

## SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, FREEMASON

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FEW, if any, historical figures can have a larger – indeed, more controversial – biography than Simón Bolívar, ‘The Liberator’, and as regards his being a freemason a great deal has been written, according to the writers’ inclinations, in ‘proof’ and ‘disproof’.

It has been alleged or suggested on various occasions that Bolívar first saw the light of Masonry in one of the political pseudo-lodges set up by the Venezuelan patriot and revolutionary, General Francisco de Miranda, who fled to London after an unsuccessful revolt against the Spanish colonial authorities at Coro, Venezuela, in 1807. These were known as ‘Lautaro’ lodges after a Chilean Amerindian *cacique* who died heroically fighting the Spanish *conquistadores*. These intimations vary as to time and place and appear to be based chiefly on subsequent declarations attributed to Bolívar but which may well be apochryphal. The year 1803 and Cádiz, Spain, are the time and place most favoured.

Nevertheless the consensus is that Bolívar was initiated, passed and raised in a regular *Écossais* lodge in Paris between 1804 and 1807, and this is the claim that will be most closely examined. Further claims have, however, been made, typical of which are those in Bro. William R. Denslow’s *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, which states that Bolívar ‘joined Freemasonry in Cádiz, Spain, and received the Scottish Rite degrees in Paris, and was knighted in a Commandery of Knights Templar in France in 1807. While on a diplomatic mission to London in 1810 he was active in Freemasonry in that country. He founded and served as Master of *Protectora de las Virtudes* [sic] Lodge No. 1 in Venezuela and Liberty No. 2 in Peru’. These claims too will be examined.

Dr. Buenaventura Briceño Belisario, at one time the Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council 33°, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for Venezuela, said in his book *Humanos Inmortales* that Bolívar was initiated by Francisco de Miranda in a Lautaro lodge and received the Master’s degree in the Lodge of Carúpano, but I know of no support for the latter claim.

At this point we may diverge from the masonic aspect and proceed to look at Bolívar as a person and as an historical figure. It would be pointless as well as exhausting to attempt to distil from such an immense and contradictory biography anything but a relevant selection of basic facts sufficient to show how this extraordinary man came to be what he was and do what he did to engrave his name so deeply on the pages of history for, if we are to assess with any accuracy his involvement with Freemasonry, it is essential to know something of his background and to be able to deduce his state of mind at certain crucial junctures.

A descendant of Simón de Bolívar, a Basque who came to Spain’s American colony of Venezuela towards the end of the 16th century, Simón José Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad Bolívar y Palacios was born in Caracas on 24 July 1783 to Juan Vicente Bolívar y Ponte and his wife, Concepción Palacios y Blanco de Bolívar. The parents are said to have had claims to Spanish nobility on both sides and the father to a colonial marquisate as well (though Simón never followed them up); they were rich, with extensive holdings of land and a silver mine, and thus took a leading place in the colonial society of the day. The father was colonel of an aristocratic militia regiment, the *Batallón de Voluntarios Blancos de los Valles de Aragua*. Simón was the fourth child, having been preceded by two sisters, María Antonia and Juana, and a brother, Juan Vicente. A fifth child, María del Carmen, died soon after birth. According to the historian, Salvador de Madariaga, the family had some German and possibly also some coloured (Indian or negro) blood. At any rate Simón and María Antonia were dark, intense and turbulent; Juana and Juan Vicente were blond, placid and amenable.

The father died in 1786 and the mother in 1792, thus leaving the children double orphans. Both girls married at an early age. Simón, in addition to receiving a share of the family wealth, had been named in 1785 heir to the large fortune of an uncle, the priest Juan Felix Jerez y Aristeguieta, provided that he remained ‘true to God and the King’.

At the age of nine Simón went to live with his maternal grandfather, Feliciano Palacios y Sojo. Brought up thus far among women as a dominant male of an imperious disposition whose every whim could be – and no doubt was – immediately satisfied, Simón had become – not to

put too fine a point on it – a ‘brat’, but at his grandfather’s house he was given a tutor, one Simón Rodríguez, who at 21 was an ardent liberal after the school of J. J. Rousseau and contemporary philosophers; he got on well with Simón and instilled in his pupil the groundwork for a lifelong commitment to liberal and republican principles.

On his grandfather’s death in 1793 Simón went to live with his uncle, Carlos Palacios, but – probably because his proclivities were curbed with less finesse – did not like it and ran away to the house of Maria Antonia, who took him in. A tug of war ensued over the rich youngster and Carlos began a lawsuit, but Simón suddenly decided of his own accord to return to his uncle.

At the age of 13½ he did not have much formal education, but a quick mind and a good grounding in the manly arts. At this time he joined his father’s old regiment as a cadet and at 15 years’ old, having earned a good report from his superiors, he was appointed a sub-lieutenant under a Royal Commission issued from Madrid on 4 July 1798. Two years later it was thought timely for him to enter a wider world and he left for Spain to live in Madrid with another guardian uncle, Esteban Palacios. Simón joined in the gay social life of the capital and for a time doubtless ‘lived it up’ as wildly as any of the young Spanish blades – though, as his uncle was not impressed with the standard of his education, he also studied, probably with the same innate intensity. After some time, however, funds ran short, he had a brief run in with the authorities and his uncle was for some reason arrested and imprisoned for a while. Simón also became aware of the contempt in which Spaniards held ‘colonials’, however wealthy and distinguished in their own *milieu*; he must likewise have been sensible of the oppressiveness of Spain’s authoritarian régime.

At this critical stage in his life the young Venezuelan was taken up by the learned Marqués de Ustáriz who made him free of his large library. Here Simón read avidly and imbibed a grounding for his future philosophy of government.

In such an atmosphere Simón met and fell in love with Maria Teresa Rodríguez del Toro, the daughter of a Caracas family who had been friendly with his own parents and were related to the Ustáriz clan. She seems to have been rather a plain girl but he adored her and was hot for an early marriage. Her parents, though, were more cautious and only consented after some time and a separation of a few months. The splendid wedding eventually took place in Madrid on 26 May 1802 and the young couple soon left for Venezuela to take up the life of landed proprietors.

But, alas, after a bare seven months Maria Teresa succumbed to a fever and died on 22 January 1803 leaving Simón distraught with grief. He swore never to marry again and he never did; but his sensual temperament could not do without women and he was always in and out of love affairs, of which only two were long-lasting.

Unable at this time to pull himself out of despondency Simón took his staid brother’s advice and returned to Europe, landing at Cádiz in the south of Spain where he was met by his uncles, Esteban and Carlos Palacios.

