite.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Pyron's membership of the Narbonne Rite dated back to the time of the letter which contains the reference to Napoleon (the interval is little more than a year) and that when he claimed the Emperor as 'membre de notre Rit' he alluded to the Rit Primitif or Philadelphie which he (Pyron) and *Eques* had in common.<sup>2</sup> In any case the Philadelphie was of the 'Ecoissais' type and the 'Note Communiquée' is in agreement with Pyron's claim.

Some other references remain to be considered. These are:—

- (1) A vague story, which appeared in the *Abeille Maçonique* in 1829 and is repeated by Clavel in *Revue Historique* in 1830, to the effect that the Emperor 'visited incognito Lodges in Paris' in order to assure himself that no treasonable practices had crept into the proceedings. The story is not improbable, for Napoleon was accustomed to make excursions incognito as we know from Bourrienne and Junot who usually accompanied him while so engaged.

<sup>1</sup> 'La troisième grande division, composée d'un seul échelon le dixième et le complément de tout le système, indique la haute importance de son objet, par le caractère même de son titre. En effet, c'est là le MODESTE CHAPITRE DES DISCIPLES DU GRAND ROSAIRE, AMATEURS de la VÉRITÉ, Frères Rose-Croix de la Table du Banquet des Sages, Mages, Théosophes.' (*Eques.*) (See Addendum on p. 123.)

<sup>2</sup> By the Treaty of Presburg, 26th Dec., 1805, Bavaria was raised to the status of a Kingdom. On 13th January, 1806, Prince Eugène Beauharnais was married at Munich to the eldest daughter of the new King and Queen. The bride was the grand-daughter of the Marquis de Lezay-Marnesia, one of the original members of the Primitive Rite of Narbonne, who figures as No. 33 on the *Tableau* of the Rite.



- (2) A legend, which has cropped up from time to time, that the Emperor Alexander of Russia was initiated at Erfurt in October, 1808, in the presence of Napoleon. That this is a fiction is, however, proved by a narrative in the *Memoirs of de Sanglen*. See an article by Bro. Speth in *A.Q.C.*, vol. x., p. 72.
- (3) In the *Freemasons Magazine* of 5th November, 1859, is a note signed E.D.C. which states that:—‘There was an old Frenchman in the State of Indiana, ‘some eighteen months since, that asserted he had sat in a Lodge with the ‘Emperor Napoleon.’ This must be taken for what it is worth—which, as evidence, is not very much.
- (4) The statement in *Kenning’s Cyclopædia (Woodford)*, 1878:—‘The Lodge *La Vraie Fraternité* at Strasburg, always gave as their first health, “Notre cher ‘frère Buonaparte, Chef de la Nation.”’ This is of considerable importance and it is most unfortunate that Bro. Woodford forgot to give his authority. The spelling of the name ‘Buonaparte’ and the expression ‘Chef de la Nation’ cannot possibly belong to the Empire and, therefore, must be earlier. If, then, this story is authentic it is additional evidence in favour of a regular initiation. One would like to know more of this Lodge *La Vraie Fraternité*. There was at Strasburg in 1806 a Lodge of the P.R. of Narbonne which had been in existence for some time but for how long I have not been able to determine; from references to it in correspondence which passed between *Eques* and the well-known Chevalier d’Harmensen in 1806 I think it likely that it was a Lodge of the *Army* branch of the *Philadelphes*. It may be that *La Vraie Fraternité* was this very Lodge, and that the toast was a commemoration of the fact that Bonaparte first saw the Light in a Lodge of their Rite. That *La Vraie Fraternité* was an ambulatory military *Philadelphie* Lodge is the more probable seeing that its name does not appear in the *Tableau Général* of the Lodges under the G.O. for the year 1802, at which time the Narbonne Rite had not been united with the G.O.
- (5) In 1910 there was published at Nancy a work by Bro. Charles Bernardin, entitled, *Notes pour Servir à l’Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie à Nancy*. At p. 81 of vol. ii., under the year 1797, there is a statement that General Bonaparte is said to have visited the Lodge *Saint-John-of-Jerusalem* in that town on 3rd December, 1797. In the *Collections Lorraines*, by Bro. Noel, who was a member of this Lodge from 5th March, 1810, it is definitely stated that Napoleon visited the Lodge on 3rd December, 1797, *by invitation*, and that ‘though only a M.M. he was received with all possible honours and asked ‘to assume the Chair.’ Unfortunately for this story, the Minutes of the Lodge shew that no meeting was held between 6th September and 9th December. Napoleon was at Nancy on December 3rd, but he was at Paris on December 9th. So that when Napoleon was at Nancy the Lodge did not meet, and when the Lodge did meet (the 9th) Napoleon was not at Nancy. This Lodge *Saint-John-of-Jerusalem* was Marshal Ney’s Lodge and a very large proportion of its members were men occupying prominent positions under the Empire.

We have now gathered together all the evidence down to the time when Resuchet published his *Précis Historique* in 1829, wherein Malta is first mentioned as the scene of Bonaparte’s entrance into Masonry. He arrived there in June of

1798, and set sail again for Egypt on the 19th, after a stay on the island of only *six days*. During that brief space of time he (to quote the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) 'displayed marvellous energy in endowing the city with modern institutions. He even arranged the course of studies to be followed in the University.' Also (according to Bourrienne) he 'provided with as much energy as talent for the administration and defence of the island.' It is not easy to see how, under these circumstances, he could have found very much time to devote to Freemasonry. Nevertheless, the Island of Malta has been constantly cited by later continental Masonic writers, who have seemingly been content to accept Besuchet's story without question.

To sum up the evidence:—In 1801 (that is fully two years before Napoleon became Emperor) a prominent 'Eccossais' Brother Abraham, writes of the Masonic Order as proud *now* to number the 'immortal Brother Bonaparte' and Moreau among its members.—The official report of a Masonic Festival at Dijon in November of the same year describes Masonic honours paid to Napoleon and refers to 'Les DD.. et RR.. FF.. Buonaparte et Moreau.'—Another official report of a similar Festival at Montauban eleven days later describes Masonic honours paid to Napoleon and Moreau, and in the Toast list their names occur with essentially Masonic embellishments.—Moreau becomes Head of the Army Philadelphes in 1801.—A Strasburg Lodge is said to have toasted Napoleon as a Mason.—The wording of the Toast shews that this was *before* Napoleon became Emperor.—At the same period a Philadelphie Lodge (probably of the Army branch) did exist at Strasburg.—In 1805 (or early 1806) an eminent Brother Pyron (then, or a few months later, a Philadelphie), writing to another eminent Brother *Eques* (Chief of the Philadelphes), claims Napoleon as 'member of our Rite.'—Rite referred to *possibly* Philadelphie, certainly an 'Eccossais' Rite.—In January, 1806, a Paris Lodge Orator, Valleteau de Chambrefy, declares that the Emperor had 'shared in our labours.'—In March, 1807, at Milan, in a Lodge named in honour of the Empress, the mother of the Viceroy (G.M. at Milan), Napoleon is toasted as 'Brother, Emperor and King, Protector.'—In 1816 appears a book of *Confessions de Napoléon* with an engraving representing the reception of Bonaparte by the Illuminati.—In 1820 (and again in 1827) an unknown writer says 'it is certain' that Napoleon underwent three 'initiations.'—The first, in 1795, a reception by the Francs-Juges (? Illuminati).—The second, from description evidently an 'Eccossais' initiation, is placed between March, 1796, and June, 1798.—The third a Philadelphie (more probably of the Army branch) initiation at Cairo.—In the same volume Napoleon is made to say that he had been initiated into the 'secte des Egyptiens.'—In 1829 the *Abeille Maçonnique*, and in 1830 Clavel, state that Napoleon visited Lodges in Paris incognito.—From 1829 onwards a number of writers repeat that Napoleon was *initiated* at Malta in 1798.—In 1859 a correspondent of the F.M. Magazine claims to have known a French Brother who professed to have met Napoleon as a Mason in open Lodge.

