

Religi

A

COLLECTION

Added in 4
OF SEVERAL

PIECES

written by him
OF

Mr. JOHN TOLAND,

Now first publish'd from his Original
Manuscripts :

WITH

Some MEMOIRS of his LIFE and
WRITINGS.

VOLUME I.

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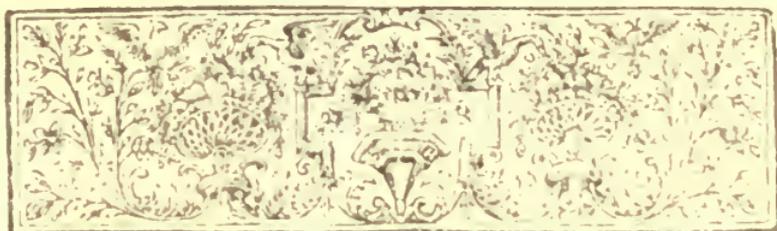
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L O N D O N :

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SOME
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
Mr. JOHN TOLAND:
IN A
LETTER
TO
S * * * B * * * L * * *.

MAY 26th 1722.

SIR,



WHEN, in the course of our Correspondence, I sent you the news of Mr. TOLAND's Death, I little expected you would ask me for an Account of his Life; and therefore in my next Letter, I desir'd you to consider
* A 2 that

that I was every way unqualified for a work of that nature: but your answer was, that, as you conceiv'd the Life of an Author chiefly consisted in the History of his Books and Disputes, with which any one might easily make himself acquainted; you did not require more of me than I could perform. This made me suspect, that you intended to try, whether my readiness to oblige you, was answerable to the several marks of friendship I had received from you; and therefore, without any further consideration, I resolv'd to comply with your request. But when I came to the performance, I found it so difficult to meet with proper materials, that I thought I shou'd have been oblig'd, either to drop my design, or to send you a most confus'd and imperfect account: the former of which, you might have imagin'd to proceed from my want of respect for you; and the latter, to be an effect of my negligence. But it happen'd, by the greatest accident in the world, that I fell into the company of a Gentleman, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. TOLAND, and who very generously communicated to me several particulars concerning him. These have been of great use to me in compiling the following MEMOIRS, which, I hope, will afford you some entertainment.

Mr. TOLAND was born on the 30th of November 1670, in the most northern Peninsula

fula in Ireland, in the Isthmus whereof stands Londonderry. That Peninsula was originally called *Inis-Eogan*, or *Inis Eogain*, but is now call'd *Inisöen*, or *Euis-owen*. He had the Name of JANUS JUNIUS given him at the font, and was call'd by that name in the school-roll every morning: but the other boys making a jest of it, the Master himself order'd him to be call'd JOHN for the future; which name he kept ever after.

I can give you no particular account of his Parentage. Some have affirm'd that his Father was a Popish Priest; and he hath been abus'd by Abbot TILLADET (1), Bishop HUERTUS (2), and others, upon the account of his pretended illegitimacy: which, were it true, is a most base and ridiculous reproach; the Child, in such a case, being intirely innocent of the guilt of his Parents. But no Popish Writer will, I presume, asperse him in that respect for the future, when they have seen the Testimonial, which was given him in the year 1708, by the Irish Franciscans of Prague, where he happen'd to be at that time. It runs thus:

*Infra scripti testamur Dom. JOANNEM
TOLAND ortum esse ex honesta, nobili, &
antiquissima Familia, qua per plures cente-*

* A 3

nos

(1) Preface des *Dissertations* de Mr. Huet sur diverses matieres de Religion & de Philologie, G. v.

(2) *Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pag. 412.

nos annos, ut Regni Historia & continua monstrant memoria, in Peninsula Hiberniæ Enis-Oëc aictâ, prope urbem Londino-Dericensem in Ultonia, perduravit. In cujus rei firmiorem fidem, nos ex eadem Patria oriundi propriis manibus subscripsimus, Pragæ in Bohemia, hac die 2 Jan. 1708.

JOANNES O NEILL, Superior Collegii
Hibernorum.

L. S. . FRANCISCUS O DEULIN, S. Theologiae Professor.

RUDOLPHUS Ô NEILL, S. Theol.
Lector.

THESE honest Friars, you see, do certify under their hands and seal, that Mr. TOLAND was descended from an honourable, noble, and most ancient Family, recorded in the History of Ireland for several hundred years.

HOWEVER, we may take it for granted, that his Relations were Papists: for he himself tells us, that he was “educated (3) “from his cradle in the grossest Superstition “and Idolatry, but God was pleas’d to make “his own Reason, and such as made use of “theirs, the happy instruments of his Conversion:” for “he was not sixteen years
“old

(3) Preface to *Christianity not mysterious*, p. m. viii. ix.

“ old when he became (2) as z. c.
 “ Popery, as he hath ever since con-

FROM the School at “ Re’castle near
 “ Londonderry, he went in 1687 to the
 “ College of Glas’cow in Scotland:” and at-
 ter three years stay there, he visited the Uni-
 versity of Edinburg, where he was created
 Master of Arts, on the 30th of June 1690,
 and receiv’d the usual Diploma or Certificate
 from the Professors. Here is a Copy of it.

UNIVERSIS & singulis ad quos presentes
 Literæ peruenient, Nos Universitatis Jacobi
 Regis Edinburgensæ Professores, salutem in
 Domino sempiternam comprecamur: UNA-
 QUE testamur ingenuum hunc bonæ spei Ju-
 venem Magistrum JOANNEM TOLAND Hi-
 bernum, moribus, diligentia, & laudabili suc-
 cessu se nobis ita approbasse, ut post edi-
 tum Philosophici profectus examen, solenni
 more Magister in Artibus Liberalibus renun-
 ciaretur, in Comitibus nostris Laureatis anno
 salutis millesimo, sexcentesimo & nonagesimo,
 trigesimo die Junii: Quapropter non dubita-
 mus eum nunc à Nobis in Patriam redeun-
 tem, ut egregium Adolescentem, omnibus quos
 adire vel quibuscum versari contigerit de me-
 liori nota commendare, sperantes illum (opi-
 tulante divina gratia) Literis hisce Testi-
 monialibus fore abunde responsurum. In quo-

rum fidem inclyta Civitas Edinburgum Academia hujus Parcens & Altrix, sigillo suo publico Literas syngraphis nostris porro confirmari jussit.

Dabamus in supradicto Athenæo Regio 22^{do} die Julii anno Æræ Christianæ 1690.

AL. MONRO, S. S. T. D.
Professor primarius.

JO. STRAHAN, S. S. T. D.
ejusdemque Professor.

D. GREGORIE, Math. P.

J. HERBERTUS KENNEDY,
P. P.

L. S.

J. DRUMMOND, H. L. P.

THO. BURNET, Ph. P.

ROBERTUS HENDERSON,
B. & Academiæ ab
Archivis, &c.

Mr. TOLAND having receiv'd his Diploma, went back to Glasgow, where he made but a short stay. Upon his departure from it, the Magistrates of that City gave him the following recommendatory Letters :

“ WE the Magistrats of Glasgow under-
“ subscribing, do hereby testify and declare
“ to all whom these presents may concern,
“ That the bearer JOHN TOLLAND, Master of
“ Arts,

“ Arts did reside here for some yeares as a
 “ Student at the Univerſitie in this Citie, du-
 “ reing which tyme he behaved himſelf as ane
 “ trew Proteſtant and Loyal Subject ; as witneſs
 “ our hands at Glaſcow the penult day of
 “ July one thouſand ſex hundreth and ninetic
 “ yeares. And the common Scale of Office
 “ of the ſaid Citie is hereunto affixt.

JOHN LECKE.

L. S.

GEORGE NISBITT.

FROM Scotland, Mr. TOLAND intend-
 ed to have return'd into Ireland, as it appears
 by the Certificate of the Univerſity of Edin-
 burg: but he alter'd his mind, and came in-
 to England, “ where he liv'd (5) in as good
 “ Proteſtant Families as any in the Kingdom,
 “ till he went to the famous Univerſity of
 “ Leiden in Holland to perfect his Studies,
 under the celebrated SPANHEMIUS, TRIGLAN-
 DIUS, &c. There he was generously ſupport-
 ed and maintain'd by ſome eminent Diſſenters
 in England, who had conceiv'd great hopes
 from his uncommon parts, and might flatter
 themſelves that, in time, he wou'd be ſervice-
 able to them in the quality of a Miniſter. For
 he had liv'd in their communion ever ſince
 he forſook Popery ; as he owns himſelf in a
 Pamphlet printed in the year 1697. “ Mr. To-
 “ LAND,

(5) *Apology*, p. 17.

“ LAND, (says he (6) in answer to the imputa-
 “ tion of being a rigid *Nonconformist*), will
 “ never deny but the real simplicity of the
 “ Dissenters Worship, and the seeming equi-
 “ ty of their Discipline (into which being so
 “ young he could not distinctly penetrate) did
 “ gain extraordinarily upon his affections, just
 “ as he was newly deliver’d from the insup-
 “ portable yoke of the most pompous and ty-
 “ rannical Policy that ever enslaved mankind
 “ under the name or shew of Religion. But
 “ when greater experience and more years
 “ had a little ripen’d his judgment, he easily
 “ perceiv’d that the Differences were not so
 “ wide as to appear irreconcilcable, or at least,
 “ that men who were sound Protestants on
 “ both sides, should barbarously cut one ano-
 “ thers throats, or indeed give any disturbance
 “ to the society about them. And as soon as
 “ he understood the late heats and animosi-
 “ ties did not totally (if at all) proceed from
 “ a concern for mere Religion, he allowed
 “ himself a latitude in several things, that
 “ would have been matter of scruple to him
 “ before. His travels increas’d, and the study
 “ of Ecclesiastical History perfected this dispo-
 “ sition, wherein he continues to this hour:
 “ for, whatever his own opinion of those
 “ Differences be, yet he finds so essential an
 “ Agreement between the French, Dutch,
 “ English, Scotch, and other Protestants, that
 “ he’s

(6) *Apology*, p. 18, 19.

“ he’s resolv’d never to lose the benefit of
 “ an instructive Discourse in any of their
 “ Churches upon that score; and it must be a
 “ civil not a religious interest that can engage
 “ him against any of these Parties, not think-
 “ ing all their private notions wherein they
 “ disagree worth endangering, much less sub-
 “ verting, the publick Peace of a Nation. If
 “ this, *pursues he*, makes a man a Noncon-
 “ formist, then Mr. TOLAND is one unques-
 “ tionably.