It is at this point that Freemasonry comes on the scene, though only as a vague possibility. Francisco de Miranda is said to have established one of his political Lautaro lodges, under the title of *Caballeros Racionales* No. 7, at Cádiz, which already had a masonic tradition dating back into the previous century (*vide* Ferrer Benimeli’s *Masonería Española en el Siglo XVIII*), and it would probably have been this into which Bolívar would have been inducted – if, indeed, he was at all. It is alleged in various papers that he ‘visited’ a lodge in Cádiz and Michel Vaucaire’s *Bolívar the Liberator* relates that, when Bolívar was in his cabin on his way back to Venezuela via the United States in 1806, he came across his masonic diploma and referred to a visit to a lodge in Cádiz ‘whither he had been drawn by curiosity rather than conviction’. But in 1803 he was barely 20 years’ old, a Catholic, still grieving for his lost bride, a liberal but not yet a revolutionary, and a Spanish officer on his way with relatives with Court connections to assuage his sorrow in the fleshpots of Madrid. Neither his age nor the circumstances favour the possibility of *initiation* in a political lodge – though he presumably could have *visited* such a body as a non-mason. He could also have done so *as a mason* in 1806 but I have come across no record of his having returned to Cádiz after leaving it in 1803. The question therefore remains a mystery pending further evidence.

Bolívar did not stay long in Madrid, which he no doubt found full of sad memories as well as of the irksome signs of despotic rule, but went on to Paris as an admirer of the French republican system under Napoleon. There he was well received and was taken up by the lively Mme. Fanny Aristeguieta de Dervieu du Villars, wife of a Napoleonic officer, on the basis of a vague cousinship which some biographers seem curiously reluctant to accept. Whatever the

relationship (and it is far from unlikely that it became an intimate one!), she introduced the young Bolívar into Parisian society in which he cut a dash that has been described as of 'Byronic extravagance'.

On 18 May 1804 France adopted an Imperial Constitution and Bolívar, while continuing to admire Napoleon's military genius, became disgusted at his projected assumption of an Imperial crown, regarding it as a betrayal of republican principles. It would seem that from then on Bolívar's mind gradually turned to serious things. Moreover he met again his old tutor, Simón Rodríguez, as full of advanced ideas as ever, and the German philosopher, Baron Alexander von Humboldt, lately back from a journey across South America. When Bolívar bewailed to him the inequities of colonial life he remarked that Venezuela seemed ripe for emancipation if suitable leaders could be found. This dictum made a profound impression on Bolívar's receptive mind and it seems probable that from then on separatist tendencies were confirmed in him. In March of 1805 Bolívar embarked on a tour of Italy in company with Simón Rodríguez and his late wife's cousin, Fernando del Toro, and being on Rome's Monte Sacro on 15 August he vowed, in a moment of exaltation, not to rest until he had liberated South America from its tyrants.

Some time after this episode Bolívar returned to Paris, leaving Rodríguez in Italy, and it was then that, beyond any shadow of a doubt, Bolívar became a freemason. The indisputable evidence rests on six documents, the first three of which – in manuscript – were purchased in Paris by the historian and mason Dr. Ramón Diaz Sanchez in 1956 and presented by him to the Supreme Council 33° A. & A.S.R. of the Republic of Venezuela, together with a fourth – typescript – document attesting the authenticity of Bolívar's signature on the first and of the three documents generally.

This first and most vital document [Plate 2] is in French and reads:

A la Gloire du G. : A. : de l'Univers et le 11e j. : du 11e mois de l'an de la G<sup>de</sup> : L. : 5805 les travaux de Compagnon ont été ouverts a l'Est par le R. : f. : de Latour d'Auvergne, l'Ouest at le Sud éclairés par les RR. : ff. : Thory et Potu. La lecture de la dernière planche tracée a été faite et sanctionnée, le Vble. a proposé d'élever au Grade de Compagnon le f. : Bolívar, nouvellement initié [i.e. newly initiated. It could hardly refer to an initiation in Cádiz in 1803!] a cause d'un prochain voyage qu'il est à la veille d'entreprendre, l'avis des ff ayant été unanime pour son admission et le scrutin favorable, le f. : Bolivar a été introduit dans le Temple et après les formalités requises il a prêté aux pieds du Throne l'obligation d'usage, placé entre les deux Surveillants et a été proclamé Chevalier Compagnon Maçon de la R. : Mère L. : E. : de St. Alexandre d'Écosse. Ce travail a été couronné d'un Triple Houza et le f. : ayant remercié il a pris place a la tête de la Colonne du Midi.

Les travaux ont été fermés a la manière accoutumée.

LaTour d'Auvergne  
Vble.

Vu par nous Or.

D<sup>e</sup> Haupt 33°

Thory

Potu, 2<sup>e</sup> Surv.

Burard

ex-Vble.

F<sup>l</sup>. : Vidal

G. : J. : du 33°

D'Alez d'Anduse 33°

Abraham

Simón Bolívar

Jeanne de la Salle"

[For translation, see Appendix A]

The other manuscript documents [not suitable for reproduction] relate to proceedings of the same lodge during the year 1814 and confirm certain signatures, namely those of Thory, Burard and d'Alez d'Anduse that appear on both documents No. 1 and No. 2, and those of Thory and d'Alez d'Anduse that appear on all three.

The fourth document [Plate 3], dated 26 June 1956 at Caracas, Venezuela, and signed by Dolores Bonet de Sotillo, palaeographer, is in Spanish on a sheet headed '*Academia Nacional de la Historia Biblioteca y Archivo*' and affirms that, after due examination of paper, ink, handwriting and signatures, the three preceding documents are authentic originals and the signature of Bolívar on the first is undoubtedly authentic. [For complete text and translation,

see Appendix B]. It will be noted, however, that this expert has fallen into the common error of taking Bolívar's impending journey mentioned in No. 1 to be that to Italy in company with Simón Rodriguez whereas this had, of course, already been accomplished when he became a freemason. She is likewise in error in ascribing the minutes contained in the documents to the Supreme Council 33° for France instead of to the *Écossais* lodge *St. Alexandre d'Écosse*.

The two documents whose examination follows are of an importance almost equal to that of No. 1. Both are in French and the originals lie in the masonic section of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, their authenticity guaranteed by the Conservator, Mme. Florence de Lussy, who kindly supplied photostatic copies. The heading of No. 5 [Plate 4] reads: 'Tableau Générale des Membres qui composent la Rble. L.: Écossaise de St. Alexandre d'Écosse à l'Époque du . . . Jour du Mois de la G<sup>de</sup>. L.: 5804, de la Restauration 5564 et de l'Ère Vulgaire le An 13'; in other words, a list of members of the *Écossais* lodge St. Alexander of Scotland as at a date in 1804 or the 13th year of the Revolution. However it seems to be not so much a straightforward roll of members, who would presumably then be listed in order of seniority, as a list of the current administration, with those members without office following on and those joining during the administrative year being added. The fact that the list evidently spans the two years 1804 and 1805, while we know that at least one member was initiated and passed late in 1805, strongly suggests that the Installation date was 27 December, St. John's Day.