Against all this and in support of the view that Napoleon was never initiated there are apparently but two arguments:—*Firstly*. The fact that Thory, an eminent, well informed Mason, does *not* claim the Emperor as a Brother either in—(1) *Annales Originis*, 1812; (2) *Acta Latomorum*, 1815; or (3) his letter of 1818 dealing with Napoleon and the Grand Orient. *Secondly*. The objection

raised by Findel in his footnote, one which will probably be urged by some Brethren now, namely:—Why should Napoleon, if a Mason in 1804, require from Cambacérès enlightenment as to the Institution and its tendencies? But these two arguments can be quite satisfactorily met. Thory's silence can be accounted for in two ways. He may not have mentioned the fact because he was not aware of it. Thory was not a Philadelphie—in fact, there is good evidence that he was *rejected* as a candidate by the Rit Primitif<sup>1</sup>—nor was he particularly identified with *Ecossais* Masonry—so that it may be that information accessible to Pyron, *Eques*, Abraham and Valleteau was denied to him. But I do not believe this to be the true explanation. A far more satisfactory one is to be found in the fact that the Emperor did not wish to take any personal share in the labours of the G.O. he protected, and declined to be identified *publicly* with the Craft. While only First Consul he would not be able to prevent mention of his membership (and accordingly we do find occasional references to it, such as Abraham's and those in the Festival Reports of 1801), but when the Empire had been in existence long enough to ensure its stability he would be in a position to enforce his prohibition, and accordingly such references are extremely rare.<sup>2</sup> An author, publishing a book in Paris in 1812 (*Annales Originis*) or even as late as 1815 (*Acta Latomorum*), would not dare to allude to the fact of Napoleon's initiation, even if he were certain that it had taken place. As to the letter of 1818, I have already remarked that it neither states *nor denies* that such an initiation had taken place, and merely deals with the report furnished by Cambacérès. There is *nothing* in either of Thory's books, or in his letter, which casts any doubt upon the evidence on the other side. The letter has already been given, and in a footnote<sup>3</sup> are the necessary extracts from the books.

To those who with Bro. Findel find a difficulty in the Emperor's demand for information in 1804 it may be pointed out that it is abundantly clear that

<sup>1</sup> 'M Thory . . . est un furet maçonnique, qui tâche de chercher à amener à Saint-Alexandre toutes sortes de lumières, mais, seulement, par orgueil, et non par zèle . . . La délicatesse si connue de ce cher F... (Aigrefeuille) applaudit à la mienne, et de concert, quoique avec peine, nous déterminâmes le F... Thory, empêché par sa nullité, de poursuivre son désir d' affiliation à votre Rit.' (From a letter of d'Harmensen to *Eques* dated Paris ce 28 . . . 1806). Charles d'Aigrefeuille was cousin to *Eques*.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt it will be pointed out that the *Miroir* was published and Valleteau de Chambrefy's 'Discours' pronounced in 1805-6 both after the establishment of the Empire (May, 1804). Also that the same may be said of Pyron's letter and the Milan Toast. True, but the Article and Reports in the *Miroir* were written in 1801, and the interval between May, 1804, and January, 1806, is but a short one, and time would be necessary for the Emperor's wishes to take effect. And the distance of Milan from Paris is quite sufficient to explain away the difficulty in that case. As for Pyron's letter, it was a private letter, and not published at all (until 1913).

<sup>3</sup> Thory. *Annales Originis Magni Galliorum Orientis*. 1812:—

P. 94. Bientôt il eut le bonheur de mériter la bienveillance du prince CAMBACERES. S.A.S. voulut bien accueillir le corps représentatif de la Maçonnerie Française et lui offrir l'honorable et flatteuse assurance que S.M.I. et R. s'étant fait rendre compte du but de l'association maçonnique, avait daigné lui accorder sa protection et lui donner pour grand-maître un prince de son sang; enfin, que le Monarque avait choisi, pour remplir cette fonction, S.M. le roi d'Espagne, son auguste frère.

P. 112. (Extract from Procès Verbale. 27th April, 1807.) Ce sont ces sentiments que nous vous prions de mettre aux pieds du trône de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi; il a comblé de joie tous les Maçons en leur donnant pour chefs les membres de son auguste famille . . . Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi s'étant fait rendre compte de l'objet de l'association Maçonnique, et ayant reconnu que son but moral était digne de sa protection, elle s'est déterminée à la lui accorder et à lui donner pour chef un prince de son sang: qu'il serait auprès de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi l'interprète des sentimens de fidélité de respect et d'attachement du G.O. pour sa personne.

Thory. *Acta Latomorum*. 1815:—P. 225. 1805. Cette année, le Prince Joseph est proclamé Grand-Maître de la Maçonnerie en France. Ce choix fut celui de la cour, et n'appartient pas aux Maçons Français, car on assure que le Prince Joseph n'était point initié dans l'Ordre; aussi n'a-t-il jamais paru aux travaux du G.O.

Napoleon was never an *active* Freemason, and that there is not a shadow of evidence that he did more than figure as a candidate at some two or three ceremonies. Remembering, then, the innumerable Rites, Systems, Grades, Observances and what not, which made up the sum total of French Freemasonry in 1804, remembering, too, the magnificently pretentious titles associated with some of the so-called 'High Degrees,' and especially remembering that as a candidate into an 'Ecosais' Rite the supreme importance of these advanced degrees would be forcibly impressed upon his mind from the very first—he may well be excused, in spite of his initiation (supposing it to have taken place), if he demanded from Cambacérès 'a memoir 'on the objects and principles of the association, especially as to what is called the 'Secret of the Freemasons.' Freemasonry as it appeared to him was not subject to the same limitations as is the Freemasonry of the G.L. of England. *It was not enlightenment concerning the Craft degrees which he wanted, but information about the 'higher' developments beyond them.* That this was what he sought is, indeed, shewn by the account contained in the Memoir as presented by Cambacérès and disclosed in Thory's letter. It was just such as we should expect, coming from men whose minds were obsessed by the 'Elu' perversions of genuine Masonry. To the objection that Napoleon could not possibly have believed in the explanation as a statement of fact, the answer is that whether the Emperor believed it or not, it would certainly very well suit his purpose to *seem* to do so. It is well known that nothing caused him greater uneasiness than the fear of a Royalist reaction and a return of the Bourbons. His patronage of the *Ordre du Temple* presided over by Fabre Palaprat, to which attention has been drawn in footnote (1), page 100, and the 'bon parti' he proposed to derive from that institution, without committing himself to actual membership, is to be accounted for in the same way and ascribed to the same motive—a desire to make use of any and every means of preventing a Royalist reaction.

At this point I may submit my conclusions to the judgment of the Lodge. They are:—

- (1) that the evidence in favour of a Masonic *initiation* previous to Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial Title is overwhelming;
- (2) that the initiations took place in the body of an Army Philadelphie Lodge of the (Ecosais) Primitive Rite of Narbonne, the third 'initiation' of the 'Note Communiquée' being an advancement in that Rite;
- (3) that these initiations took place between 1795 and 1798.