I N the year 1692, Mr. DANIEL WILLIAMS, a Dissenting Minister, having publish’d a Book intitled: *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated; wherein some of Dr. CRISP’S Opinions are considered, and the opposite truths are plainly stated and confirm’d*; Mr. TOLAND sent it to the Author of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, and desir’d him to give an Abstract of it in that Journal: at the same time, he related to him the History of that Book, and of the Controversy it refer’d to. The Journalist comply’d with his request; and to the Abstract of Mr. WILLIAMS’S Book, he prefix’d the Letter he had receiv’d from Mr. TOLAND, whom he styles *Student in Divinity* (7).

AFTER having sojourn’d about two years at Leiden, he came back into England; and soon

(7) *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Tom. xxiii. p. 505.

soon after went to Oxford ; where besides the Conversation of learned Men, who have never been wanting in that famous University, he had the advantage of the publick Library. He collected materials upon various subjects, and compos'd some Pieces, among others a *Dissertation wherein he proves the receiv'd History of the tragical Death of ATILIUS REGULUS, the Roman Consul, to be a fable* (8). And here he began to shew his inclination for Paradoxes, and the pleasure he took in opposing traditional and commonly receiv'd Opinions: which humour is often beneficial to the Public, as it promotes the discovery of truth, which seldom or never suffers by a free examination. Mr. TOLAND OWNS himself indebted for this notion to PALMERIUS: who has examin'd that subject, in his Observations on several Greck Authors (9). If the ingenious Abbé de VERTOT had seen that learned and judicious performance of PALMERIUS, he wou'd not have related, as a fact, the tragical Death of that Consul, in his *Revolutions of the Roman Republick*; but have look'd upon it as a Romance.

THE same byas for Paradoxes, put Mr. TOLAND upon another Work of greater consequence: he undertook to prove that there are

NO

(8) That Dissertation you'll find in this *Collection*. Vol. II. pag. 18.

(9) *Observationes in optimos fere Autores Græcos*. pag. 147, 151, & seqq.

no Mysteries in the Christian Religion.“ But he left Oxford in 1693, before that Book was finish'd; and came to London, where he publish'd it the next year, under the title of *Christianity not Mysterior: or, a Treatise shewing, that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above it: and that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a Mystery.*

TO affirm that the Christian Religion has no *Mysteries*, or nothing *above Reason*, must indeed appear a strange Paradox: but as we ought not to be prejudiced or frighten'd with words, let us examine our Author's intent and meaning.

THE word *Mystery*, says he, is always us'd in the New Testament for *a thing intelligible in itself, but which could not be known without special Revelation.* And to prove that assertion, he examines all the passages of the New Testament where the word *Mystery* occurs; and shews, first, that *Mystery* is read for the Gospel or the Christian Religion in general, as it was a future dispensation totally hid from the Gentiles, and but very imperfectly known to the Jews: secondly, that some peculiar Doctrines occasionally reveal'd by the Apostles, are said to be *manifested Mysteries*, that is, unfolded secrets: and thirdly, that *Mystery* is put for any thing vail'd under parables, or enigmatical forms of speech.

AND

AND to set this matter in a clearer light, he observes, that as in the phenomena of Nature, we neither call *Mysteries* those things which are perfectly unknown to us, nor those whereof we can have no adequate idea; the same way of speaking ought to be used in religious matters; since all the reveal'd truths of the Christian Religion, which it is necessary and beneficial for us to know, can be made as clear and intelligible as natural things which come within our knowledge and comprehension: and that the case is parallel, he promis'd to shew in another work, and to give *a particular and rational explanation of the reputed Mysteries of the Gospel*. But he declares, at the same time, that if his Adversaries think fit to call a *Mystery*, whatever is either absolutely unintelligible to us, or whereof we have but inadequate ideas; he is ready to admit as many *Mysteries* in Religion as they please.

SO far, you'll say, SIR, there is no great harm done: it is only a dispute about words. Indeed he pretends that he can give as clear and intelligible an exp'ation of the Mysteries of the Gospel, as 'tis possible to give of the phenomena of Nature: but do not our Divines do the same thing, in attempting to give a rational explanation of the Trinity, the greatest Mystery of the Christian Religion? Such explanations are the test of the soundness of their Doctrine: and who knows
but

but Mr. TOLAND's explanation, had he given one, might have been orthodox?

IT had been happy for Mr. TOLAND, if every body had entertained the same favourable sentiments of this work, as you do. But it prov'd otherwise. His Treatise alarm'd the Public, and several Books came out against it. Mr. BECONSALL publish'd, *The Christian Belief: wherein is asserted and proved, That as there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, yet there are some Doctrines in it above Reason; and these being necessarily enjoyn'd us to believe, are properly call'd Mysteries; in Answer to a Book intituled, Christianity not Mysterious.* Mr. BEVERLEY, a Presbyterian Minister, put out a Pamphlet intituled, *Christianity the great Mystery: in Answer to a late Treatise, Christianity not Mysterious; that is, not above, nor contrary to Reason. In opposition to which is asserted, Christianity is above created Reason, in its pure estate; and contrary to human Reason, as fallen and corrupted; and therefore in a proper sense Mystery. Together with a Postscript Letter to the Author, on his second edition enlarged.* It was also animadverted upon by Mr. NORRIS, in his *Account of Reason and Faith in relation to the Mysteries of Christianity*: by Mr. ELYS in his *Letter to Sir ROBERT HOWARD, with Animadversions upon a Book, called, Christianity not Mysterious*: by Dr. PAYNE, in some *Sermons* preach'd at Cambridge: by Dr. STIL-

LINGFLEET, Bishop of Worcester, in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c: by the Author of the *Occasional Paper*, Numb. III: by Mr. MILLER, in his *Discourse of Conscience*, &c: by Mr. GAILHARD, in his Book against the Socinians: by Mr. SYNGE in his *Appendix to the Gentleman's Religion*; &c. It was even presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex: but those Presentments have seldom any other effect than to make a Book sell the better, by publishing it thus to the World, and tempting the Curiosity of Men, who are naturally inclin'd to pry into what is forbidden them.

Mr. TOLAND publish'd the same Year, *A Discourse upon Coins* by Signor BERNARDO DAVANZATI, a Gentleman of Florence; being publickly spoken in the Academy there, anno 1588. Translated out of Italian, by JOHN TOLAND. In the Preface, Mr. TOLAND observes that Signor DAVANZATI, was every way qualified to perform his undertaking, being famous for natural and acquir'd parts, not only conversant in Trade, and one of the best Arithmeticians of his time; but likewise an able Politician, as appears by his admir'd Translation of TACITUS, and his own Original Compositions. Mr. TOLAND judg'd it proper to publish his *Discourse upon Coins* at a time, when the clipping of Money was become a National grievance, and several Methods were propos'd to remedy that evil.

HIS *Christianity not Mysterious* being sent into Ireland, by the London Bookfellers, you may easily imagine it made no less noise there than in England: but the clamour was much encreas'd, when he went thither himself towards the beginning of the year 1697.

“ IN my last to you, *says Mr. MOLYNEUX*
 “ *in one of his Letters to Mr. LOCKE* (10),
 “ there was a passage relating to the Author
 “ of *Christianity not Mysterious*. I did not
 “ then think that he was so near me, as
 “ within the bounds of this City; but I find
 “ since that he is come over hither, and have
 “ had the favour of a visit from him
 “ I propose a great deal of satisfaction in his
 “ Conversation; I take him to be a candid
 “ Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But
 “ there is a violent sort of spirit reigns here,
 “ which begins already to shew itself against
 “ him; and I believe, will increase daily; for
 “ I find the Clergy alarmed to a mighty de-
 “ gree against him. And last Sunday he had
 “ his welcome to this City, by hearing him-
 “ self harangued against, out of the Pulpit,
 “ by a Prelate of this Country.”

Mr. TOLAND himself tells us, that “ he was
 “ (11) scarcely arriv'd in that Country, when
 “ * B “ he

(10) April 6, 1697.

(11) *Apostoly*, &c. p. 4.

“ he found himself warmly attack’d from
 “ the Pulpit, which at the beginning could
 “ not but startle the people, who till then
 “ were equal strangers to him and his Book ;
 “ yet they became in a little time so well
 “ accusom’d to this subject, that it was as
 “ much expected of course as if it had been
 “ prescrib’d in the Rubrick.”

HIS indiscreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exasperate them against him.
 “ To be free, and without reserve to you,
 “ *says Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE* (12),
 “ I do not think his Management, since he
 “ came into this City, has been so prudent.
 “ He has rais’d against him the clamours of
 “ all parties ; and this, not so much by his
 “ Difference in Opinion, as by his unseason-
 “ able way of discoursing, propagating and
 “ maintaining it. Coffee-houses, and pub-
 “ lic Tables, are not proper places for se-
 “ rious discourses relating to the most impor-
 “ tant truths. But when also a Tincture of
 “ Vanity appears in the whole course of a
 “ man’s Conversation, it disgusts many, that
 “ may otherwise have a due value for his
 “ Parts and Learning.”

Mr. TOLAND indeed gives us a different account of himself: he says, that “ so far (13)
 “ was

(12) May 27, 1697

(13) *Apology*, p. 6.

“ was he from making his Opinions the sub-
 “ ject of his common talk, that, notwith-
 “ standing repeated provocations, he pur-
 “ posely declin'd speaking of 'em at all;
 “ which made his Adverſaries (who ſlip't no
 “ handle of decrying him) inſinuate, that he
 “ was not the real Author of the Piece going
 “ under his name.

HOWEVER it be, “ when (14) this
 “ rough handling of him in the Pulpit (where
 “ he could not have word about) prov'd in-
 “ ſignificant, the Grand Jury was ſolicited to
 “ preſent him for a Book that was written
 “ and publiſhed in England. And to gain
 “ the readier compliance, the Preſentment of
 “ the Grand Jury of Middletex was printed
 “ in Dublin with an emphatical Title, and
 “ cry'd about the ſtreets. So Mr. TOLAND
 “ was accordingly preſented there the laſt day
 “ of the Term in the Court of King's-Bench,
 “ the Jurors not grounding their proceeding
 “ upon any particular Paſſages of his Book,
 “ which moſt of 'em never read, and thoſe
 “ that did confeſs'd not to underſtand.