There follows a sequence of names and particulars under the columnar headings of 'Nomme' (surname), 'Prénoms' (Christian names), 'Qualités: civiles, maçonnique' (ranks: civil, masonic), 'Dignité en Loge' (office in the lodge), 'Naissance: Lieux, Mois, Années' (birth: places, months, years), 'Signatures, manu propriu' (signatures, in own hand). These are set out hereafter, omitting the birth particulars:

Godefroid <sup>+</sup> de la Tour d'Auvergne	Maurice Marie Joseph	ancien Cap <sup>me</sup> . du Regt. de Bouillon	G <sup>d</sup> . Inspecteur du 33°	V <sup>ble</sup> .
Thory	C <sup>de</sup> . Antoine	ancien avocat en Parlement	G <sup>d</sup> . Inspecteur du 33°	1 <sup>er</sup> . Serv <sup>t</sup> .
Potu	Pierre Francois	Rentier	G <sup>d</sup> . Eco.	2 <sup>e</sup> . Surv.
Burard	Guillaume	Docteur en médecine	S.:P.:R.:S.:	Ex-V <sup>ble</sup> .
de Pesche- loche	Joseph- Louis Louvain	Major du 19 <sup>e</sup> Régiment de Dragons	G <sup>d</sup> . Inspecteur du 33°	V <sup>ble</sup> . . . d' honneur a perpetuité 1 <sup>er</sup> fond- ateur
Duron	Jean- Jacques Jerome	docteur régent de la faculté de médecine de Paris	„ K.:S.:	ex-vener- able
Demouze (?)		médecin oculiste	G <sup>d</sup> . Ec.:	Ex-maître
de haupt	Frederic Ch. Jn.	membre de l' academie Roy- ale de Florence	G <sup>d</sup> . Inspecteur du 33°	Orateur
Carion de Nisan	Henry	Tribun Ch <sup>as</sup> . de a G <sup>d</sup> . Charte Ide La (?)	R <sup>+</sup> . Ec.:	Ad. a l' Orateur
Bernin de Champetre (?)		ancien employé	M.:P.:	Secrétaire
de Salase	Francois	ancien avocat	G <sup>d</sup> . E.:	Sec <sup>e</sup> . adjoint

Bermond d'Alez d'Anduze	Jean Joseph Augustin	ancien C <sup>huc</sup> . (?) et Vi-Gal	S. : G <sup>d</sup> . : I. : G <sup>al</sup> . du 33 <sup>o</sup>	Trésorier
Dutillet de Villar	Joseph Henri	Propriétaire	R. : H. : d'H. : off. du G.C.	1. diacre
Jeanne de la Salle	Thomas	ancien marin	Grand Ecossais	2e diacre
Pipelet de Montijeaux		ancien avocat	G <sup>d</sup> . : Ec. :	Garde des Sceaux
Burard	<i>idem ut supra</i>		M. : P. :	aumônier
Boudier de la moulière		ancien D <sup>cier</sup> . Régent		aumônier
Le Clerc		ancien Docteur Régent	M. : P. :	architecte
Martin de Mentque		ancien Magistrat	G <sup>d</sup> . E. :	Me. de Cerem.
Borie		médecin de l' Hotel Dieu	Elu. :	Me. de Cerem.
Valeure	Cirus	Senateur	G <sup>d</sup> . : Cons <sup>teur</sup> de l'Ordre 33 <sup>o</sup>	Me. de Cerem.
d'Agrain destribat	Charles Philippe	ancien Cap <sup>ne</sup> .	K.H.	Me. de Cerm.
Thory de la Mothe	Guill. Hippolette	ancien off. au reg <sup>t</sup> . (?)	P. : D. : R. : S. :	Expert
Bourdoi de la Mothe		ancien avocat	G <sup>d</sup> . : E. :	Ord. : des Banets. :
Lucipide(?)		G <sup>d</sup> . : Chancelier	G <sup>d</sup> . : Ad <sup>cier</sup> . : du 33 <sup>o</sup>	
de Grasse Tilly	Auguste	Cap <sup>ne</sup> . de Caval <sup>e</sup> . :	Rep <sup>t</sup> . du G <sup>d</sup> . Me. : du 33 <sup>o</sup>	
Marescalchi	Ferdinand	M. des Vel: Esc <sup>ses</sup> de la Rep. : H: et Consul(?) d'Etat	Grand Of. et G. Conservateur du G.O.	
Rénier	Bernardin	Noble Venitien	G <sup>d</sup> . : I. : du 33 <sup>o</sup> :	
Caleppio	Pierre	Noble Venitien	G <sup>d</sup> . : I. : du 33 <sup>o</sup> :	
Serrurier Cuppe		M <sup>al</sup> . : de l'empire an. : Groffier la Chef	R <sup>XL</sup> . : G <sup>d</sup> . : du 33 <sup>o</sup> :	
de July de la Barte		ancien officier	Me. : P. :	
Héroux	Ange Louis Auguste Pierre	Propriétaire	Me. : P. :	
		Employé	Maître	
Collinet	Louis-Pierre	Docteur en Médecin	M. parfait et officier du G. Orient	
Dubreuil		Docteur en Médecin	Off. : du G. : O. :	
Robelot	Hubert	homme de loi	M. :	



Campos	Emmanuel	Noble Espagnol	M.:	
Bolívar	Simón	Officier Espagnol	M.:	
Perrin		Propriétaire	M.:	
Frasche		Négociant	M.:	
de S <sup>e</sup> .: Colombe	Pascual	Propriétaire	Comp.	
Zancla	Paul	Négt.:	S. P. : R. : $\text{✠}$	
Bianchi	Antoine	Comp. de Musique	M <sup>e</sup> .	Int <sup>de</sup> de l' harmonie
Crus(s)aire		peintre	ap.:	
Pyron		Propriétaire	G <sup>d</sup> . I. : du 33°	M. : bre hon- noraire
Rieffler		Musicien	M.:	Chef de la Musique
Masse de Corneille	Nicolas Antoine	avoué au T <sup>l</sup> . de ere Instance	R. $\text{✠}$ Ec.:	Membre

## I.

The list has been reproduced exactly, down to the indiscriminate use of capital and common letters. Written in a crabbed hand, there are one or two illegibilities that have been queried but they do not, of course, affect the import of the document which contains some famous names, notably that of Comte Auguste de Grasse-Tilly who, with his father-in-law, Jean B. de la Hogue (or Delahogue), did so much to spread the Scottish Rite in the Western Hemisphere. This apart, the list appears to have been carelessly maintained; the birth particulars of many members are missing or incomplete, while the signatures of a number (including Bolívar) are also missing, the word 'absent' appearing against four names (but not Bolívar's).