In coming to a decision upon these points we have had the benefit of several independent sources of information and the weight of evidence is cumulative. It is not so when trying to determine the places where the initiations were carried out. For reasons already stated, I reject Besuchet's Valetta (Malta). That Napoleon became an Illuminé at Fontainebleau and took the Second Masonic Degree at Cairo rests upon the authority of the 'Note Communiquée' alone.

In support of Milan's claim to be the scene of Napoleon's initiation there is nothing but the undoubted importance of that city as a military centre during the operations of the Italian Campaign. Roveredo has to rely upon the slight support afforded by the fact of the publication there in August, 1799, of an Anti-Masonic

caricature containing a *possible* reference to Bonaparte (*see post*, p. 118). Still, either Milan or Roveredo would be in agreement with the 'Note Communiquée.' The late Bro. Hector Fleischmann was of opinion that Napoleon went through the First Degree at Strasburg, which is to some extent supported by the proceedings of the Lodge *La Vraie Fraternité* there (*see Ante*, p. 112). As Bro. Hector Fleischmann's Masonic papers have now passed into Bro. Broadley's keeping it is possible that further light may be forthcoming upon this important point.

Of Masonic anecdotes in which Napoleon is directly concerned I have met with but one. It is to be found at p. 65 of Bro. R. F. Gould's 'Military Lodges,' where it is related how a certain Captain Akerman of Poole, a Mason, fell into the hands of the French, and for eleven years remained a prisoner on parole at the *depôt* of Verdun.

While thus detained, Napoleon passed through Verdun, and, hearing that several Masons were among the prisoners, he inquired how they conducted themselves, and, on receiving a favourable report, ordered a dinner to be given them. They were invited accordingly, and, after a due examination by the proper officers, sat down (on Christmas Day) to an excellent repast, the Commandant presiding. At the close of the meeting each Englishman was presented with a five-franc piece in the Emperor's name, which they gratefully received, though from the hands of their national enemy.

This presentation of a five-franc piece to *Mason* prisoners seems to have been almost a custom, as there are several recorded instances at different *depôts*. For example, Sergt. Nicol, in his very interesting *Diary of a British Prisoner in France*,<sup>1</sup> describes it as taking place at the *depôt* at Tarbes, and he adds that in every town where there was a Lodge relief was given, more or less. 'A fine thing to be a Mason in France!' concludes the grateful Sergeant.

What may be described as Napoleonic Masonic relics are necessarily scarce and they do not always justify the claims which are put forward on their behalf. Our Bro. Secretary informs me that he was once invited to purchase for the trifling sum of £150 a Masonic Apron 'formerly the property of and worn by H.M. Joseph 'Bonaparte, G.M. of the G.O. of France.' The owner being asked to produce evidence of authenticity, pointed triumphantly to two pillars depicted upon the apron, one of them inscribed with the initial J and the other with its complement B. I think I am right in saying that this specimen was *not* added to Bro. Songhurst's collection. Thanks, however, to the kindness of Bro. Armand Alphonse Delalande of Marlborough, I am enabled to bring to the notice of the Brethren of this Lodge a most interesting and undoubtedly genuine Masonic relic which may very possibly have an association with the great Napoleon himself. Bro. Delalande is a descendant of the celebrated French astronomer Joseph Jerome Lefrançais Delalande or De Lalande—the name is sometimes so written, but he himself generally signed as

<sup>1</sup> See 'With Napoleon at Waterloo, and other unpublished documents of the Waterloo and Peninsular campaigns.' . . . edited . . . by Mackenzie MacBride. London. 1911. P. 215.

Delalande and the family has always kept to this form. This eminent savant was born at Bourg in the Dept. of L'Ain on 11th July, 1732. He was Professor of Astronomy in the Collège de France, Director of the Paris Observatory, and Member of most of the learned societies in the world, author of numerous and highly esteemed scientific works—and a zealous Freemason. He was one of the founders of the Grande Loge Nationale or Grand Orient of France, of which he was appointed Grand Orator on 14th June, 1773, and he delivered the Oration on the occasion of the inauguration of the New Temple of the G.O. on 12th August, 1774. His *Mémoire Sur l'Histoire de la F.. M..* (written in support of the views of the G.O. and in opposition to those of the *old* Grande Loge), appeared in the *Encyclopédie*, Yverdon, 1773, vol. iv., where it occupies five pages. At this time he was 'Vénérable de la Loge des Sciences, de l'O. de Paris.' In 1803 he was appointed 'Grand Officier Honoraire' of the G.O., and in 1805 the Lodges of Lyons united in a Masonic Festival in his honour. While in his prime he was a man of extraordinary activity of mind and body, incapable of deceit or concealment and accustomed to give utterance to his opinions with a bluntness and directness which sometimes caused pain where none was really intended. Yet his generosity and benevolence and love of truth were recognized by all. Napoleon treated him with great respect and consideration, and it may be that the ardour with which he supported the claims of the Grand Orient—the only Masonic governing body which received Imperial recognition—may have contributed to the amicable relations between them. He died 4th April, 1807, at Paris, and a Funeral Oration was pronounced by F.. De Joly at the Assembly of the G.O. at St. John-in-Summer of that year. In the course of his speech Bro. De Joly remarked:—

De Lalande que les Sciences regrettent autant que l'amitié; Si quelques nuages ont obscurci les derniers jours de cette belle vie, fort de sa propre conscience (et si l'expression peut nous être permise), pareil aux astres dont il mesurait si bien l'immensité, il ne répondit aux clameurs de l'envie qu'en versant des torrents de lumière, même sur ses plus obscurs détracteurs.

To explain this reference it is only necessary to say that during the last years of his life, when his powers of mind, as well as of body, were fast failing, he caused great offence by the publication of some rash and ill-considered sentiments, more especially as without authority he made use of the names of persons still living. The Emperor shewed his concern for the fame and reputation of his distinguished subject by sending a letter to the Institute (dated 18th January, 1806, at Schoenbrunn) deploring that M. Lalande, who had hitherto been identified with scientific labours of the very highest order, had of late fallen into a state of dotage, and recommending that nothing more be permitted to appear in print over his name.

The snuff-box now exhibited is regarded by the members of the family as a precious memento of their learned ancestor. It is made of some composition resembling papier-maché with a lining of tortoise-shell, and its diameter measures roughly  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The lid is decorated with an allegorical representation of the triumph of the French Arms over the ancient enemy Prussia. Frederic the Great, in an attitude of grief and distress, looks on while the Eagle of France bears away his sword, his insignia and the famous Column of Rossbach. In another part the same all-conquering bird is tearing the flesh from the bones of the Prussian Lion

with its beak, while the armed inhabitants of an island stand aghast. In the distance are smoking ruins—possibly Erfurt, Spandau or Leipsic. Legend—Above:—*Il est venu. Il a vu. Il a vaincu.* Below:—An inscription, all but illegible, which I take to be:—*A la Gloire Sur (?) le Champ d'Iena*, followed by a date, presumably that of Napoleon's great victory over the Prussians under Hohenlohe, 14th October, 1806. The victors marched across the battle-field of Rossbach and in Napoleon's presence overturned the Column (erected there to commemorate the defeat of the French by Frederic the Great in November of 1757) and despatched it in triumph to Paris. Napoleon, in a letter to the Empress from Potsdam, 26th October, says:—

J'ai rendu visite au tombeau du grand Frédéric; j'ai enlevé moi-même son épée, la ceinture et le cordon de l'Aigle noir qui avaient appartenu à ce grand capitaine; je veux les envoyer aux Invalides à Paris.