AT that time, Mr. PETER BROWN, ſenior
 Fellow of Trinity College near Dublin, pub-
 liſh'd a Book againſt Mr. TOLAND, call'd,
A Letter in Anſwer to a Book, entitul'd,
Chriſtianity not Myſterious: as alſo to all
 * B 2 *theſe*

those who set up for Reason and Evidence in opposition to Revelation and Mystery. This Letter contributed very much to enflame all sorts of people against Mr. TOLAND. Mr. BROWN represented him as *a most inveterate enemy to all reveal'd Religion; a Knight-errant; one who openly affected to be the Head of a Sect, and design'd to be as famous an Impostor as Mahomet:* but being sensible that all these suggestions cou'd not hurt his person, he did, as much as in him lay, *deliver him into the hands of the civil Magistrate.* Mr. BROWN was afterwards made Bishop of Cork; and I am told Mr. TOLAND used to say, *he had made him a Bishop.* It is the same person, who, because he cou'd not bear, as 'tis presum'd, that people shou'd drink *to the Memory of King WILLIAM,* wrote a Pamphlet against drinking to the Memory of any person, as being a prophanation of the Lord's Supper; and at last, was driven to condemn drinking any Healths at all: for which he had the Authority of the famous WILLIAM PRENNE, who publish'd in 1628, a Book entitled, *Healths Sickness: or a compendious and brief discourse, proving the drinking, and pledging of Healths, to be sinful and utterly unlawful unto Christians, &c.* He had also the Authority of JOHN GEREE, M. A. and Pastor of St. Faith's in London, who put out in 1648 a Pamphlet, call'd: Θειοφάρμακον: *a divine Potion to preserve spiritual Health, by the cure of unnatural Health-drink-*

drinking. Or an exercise wherein the Evill of Health-drinking is by clear and solid Arguments convinced. Written for the satisfaction, and published by the direction of a godly Parliament-man. But this by the by.

Mr. MOLYNEUX sent Mr. BROWN'S Book to Mr. LOCKE; and in a Letter to him, he makes some very judicious reflections both upon that work, and the Grand Jury's proceedings against Mr. TOLAND. Mr. TOLAND, says he (15), "has had his opposers here, " as you will find by a Book which I have " sent you The Author is my acquaintance; but two things I shall never " forgive in his Book; the one is, the foul " language and opprobrious names he gives " Mr. TOLAND; the other is, upon several " occasions, calling in the aid of the Civil " Magistrate, and delivering Mr. TOLAND up " to secular Punishment. This indeed is a " killing Argument; but some will be apt to " say, That where the strength of his Reason " fail'd him, there he flies to the strength of " the Sword. And this minds me of a business that was very surprizing to many, even " several Prelates in this place, the Presentment of some pernicious Books, and their " Authors, by the Grand Jury of Middlesex. " This is look'd upon as a matter of dange-

“ rous consequence, to make our Civil Courts
 “ Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one
 “ knows, upon a change of Affairs, whose
 “ turn it may be next to be condemn’d. But
 “ the example has been followed in our
 “ Country; and Mr. TOLAND, and his Book,
 “ have been presented here, by the Grand
 “ Jury, not one of which (I am persuaded),
 “ ever read one leaf in *Christianity not My-*
 “ *sterious*. Let the Sorbone for ever now
 “ be silent; a learned Grand Jury, directed
 “ by as learned a Judge, does the business
 “ much better. The Dissenters here were the
 “ chief promoters of this matter; but, when
 “ I asked one of them, what if a violent
 “ Church of England Jury should present
 “ Mr. BAXTER’S Books, as pernicious, and
 “ condemn them to the flames by the com-
 “ mon executioner? He was sensible of the
 “ error, and said, *he wished it had never*
 “ *been done.*”

Mr. TOLAND, it seems, was dreaded in
 Ireland, as a most formidable enemy of Chri-
 stianity, a second GOLIATH, who at the head
 of the Philistines defied the Armies of Israel;
 in so much, that, as he relates it himself,
 “ in a few days (16) after the Lords Justices
 “ of that Kingdom landed, the Recorder of
 “ Dublin, Mr. HANCOCK, in his congratula-
 “ tory Harangue in the name of his Corpo-
 “ ration,

“ration, begg’d their Lordships wou’d pro-
 “tect the Church from all its enemies, but
 “particularly from the TOLANDISTS.”

BUT to give the last and finishing stroke
 to Mr. TOLAND’S Book, some people con-
 cluded to bring it before the Parliament.
 “And therefore (17) on Saturday the 14th day
 “of August, it was mov’d in the Committee
 “of Religion, that the Book entitul’d, *Chri-
 “stianity not Myste-rious*, should be brought
 “before them, and accordingly it was or-
 “der’d that the said Book should the Satur-
 “day following be brought into the Com-
 “mittee. That day the Committee sat not,
 “but the next Saturday, which was the 28th
 “day of August, there met a very full Com-
 “mittee, wherein this business was a great
 “while debated. Several persons eminent
 “for their birth, good qualities, or fortunes,
 “oppos’d the whole Proceeding, being of o-
 “pinion it was neither proper nor convenient
 “for them to meddle with a thing of that
 “nature. But when this point was without
 “much argument carried against them, they
 “insisted that the Passages which gave offence
 “in the Book should be read; and then the
 “Committee was adjourn’d till the 4th of
 “September. That day, after several Gentle-
 “men had spoke to the Objections made to
 “some Passages in the Book, they urg’d at

* B +

“ last

“ last, according to Mr. TOLAND’S OWN de-
 “ sire, that he should be call’d to answer in
 “ person, to declare the sense of his Book
 “ and his design in writing it. But this fa-
 “ vour being peremptorily deny’d, an ho-
 “ nourable Member went to the Bar, and of-
 “ fer’d a Letter to be read which he had re-
 “ ceiv’d that morning from Mr. TOLAND,
 “ containing what satisfaction he intended to
 “ give the Committee, had they thought fit
 “ to let him speak for himself. But this was
 “ likewise refus’d, and the Committee came
 “ immediately to those Resolutions, to which
 “ the House agreed, after some Debate on
 “ Thursday following, being the 9th of Sep-
 “ tember, viz. *That the Book entitul’d, Chri-
 “ stianity not Mysterious, containing several
 “ Heretical Doctrines contrary to the Chri-
 “ stian Religion and the establish’d Church
 “ of Ireland, be publickly burnt by the hands
 “ of the common Hangman. Likewise, That
 “ the Author thereof JOHN TOLAND be taken
 “ into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms,
 “ and be prosecuted by Mr. Attorney Gene-
 “ ral, for writing and publishing the said
 “ Book. They order’d too, That an Address
 “ should be made to the Lords Justices to
 “ give Directions that no more Copies of
 “ that Book be brought into the Kingdom,
 “ and to prevent the selling of those already
 “ imported. Their Sentence was executed on
 “ the Book the Saturday following, which
 “ was the 11th of September, before the Par-
 “ liament-*

“liament-House Gate, and also in the open
 “street before the Town-House; the Sheriffs
 “and all the Constables attending.”

UPON this, Mr. TOLAND very wisely
 took his way back into England. “Mr. TOLAND,
 “LAND, *says* Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr.
 “LOCKE (18), is, at last, driven out of
 “our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman by
 “his imprudent Management, had raised
 “such an universal Outcry, that it was even
 “dangerous for a man to have been known
 “once to converse with him. This made
 “all men wary of reputation decline seeing
 “him; in so much that at last he wanted a
 “meal’s-meat (as I am told) and none would
 “admit him to their tables. The little stock
 “of Money which he brought into this Coun-
 “trety being exhausted, he fell to borrowing
 “from any one that would lend him half a
 “Crown, and run in debt for his Wigs,
 “Cloaths, and Lodging, (as I am inform’d;)”
 “and last of all, to compleat his hard-
 “ships, the Parliament fell on his Book,
 “voted it to be burnt by the common hang-
 “man, and ordered the Author to be taken
 “into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and
 “to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General
 “at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this
 “Kingdom, and none here knows where
 “he has directed his Course.”

Dr.

Dr. SOUTH was so well pleas'd with this conduct of the Irish Parliament, that he complemented the Archbishop of Dublin upon it, in the Dedication of his third Volume of *Sermons*, printed in 1698. After having condemn'd our remissness here in England, for bearing with Dr. SHERLOCK, whose notions of the Trinity he charges with Heresy; he adds, "But on the contrary amongst you, when a certain *Mahometan Christian* (no new thing of late), notorious for his blasphemous denial of the *Mysteries* of our Religion, and his insufferable virulence against the whole *Christian Priesthood*, thought to have found shelter amongst you, the *Parliament* to their immortal Honour, presently sent him packing, and without the help of a *Faggot* soon made the Kingdom *too Hot* for him."

AS soon as he was in London, he publish'd an apologetical account of the treatment he had receiv'd in Ireland, intitled: *An Apology for Mr. TOLAND, in a Letter from himself to a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland; written the day before his Book was resolv'd to be burnt by the Committee of Religion. To which is prefix'd a Narrative containing the occasion of the said Letter.*

IN the year 1698, after the Peace of Ryswick, there arose a great dispute among our Politicians, concerning the forces to be kept on foot, for the quiet and security of the nation. Several Pamphlets came out on that subject: some for, others against, a standing Army. Mr. TOLAND propos'd to reform the Militia, in a Pamphlet, intitled: *The Militia Reformed; or an easy Scheme of furnishing England with a constant Land Force, capable to prevent or to subdue any forein Power; and to maintain perpetual quiet at home, without endangering the publick Liberty.* In 8°.