Document No. 6 consists of the cover and pages 12 and 13 of a 16-page printed pamphlet titled (on the cover): 'Tableau de FF. : composant la R. : Mère L. : Écossaise de France Sous le Titre distinctif de SAINT-ALEXANDRE d'Écosse, a l'O. : de Paris. L'an de la G<sup>de</sup>. : L. : 5804 et 5805', which sounds like a repetition of No. 5 but confirms the spanning of the two years and presumably summarises the position at the end of the administrative year. On the two inside pages available surnames only are given, but grouped under masonic categories and with more explicit detail, as follows:

R. :  $\text{✠}$ . : ECO. :

SERRURIER, *Maréchal de l'Empire, Grand Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur, Préteur du Sénat, Gouverneur des Invalides, G. : Officier de 1<sup>re</sup>. : Classe du G. : O. : de France.*

DUBREUIL, *Docteur en Médecine, Officier du G. : O. :*

COLLINET, *Docteur en Médecine, Officier du G. : O. :*

## MAITRES

ROBELOT, *Ex-juriconsulte.*

HÉROUX, *attaché a la Comptabilité impériale.*

FRACHE, *Négociant.*

CAMPOS, *Gentilhomme espagnol.*

PERRIN, *Propriétaire.*

BOLÍVAR, *Officier Espagnol.*

## COMPAGNONS

De SAINTE-COLOMBE, *Propriétaire.*

## HARMONIE

BIANCHI, *Compositeur, Intendant de l'Harmonie de la R.: Mère L.: Me.:*  
RIEFFLER, *Chef de Musique, Me.:*

## FRÈRES A TALENS

CRUSSAIRE, *Peintre, App.:*

## MEMBRES HONORAIRES

PYRON, *Propriétaire, Gr.: Orateur du G.: O.: de France, Gr.: Inspecteur Gén.: et Membre du Souv.: C.: du 33°.:, Secrétaire du St.: Empire, Membre honoraire de toutes les LL.: et Chap.: de France.*

## MEMBRES NON RESIDENS

toute l'année

VIDAL, *Propriétaire, S.: G.: Insp.: Gén.:, Secrétaire du St.: Empire, et Membre du Conseil du 33°.: des îles françaises d'Amérique, Secrétaire des commandemens du Gr.: Commandeur ad vitam, Officier du G.: O.:*

ICARD de BATTAGLIGNI, *ancien Officier de Marine, S.: P.: D.: R.: S.:, Officier du G.: O.:*

ZANCLA, *Ven.: de la R.: L.: Eco.: du Temple des Muses, R.: ⚡.:, Officier du G.: O.:*

The foregoing not only gives a clearer picture of the structure of this interesting and distinguished lodge, but affirms beyond all doubt that by the end of its administrative year Simón Bolívar had been raised to the degree of a Master Mason in that same lodge.

To proceed, it has been asserted by several writers (though they may all have gone back to a single source) that Bolívar attained the 30° in France; for instance, the Cuban writer Cova Maza says so in Chapter IV of his *Mocedades de Simón Bolívar*. This does not seem to be impossible. We now know that by the end of 1805 Bolívar had become a Master Mason in an *Écossais* lodge which by definition worked further degrees. Indeed, Mme. de Lussy states in her letter of 21 February 1975 that this lodge, having amalgamated with the Lodge *Contrat Social*, then became the mother-lodge of the philosophical Scottish Rite and worked the 'old system', not that of the recently introduced (from Charlestown) Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. Thus Bolívar could presumably have attended enough meetings before finally leaving Paris in 1806 to have qualified in at least some of the higher degrees worked. But as to whether he actually did there is simply no evidence. A Scottish Rite collar and apron reputed to be his are in the Museum of the Grand Lodge of New York, but doubt has been cast on their authenticity since they appear to be of later date. Could they relate to the conferment on Bolívar of the 33° nearly two decades later?

Writers who assert that Bolívar was knighted in a Commandery of Knights Templar in France at some time (usually given as 1807 when he was in fact returning to, or already in, Venezuela) may have made a false deduction from the words '*Chevalier Compagnon*' in Document No. 1, which I take to indicate only his status as a *gentleman* Compagnon in the Craft; as a Spanish officer, he would certainly have been regarded as such. In final refutation Mme. de Lussy, in her letter referred to above, says that the Bibliothèque Nationale has 'un ensemble assez important d'archives pour l'Ordre du Temple', but in none of the documents does the name of Bolívar occur. I think therefore that we can dismiss without more ado the claim that he was a Templar mason.

It would be interesting to know who was Manuel Campos, 'noble (gentilhomme) espagnol' whose name precedes Bolívar's in Documents Nos. 5 and 6. The name is less than aristocratic but its juxtaposition with Bolívar's and the fact that they are the only Spaniards listed suggest some connection.

It is not clear at what time in 1806 Bolívar left France for the United States via Holland and Hamburg, but on arrival he spent some time in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and it was not until 1 January 1807 that he took ship for La Guaira, the port of Caracas. In this same year Caracas became the birthplace of the definitive movement for Spanish-American independence. Agitation against the inequities of the Spanish colonial system was aggravated

in 1808 by Napoleon's invasion of Spain when he forced the new king, Fernando VII, to abdicate and placed his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the Spanish Throne. Both the Spanish-American people and the colonial authorities rejected Joseph. Bolívar participated in this movement, secretly at first but openly from 1810 and, when a *Junta Suprema Conservadora de los Derechos de Fernando VII* (Supreme Body for the Preservation of the Rights of King Fernando VII) was set up on 19 April 1810, Bolívar and his brother were among those who insisted on the expulsion of the Spanish Captain-General and called for full independence for Venezuela – a call that was echoing around South and Central America.

In June 1810 Bolívar was promoted to colonel of militia and sent by the Junta to London at the head of a small diplomatic mission consisting of himself, Andrés Bello (the future renowned philosopher) and Luis Lopez Mendez. He was received with official coolness and the mission accomplished nothing beyond making European governments aware that a new situation existed in the Americas. Nevertheless, on the social level Bolívar's two-month stay was a success though history is silent as to whether he made any masonic contacts in England at this time.

However Bolívar met Francisco de Miranda in London and must have spent some time at the gatherings the latter held at his house. The masonic historian Américo Carnicelli, in his *Masonería en la Independencia de América*, vol. 1, says (p. 73) that at this time Bolívar was inducted in a Lautaro lodge, but while this is possible, and certainly some of his contacts around Miranda would have been members, there is no known proof of it and somehow it seems out of character. In any event Bolívar prevailed on Miranda, an experienced soldier, to return to Venezuela to lead a military struggle against Spain. Bolívar left for home on 16 September 1810 and Miranda followed soon after.