In another letter, written only a few weeks later (early in December) he tells Josephine of the flattering things said to him and about him:—

Aussi ne manquent-ils point de m'environner du tribut de leur adulation; l'un me dit: "Le grand Napoléon a paru comme un astre dans la France; il est venu, il a vu, il a vaincu l'univers."

The interior of the box is, of course, quite plain: there is, however, a secret compartment, or false bottom, and on opening this two very interesting pieces of work are to be seen. These are: (1) A very spirited full-length portrait of Napoleon, standing in the characteristic attitude with folded arms, near to a small pedestal or altar, round which are grouped four military standards. (2) A representation of the Royal Arch and other familiar emblems. These need no description here, but I may mention that the three initials which appear within the triangle are remarkable in a continental R.A. planche of this date. The workmanship throughout is very fine and the condition good, except that the left limb of the R.A. circle has been slightly damaged.

In the *Mémoires de Bourrienne* we read of Napoleon's *penchant* for snuff boxes, and it is known that he would sometimes, as a special mark of his favour, present a specimen from his own pocket to anyone who had the good fortune to attract his favourable notice. It is, therefore, by no means improbable that Bro. J. J. L. Delalande received this one from the hands of his Imperial master himself. But without pressing this conjecture, for, of course, it is no more than that, the Brethren will no doubt agree that the occurrence of the Emperor's portrait in conjunction with a purely Masonic emblem group like the Royal Arch is significant, and doubly so when both are contained in a secret compartment only to be disclosed at the will of the owner. To me it seems another link in the chain of evidence in favour of Napoleon's membership of the Masonic Brotherhood.

At p. 149 of the second volume of *Napoleon in Caricature*<sup>1</sup> will be found a full-page illustration of an Italian caricature, together with the following description:—

. . . the caricature to which the writer has given the title of "The Impious Lodge" from the first words of the twelve lines of

<sup>1</sup> 'Napoleon in Caricature, 1795-1821, by A. M. Broadley . . . 2 vols., octavo, London, John Lane, MCMXI.

verse below it . . . is anonymous, but bears the date "Roveredo, August, 1799." Dr. Achille Bertarelli says there are twelve of these Roveredo plates duly numbered, of which eight are in honour of the Allies and four against the Masonic Lodges . . . This caricature pays homage to the Allies, but at the same time (in the opinion of the writer) it was intended to attack the Freemasons and Bonaparte, whose already sufficiently familiar hat may be seen in the extreme lower right-hand corner . . . (Napoleon) is supposed to have been initiated . . . at Malta, but it is quite possible he may have joined at Milan or elsewhere in 1797. The vigour with which the Freemasons were attacked in these Italian caricatures of 1799, and the manner in which they seem to have been associated with the French in this curious series of prints, induce the writer to favour the latter supposition. To the left are drawn up a row of soldiers. In the centre is a pyramid composed of seven figures, the upper four resting on the shoulders of three Masonic dignitaries wearing their distinctive jewels of office. The two forming the second tier are bareheaded, and are dressed in French uniforms of blue faced with red. They alone carry swords, and may very possibly represent Bonaparte and Berthier. The hat of the former has already been alluded to. The sixth man supported by them appears to be a priest, and on his shoulders stands a female holding out the Cap of Liberty on a pole. The pyramid seems to be on the point of collapsing at the sight of a Fury advancing towards it in a threatening manner. The lines below may be rendered as follows:—

"From out their godless Lodge's foul retreat  
Freemasons loomed awhile; and on deceit  
Upreared a fabric whose far-bruited boast  
Served as a magnet for the Frankish host.

These vaunted champions of the struggling thrall  
Dispensed a 'Freedom' that was steeped in gall;  
Wherewith their leader, as he lost his sway,  
A crumbling Folk-rule vainly thought to stay.

And lo! the wrath of vengeful Heaven lowers  
To nerve the sword-arm of the banded Powers:  
Franks and Freemasons, wrecked and sore distressed,  
Are headlong hurled into Alecto's breast.

The author (in a footnote) says that:—' (Napoleon's) profile appears on Masonic 'aprons and other insignia . . . Portraits of both Napoleon and Josephine 'show them wearing the aprons and sashes of the Fraternity.' These latter being contemporary support the theory upheld in this paper.

In *Collectanea Napoleonica*, at p. 77, under the heading: — *Napoleon I. Allegorical and Satirical Representations*, occurs:—

On a cloud (Masonic) . . . Vol Ry. Page 3.

But no date or other details are given concerning this print.



The three Masonic Medals form part of the well-known Worcestershire collection. They are good examples of Medals with a Napoleonic association.

(1) Medal. Copper Gilt.

Worcester. Catal. 1891, p. 121. Ex 203

A Member's Medal, unknown to Marvin. The Lodge which struck this was founded 13th April, 1784, as *La Bienfaisance*, and later on took the name *Napoleon Le Grand*.

Obverse.—The letter N, with another reversed, forming a design in centre, a crown above, surrounded with branches of laurel, the sun to right, the moon to left, a plumb and level below. At foot a spread eagle.

Legend.—Loge De Napoléon Le Grand. Or.. De Fontainebleau.

Reverse.—The square and compasses, enclosing the letter G irradiated, a five-pointed star on the joint of the compasses, the whole enclosed by branches of laurel and oak, united at foot by a ribbon.

(2) Medal. Silver.

Worcester. Catal. 1891, p. 132. Ex 257

This Medal is Marvin 252 and Merzdorf 90. It is engraved in *Trésor de Numismatique, Napoléon*. Plate 47, Fig 12, where it is said to have been struck in Paris, probably about 1810.

Obverse.—The imperial eagle of France, with drooping wings, in a triangle, on the apex of which is a star in a wreath; around is a garland of flowers, entwined with olive and laurel branches.

Legend:—L..Imperiale des Francs Chevaliers.

Reverse.—A circle formed by a snake devouring its tail, within which is the Hebrew letter *jod* over a dart; above the circle is an imperial crown.

Legend.—Dieu. L'Empereur. Les dames.

With all deference to the opinion as to the date (1810) expressed by the *Trésor de Numismatique, Napoléon*, I suggest that the medal was intended to commemorate the Loge d'Adoption held at Strasburg in 1805 or 1806 when the *Francs Chevaliers* united with the Lodges of Strasburg for a fête. The Empress Joséphine was present. (See footnote <sup>2</sup>, page 98).

(3) Medal. Silver.

Worcester. Catal. 1891, p.134. Ex 269.

This Medal is Marvin 138 and Merzdorf 92. It is engraved in *Tresor de Numismatique, Napoléon*. Plate 50, Fig 11. It was struck by the Lodge *Des Cœurs Unis* at Paris in honour of the birth of the King of Rome, son of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Marie Louise, 20th March, 1811. The date of the Medal is 7th April, 1811.

Obverse.—Between two olive branches the square and compasses, in the centre a five-pointed star with the letter G.

Legend. -[...] Des Cœurs Unis O.. De Paris. Below.  
O.D.F.