THE same year he published the *Life of JOHN MILTON*, which was prefix'd to his *Works* collected together (except the Poetical part) in three volumes in folio; the two first containing the English, and the third the Latin Pieces. It was also printed separately in 8°, with this title: *The Life of JOHN MILTON, containing, besides the History of his Works, several extraordinary Characters of Men, of Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.* There, speaking of MILTON's *Iconoclastes*, he not only gave an account of that performance, as his plan required he should; but he thought fit likewise to enter upon the Controversy, that had been lately carry'd on with great heat concerning the Author of *Icon Basilike*, and to sum up and enforce the arguments

guments of those who deny'd it to be a production of King CHARLES I. In the close of that digression he shew'd by what nice and unforeseen accidents this *notorious imposture*, as he calls it, happen'd to be discover'd; and from thence took occasion to make the following observation :

“ WHEN I seriously consider, *says he* (19),
 “ how all this happen'd among ourselves with-
 “ in the compass of forty years, in a time of
 “ great Learning and Politeness, when both
 “ Parties so narrowly watch'd over one ano-
 “ ther's actions, and what a great Revolution in
 “ civil and religious Affairs was partly occa-
 “ sion'd by the credit of that Book, I cease to
 “ wonder any longer how so many suppositi-
 “ tious pieces under the name of CHRIST, his
 “ Apostles, and other great Persons, should be
 “ published and approv'd in those primitive
 “ times, when it was of so much importance
 “ to have 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were
 “ too many on all sides for them to reproach
 “ one another, which yet they often did; when
 “ Commerce was not near so general as now,
 “ and the whole earth intirely over-spread
 “ with the darknes of Superstition. I doubt
 “ rather the Spuriousness of several more such
 “ Books is yet undiscover'd, thro' the remote-
 “ ness of those Ages, the death of the Persons
 con-

“ concern’d, and the decay of other Monu-
 “ ments which might give true Information.

THIS passage was censur’d by Mr. OS-
 SPRING BLACKALL, then Chaplain in ordi-
 nary to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Ex-
 ceter, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of
 January following before the House of Com-
 mons. After exclaiming against the Author
 of MILTON’s *Life* for denying *Icon Basilike*
 to be the composure of King CHARLES I;
 he pursued his accusation in these terms: “ We
 “ may cease to wonder *says he* (20), that
 “ he should have the boldness, without proof,
 “ and against proof, to deny the Authority
 “ of this Book, who is such an Infidel as to
 “ doubt, and is shameless and impudent e-
 “ nough, even in print, and in a Christian
 “ Country, publickly to affront our holy Re-
 “ ligion, by declaring his doubt, that *several*
 “ *Pieces under the Name of CHRIST and his*
 “ *Apostles*, (he must mean those now receiv’d
 “ by the whole Christian Church, for I know
 “ of no other) *are supposititious; tho’ thro*
 “ *the remoteness of those Ages, the Death of*
 “ *the Persons concern’d, and the decay of other*
 “ *Monuments which might give us true Infor-*
 “ *mation, the spuriousness thereof is yet undis-*
 “ *cover’d.*” Thus, Mr. BLACKALL charged Mr.
 TOLAND with *declaring* that there were *several*

(20) *A Sermon preach’d before the Honourable House of Com-
 mons, Jan. 30th, 1698* 9. Lond. 1698. pag. 16.

ral Pieces under the name of CHRIST and his Apostles, the spuriousness whereof he suspected ; and from thence he inferr'd that Mr. TOLAND must mean those now receiv'd by the whole Christian Church, or the Books of the New Testament ; because he, Mr. BLACKALL, knew of no other that went under the name of CHRIST and his Apostles.

Mr. TOLAND thought fit to vindicate himself from this imputation of Mr. BLACKALL : and at the same time, he undertook to confute the reasons, which Mr. WAGSTAFFE had alledged, to prove that King CHARLES I. was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*, in a Pamphlet printed in 1693, with this title: *A Vindication of King CHARLES the Martyr, proving that his Majesty was the Author of Ἐικὼν Βασιλική: against a Memorandum, said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey ; and against the Exceptions of Dr. WALKER, and others.* In answer to both these Authors, Mr. TOLAND publish'd, *Amyntor : or, a Defence of MILTON's Life. Containing, I. A general Apology for all Writings of that kind. II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the primitive times to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles and other eminent Persons : With several important Remarks and Observations relating to the Canon of Scripture. III. A compleat History of the Book, entitul'd, Icon Basilike, proving Dr. GAUDEN, and not King*
 CHARLES

CHARLES *the first*, to be the Author of it
With an Answer to the Facts alledg'd by
Mr. WAGSTAF to the contrary; and to the
Exceptions against my Lord Anglesey's
Memorandum, Dr. WALKER's Book, or Mrs.
GAUDEN's Narrative, which last Piece is
now the first time publish'd at large.

I shall not take notice of what Mr. TOLAND observes concerning *Icon Basilike*: the title of his Book expresses it sufficiently. As to Mr. BLACKALL's charge, after having transcrib'd the passage in the *Life of MILTON* excepted against, "Here then, *says he* (21),
 "in the first place, it is plain, that, I say, a
 "great many spurious Books were early fa-
 "ther'd on CHRIST, his Apostles, and other
 "great Names, part whereof are still acknow-
 "ledg'd to be genuin, and the rest to be forg'd,
 "in neither of which Assertions I cou'd be
 "justly suppos'd to mean any Books of the
 "New Testament, as I shall presently evince.
 "But Mr. BLACKHALL affirms, That I must
 "intend *those now receiv'd by the whole*
 "*Christian Church, for he knows of no o-*
 "*ther.* A cogent Argument truly! and clear-
 "ly proves his Logic to be just of a piece
 "with his Reading. But had Mr. BLAC-
 "KALL been dispos'd to deal ingenuously
 "with me, he might see, without the help
 "of the Fathers, that I did not mean the
 "Books

“ Books of the New Testament, when I
 “ mention’d Supposititious Pieces under the
 “ Name of CHRIST, since there is none a-
 “ scribed to him in the whole Bible; nor do
 “ we read any where that he wrote any
 “ thing Now to convince all the
 “ world that I did not intend by those Pieces
 “ the Books of the New Testament, as well
 “ as to shew the Rashness and Uncharitable-
 “ ness of Mr. BLACKHALL’S Assertion, I shall
 “ here insert a large Catalogue of Books an-
 “ ciently ascribed to JESUS CHRIST, his Apo-
 “ stles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and
 “ Contemporaries.”

THEN he gives a *Catalogue of Books mention’d by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascribed to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, and other eminent Persons*: which, for its exactness and accuracy, has been commended by several learned men abroad, and even by some of Mr. TOLAND’S Adversaries at home (22). After having given that Catalogue, he proceeds thus:

“ HERE’S, *says he* (23), a long List for
 “ Mr. BLACKALL, who, ’tis probable, will
 “ not think the more meanly of himself for
 “ being unacquainted with these Pieces; nor,
 “ if that were all, should I be forward to think
 “ the

(22) That *Catalogue* enlarged and corrected, the Reader will find in this *Collection*, Vol. I. pag. 350.

(23) *Ibid.* pag. 42, &c.

“ the worse of him on this account: but I
 “ think he is to blame for denying that there
 “ were any such, because he knew nothing
 “ of ’em; much less should he infer from
 “ thence, that I deny’d the Scriptures; which
 “ Scandal however, because manifestly proceed-
 “ ing from Ignorance, I heartily forgive him,
 “ as every good Christian ought to do.

“ T O explain now therefore the several
 “ Members of the Passage in MILTON’S Life:
 “ In the first place, by the spurious Pieces I
 “ meant, tho’ not all, yet a good parcel of
 “ those Books in the Catalogue, which I am
 “ persuaded were partly forged by some more
 “ zealous than discreet Christians, to supply
 “ the brevity of the Apostolic Memoirs; part-
 “ ly by designing Men to support their private
 “ Opinions, which they hop’d to effect by
 “ virtue of such respected Authorities: and
 “ some of ’em, I doubt, were invented by
 “ Heathens and Jews to impose on the Cre-
 “ dularity of many well-dispos’d persons, who
 “ greedily swallow’d any Book for Divine
 “ Revelation that contain’d a great many Mi-
 “ racles, mixt with a few good Morals, while
 “ their Adversaries laugh in their sleeves all
 “ the while, to see their tricks succeed, and
 “ were rivett’d in their ancient Prejudices by
 “ the greater Superstition of such Enthusiasts.

“ IN the second place, by the Book of
 “ whose spuriouſness I said the World was
 VOL. I. * C “ not

“ not yet convinc’d, tho’ in my private Opini-
 “ on I could not think ’em genuin, I meant
 “ those of the other great Persons, or the
 “ suppos’d Writings of certain Apostolic Men
 “ (as they call ’em) which are at this present,
 “ as well as in ancient times, read with ex-
 “ traordinary Veneration. And they are the E-
 “ pistle of BARNABAS, the Pastor of HERMAS,
 “ the Epistle of POLYCARPUS to the Philippians,
 “ the first Epistle of CLEMENS ROMANUS to the
 “ Corinthians, and the seven Epistles of IG-
 “ NATIUS. These are generally receiv’d in the
 “ Church of Rome, and also by most Pro-
 “ testants; but those of the Church of Eng-
 “ land have particularly signaliz’d themselves
 “ in their Defence, and by publishing the cor-
 “ rectest Impressions of them. The Ancients
 “ paid them the highest respect, and reckon’d
 “ the first four of them especially, as good as
 “ any part of the New Testament: &c.

Mr. TOLAND’S Defence engaged Mr. BLACK-
 KALL to put out a Pamphlet, entitled: *Mr.*
BLACKALL’S Reasons for not replying to a
Book lately published, entituled, Amyntor.
In a Letter to a Friend. I charg’d Mr. TO-
 LAND, says he, with doubting of the Authori-
 ty of the Books of the New Testament: but
 he declares that he does not mean those Books:
 therefore we are now agreed; there can be
 no dispute between us on that subject. “ All
 “ that I could say to this, *pursues he*, (if I
 “ had a mind to reply to this part of his
 “ Book)

“ Book) would be only to give the world
 “ the Reason that made me think, he meant
 “ some of the Books of the New Testament;
 “ which was this: that he having spoken be-
 “ fore of *supposititious Pieces under the name*
 “ *of CHRIST and his Apostles*, as well as of
 “ other great Persons; it was very reasonable
 “ to think, when immediately after, in the
 “ same Period he speaks of *several more such*
 “ *Books*, the spuriousness of which is not yet
 “ discover’d, he had meant *several*, some at
 “ least, of all the sorts before mention’d;
 “ that is, some under the name of CHRIST,
 “ and some under the name of his Apostles,
 “ as well as some under the name of the o-
 “ ther great Persons. For how should I know
 “ what he meant by *such Books*, but by
 “ looking back, and seeing what Books he
 “ had spoken of before? And finding that
 “ he had there spoken, not only of Books
 “ under the name of other great Persons, but
 “ likewise *under the name of CHRIST and his*
 “ *Apostles*, what could I understand by *such*
 “ *Books*, but some Books under the name of
 “ CHRIST and his Apostles, as well as some
 “ under the name of other great Persons?
 “ And if he did not mean so, or would not
 “ have been thought to have meant so;
 “ he ought, I think, to have distinguish’d
 “ and have made that Passage which I
 “ excepted against, an intire sentence by
 “ it self; and have said plainly, that tho’
 “ he thought some Books spurious, which

“ some others believed to be genuine, they
 “ were only some pieces that had been ascribed
 “ to the other great Men, but not any
 “ of those that were receiv’d as Pieces of
 “ CHRIST or his Apostles; and if he had
 “ written his mind thus clearly, I should no
 “ more have excepted against this Passage than
 “ I did against the former.