Not much more is on record of Bolívar as a mason until, as Dictator of Colombia, he banned the Order, together with all secret societies, on 8 November 1828. Up to then opportunities for him to have been active in Masonry, in between his commitments as soldier and statesman, must have abounded because the Order flourished in Spanish America from about 1808 and no less than thirty lodges in Venezuela, Gran Colombia, Panamá and Ecuador were closed by his sad but necessary act in 1828. Evidence is, however, totally lacking; for instance, there is no known proof that Bolívar was ever a member of the lodge *Protectora de las Virtudes* No. 1, founded at Barcelona, Venezuela, on 1 July 1810 by Diego Bautista Urbaneja, or of *Orden y Libertad* No. 2, founded at Lima, Peru, reputedly by General Antonio Valero. Both lodges are still in existence but apparently lay no claim to membership by Bolívar, much less that he was a founder and Master as alleged by Bro. Denslow. Indeed there is a possibility that Bolívar disapproved of Valero's masonic activities since he wrote on 7 June 1826 to General Francisco de Paula Santander, then Vice-President of Gran Colombia, that 'El General Valero últimamente ha dejado establecidas unas cuantas logias que no dejan de dar qué hacer', [General Valero recently founded several lodges that never stop giving trouble] the last phrase of which seems to strike a note of concern.

The eminent Bolivarian scholar and 33° mason, Bro. Pedro A. Barboza de la Torre of Maracaibo, Venezuela, in a typescript essay in my possession entitled '*Simón Bolívar y la Francmasonería*', mentions both Mirandist pseudo-lodges and 'volantes' (flying) or ambulatory lodges held in the native regiments and British contingent whose meetings Bolívar could have attended from time to time. But again, no evidence has come to light that he ever did.

Many of Bolívar's colleagues and subordinates over the years were keen and active masons. Indeed lists of senior officers and officials and of contemporary lodge memberships appear virtually interchangeable! Yet Bolívar's name never appears in the latter though his copious writings include a few apparent references to Masonry that would indicate a continued awareness of its existence and virtues. For instance Bro. Barboza de la Torre quotes the following panegyric attributed to Bolívar: 'Masonry is a welcoming strand: happy are they who can reach it! . . . It is a sublime institution.' Other attributions are less unequivocal but on 29 October 1826 General Juan José Flores wrote to Bolívar saying that Masonry was growing in Ecuador, suggesting that he knew that this would be of interest to the Liberator . . . though whether favourably or otherwise is hard to say.

Perhaps at this point we should diverge again and take a look at the long, hard road that led Bolívar, through blood, glory and bitter disappointments to the day when he banned all secret societies including Freemasonry, and beyond it to his tragic, early death two years later.

On 5 July 1811 a Venezuelan Congress declared its independence and war with Spain ensued. The aging Miranda, called '*El Precursor*' (the Forerunner), bungled his campaign,



inexplicably surrendered, was taken by the Spaniards and died soon after in a Cádiz prison. The first Venezuelan Republic collapsed in July 1812 and Bolívar fled via Curaçao to Cartagena in Nueva Granada (now the Republic of Colombia) losing his baggage and funds. His estates were confiscated and he never recovered his fortune.

At Cartagena, Bolívar wrote the first of his three key documents, the *Cartagena Manifesto*, in which he set out the causes of the recent defeat and emphasized the necessity of co-operation against Spain. He was given a minor commission and on the strength of it invaded Venezuela, entering Caracas within a year without losing a battle. There he was elected President of a new Republic and received the proud title of '*El Libertador*' (The Liberator). But his victory could not be sustained against the Spanish regulars, royalist sympathizers, and fierce *llaneros* (half-caste plainsmen led by Boves), and the second Republic fell in 1814.

Bolívar returned to Nueva Granada where he imposed the revolutionary Confederation's rule on Bogotá, but failed to do so at Cartagena where rebellious officials refused him aid for his projected Venezuelan campaign. So on 13 May 1815 a disgusted Bolívar went into self-exile in Jamaica and later in Haiti, where President Alexander Pétion, said to have been a freemason, welcomed him and with Luis Brion, a wealthy merchant-adventurer of Curaçao, furnished the means for two daring but abortive raids on the Venezuelan coast. However, the same means enabled Bolívar to establish himself at Angostura on the Orinoco River from 1817 to 1819. Meanwhile a Spanish expeditionary force of some 10,000 regulars under General Pablo Morillo had captured Cartagena and the mainland revolution had virtually collapsed.

It was in Jamaica in 1815 that Bolívar wrote his second key document, the *Jamaica Letter*, giving a masterly analysis of conditions in Spanish America and predicting what republics would be formed there and how they would behave. The third key document was the *Angostura Declaration*, addressed to a Congress called there in 1819, which elaborated a complex series of political ideals the author hoped to see put into practice.

Convinced that they could not oust the Spaniards from Venezuela by direct attack, Bolívar and his colleagues conceived the daring plan of leading an army across the Andes to attack them in the rear. Doing so under great hardship, they met and defeated the Spanish forces at Boyacá on 7 August 1819, going on to capture Bogotá and to free Nueva Granada.

Bro. Barboza de la Torre states that after the capture of Bogotá there was a reunion there of freemasons who included the revolutionary leaders Francisco de Paula Santander, Carlos Soublette, Pedro Fortoul, Antonio Morales, Pedro Briceño Mendez, Antonio Obando, Juan Nepomuceno Toscano, Justo Briceño, Vicente Andarra, Gabriel Lugo, José de Lima and Bolívar himself . . . but no authority is cited.

A truce with the Spaniards ensued during which Bolívar met Morillo, also a freemason. They apparently got on well, but whether they touched on Masonry is a matter of conjecture. Bro. Américo Carnicelli says that they did but again cites no authority.

The victory at Boyacá stirred a hitherto indifferent populace and won over the *llanero* José Antonio Páez. (Páez was a freemason and later – on 15 November 1826 – Bolívar wrote to him after Páez had been censured by General Santander, supporting him against the attacks of his enemies in Bogotá in terms that had a masonic connotation). Campaigns in Venezuela culminated in the decisive Battle of Carabobo on 24 July 1821 and the reoccupation of Caracas, while Páez, Soublette, Montilla and others were freeing numerous areas in Venezuela and Nueva Granada. Then, in October of that year, Bolívar put into effect the plan he had already published to unite Venezuela and Nueva Granada in a new Republic of (Gran) Colombia, he being elected the first President.

Bolívar's victory at Bombona and that of General Antonio José de Sucre at Pinchincha liberated Ecuador, and Bolívar entered Guayaquil in triumph on 11 July 1822, following which Ecuador merged with the new Republic. It was in Quito that Bolívar met Manuela Saenz de Thorne, the young wife of an English doctor who, at Lima in 1823, left her aging husband to be Bolívar's mistress and companion to the end.

While still in Guayaquil Bolívar had a meeting with General José de San Martín, the liberator of Chile and Protector of Peru, but while the latter was satisfied that his army in Peru could defeat the Spaniards, Bolívar did not share his optimism. Bro. Carnicelli, in his *Masonería en la Independencia de América*, says that this meeting was an opportunity for the two liberators 'to know each other personally and exchange a fraternal masonic embrace' as members of regular and Mirandist Freemasonry . . . but again no authority is cited and the possibility remains conjectural.