Reverse.—In the field between two branches of laurel, in four lines.—A Napoleon Roi De Rome. Below.—7 Avril  
\* 5811 \*

The blank Summons-Form used by the Lodge at Paris founded in honour of and named after the Empress Josephine is a very interesting document and well repays the trouble of a careful study. The only point of interest now is that *Sainte-Joséphine* was a *R.. L.. Ecossaise* and headed its Summons *A Hérodome*. This document had been used, with its blank side uppermost, as an end-paper in the binding of my copy of *Miroir de la Vérité*. Traces of printing shewed through, and curiosity prompted the experiment of soaking it off for further examination. This was done, the happy result being a welcome addition to my Masonic collection and an interesting illustration to this Paper. In the binding the Summons has lost its right and lower margins, but, fortunately, without serious detriment to the letter-press.

The portrait of Napoleon selected to illustrate this article is from the rare original engraving in my own collection. It will be noticed that it was 'Déposé à la Bibliothèque,' and, thanks to the kindness and courtesy of M. François Courboin, Conservateur du Département des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, I am able to give the extract from the Register:—

An. IX. 5. Ventôse.

Massard. 2 Epr d'un portrait de Bonaparte en médaillon;  
dess par Point.

The date An. IX. 5. Ventôse.=24th February, 1801. Thus the portrait shews Napoleon as he was in 1800 at about the time of his alleged initiation and shortly after his nomination as First Consul (December, 1799). Like all the early ones it is more pleasing than those which represent him as Emperor. The engraver Jean Baptiste Louis Massard and his brother Jean Baptiste Raphael Urbain (sons of the equally well-known Jean Massard) were amongst those selected by the Emperor himself to contribute to the famous *Book of the Consecration of their Imperial Majesties*. It would be very interesting to know the identity of the 'ancien offr. de M<sup>e</sup>. Lieut. de Vaiss<sup>u</sup>.' who penned the prophetic inscription (*Query*—Does F<sup>u</sup>=feu=deceased, or does it mean that the *surname* was F . . . u?). The English translation of the inscription suggests that the picture, like the celebrated medal 'frappée à Londres,' was to prove useful *after* that invasion of our Island which, happily, never came to pass. The quotation from Virgil is exceedingly appropriate:—

At least do not prevent this young man from coming to the rescue of this overturned age.

Whatever opinion one may entertain of his personal character and ambition, it will not be denied that *Bro.* Napoleon Bonaparte it was who rescued France from the horrors of anarchy and mob-law and a brutal tyranny far worse than anything which preceded the Revolution.

## COUPLET.

Chanté le jour de la première Réunion  
 en Banquet des Elèves de Minerve  
 le 9<sup>e</sup>.. J.. du 2<sup>e</sup>.. M.. de l'an de la V.. L.. 5802  
 le 19 floréal. An X.

\*

\*

\*

## A LA PATRIE.

*Air: d'Arlequin tout seul.*

Et toi, notre chère Patrie  
 Que ton ciel est pur et serein !  
 Veille sur les jours du Génie  
 A qui nous devons ce destin.  
 Que dans l'O.. de ce temple  
 En tout tems il soit répété :  
 " BONAPARTE a donné l'exemple  
 " Du courage et de l'équité " *bis:*

This is the second of eleven couplets sung by the T.. C.. F.. Jourdan the first J.W. of the Lodge *Les Elèves de Minerve* on the occasion of the inauguration. The Lodge was constituted by the G.O. 3rd May, 1802, with seniority dating from 11th February, 1802. *Bro.* Abraham was its first W.M. *Bro.* Jourdan was the Deputy at Paris for the R.. L.. *des Amis constans de la Liberté*, at Bastia, Corsica.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to Mons. F. Claes, the Conservateur of the Musée Steen at Antwerp, to the Authorities at the Musée Carnavalet and at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, (in particular to Mons. François Courboin, Conservateur du Département des Estampes), for their kind and courteous assistance. And to *Bro.* W. J. Songhurst for his most valuable and friendly suggestions.

## ADDENDUM.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE RITE OR PHILADELPHIE OF NARBONNE.

[The correspondence and papers of *Eques a Capite Galeato*, as published by M. Benjamin Fabre, contain a mass of information concerning this Rite, the greater part of which is new to Masonic students. I cannot do more than give a summary here, and I would refer those interested to M. Fabre's very interesting and valuable book from which the following narrative is derived.]

At the termination of the labours of the famous 'Convent des Gaules,' held at Lyons, November 25th to December 27th, 1778, *Eques* made a voyage into Spain, and then paid a visit to his father, Le Vicomte de C . . . d'A . . . at his ancestral home at Narbonne, where it chanced that he found his five younger brothers. The father and his six sons, being all of them Freemasons, determined to carry out a scheme which, M. Fabre considers, was really the conception of the eldest son, Le Marquis de C . . . d'A . . . , *i.e.*, *Eques* himself, though the credit of it is by him dutifully assigned to his father, the Vicomte. This scheme was the foundation of a new and independent 'Régime Maçonnique' to be composed of 'initiés tres surs,' to be selected with the greatest care and with regard to quality rather than numbers. Accordingly, on 19th April, 1780, was inaugurated with all becoming solemnity 'la Très Révérende Loge de Saint-Jean . . . Première Loge des Free and Accepted Masons du Rit Primitif en France.' In 1790 the new Rite put forth an account, written by *Eques* himself, of its history (in which is set up a bold claim to antiquity), its aims (which were of the loftiest), and its organisation into ten degrees arranged in three classes with four chapters. For convenience I group the degrees showing the division into classes and chapters, and giving the account of the chapters as supplied by *Eques*:—

## THE 10 DEGREES OF THE P.R. OF NARBONNE.

The First Class.	1st Degree	The 3 Symbolic Craft Degrees
	2nd ,,	
	3rd ,,	
	4th	Maître Parfait, G.M. Architecte.
	5th	Sublime Ecossais
	6th	Chev. de l'épée et de l'Orient, Prince de Jerusalem.
	7th	I <sup>st</sup> Chapter of Rose-Croix. Knight Sovereign Prince R.C. possède les connaissances qui, dans quelques Régimes, fixent le culte maçonnique, et la vénération d'une foule de respectables Frères.
The Second Class.	8th	II <sup>nd</sup> Chapter of Rose-Croix. K.R.C. of the Round Table est dépositaire de documents historiques très curieux par leur espèce, leur rapprochement et leur variété.
	9th ,,	III <sup>rd</sup> Chapter of Rose-Croix. K.R.C. of the Emerald Table. S'occupe de toutes les connaissances maçonniques, physiques et philosophiques, dont les produits peuvent influencer sur le bonheur et le bien-être matériel et moral de l'homme temporel.

THE 10 DEGREES OF THE P.R. OF NARBONNE (*continued*)

The Third Class.

10th

IV<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Rose-Croix. K.R.C. of the Grand Rosary.  
 The 4th and last Chapter of the Rose-Croix Brothers  
 of the Grand Rosary:—  
 fait son étude assidue de connaissances particulières  
 d'ontologie, de psychologie, de pneumatologie: en  
 un mot, de toutes les parties des sciences que l'on  
 nomme occultes ou Secrètes, . . . leur objet  
 spécial étant la Réhabilitation et reintegration de  
 l'homme intellectuel, dans son Rang et ses Droits  
 Primitifs.

For the full title of the culminating 10th Degree see footnote <sup>1</sup> on p. 111.