I leave it to you, SIR, who are an excellent Logician, to judge of the pertinency of this Answer. I shall only observe, that Mr. TOLAND after having thus profess’d, that in the aforesaid passage he had no view to the books of the New Testament; he notwithstanding endeavour’d by several suggestions and insinuations to make the Authority of the present Canon suspicious and precarious. But he was answer’d by some of our Divines; as by Mr. (now Dr.) SAMUEL CLARKE, in a small Tract, intitled: *Some Reflections on that part of a Book called Amyntor, or the Defence of MILTON’S Life, which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament. In a Letter to a friend:* by Mr. STEPHEN NYE in his *Historical Account and Defence of the Canon of the New Testament. In Answer to AMYNTOR:* and by Mr. JOHN RICHARDSON, B. D. formerly Fellow of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, in *The Canon of the New Testament vindicated; in Answer to the Objections of J. T. in his AMYNTOR.*

THAT

THAT part of *Amyntor*, which related to *Icon Basiliæ*, was answer'd by Mr. WASTAFFE, in a Pamphlet call'd, *A Defence of the Vindication of King CHARLES the Martyr: justifying his Title to EIKON BASILIKÈ. In Answer to a late Pamphlet intitled, Amyntor. By the Author of the Vindication.* If you desire to see all that Mr. WASTAFFE has offer'd with respect to this Controversy, you will find it summ'd up and digested in the third Edition of his *Vindication*, printed in 1711: *A Vindication of K. CHARLES the Martyr: proving that his Majesty was the Author of EIKON BASILIKÈ, Against a Memorandum said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey; And, against the Exceptions of Dr. WALKER and others. To which is added a Preface, wherein the bold and insolent Assertions, published in a Passage of Mr. BAYLÏ's Dictionary, relating to the present Controversy, are examined and confuted. The third Edition, with large Additions; together with some original Letters of King CHARLES the first under his own Hand, never before printed, and faithfully copied from the said Originals.* In the Preface he falls foul upon Mr. BAYLÏ, and is likewise very angry with the Author of his *Life* (subjoin'd to the English Translation of his *Reflections upon the Comets*, printed in 1709) for observing that in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, he relates historical facts with

a perfect disinterestedness and impartiality. The matter of fact is this. Mr. BAYLE having given an Article of MILTON in the first Edition of his Dictionary, when he was about correcting and enlarging it for a second Edition, he was inform'd that Mr. TOLAND had publish'd the Life of that celebrated Author, and desir'd to read it in order to improve that Article. But as he did not understand English, he had some Abstracts made of it in Latin, and took his Additions from them; and among others he gave an account of *Icon Basilike*, agreeable to Mr. TOLAND's assertions, or rather according to the Latin Abstracts of his Book, which he carefully cites in the margin. And for a further caution, he makes this general Remark, which Mr. WAGSTAFFE has transcrib'd in his Preface (24) but with some omissions whereof I shall take notice. "Note, *says Mr. BAYLE*, "that in all this, I neither ought, nor can be "consider'd, but as a mere Transcriber of "MILTON's Life publish'd in English". Mr. BAYLE's words are: *comme un simple traducteur des extraits Latins que j'ai fait faire du livre Anglois que je cite*: i. e. "as a mere "translator of the Latin Abstracts I procured "of the English Book (*Amyntor*) which I cite." "Note also, *pursues Mr. BAYLE*, that this "Passage of the Life of MILTON has been "oppos'd; for Mr. WAGSTAFFE publish'd some "Observations, to weaken the Testimony of
" my

“ my Lord ANGLESEY, the Narrative of Dr.
 “ WALKER, and the Papers of Mr. NORTH.
 “ But Mr. TOLAND hath refuted them all in
 “ his *Amyntor*, wherein he hath farther dis-
 “ cuss’d all the Testimonies that are alledg’d
 “ to assert the *Icon Basiliæ* to King CHARLES
 “ the first. I was told, that as to both these
 “ Parts * of his Apology, he has omitted no-
 “ thing that was necessary to maintain the
 “ full Evidence of his Proofs, and all the
 “ strength they appear’d to have before any
 “ one wrote against them. This is all that
 “ I can say, having never read any thing that
 “ was written against him, or what was re-
 “ plied by him.” The French hath, *n’ayant*
point lu ce qu’on a fait contre lui, ni ce qu’il
a repliqué, & ne le pouvant point entendre,
car ce sont tous livres Anglois: i. e. “hav-
 “ ing never read what was written against
 “ him, nor what was reply’d by him, and
 “ not being able to understand it, for all
 “ these Books are in English.

AND now, SIR, I appeal to your equi-
 ty, whether Mr. BAYLE cou’d have acted in
 this matter with more caution, impartiality,
 and disinterestedness? But it may be ask’d
 why did he not give an account of Mr. WAG-
 STAFFE’S Answer? Why, truly, because he
 had it not, and was assured by persons, who

* C 4

seem’d

* That is to say, the Answer to the Objections of Mr.
 WAGSTAFFE, and the Answer to the direct Proofs alledg’d
 by the Partizans of King CHARLES.

seem'd to him proper judges, that there was not much in it. Besides, whatever good opinion Mr. WAGSTAFFE might have of his own performance, he ought not to expect that Mr. BAYLE would enter into the bottom of that Controversy, without verifying his quotations, comparing the Arguments of both sides, and consequently, having all the Pamphlets publish'd on that occasion translated into Latin. But on the other side, why did Mr. WAGSTAFFE leave out of the aforesaid passage, this material circumstance, that Mr. BAYLE declares he did not understand English, and was oblig'd to procure some Latin Abstracts of Mr. TOLAND's Book? Was he afraid it would not have serv'd his turn? In short, if he was so tender on that point, why did he not send him a Latin Translation of his two Pamphlets, to be made use of in the Supplement of his Dictionary? The second Edition of that Dictionary came out in the beginning of the year 1702, and Mr. BAYLE liv'd five years longer: why did he chuse to raise all this Clamour, and endeavour to asperse and blacken his Memory nine or ten years after, in 1711?

BUT to give you a specimen of Mr. WAGSTAFFE's temper, accuracy, and judgment, I will transcribe here what he says on occasion of PAMELA's Prayer. Mr. BAYLE, *says he*, (25)
 “ has

“ has given PAMELA'S Prayer at large, com-
 “ par'd it with the *Arcadia*, and set down
 “ in two Columns one against another; and
 “ to what purpose was this inserted. . . . He
 “ says indeed, that MILTON *made a great*
 “ *noise about it*, and that is true; but what
 “ follows, that MILTON *plac'd that Parallel*
 “ *at the end of his Answer*, is a plain and
 “ notorious Falshood; for MILTON himself,
 “ placed neither the Prayer nor the Parallel
 “ at the end of his Answer, but Mr. TOLAND
 “ plac'd them there many years after MIL-
 “ TON'S Death. So that in this short Para-
 “ graph, we have abundant Evidences, not
 “ only of his Negligence, Partiality and Ma-
 “ lice, but of his Unaccurateness also; each
 “ of which sits very heavy on his Character.”

THIS is a heinous Charge indeed, brought
 in with great confidence; but you'll presently
 see that there is not the least foundation for
 it. Mr. WAGSTAFFE represents Mr. BAYLE
 as grounding his assertion upon the English
 Original of MILTON'S *Iconoclastes*; whereas
 he made use of a French Translation of that
 Book, printed in 1652, by DU GARD, and he
 gives the title of it at large. The two Prayers,
 he transcrib'd out of that Translation, where-
 in they are set in two Parallel Columns; and
 in the margin he refers to the page where they
 are to be found, thus: MILTON, *pag. m. 24.*
de l'Iconoclastes. Moreover, at the end of
 the two Prayers, he gives a short Advertise-
 ment

ment of the French Translator relating to PAMELA's Prayer. He took for granted that this Translation was agreeable to the Original; and if he was misled by the Translator, how could he help it? There is greater reason to wonder, how Mr. WAGSTAFFE could overlook all these particulars: and one might, I fear, retort his own words upon him, and observe *that in this short Paragraph we have abundant Evidences, not only of his Negligence, Partiality, and Malice, but of his Unaccurateness also.*

I shall make no Apology for this Digression. I know that Mr. BAYLE had a great share in your esteem; and don't doubt but you'll be pleas'd to see justice done to his Memory. This task properly belong'd to the Author of his *Life*, as being more particularly concern'd: but since he hath thought fit to be silent, I was glad to find this occasion to vindicate so great a Man as Mr. BAYLE. Let us now return to Mr. TOLAND.

IN the same year (25) 1699, he publish'd the *Memoirs of Denzil Lord HOLLES, Baron of Ifield in Suffex, from the year 1641 to 1648.* The Manuscript was put into his hands by the late Duke of NEWCASTLE, who
 WAS

(25) The Author of these Memoirs might have observ'd, that this year Mr. TOLAND took a turn into Holland, as it appears by some Letters in this *Collection.* See Vol. II. pag. 535, 535.

was one of his patrons and benefactors; and he dedicated them to his Grace. He did likewise prefix a Preface.

IN 1700, he publish'd HARRINGTON'S *Oceana*, with some other Pieces of that ingenious Author, which had not been yet printed: *The Oceana of JAMES HARRINGTON, and his other Works, some whereof are now first publish'd from his own Manuscripts. The whole collect'd, methodiz'd, and review'd, with an exact account of his Life prefix'd, by JOHN TOLAND.* In folio.