Time proved Bolívar right as regards the liberation of Peru and he found himself obliged to assume the Protector's mantle, defeating the royalists at Junín on 4 August 1824, while

Sucre clinched the victory at Ayacucho on 9 December, thus finally freeing Peru and Upper Peru. The latter area broke away and in 1825 became the independent Republic of Bolivia. Bolívar was proclaimed President of Peru and as such invited all South American governments and that of the United States (which the year before had proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine) to a Congress at Panamá aimed at uniting all the Americas in a defensive union. However it came to nothing and Bolívar himself left before the proceedings ended.

Bolívar's military career virtually ended in 1825 except for the brief war between Colombia and Peru in 1829. Thanks to his determination, great personal courage, dynamism and ability to choose able subordinates, it had been a glorious one crowned with final victory. But he himself emerged impoverished and impaired in health. Generous with money, he took little for himself and gave most of it away, while his constitution, never robust and driven for years beyond its limits, fell victim to the tuberculosis that was to kill him.

Bolívar returned to Lima early in 1826 and was proclaimed President *ad vitam*. On 26 November in that year he returned to Bogotá and resumed the Presidency of Gran Colombia but General Santander had already begun to plot against him, no doubt using his ascendancy on the masonic scene as well as his position as Vice-President of the Republic. Perhaps there had long been some coolness between them, as suggested by the ending of a letter from Bolívar to Santander dated 13 September 1822 which read: 'As the letter that I received from you today tells me nothing, I have nothing to say in reply, and with this goodbye. BOLÍVAR' (from *Selected Writings of Bolívar*, vol. 1, published by Banco de Venezuela, 1951). From 1826 on things began to fall apart. Bolívar had been well aware of the dangers of imposing advanced constitutions on poor and ignorant peoples with three centuries of absolutism behind them, but his plans for transitional paternalistic government were rejected in favour of the 1787 United States model which no one had the political experience – or temperament – to operate successfully. Early in 1827 Bolívar went to Caracas but was barely welcomed and returned on 4 July to Bogotá, where he finally broke with Santander, a tragic event that was to lead to bloodshed and disaster. Bolívar, impelled by national debt, civil war and personal animosities, then assumed dictatorial powers.

During 1828 Bolívar spent some time in Bucaramanga where his friend and aide, Luis Perú de Lacroix, a mason, wrote his famous diary, *Diario de Bucaramanga*. In this he definitively refuted the oft-repeated suggestion that Bolívar had abandoned Catholicism and the entry for 11 May reads (in translation): 'Today, Sunday, the Liberator went to Mass alone, contrary to his usual habit, as he always sent to call us, when we were not there, to go with him. All the time he has been in Bucaramanga he has not once failed to go to church on holy days, and the priest has detailed a very expert curate to say the Masses attended by His Excellency.'

When he returned on 24 June to Bogotá, Bolívar's life was attempted on 25 September, but the would-be assassin was foiled, it is said through the courage and presence of mind of Manuela Saenz. This traumatic event led to the shooting of several conspirators, the exiling of Santander and the crystallization of two warring, irreconcilable political factions that were to be at each other's throats time and again in the future. Perhaps, had the times been less turbulent and uncertain, Bolívar's concept of a highly-centralized government and Santander's of a looser national state might have been reconciled, but this was not to be.

At about this time, adherents of Bolívar urged him to assume an imperial crown, but he rejected it – only to find that those who would have been willing to share in imperial glory would not support the head of a federal republic.

Early in 1829 hostilities broke out between Gran Colombia and Peru. Bolívar took command of the Colombian forces and, with the bulk of the Peruvian people indifferent, was soon victorious. But in the same November Venezuela, under General Paez, broke away from the Republic and on 20 January 1830 Bolívar resigned from the Presidency. Soon after, Ecuador too backed out of the federation and it reverted to Nueva Granada alone.

Bolívar, disgusted, disillusioned and riddled with the sickness that so many years of exposure and exhaustion had implanted in him, turned to his own country, Venezuela, but was callously refused a refuge in the land of his birth. He then made his way towards the coast, intending to take up a second exile in Jamaica, but his weakened body gave out and he died at San Pedro Alejandrino, outside the port of Santa Marta, in the arms of Manuela Saenz. The date was 17 December 1830 and he was 47 years, four months and twenty-three days' old. Twelve years later a conscience-stricken Venezuela removed his body to the pantheon in Caracas where it rests today.

So passed from the mortal scene a tragic man, full of frailty and error yet great by any standards, who left an indelible mark on the contemporary and future half-continent. He was

ever torn between an imperious disposition, nurtured in wealth and aristocratic tradition, and the liberal ideals he had acquired; between the Old and New Worlds; between white and mixed blood. His was a complex, dynamic, rebellious character, replete with nervous energy yet liable to fall into mental paradox and depression. Egoism, pride and ambition drove him to the very limits of his strength; determination carried him through until he finally broke like an over-stretched bowstring. Withal, though avid of glory he was generous and cared little for wealth.

Two relevant questions emerge from so much complexity: why did Bolívar become a freemason and how did he regard the Order during the balance of his life? The first is difficult to answer but the probability seems to be that, fired with his new ambition to free the Spanish colonies and finding among the liberals and intellectuals with whom he consorted in Paris an enthusiasm for Masonry, he sought or accepted membership as a subsidiary and possibly useful activity, though without undue keenness. If he was correctly reported while on his way to the United States in 1806, he remarked that his membership might have some practical use, but put away his diploma and 'thought no more about it'.

He must, of course, eventually have become fully aware of the extent to which Mirandist and regular Freemasonry was used both as a focus and a cover for the rebellion against Spain; similarly, later on, for conspiracy against himself. Even though he cannot be proved to have been active as a mason in South America, he certainly knew that many of his colleagues were and it may be significant that the Hyslop brothers, Maxwell and Wellwood, who as merchants in Jamaica arranged arms and supplies for his forces, were both keen masons. This could have been one of the 'practical uses' he had envisaged years before. Yet, in the case of General Valero, Bolívar became impatient with him for spending time in masonic indulgences when his military presence was urgently needed; and he could write to his friend, Perú de Lacroix – a keen mason, incidentally – that something 'had been enough to realize how ridiculous this old association is'. I am not sure of the connection but it might well have been when, on 21 April 1824, Bolívar was one of 84 masons on whom was conferred the 33° of the Scottish Rite by Joseph Cerneau. There is no evidence that he sought to share in this blanket honour nor that he appreciated or even accepted it.