Attached to this document is the 'Tableau' of the original or mother lodge  
 of the Rite, that is the list of its Founders and members, arranged in order of  
 seniority. The seven Founders are:—

- N° 1: Le Vicomte (François Anne) de C . . . d'A . . .  
 Chevalier de Saint-Louis, chef de division des canonniers garde-  
 côtes.  
 Conservateur du Régime.
- N° 2: Le Marquis (François) de C . . . d'A . . . Chevalier  
 de Malte, colonel de chasseurs au service de Malte.  
 This is *Eques a Capite Galeato* himself.
- N° 3: Le Chevalier (Marie Paul) de C . . . d'A . . . Major  
 en Amérique.
- N° 4: Le Baron (Paul Serge Anne) de C . . . d'A . . .  
 chevalier de Malte, capitaine d'infanterie au régiment d'Anjou.
- N° 5: Noble François René de C . . . d'A . . . ancien page  
 du Grand-Maître de Malte, prêtre gradué, chanoine de la  
 cathédrale.
- N° 6: Noble François Guillaume de C . . . d'A . . . chevalier  
 de Malte, lieutenant des vaisseaux du Roi.
- N° 7: Le Chevalier Gabriel de C . . . d'A . . . Chevalier  
 de Malte, sous-lieutenant d'infanterie au régiment d'Anjou.

Amongst the names of the members of the Lodge one meets with many that  
 are familiar, as:—

- N° 23 Savalette de Langes  
 N° 27 Taillepiéd de Bondi  
 N° 28 Dutrousset d'Héricourt  
 N° 29 (The famous) Mesmer  
 N° 49 Bacon de la Chevalerie

It is to be remarked that five of the founders (perhaps also Le 'Chev.' Marie Paul)  
 were of the Order of Malta.

When, in 1805, the G. . O. . assumed control over the whole body of Masonry of all Rites in France, *Eques* addressed himself to Bros. Bacon de la Chevalerie and Roettiers de Montaleau with a view to securing the admission of the P.R. of Narbonne on favourable terms. Considerable difficulty was raised in consequence of the refusal by *Eques* to produce the 'Actes Constitutifs' of his Rite, which he alleged had been lost. During the lengthy negotiations which ensued *Eques* took umbrage at the action of the G. . O. . in taking possession of the *title* 'Rit Primitif' in its Calendar for 1806, which *title* did not appear in the previous Calendar of 1805. *Eques* then entered a protest addressed to Roettiers de Montaleau, in the course of which he furnished him with an account of the origin of his Rite, which I condense and translate:—

His father, Le Vicomte C . . . d'A . . . , having with him his numerous children, all of them Masons, was inspired with the idea of organising a 'Loge en famille.' He communicated his intentions to certain influential German Masons with whom he had always kept up a connection since the time when, wounded and made prisoner at Prague, he had been recommended to them by his brother, who had since fallen on the field of battle at Rossbach. These Brethren offered to receive his Lodge into communion with a Rite '*peu connu quoiqu'il fût répandu un peu partout, où l'on s'attachait plus au choix qu'au nombre de ses membres.*' This offer was gladly accepted, and, all preliminary arrangements having been satisfactorily made between the Chiefs of the Rite on the one hand and the Vicomte on the other, the provisional election and installation of the officers of the Lodge took place on the 27th November, 1779. The formal demand for admission followed in the succeeding month, and was forwarded to the Chiefs through a channel which had been previously indicated to Bro. No. 1 (*i.e.*, the Vicomte). While awaiting the reply the Lodge met from time to time, following those forms which were the most simple and the most generally in use. In March of 1780 the Lodge was informed that a 'Commissaire would shortly pay it a visit in order to present its Titles and carry out its Installation.' This 'Commissaire' arrived in due course and received a fraternal welcome. On the 19th April, 1780, was inaugurated 'la Révérende Loge, Première 'Loge de l'Orient des Free and Accepted Masons du Rit Primitif 'en France et de tous les Ateliers Collèges Chapitres selon les rites 'et les formes d'usage.' The 'Titre Constitutif,' the Rituals, and other documents, were entrusted to the R. . F. . No. 1 as 'Conservateur' and the proceedings terminated to the satisfaction of everybody. To the office of 'Conservateur' *Eques* had succeeded in due course, but he declared his inability to produce the documents for the inspection of the G. . O. . as all the Archives of the Regime had perished on a certain night of terror in the month of August, 1792. He concluded with his complaint as to use of the title 'Rit Primitif' by the Chapitre Métropolitain under the G. . O. .

To this the G. . O. . replied, admitting the unauthorised use of the title and promising to remove it, but reiterating its demand for the production of the 'Actes Constitutifs,' Rituals, etc., or at least a résumé thereof. *Eques* now shifted his ground, declining to submit the required information, because to do so would be a violation of his obligation unless he obtained the consent of the Chiefs of the Rite, and these being *unknown* to him he could take no steps to procure their approval. But he reminded the G. . O. . that in 1784-1785 the 'Rit Primitif' and the 'Régime des Philalèthes' had made a solemn Concordat declaring that their aims and objects were one and the same. After a full-dress debate, at a special meeting, the G. . O. . decided to welcome the proposal for the admission of the Rit Primitif provided a *copy* of the 'Titre Constitutif' were forthcoming (the production of Rituals and Instructions being excused) and nominating a commission to enquire further into the matter. *Eques* was now faced with the alternative either to produce the 'Titre Constitutif' or abandon the project of Union with the G. . O. . By '*une providentielle rencontre*' the *original documents* were recovered just in the nick of time, and after some further parley a copy of the 'Titre' was submitted to d'Harmensen and others acting on behalf of the G. . O. . The 'Titre' gave complete satisfaction, but a new demand was now made for an interpretation of the 'Two Columns in Cipher' which formed part of it. *Eques* replied that these Columns afforded a means of recognition to certain grand officers. He stated (again I condense):—

No doubt the first 'Conservateur' (his father) was in possession of full information concerning the Rite. But he had perished, and the greater number of the Brethren had dispersed during the Revolution. Possibly he had destroyed his papers, possibly they had been stolen, at any rate none had been found.

and goes on to say:—

I must not neglect to inform you that the 'Commissaire Installateur' did not sign with a *nom de guerre*, but with the name of Pen, being of the family of the famous lawgiver of Pennsylvania. He was consequently English by birth, or at least origin. Although he spoke French excellently well, a slight accent would easily cause him to be taken for a German, the more so as he spoke much of German towns and never of England.

The G.O. now gave in, and in a letter to *Eques* Bro. Bacon de la Chevalerie announced that on 27th September, 1806, the 'Directoire des Rits' approved the application *unâ voce*, and that this was confirmed by the G.O.—'41 voix contre 21, majorité 15' (sic)—on the 10th (October?). [In Bro. Gould's History it is stated that the P.R. of Narbonne joined the G.O. on 29th January, 1807. This would no doubt be some formal act of reception].

The original of the 'Actes Constitutifs' is among the *Eques* papers, and M. Fabre prints it in full. This is his description of the document:—

The Actes Constitutifs are written upon a sheet of parchment 54 by 34·5 centimetres. It is divided into three parts or columns. That in the middle, nearly two and a half times broader than those at the sides, is reserved for the 'Patents' which are written in

plain (i.e. not in cipher). It is headed by the '*Timbre de la Révérende Première Loge et de ses Quatres Sublimes Chapitres.*' In a circle is represented a shield on which is engraven the radiant triangle accompanied by the sacred tetragrammaton. Above the shield, separated by a horizontal line, the mysterious Number of the Rite M.IV.16. Above the shield, on a wavy ribbon, the following letters:—I.P. I.P.R. O.P.H. The main heading (*titre général*) is made up in five lines distributed as follows:—The first line occupies the whole width of the central column and is over the *Timbre*. The four other lines enclose the *Timbre* which is symmetrically arranged in the middle.