HE closes the Preface, with giving notice that this Life of HARRINGTON shall be the last Life but one, which he intends to write of any modern person. "As for myself," *says he*, tho' no employment or condition of life shall make me disrelish the lasting entertainment which Books afford; yet I have resolv'd not to write the Life of any modern Person again, except that only of one Man still alive, and who in the ordinary course of nature I am like to survive a long while, he being already far advanc'd in his declining time, and I but this present day beginning the thirtieth year of my age." That Preface being dated, November 30, 1699; we find here the precise time of his birth.

IN the conclusion of the Life, he makes the following Declaration: “ If I write, *says* “ *he*, any thing hereafter (either as oblig’d “ by duty, or to amuse idle time) I have de- “ termin’d it shall not concern personal Dis- “ putes, or the narrow interests of jarring “ Factions, but something of universal bene- “ fit, and which all sides may indifferently “ read. Without such provocations as no “ man ought to endure, this is my fix’d re- “ solution; and I particularly desire that none “ may blame me for acting otherwise, who “ force me to do so themselves.” This he said, I suppose, with respect to the disputes he had been engaged in. How he kept this resolution, will appear in the sequel.

ABOUT the same time, came out a Pamphlet, intitl’d, *Clito, a Poem on the force of Eloquence*. The Editor tells us, that Mr. TOLAND is the Author of it, and that he is understood in the Poem by ADEISIDÆMON, which signifies *unsuperstitious*. The plan of that Piece is this. CLITO asks ADEISIDÆMON how far the force of Eloquence can go,

*To teach Mankind those Truths which
they mistake,
And who the noble Task durst undertake?*

ADEISI-

ADEISIDEMON undertakes that task, and tells him all the great and surprizing things he can perform, even with respect to religious matters :

*Nor will I here desist : all holy Cheats
Of all Religions shall partake my Threats,
Whether with sable Gowns they shew their
Pride,
Or under Cloaks their Knavery they hide,
Or whatso'er disguise they chuse to wear,
To gull the People, while their Spoils they
share, &c.*

THIS Piece was animadverted upon in a Letter, written, as it seems, by a Clergy-man, and publish'd with another Letter of the same Author against FULLER: *Mr. TOLAND's CLITO dissected: and FULLER's plain Proof of the true Mother of the pretended Prince of Wales made out to be no proof. In two Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London.* His Remarks are very severe, not to say abusive; as you may judge by the following passage: "As for the Name
" of the Poem, *says he* (27), how he comes
" to call it CLITO, or, *the force of Elo-*
" *quence*, when he himself, not his pretend-
" ed Friend, acts the Orator, I know not,
" and it looks something like a mistake. Had
" he

“ he given it the Heathenish name of TO-
 “ LAND, or ADEISIDEMON, I am apt to
 “ think this abominable issue of his brain
 “ would have had a more significant appella-
 “ tion. And tho CLITO be too good a
 “ Name, for a person who has any intimacy
 “ with a Man of his Character, yet I must
 “ join with him in approving his choice of
 “ ADEISIDEMON for himself; which is in
 “ downright English (not Unsuperstitious, as
 “ he terms it) but *one that fears neither*
 “ *God nor Devil.*”

IN the beginning of the year 1701, he
 publish'd a Book, intitled, *The Art of Go-*
verning by Parties : particularly in Religion,
in Politicks, in Parliament, on the Bench,
and in the Ministry ; with the ill effects of
Parties on the People in general, the King
in particular, and all our foren Affairs ; as
well as on our Credit and Trade, in Peace
or War, &c. His name no where appears in
 this Book, which he dedicated to the King,
 with this pretty singular Inscription : *To*
 WILLIAM III. *King of England, Scotland,*
France, and Ireland : Statholder of Guelder-
land, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Over-
yssel : supreme Magistrat of the two most
potent and flourishing Commonwealths in the
Universe. In the first Chapter, he observes,
 that “ till the accession of the STUARTS to
 “ the Imperial Throne of this Realm, we
 “ never knew *the Art of Governing by Par-*
 “ *ties.*”

“ *ties*. It was set on foot among us by the
 “ first of that Race, and was daily improv-
 “ ing under his Successor, till at last it fa-
 “ tally turn’d on himself, and depriv’d him
 “ both of his Crown and Life. But because
 “ *says he*, this execrable Policy was brought
 “ to perfection under CHARLES II, I shall
 “ display some of its worst effects in his
 “ Reign, and the dismal influence it has on
 “ all our Affairs ev’n at this time.

ABOUT the same time Mr. TOLAND put out a Pamphlet, call’d, *Propositions for uniting the two East-India Companies: in a Letter to a Man of Quality, who desir’d the Opinion of a Gentleman not concerned in either Company*. In 4^o.

IN March following, Mr. TOLAND being inform’d that the lower House of Convocation had appointed a Committee to examine Books lately publish’d against the Christian Religion, or the establish’d Church of England, and that his *Christianity not Mysterious* and his *Amyntor* were under the consideration of that Committee; he writ two Letters to Dr. HOOPER, Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation, either to give such satisfaction as should induce them to stop their proceedings, or desiring to be heard in his own defence before they pass’d any Censure on his Writings. But “ the lower
 “ House

I THE LIFE OF

“ *retical, impious, and immoral, is contrary*
 “ *to any Law?* To which they receiv’d an
 “ Answer in the Affirmative: Secondly,
 “ *Whether the Positions* (they had extracted
 “ *out of Christianity not Mysterious)* *were*
 “ *such an opinion as is contrary to any Law?*
 “ to which it was answer’d in the Negative.
 “ Nor did they content themselves with this
 “ Advice, but they inquir’d besides what had
 “ been formerly done in such Cases, and
 “ found that on a Complaint being exhibited
 “ against some Books by the lower to the
 “ upper House, in the year 1689, the Learn-
 “ ed in both the Laws were of Opinion they
 “ cou’d not proceed judicially in such Mat-
 “ ters.”

AFTER the Death of the Duke of Glo-
 ceſter, it was thought neceſſary to make a
 further proviſion for the Succeſſion of the
 Crown in the Proteſtant Line. Accordingly
 in June 1701, an *Act* was paſſ’d *for the fur-*
ther Limitation of the Crown, by ſettling it,
 after the deceaſe of King WILLIAM and the
 Princeſs ANNE of Denmark, and for default
 of their Iſſue, upon the Princeſs SOPHIA,
 Electreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of Hanover,
 and the Heirs of her body being Proteſtants:
 and in the ſame Act a proviſion was likewiſe
 made *for better ſecuring the Rights and Li-*
berties of the Subjects. Mr. TOLAND pub-
 liſh’d on that occaſion a Book, intitled, *Anglia Libera: or, the Limitation and Succeſ-*
ſion

sion of the Crown of England explain'd and asserted; as ground'd on his Majesty's Speech; the Proceedings in Parliament; the Desires of the People; the Safety of our Religion; the Nature of our Constitution; the Balance of Europe; and the Rights of Mankind. He gives the plan or design of this Book, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Duke of NEWCASTLE. "The new *Limitations of the Crown*,
 " *says he*, are the subject of the following
 " Discourse, which is written, first, to con-
 " vince our own People of their future safe-
 " ty against Popery and Arbitrary Power;
 " and that his present Majesty has not only
 " made us a freer Nation than he found us,
 " but has also rais'd our Liberty to a degree
 " scarce to be exceeded by all his successors:
 " Secondly, to show all persons both at home
 " and abroad, that the Proceedings of the
 " Parliament on this occasion are agreeable
 " to the Principles of Justice and the ends of
 " all good Government, as well as according to
 " the constant practice of this Kingdom: And
 " thirdly, to acquaint the House of Hanover
 " with the true nature of their Title, and the
 " frame of that Government to which they
 " are like to succeed; what confidence our
 " People repose in their Virtues from his
 " Majesty's Recommendation; how alive they
 " may command the Love of their Subjects,
 " and when dead enjoy the Veneration of all
 " Posterity."

THE King having sent the late Earl of MACCLESFIELD to Hanover with the Act of Succession, Mr. TOLAND took this opportunity to go thither. He presented his *Anglia Libera* to her Electoral Highness the Princess SOPHIA, and was (30) the first who had the honour of kneeling and kissing her Hand on account of the Act of Succession. The Earl of MACCLESFIELD was pleas'd to recommend him, particularly to Her Highness. Mr. TOLAND stay'd there five or six weeks: and upon his departure, their Highnesses the Electress Dowager, and the Elector, were pleas'd to present him with several Gold Medals, as a princely acknowledgment for the Book he had wrote about the Succession, in defence of their title and family. Her Highness condescended to give him likewise the Pictures of herself, the Elector, the young Prince, and of her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, done in oil colours. The Earl of MACCLESFIELD in his return, waited upon the King at Loo, and gave an Account of his Negotiation to his Majesty. " There, *says Mr Tol-*
 " LAND (31), he presented me to kiss his
 " Majesty's Hand, and took off those impres-
 " sions which might have been made upon
 " him, by some of them who endeavour'd
 " to prepossess him against those that were
 " the

(30) See the *Account of the Court of Hanover*, p. m. 49.
 63, 69. and *Vindicius Liberius*, p. 154, 155.

(31) *An Account*, &c. p. 64.

“ the most zealous for his service, and the
 “ most faithful in his Interests. My Lord
 “ himself went with a prejudice against me
 “ to Hanover, where he was throughly unde-
 “ ceiv'd, and became my hearty Patron, till
 “ just on his going home he was remov'd by
 “ death from the service of his country and
 “ his friends.