Beyond the references already cited, we are left with the banning in 1828 of all secret associations including Freemasonry. There is no reason to think that it was directed against Masonry *in particular*. There was at that time a strong movement against Bolívar, centred in Bogotá and led by Santander, whom Bolívar regarded as the arch-conspirator and the others as his tools. According to General Daniel O'Leary, once the Liberator's secretary, twelve-man 'circles' radiating from a central 'cell' in Bogotá were dedicated to undermining Bolívar's reputation and rousing public agitation against him. It could have been against these that his prohibitory decree was primarily directed, but all other associations were included both to disguise the true objective with its dangers of a political explosion and to close all possible bolt-holes.

Bro. Barboza de la Torre here introduces a well-argued thesis that seems to have considerable merit. He points out that, although many of Bolívar's closest supporters were prominent Masons and could have pleaded with him to except the Order, or even particular lodges, from his interdiction, none is on record as having done so or shown any resentment at it, and therefore it must have been imposed with the knowledge and acquiescence of regional Masonry. Moreover, although Bolívar resigned from office in January 1830, after which his writ no longer ran, no lodges re-opened in Nueva Granada until 1833 or in Venezuela until 1838, so that there did not seem to have been any suppressed pressure that would otherwise have caused them, after little more than a year's suspension, to burst into life again as soon as possible.

That Bolívar was well aware that his decree affected Masonry, and intended it to do so, is clear from Article 1, which reads: 'Se prohíbe en Colombia todas las asociaciones o confraternidades secretas, sea cual fuere la denominación de cada una'. (All secret societies or fraternities are prohibited in Colombia, no matter by what name each one goes.) Moreover, had Bolívar accidentally as it were prohibited Freemasonry, he could easily have cleared the way by a further decree but never did. Incidentally the co-signatory of the decree, the Secretary of State for the Interior, was himself a prominent mason.

It has also been argued that Bolívar issued his decree at a time of stress to ingratiate himself with and return to the bosom of the Catholic Church; but, as we have seen, he had not ceased to be a practising Catholic while the Church's opposition that had hampered his operations against the royalists in earlier years had long since ceased.

But if Bolívar deliberately included Masonry in his general prohibition of secret societies



Plate 1 Simón Bolívar, The Liberator, from a portrait in the West India Reference Library, Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica.



15

Acte de la Glorieuse Loge de l'union et de 11<sup>e</sup> J.  
 Du 11<sup>e</sup> mois de l'année de la G.<sup>e</sup> L. 5405 des travaux  
 de Compagnon ont été ouverts à 11 heures par le P.<sup>r</sup> f. de dateur  
 d'Arvigne, l'ouest et le sud relâché par les P.<sup>r</sup> f. Thoy  
 et Pote. La lecture de la dernière planche tracée a été faite  
 et sanctionnée, Le P.<sup>r</sup> a proposé d'élever le Grade de Compagnon  
 Le f. Bolivar nouvellement initié à cause d'un prochain voyage  
 qu'il est à la tête d'entreprendre, d'avis des P.<sup>r</sup> ayant de même  
 pour son admission et de l'avis favorable, le f. Bolivar  
 a été introduit dans le Temple et après les formalités requises  
 il a prêté aux pieds du Trône l'obligation d'usage, placé entre  
 les deux surveillants il a été proclamé Chevalier Compagnon Maître  
 de la P.<sup>r</sup> M. d. L. de St. Alexandre d'Arvigne. C. L.  
 a été Couronné d'un triple bouquet, et le f. ayant remercié il a  
 pris place à la tête de la Colonne de droite.  
 Les travaux ont été finis à la manière accoutumée.  
 P.<sup>r</sup> de la Loge d'Arvigne  
 4<sup>e</sup> par nous Or.  
 de haut  
 P.<sup>r</sup> Pidal  
 G.<sup>r</sup> J. du 33<sup>e</sup>  
 Simon Bolivar  
 d'Alex d'Arvigne 33<sup>e</sup>  
 Jeanne de la Salle

Plate 2. Minutes recording the Passing of Bro Bolivar



ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE LA HISTORIA  
BIBLIOTECA Y ARCHIVO

A petición del Sr. Ramón Díaz Sánchez hemos examinado tres documentos manuscritos, adquiridos por dicho señor en París, con objeto de comprobar su autenticidad.

Se trata de tres hojas de papel de hilo que numeraremos del 1 al 3. La primera hoja es de tamaño folio mayor cortada por la mitad en sentido vertical, y la segunda y tercera de tamaño oficio. Dichos documentos escritos en lengua francesa y fechados respectivamente en 5805 y 5814, que corresponden según el sistema masónico de fechar a los años 1805 y 1814, y el tercero sin fecha, son Actas del Supremo Consejo del grado 33 de la masonería francesa.

El documento número 1 es el que tiene mayor interés pues en él aparece la firma de Simón Bolívar con su rúbrica acostumbrada. Por la lectura del texto se comprueba que el Venerable propone elevar al grado de Compañero al Hermano Bolívar, recientemente iniciado a causa de un viaje próximo que está en vísperas de emprender. Agrega que después de las formalidades requeridas Bolívar fué proclamado Caballero Compañero Masón colocándose a la cabeza de la Columna del Mediodía.

Comparada la firma de Bolívar con numerosos autógrafos existentes en la Academia Nacional de la Historia no queda ninguna duda acerca de su autenticidad. El contenido del texto puede servir de apoyo para afirmar su legitimidad pues se sabe que para la fecha Bolívar preparaba su viaje a Italia acompañado de su maestro Simón Rodríguez.

Los otros dos documentos tienen por objeto comparar las firmas de ambos con la del documento número 1. En este aparecen las firmas de D'Ales D'Anduse 33 y Thury, que a su vez aparecen en los documentos nos. 2 y 3 respectivamente. El hecho de tratarse de documentos de distintas fechas da mas fuerza de autenticidad al primer documento.

Por las razones expuestas y examinados el papel, la tinta y el tipo de letra empleados en los documentos que nos ocupan, comunes en escritos de principios del siglo XIX, nos inclinamos a afirmar que se trata de documentos originales y auténticos.

Caracas, 26 de junio de 1956.



*Dolores Bonet de Sotillo*  
Dolores Bonet de Sotillo  
Paleógrafa.

and fraternities, he did not then abandon all consideration for the Order for, on 5 February 1829, when the war against Peru was coming to a victorious end, Bolívar wrote to General Mariano Montilla, also a mason, informing him of the situation and adding: 'Por lo mismo debemos ser generosos con las señoras, pero séalo Ud. espontáneamente. Castillo no se ha interesado por ella ni aún indirectamente, por lo mismo debemos ser generosos: basta de dureza con la M<sup>a</sup>.' (For this reason we must be generous to the ladies, but you should be so spontaneously. Castillo has not shown even an indirect interest in her, so we must be generous: enough of hardness towards M[asonry].)