M. Fabre then gives the text in full. As it has never been presented to English readers before I will copy it from M. Fabre's pages direct, and then give a translation:—

Sous l'espérance de la protection des Souverains respectifs, et sous les auspices de la Tolérance expresse, ou tacite des Magistrats locaux, Au Nom des Supérieurs généraux, majeurs et mineurs de l'O. des Free and accepted Masons du Rit Primitif, F. de la Lance d'Or, des M.P. et par la bienveillance de nos FF. généraux et majeurs, le premier d'entre les mineurs, du premier cercle de la première province du Saint Ordre et Rit Primitif.

A Tous qui verront les présentes, Salut, Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo ibi sum in medio eorum. Vu la demande harmonique et régulière qui nous a été présentée au nom des frères, qui composent, subsperati. la juste et parfaite Loge de Saint-Jean, à l'Orient de N . . . , au royaume de France, ladite demande, en date du 27<sup>e</sup> jour du mois de décembre dernier, vu le tableau de ladite Loge, et vu le mémoire dont il y a lieu d'augurer la concordance de cette Loge avec celles de notre Rit et Régime, qui embrassent tous les rayons du grand cercle, depuis la circonférence jusqu'au centre. Voulant traiter favorablement lesdits frères dans leurs vues louables usant quant à ce, de notre puissance et autorité maçonnique, nous créons, érigeons, constituons, et, en conséquence, nous avons créé, érigé et constitué à présent et pour toujours, à l'Orient de N . . . , France, la Première Loge de Saint-Jean, réunie sous le Rit Primitif audit pays de France, pour, par ladite Loge, porter désormais la dénomination et titre distinctif des P . . . et prendre rang entre les Loges du Rit Primitif, notamment en ce qui concerne les deux bases fondamentales et primitives, qui sont reconnues, avouées et professées, comme constitutives de l'essence de l'Ordre et Rit Primitif.

A ces causes, il sera incessamment pourvu, par un commissaire par nous délégué à l'inauguration de la Loge des P. Orient de N . . . et à l'installation définitive de ses Officiers.

Et, pour dispenser cette Loge des P. et les Frères, qui la composent, de l'encombrement indéfini de chartes et diplômes, il est raisonnable, juste, et nous ordonnons que les présentes lettres patentes leur tiennent lieu de tous autres actes et titres d'autorisation que puisse être, notamment des Lettres de constitution des grades de Entered prentica (*sic*), fellow-craft and Master-Mason de la Grande-Loge de Londres, ou de la Grande et Parfaite Loge d'Ecosse; de titres capitulaires des Hauts-Grades, y compris les Maître-Parfait, Ecosçais, Chevalier d'Orient,



C.S.P.D.R.C., et leurs analogues, les dits Titres datés de l'Orient de l'Univers et autres lieux respectifs, enfin des diplômes capitulaires de R.C. de la T.R., de R.C. de la T.d'E., et de R. + du G.R.s.r., émanés immédiatement ez chancelleries des Chefs d'Ordre de ces Chapitres.

Nous entendons de même que les présentes opèrent en remplacement, un remplacement pareil, quant aux titres et diplômes spéciaux des degrés et réunions d'Adoption, de Philanthropie et de Musique, invitant et en tant que de besoin priant les chefs et les membres des Rits et Régimes Maçonniques, qui veulent bien favoriser le Rit Primitif de leur correspondance fraternelle, d'avoir pour agréables les dispositions ci-dessus, et en conséquence d'accueillir nos Frères, en raison des degrés auxquels ils auront été admis; leur offrant notre bienveillance fraternelle et toute réciprocité. Nous ne négligerons pas de rappeler à nos Frères que toute puissance établie vient de Dieu; que, conséquemment, ils sont sans qualité, pour s'ériger en juges des volontés de ceux à qui l'exercice de la puissance est déferé; et, s'il arrivait, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, que les dépositaires de l'autorité voulussent prohiber les assemblées et réunions de Maçons du Rit Primitif, nous enjoignons à nos Frères d'obéir, sans hésiter et sans murmurer: Aux grands jours, il leur sera tenu compte de leur adhésion passive, et même de leur silence. En attendant, ils cultiveront, individuellement, en paix et sans trouble, les deux bases fondamentales et primitives, comme font les profanes bien nés.

Ainsi prononcé et expédié; scellé du sceau de l'Ordre, signé par nous, et contresigné par le Chancelier: A. l'O concentré de tous les O. concentriques du p. c. d. l. p. p. de l'O. des Free and Accepted Masons, Rit Primitif, par les 20° et plus de longitude, et les 40° et plus de latitude septentrionale: dat. ap. Heb. primit., le soleil étant dans le quatrième degré du signe du Bélier, le seizième jour du mois Ve Adar, l'an 5540 de l'Ere Hébraïque, le 23 mars 1780 de l'Ere chrétienne.

Le Chevalier de la LANCE D'OR.

Le Chevalier de la CUIRASSE D'OR.

Le Chevalier PEN, G. O. de l'Ordre des Free and Accepted Masons du Rit Primitif, à tous les Frères présents et à venir: Salut. Savoir faisons que, en vertu de la commission qui nous a été conférée par son E. Monseigneur le Chevalier de la Lance d'Or, chef des Supérieurs Mineurs du présent circle Maçonnique, et en développement de nos instructions, Nous avons procédé aujourd'hui, 19 avril 1780, après-midi, à l'inauguration de la Révérende Loge de Saint-Jean, surnommée des P. Orient de N . . . , et à l'installation définitive de ses officiers, selon les us et coutumes du Rit, et, successivement de degré en degré nous avons inauguré de même les divers Chapitres, ateliers, sections, réunions, et installé les dignitaires et officiers respectifs.

Après quoi le F. Conservateur de la Révérende Première Loge, ayant préalablement prononcé en nos mains l'engagement en tel cas requis, Nous avons remis et confié à sa garde et vigilance, le Titre Constitutif, de la Révérende Loge des P. et des Chapitres y annexés, après avoir fait coucher au dos dudit Titre, notre présente lettre d'attache que nous avons signée de notre seing p. a., et fait contresigner par ledit Conservateur.

A l'Orient des Ph. de N . . . , les jours, mois et an que dessus.

Le Chevalier PEN, Commissaire.

Le Vicomte de C. d'A. Conservateur.

The following is my translation of the above document:—

(Translation)

In the hope of the protection of the respective Sovereigns, and under the auspices of the sufferance expressed or implied of the local authorities, In the Name of the Superiors-general, major and minor of the Order of Free and Accepted Masons of the Primitive Rite, F of the Golden Lance, of the M.P. and by the good will of our FF general and major, the first among the minors, of the first circle of the first province of the Holy Order and Primitive Rite.