ON the 11th of November, a Proclamation was issued out dissolving the present Parliament, and calling another to meet the 30th of December. While the Candidates were making interest in their respective Counties, Mr. TOLAND publish'd the following Advertisement in the Post-Man (32): *There having been a public Report as if Mr. TOLAND stood for Blechingley in Surry, 'tis thought fit to advertise that Sir ROBERT CLAYTON has given his Interest in that Borough to an eminent Citizen; and that Mr. TOLAND hath no thoughts of standing there or any where else.* This Advertisement afforded matter of pleasantry to an anonymous Writer, who publish'd a little Pamphlet, intitled: *Modesty mistaken: or, a Letter to Mr. TOLAND, upon his declining to appear in the ensuing Parliament.* He begins his Letter thus: “ A-
 “ mongst all the News of this busy Sea-
 “ son, no report has affected me so peculiarly,

* D 3

“ as

“ as that of your Inclination to fill a seat in
 “ the Grand approaching Council; for I am
 “ persuaded, that not only our Civil Interest,
 “ but our Religion has some dependance on
 “ the Issue of the next Debates; and I have
 “ long known your Talents, whether in Po-
 “ liticks or Theology, to be so weighty, as
 “ to qualify you at once for a Good Old
 “ *Committee Man*, and for a Member of that
 “ *Healing Synod*, the *Assembly of Divines*.
 “ It was with this double justice to your
 “ Merit that I lately confounded an Acade-
 “ mical Fop; who speaking of your Book-
 “ learn'd Antagonist, the late Bishop of *Wor-*
 “ *cester*, and gravely styling him a *Body of*
 “ *Divinity*, was by me given to understand,
 “ that what the Bishop had in *Profundity*,
 “ Mr. TOLAND made out in *Latitude*; and
 “ that if the one was *Corpus Theologiae*, the
 “ other was *Tractatus-theologico-politicus* :
 “ &c.

THE King's Speech at the opening of the
 Parliament gave Mr. TOLAND occasion to pub-
 lish, *Paradoxes of State, relating to the pre-*
sent juncture of affairs in England and the
rest of Europe; chiefly grounded on his Ma-
jesty's princely, pious, and most gracious Speech.
 1702, 4°.

SOON after he put out another Pam-
 phlet, containing, I. *Reasons for addressing his*
Majesty to invite into England their High-
nesses,

nesses, the Electress Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover: And likewise, II. Reasons for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any claim, right, or title from the late King JAMES and Queen MARY. With Arguments for making a vigorous War against France. 1702, 4°.

THIS was writ against by LUKE MILBURN, in a Pamphlet call'd, *An Answer to Mr. TOLAND'S Reasons for addressing his Majesty to invite into England their Highnesses, the Electress Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover. And also to his Reasons for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, &c. 1702, 4°.*

MR. TOLAND had the satisfaction to see that the Parliament pass'd an *Act for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of WALES of High Treason*: and another *Act for the further Security of his Majesty's person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and all other Pretenders and their open and secret abettors*, which enjoin'd the taking an *Oath of Abjuration* of the Pretender. The King gave his Royal Assent to these two Acts by Commission, on the 2^d and 7th of March, and died on the 8th of the same month.

THE difference which had happen'd the year before between the two Houses of Convocation, on account of their Jurisdiction, having occasion'd several Pamphlets, wherein a relation was given of their Proceedings against *Christianity not Mysterious*; and Mr. TOLAND finding himself ill us'd in those that were written in favour of the Lower House; he publish'd, *Vindicius Libericus: or, Mr. TOLAND'S Defence of himself, against the Lower House of Convocation and others; wherein (besides his Letters to the Prolocutor) certain Passages of the Book, intituld Christianity not Mysterious are explain'd, and others Corrected: with a full and clear Account of the Author's Principles relating to Church and State; and a Justification of the Whigs and Common-wealths-men, against the Misrepresentations of all their Opposers.* 1702. 8°.

AFTER the publication of this Book, Mr. TOLAND went to the Courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was receiv'd very graciously by the Princess SOPHIA, and by the Queen of PRUSSIA: two Princesses, who for the delicacy of their Wit, the solidity of their Judgment, and the sublimity of their Genius, will ever be accounted the glory of the fair Sex. The most abstruse points of Philosophy were no more than a matter of diversion to them;

them; and they delighted in conversing about 'em, with men of wit and penetration, whose notions were new or uncommon. Mr. TOLAND had the honour to be often admitted into their Conversation: and as he made a longer stay at Berlin than at Hanover, so he had frequent opportunities of waiting upon the Queen, who took a pleasure in asking him questions, and hearing his paradoxical Opinions. This gave him occasion to write some Pieces, which he presented to her Majesty. There he writ likewise a Relation of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover.

AFTER his return into England, he put out in 1704, some Philosophical Letters, three of which were inscribed to SERENA, that is the Queen of Prussia, who, he assures us, was pleas'd to ask his Opinion concerning the subjects of them: *Letters to SERENA: containing, I. The Origin and Force of Prejudices: II. The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens. III. The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism. As also, IV. A Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, showing SPINOZA's System of Philosophy to be without any Principle or Foundation. V. Motion essential to Matter; in answer to some Remarks by a Noble Friend on the Confutation of SPINOZA. To all which is prefix'd, a Preface; being a Letter to a Gentleman in London, sent together with the foregoing Dissertations, and declaring the several Occasions*

casions of writing them. These Letters were animadverted upon by Mr. WOTTON, in a Pamphlet, call'd, *A Letter to EUSEBIA, occasioned by Mr. TOLAND's Letters to SERENA.*

AT the same time he publish'd an English Translation of the *Life of Æsop* by Monsieur DE MEZIRIAC, and dedicated it to ANTHONY COLLINS Esq. It was prefix'd to the Fables of Æsop. *The Fables of Æsop: with the moral Reflexions of Monsieur BAUDOIN. Translated from the French. To which is prefix'd by another hand; The true Life of Æsop, by the most learned and noble Critick Monsieur DE MEZIRIAC, proving by unquestionable Authorities, that ÆSOP was an ingenious, eloquent, and comely person, a Courtier and Philosopher; contrary to the fabulous Relation of the Monk PLANUDES, who makes him stupid, stammering, a buffoon, and monstrously deform'd.*

IN the year 1705, he publish'd the following Pieces :

SOCINIANISM truly stated: being an example of fair dealing in Theological Controversys. To which is prefix'd, Indifference in Disputes: recommended by a Panteist to an Orthodox friend. A Pamphlet

AN Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover: sent to a Minister of State in Holland; dedicated to the Duke of Somerset. This Account was translated into French, Dutch, and High-Dutch. Two Letters were publish'd against it, in Dutch: and indeed, 'tis but an indifferent performance.

THE Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges of the Royal Academy, erected by his Majesty the King of Prussia, in his capital City of Berlin. Translated from the Original.

THE Memorial of the State of England, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Administration: design'd to rectify the mutual Mistakes of Protestants, and to unite their Affections in defence of our Religion and Liberty. This was publish'd without the name of the Author, by the direction of Mr. HARLEY, Secretary of State, and one of his Patrons and Benefactors, against the Memorial of the Church of England, written by Counsellor POOLEY and Dr. DRAKE, with a design to prejudice and influence the People in the Election of the ensuing Parliament, by representing the then Whig Administration as contriving the Destruction of the Church, and countenancing its greatest enemies.

Mr. TOLAND's Book was animadverted upon by THOMAS RAULINS Esq; one of his intimate friends, in a *Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England*, which contain'd several reflections against the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's Conduct the preceding Campaign, as well as against Mr. HARLEY. This Pamphlet did very much exasperate them; and Mr WILLIAM STEPHENS, Rector of Sutton in Surrey, being found the Publisher of it, and refusing to be an evidence against Mr. RAULINS, he was sentenced to stand in the Pillory: but that sentence was afterwards remitted.

Mr. TOLAND was directed to answer Mr. RAULINS's Letter; whereupon he compos'd another Pamphlet, intitled: *A Defence of her Majesty's Administration: particularly, against the notorious forgeries and calumnies with which his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and the right honourable Mr. Secretary HARLEY, are scandalously defam'd and aspers'd in a late scurrilous Invective, entituled, "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England."* This Answer was immediately sent to the press: but for some particular reasons it was suppress'd, when six or seven sheets were already printed.

Mr. HARLEY having accidentally found, among some other Manuscripts, a Piece call'd, *Oratio ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos*, he communicated it to Mr. TOLAND, who publish'd it in the beginning of the year 1707, with this title: *Oratio Philippica ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos; maxime verò, nè de Pace cum victis premature agatur: sanctiori Anglorum Concilio exhibita, Anno a Christo nato 1514. Authore Matthæo Cardinale Sedunensi; qui Gallorum ungues non refecandos, sed penitus evelendos esse voluit. Publicâ luce, Diatribâ praeliminari, & Annotationibus donavit JOANNES TOLANDUS.* He publish'd it at the same time in English.

SOON after, he put out *The Elector Palatine's Declaration, lately publish'd, in favour of his Protestant Subjects, and notify'd to her Majesty. To which is prefix'd, An impartial Account of the Causes of those Innovations and Grievances about Religion, which are now so happily redress'd by his Electoral Highness.* This he publish'd at the request of the Elector Palatine's Minister, who at that time had some particular reasons to make himself acceptable to his Master: for he desired to be rais'd from the title of Resident to that of Envoy. Accordingly being inform'd by Mr. TOLAND, with whom he was intimately acquainted, of his design

of

of going into Germany, he encourag'd him to wait upon the Elector, and gave him Instructions concerning the management of this Affair.

Mr. TOLAND set out for Germany towards the middle of the Spring. He went first to Berlin : but an incident, too ludicrous to be mentioned in these Memoirs, oblig'd him to leave that place sooner than he expected. From thence he went to Hanover, where he found that they were not pleas'd with some Observations he had made in his *Account of the Court of Hanover*, on the territories of a neighbouring Prince. He proceeded to Dusseldorp, and was very graciously receiv'd by his Electoral Highness, who, in consideration of the English Pamphlet he had publish'd, presented him with a Golden Chain and Medal, and a purse of a hundred Ducats. He went afterwards to Vienna, being commission'd by a famous French Banker, then in Holland, who wanted a powerful protection, to engage the Imperial Ministers to procure him the title of *Count of the Empire*, for which he was ready to pay a good sum of money : but they did not think fit to meddle with that affair, and all his attempts proved unsuccessful. From Vienna he visited Prague in Bohemia, where the Irish Franciscans gave him the Testimonial above-mention'd. And now his money being all spent, he was
forced

forced to make a hard shift to get back to Holland, where he stay'd till the year 1710.