As the Spanish word for 'lodge' [logía] takes the feminine gender, the use of 'señoras' [ladies] in Bolívar's own hand and underlined, coupled with the switch to the singular 'her' [ella] in relation to 'M<sup>a</sup>', an accepted abbreviation for 'Masonería' [Masonry], indicates virtually without question that Bolívar was disposed to ease up on the Order, *having deliberately pressed down upon it before*. Incidentally, the 'Castillo' named in the letter was Dr. José María del Castillo Rada, a mason of long standing prominent in revolutionary government and at that time a high official in Bogotá.

In summary, I am led to conclude that:

1. Bolívar was unquestionably a regular Master Mason, initiated, passed and raised in a Parisian *Écossais* lodge late in 1805.
2. He may or may not have *joined* an irregular Mirandist lodge but probably did not, though he may have *visited* one in Cádiz, in 1803 if at all.
3. He may or may not have taken some of the higher degrees in his *Écossais* lodge but more probably did not.
4. He never became a member of the Order of Knights Templar.
5. He entered Freemasonry without much enthusiasm and was never a keen mason though he remained aware of and respected the Order as such.
6. He made use of Freemasonry when it served his purpose but did not hesitate to censure those who neglected their duties for it, nor to suppress it when it represented a possible danger to his plans.
7. He appreciated that Masonry tended to forge a special bond between its members and occasionally participated in its warmth.
8. He was named a 33° mason but probably was not consulted beforehand nor made use of the distinction afterwards.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY

IT WILL be appreciated that I have not had access to a great part of the immense number of biographies, in various languages, relating to Simón Bolívar, though I have studied much which concerns Freemasonry, in regard to which I have also conducted a fairly extensive correspondence. Among the books consulted are, in order of publication date:

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# Tableau Général des Membres de S<sup>t</sup>. Alexandre d'Écosse à l'Époque du de la Restauration 1764, et de l'Es Vulgaire 1764.

Nom	Nom de	Qualités		Dignité ou Grade	Naissance			Signature ou Esquisse
		Civiles	Majonniques		Siècle	Mois	Années	
Guichard de la Cour	Guichard de la Cour	ancien avocat au Parlement de Paris	G. Maître	Écuyer	Paris	20. avril	1770	<i>Guichard de la Cour</i>
Choy	Choy	ancien avocat en Parlement	G. Maître	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris	1. mai	1769	<i>Choy</i>
Potin	Sieur François	Avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris	31. mai	1779	<i>Potin</i>
Buisson	Guillemin	Docteur en Médecine	S. M. D.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	de Dijon	15. juillet	1778	<i>Buisson</i>
De Sercheboche	Joséph-Louis	Mag. 1765 Rég. de Dijon	G. Maître	G. Maître	de Dijon	17. août	1778	<i>De Sercheboche</i>
Duron	Joséph	ancien avocat	K. S.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris	17. août	1778	<i>Duron</i>
Dumoulin		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
de Bayot	Joséph Ch. Fr.	membre de l'Académie de Médecine de Paris	G. Maître	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Mayenne	18. sept.	1775	<i>de Bayot</i>
Quinon de Nivars	Méty	ancien avocat	R. S.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
André	François	ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Dremond d'Arle	Joséph-Joséph	ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	de Dijon	23. sept.	1779	<i>Dremond d'Arle</i>
Pandure		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Duillet de Vitte	Joséph-Henri	Avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris	20. oct.	1779	<i>Duillet de Vitte</i>
Jeune de la Halle	Thomas	ancien avocat	grand loge	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	de Grandville	10. oct.	1779	
Duplet de Montguy		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Dumoulin	id. de la Halle	ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Doudier de la		ancien avocat	M. P.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Le Clere		ancien avocat	M. P.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Martin de		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Montguy		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Bois		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Dumoulin	Ciré	ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
D'Aguien de la	Charles-Philippe	ancien avocat	R. S.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
de la Halle	Joséph-Henri	ancien avocat	R. S.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris	11. sept.	1762	<i>de la Halle</i>
Dumoulin		ancien avocat	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			
Dumoulin		G. Maître	G. Les.	1 <sup>er</sup> Degré	Paris			

Plate 4 Members of St. Alexander of Scotland Lodge in 1804.





## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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 APPENDIX A

Translation of Document No. 1:

To the glory of the Great Architect of the Universe and on the 11th day of the 11th month of the year of the Grand Lodge 5805 the lodge was opened in the Fellowcraft's degree from the East by W. Bro. de Latour d'Auvergne, supported in the West and South by W. Bros. Thory and Potu. The minutes of the last meeting having been read and confirmed, the Master proposed to pass to the degree of Fellowcraft Bro. Bolívar, a recent initiate, as he was soon to go on a journey. The Brn. having voted unanimously for his admission and investigation having proved favourable, Bro. Bolívar was brought into the Temple and after the necessary formalities took the usual obligation before the Chair, after which he was placed between the two Wardens and proclaimed a Fellowcraft freemason of the Worshipful mother lodge of the Scottish Rite St. Alexander of Scotland. The work was crowned by a triple cheer and the Brother, having given thanks, was seated at the head of the south column. The proceedings were then closed in the usual way.

(This is, of course, a free translation in the modern manner.)

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 APPENDIX B

Translation of Document No. 4:

At the request of Mr. Ramón Díaz Sanchez we have examined three manuscript documents acquired by that gentleman in Paris, with the aim of proving their authenticity.

In question are three sheets of rag paper which we will number 1 to 3. The first is large folio size cut in half vertically, the second and third are letter size. These documents, written in French and dated respectively 5805 and 5814, which according to the masonic dating system correspond to the years 1805 and 1814, the third being undated, are minutes of the Supreme Council 33° of French Masonry.

Document No. 1 is the most interesting as it bears the signature of Simón Bolívar with his usual rubric. The text shows that the Master proposes to raise to the degree of Fellowcraft Bro. Bolívar, recently initiated on account of an intended journey he was about to undertake. It adds that after the necessary formalities Bolívar was proclaimed gentleman Companion, being placed at the head of the south column.

When Bolívar's signature is compared with numerous autographs in the National Historical Academy no doubt remains regarding its authenticity. The text also serves to support its authenticity as it is known that at that time Bolívar was preparing to visit Italy with his tutor, Simón Rodríguez.

The other two documents are for the purpose of comparing the signatures on them with those on No. 1, which bears the signatures of D'Alez d'Anduse 33 and Thory, which also appear on Nos. 2 and 3. The fact that the documents are of different dates reinforces the authenticity of the first document.

For the above reasons, and after examining the paper, the ink and the style of writing of the documents in question, all of which are common in writings of the early 19th century, we are inclined to affirm that the documents are authentic originals.

Caracas, 26 June 1956.

(Signed) Dolores Bonet de Sotillo—Paleógrafa

(Seal of the National Historical Academy of the Republic of Venezuela)