To all who shall see these presents; Greeting, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name there I am in the midst of them. In view of the petition, regular and in perfect harmony, which has been presented to us in the name of the Brethren who, buoyed up with hope, compose the just and perfect Lodge of Saint-John, at the Orient of Narbonne, in the kingdom of France, the said petition bearing date the 27th day of the month of December last, in view of the register of the said Lodge, and in view of the fact that from the Memorandum (accompanying the petition) there is reason to predict a complete agreement between this Lodge and those of our Rite and Regime, which include all the radii of the great circle, from the circumference even to the centre. Being willing to deal favourably with the said Brethren in their laudable undertaking, and, to this end, exercising our Masonic powers and authority, we create, erect, constitute, and, in consequence, we have created, erected and constituted for the present and for all time, at the Orient of Narbonne, France, the First Lodge of Saint-John, united under the Primitive Rite in the said country of France, henceforth to bear, through the said Lodge, the distinctive denomination and title of The Philadelphes, and to take rank amongst the Lodges of the Primitive Rite, especially in that which concerns the two fundamental and primitive bases, which are recognised, acknowledged and practised as constituting the essence of the Order and Primitive Rite.

For these purposes provision will shortly be made by (the appointment of a) Commisary by us delegated to carry out the inauguration of the Lodge of The Philadelphes Orient of Narbonne and the final (confirmative) installation of its Officers.

And in order to relieve this Lodge of The Philadelphes and the Brethren, who compose it, from an unlimited multiplication of charters and diplomas, it is reasonable and right, and we order that these present Letters Patent shall be for them in place of all other Acts and Titles of Authorisation of whatever description they may be, especially as Letters of Constitution for the degrees of Entered Prentice, fellow-craft and Master-Mason of the Grand Lodge of London, or of the Grand and Perfect Lodge of Scotland; as Capitular Titles for the High Degrees, including therein, the Perfect-Master, Ecosais, Knight of the East, Knight Sovereign Prince of Rose-Croix, and their analogues, the said Titles dated from the Orient of the Universe and other places relating thereto, finally as Capitular diplomas of Rose-Croix of the Round Table, of Rose-Croix of the Emerald Table, and of Rose-Croix of the Grand-Rosary, issuing directly from the chancelleries of the Heads of these Chapters.

We intend also that these presents shall act instead of and as an equivalent to Titles and Diplomas peculiar to the Degrees and Reunions of Adoption, of Philanthropy and of Music, inviting and to whatever extent it is necessary

entreating the Heads and members of such Masonic Rites and Regimes as are graciously pleased to favour the Primitive Rite with their fraternal intercourse, to accept as fitting the arrangements described above, and in consequence to welcome our Brethren, in accordance with the Degrees to which they shall have been admitted; and we offer to them our fraternal good will and every mutual obligation. We will not fail to remind our Brethren that all established power comes from God; that in consequence they have no right to constitute themselves judges of the will of those to whom the exercise of power is delegated; and that should it happen (which may God avert) that those who are vested with authority determine to prohibit the assemblies and reunions of Masons of the Primitive Rite, we impress upon our Brethren that they must obey, without hesitation and without murmuring: In brighter times credit will be given to them for their passive adherence and even for their silence. In the meantime they will cultivate, individually, in peace and without agitation, the two fundamental and primitive bases, as do non-masons of gentle birth.

Thus delivered and despatched; sealed with the Seal of the Order, signed by us, and countersigned by the Chancellor: At the Chief Orient of all the concentric Orients of the First Chapter of the First Province of the Order of Free and Accepted Masons, Primitive Rite, 20 degrees and more longitude, and 40 degrees and more latitude North: dat. apud Hebræos primitiv, the Sun being in the fourth degree of the Sign of the Ram, the sixteenth day of the month Ve Adar, the year 5540 of the Jewish Era, the 23rd March, 1780 of the Christian Era.

The Knight of the Golden Lance.

The Knight of the Golden Cuirass.

The Knight PEN, Grand Officer of the Order of Free and Accepted Masons of the Primitive Rite, to all the Brethren present and future: Greeting. We make known that, by virtue of the commission which has been conferred upon us by his Eminence (Excellence ?) Monseigneur the Knight of the Golden Lance, Chief of the Superiors-Minor of the Existing Masonic Circle, and in pursuance of our instructions, We have this day, 19th April, 1780, in the afternoon, carried out the inauguration of the Reverend Lodge of Saint-John, surnamed of The Philadelphes Orient of Narbonne, and the final (confirmative—definitive) installation of its Officers, in accordance with the usages and customs of the Rite, and, in succession from degree to degree, we have in the same manner inaugurated the different Chapters, Lodges, Sections, Reunions, and installed the respective dignitaries and officers.

After which the Bro. Conservator of the Reverend First Lodge, having previously taken in our hands the obligation required in such case, We have handed over and confided to his keeping and vigilance, the Titre Constitutif of the Reverend Lodge of The Philadelphes and of the Chapters annexed to it, after having affixed to the back of the said Title, our present letter of endorsement which we have signed with our signature as attestation, and caused to be countersigned by the said Conservator.

At the Orient of The Philadelphes of Narbonne the days, month and year as above.

The Knight Pen, Commissary.

The Vicomte de C . . . d'A . . . , Conservator.

There are also the explanations given by *Eques* of the two columns in cipher, but I need not reproduce them in full. The first (a *letter* cipher) inculcates the duty of studying God first and ourselves next and then our relation to the Deity in order that the marvels of the Universe may without effort unfold themselves to the eyes of our intelligence. The second (a *number* cipher) bids us submit without murmur to the trials of this expiatory existence, never losing sight of our divine origin, and so to live that we may again claim to be Sons of God.

M. Fabre asserts his conviction that the 'Titre Constitutif' was fabricated, at some time between 1785 and 1789, by *Eques*, and that neither the 'Chev. de la Lance d'Or,' the 'Chev. de la Cuirasse d'Or' nor the 'Chev. Pen' are real personages at all, but simply other names for *Eques* himself. To support this opinion he draws attention to the fact that PEN is the first half of the Breton family name borne by the ancestors of *Eques* before they migrated from Brittany to France in the train of Queen Anne, the Consort of Charles VIII. M. Fabre supplies a facsimile of a portion of the Chev. PEN's 'Lettre d'attache' and a glance will shew that at any rate *Eques* did not write the document with his own hand. And in one of Pyron's letters there is a reference to Pen (or *P'enn*, as he prefers it) which implies that the 'Commissaire Installateur' was a real personage.

It is not correct, as is sometimes asserted, that the P.R. of Narbonne ceased to be worked at its union with the Grand Orient in 1806.

Bro. EDWARD ARMITAGE said:—

Bro. Tuckett seems to me to have settled once for all the question of Napoleon's initiation. The paper just read shows how thoroughly he has gleaned and how clearly he has marshalled his facts. Fresh matter has come to light in Fabre's book, published only last year, and this Bro. Tuckett has laid under contribution and well describes as "*good evidence.*" Now we have before us a cumulative mass of evidence in favour of Napoleon's initiation, together with the reasons which have led former Masonic students to doubt it. A case so strong has been built up by Bro. Tuckett that I do not think we shall see it shaken, while the reasons against it hardly carry conviction.

There is no suggestion that Napoleon ever attained or wished to attain any rank in the Order, and a neophyte, however distinguished otherwise, might naturally be expected to have little or no personal knowledge of the designs and aims of the Chiefs of an Order which at that time in France comprised so many of the higher degrees in addition to the three Craft ones.

The place of Napoleon's initiation and the question of what degrees were conferred on him still remain uncertain. The present paper has, however, so narrowed down the line of search that we may fairly hope to get further evidence on these two points.

The notes given to us on the Primitive Rite of Narbonne are most interesting. Bro. Tuckett has to-night been proposed as a Member of the Lodge. His previous papers, and especially the one read to-night, have taught us to expect much from him, and we look forward with confidence to fresh work in the future.

I have great pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Tuckett for his paper.