BEING at the Hague, he publish'd in 1709. a Volume containing two Latin Dissertations: the first he call'd, *Adeisdaemon, sive Titus Livius à superstitione vindicatus. In qua Dissertatione probatur, Livium Historicum in Sacris, Prodigis, & Ostentis Romanorum enarrandis, haudquaquam fuisse credulum aut superstitiosum; ipsamque superstitionem non minus Reipublicæ (si non magis) exitiosam esse, quàm purum putum Atheismum. Autore J. TOLANDO.* He prefix'd to it, *Epistola (quæ Præfationis vices supplere possit) ad Do. ANTONIUM COLLINUM Arminigerum, non magis integritate morum quàm ingenii dotibus conspicuum virum.* The second Dissertation bears the title of, *Origines Judaicæ: sive, Strabonis de Moyse & Religione Judaica Historia, breviter illustrata.* In this Dissertation he gives us STRABO's passage in Greek and Latin, with his Observations upon it, wherein he seems to prefer the Account of that Pagan Author concerning MOSES and the Jewish Religion, before the Testimony of the Jews themselves: a most extravagant imagination! In the same Dissertation, he ridicules HUETIUS, who in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, affirms that some eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament are allegoriz'd in the Heathenish Mythology; that MOSES, for instance, is understood

flood by the name of BACCHUS, TYPHO, SI-
LENUS, PRIAPUS, and ADONIS. And here
Mr. TOLAND does not seem to be much in
the wrong. However, HUETIUS was greatly
provok'd at this attack; and he express'd his
resentment in a French *Letter*, first publish'd
in the Journal of Trevoux, and afterwards
printed with some *Dissertations* of HUETIUS,
collected by Abbot TILLADET (33).

THESE two Dissertations of Mr. To-
LAND were answered by Monsieur LA FAYE,
Minister at Utrecht, in a Book printed in 1709,
call'd, *Defensio Religionis, nec non Mosis &*
gentis Judaicæ contra duas Dissertationes Jo.
TOLANDI, quarum una inscribitur, Adesidæ-
mon; altera vero, Antiquitates Judaicæ: and
by Monsieur BENOIST, Minister at Delft, in
his *Mélange de Remarques Critiques, Histo-*
riques, Philosophiques, Theologiques, sur les
deux Dissertations de Mr. TOLAND, intitu-
lées, l'une: l'Homme sans Superstition, &
l'autre; les Origines Judaïques, &c. Printed
at Delft 1712.

HE likewise put out at Amsterdam in 1709,
a second Edition of *Oratio Philippica* &c: to
which he subjoin'd an Invective against the Au-
thor of a Rhapsody publish'd monthly at Pa-
ris, under the title of *Mercuré Galant*, where-
in, as you may easily guess, the Conduct of
the

the Allies, as well as their respective interests, were represented with a notorious partiality : *Gallus Aretalogus, odium orbis & ludibrium : sive Gallantis Mercurii gallantissimus scriptor vapulans.*

IN the beginning of 1710 he publish'd without his name, a French Pamphlet relating to Dr. SACHEVERELL: *Lettre d'un Anglois à un Hollandois, au sujet du Docteur SACHEVERELL, présentement en arrêt par ordre des Communes de la Grande Bretagne; & accusé de hauts Crimes & Malversations à la Barre des Seigneurs.* In 4°.

WHILE he was in Holland, he had the good fortune to get acquainted with Prince EUGENE of Savoy, who gave him several marks of his Generosity.

AFTER his return to England he put out, in 1711, *The Description of Epsom, with the Humours and Politicks of that Place: in a Letter to EUDOKA* (34). There is added, *A Translation of four Letters out of PLINY.* These four Letters he publish'd, as a Specimen of the Translation he was

VOL. I.

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making

(34) That *Description* is inserted in this Collection, Vol. II. pag. 91. but with so many Corrections, Additions, and Notes, that it is in some measure, a new work; and for that reason Mr. TOLAND call'd it, *A new Description of Epsom.*

making of PLINY's *Letters*: but how far he carried that design, I cannot tell (35).

THE year following he publish'd :

A Letter against Popery: particularly against admitting the Authority of Fathers or Councils in Controversies of Religion: by SOPHIA CHARLOTTE the late Queen of Prussia. Being an Answer to a Letter written to her Majesty by Father VOTA, an Italian Jesuit, Confessor to King AUGUSTUS. There is prefix'd by the Publisher, a Letter containing the occasion of the Queen's writing, and an Apology for the Church of England.

HER Majesty's Reasons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of this Realm (36): or, the Preamble to his Patent as Duke of Cambridge. In Latin and English; with Remarks upon the same. In 4°.

THE grand Mystery laid open: namely, by dividing of the Protestants to weaken the Hanover Succession, and by defeating the Succession to extirpate the Protestant Religion. To which is added, The Sacredness of Parliamentary Securities, against those, who wou'd indirectly this year, or more indirectly
the

(35) All the Letters he has translated are in this Collection, Vol. II. pag. 48.

(36) In the year 1706.

the next (if they live so long) attack the publick funds.

AT that time, he undertook to publish a new Edition of C I C E R O's Works by Subscription, and gave an account of his plan in a Dissertation, entitled: *Cicero illustratus, Dissertatio Philologico-Critica: sive Concilium de toto edendo Cicerone, alia planè methodo quàm hactenus unquam factum.* This Piece, I know, you have been enquiring after a long time: but cou'd never meet with it. It is very scarce; and the reason is, that it was never made publick: Mr. T O L A N D having only printed a few Copies at his own charge, to distribute among his friends and Subscribers (37).

I N 1713 he put out, *An Appeal to honest People against wicked Priests: or, the very Heathen Laity's Declarations for Civil Obedience and Liberty of Conscience, contrary to the rebellious and persecuting Principles of some of the old Christian Clergy; with an Application to the corrupt part of the Priests of this present time: publish'd on occasion of Dr. SACHEVERELI's last Sermon.*

DUNKIRK or Dover: or the Queen's Honour, the Nation's Safety, the Liberties
* E 2 of

(37) The Reader will find it in this Collection, Vol. I. pag. 229.

of Europe, and the Peace of the World, all at stake till that Fort and Port be totally demolish'd by the French.

THE year following, he publish'd some other Pamphlets relating to the present situation of Affairs in England: viz.

THE Art of Restoring: Or, the Piety and Frobity of General MONK in bringing about the last Restoration, evidenc'd from his own Authentick Letters: with a just Account of Sir ROGER (38), who runs the Parallel as far as he can. In a Letter to a Minister of State, at the Court of Vienna. There were ten editions of it within a quarter of a year.

A Collection of Letters written by his Excellency General GEORGE MONK, afterwards Duke of ALBEMARLE, relating to the Restoration of the Royal Family. With an Introduction, proving by incontestable Evidence, that MONK had projected that Restoration in Scotland; against the Cavils of those who would rob him of the merit of this Action.

THE funeral Elogy and Character of her Royal Highness, the late Princess SOPHIA: with the explication of her consecration Medal,

Medal. Written originally in Latin, translated into English, and further illustrated, by Mr. TOLAND, who has added the Character of the King, the Prince, and the Princess. This Latin Piece was written by Monsieur CRAMER.

THE same year Mr. TOLAND publish'd, *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, on the same foot with all other Nations. Containing also, A Defence of the Jews against all vulgar Prejudices in all Countries.* He prefix'd to it an ingenious, but somewhat ironical, Dedication to the most Reverend the Arch-Bishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops, of both Provinces.

IN 1717, he put out, *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain. Containing a particular Account of its several Interests and Parties, their bent and genius; and what each of them, with all the rest of Europe, may hope or fear from the Reign and Family of King GEORGE. Being a Memorial sent by an intimate friend to a foreign Minister, lately nominated to come for the Court of England.* This Tract was answer'd by Dr. FIDDES, Chaplain to the Earl of OXFORD, and by DANIEL DE FOE: whereupon Mr. TOLAND publish'd, *The second Part of the State-Anatomy, &c. Containing a short Vindication of the former Part, against the Misrepresentations of the ignorant*

or the malicious, especially relating to our Ministers of State and to Foreigners; with some Reflections on the design'd Clamour against the Army, and on the Swedish Conspiracy. Also, Letters to his Grace, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Dissenting Ministers of all denominations, in the Year 1705-6, about a General Toleration, with some of their Answers to the Author: who now offers to publick Consideration, what was then transacted for private Satisfaction; together with a Letter from their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, on the same subject. Mr. TOLAND used to prefix long Titles to his Books, the better, I suppose, to recommend them to the Booksellers.

IN the Year 1718, he publish'd, *Nazarenus: or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity. Containing, the history of the antient Gospel of BARNABAS, and the modern Gospel of the Mahometans, attributed to the same Apostle: this last Gospel being now first made known among Christians. Also, the Original Plan of Christianity occasionally explain'd in the history of the Nazarens, whereby diverse Controversies about this divine (but highly perverted Institution) may be happily terminated. With the relation of an Irish Manuscript of the four Gospels, as likewise a Summary of the antient Irish Christianity, and the reality of the Keldees (an Order of Lay-*

Lay-religious) against the two last Bishops of WORCESTER. The *Original Plan of Christianity*, according to Mr. TOLAND, was this: that the Jews, tho associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own Law throughout all generations; and that the Gentiles, who became so far Jews as to acknowledge one God, were not however to observe the Jewish Law: but that both of them were to be for ever after united into one body or fellowship, in that part of Christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philosophers, requires the sanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation of the inward man; and wherein alone the Jew and the Gentile, the Civiliz'd and the Barbarian, the Freeman and the Bondslave, are all one in Christ, however otherwise differing in their circumstances.

THIS Book was examin'd by Mr. MANGEY in his *Remarks upon Nazareus: wherein the falsity of Mr. TOLAND's Mahometan Gospel, and his misrepresentation of Mahometan Sentiments, in respect of Christianity, are set forth; the history of the old Nazareans cleared up, and the whole conduct of the first Christians in respect of the Jewish Law, explained and defended: by Mr. PATERSON, in his Anti-Nazareus, by way of Answer to Mr. TOLAND; or, a Treatise proving the divine original and authority of the Holy Scriptures*

“ in my Book was built on Mr. LOCKE; of
 “ which Allegation the latter, in his *Second*
 “ *Reply*, sufficiently shows the falsity. *The*
 “ *Author of Christianity not Mysterious* (says
 “ in *Works*, Vol. I. page 138) *supposes that*
 “ *we must have clear and distinct Ideas of*
 “ *whatever we pretend to any certainty of*
 “ *in our Mind.* Your Lordship calls this
 “ a new way of reasoning. This Gen-
 “ tleman of this new way of reasoning,
 “ in his first Chapter, says something which
 “ has a conformity with some Notions
 “ in my Book: but it is to be observ’d, he
 “ speaks them as his own thoughts, and
 “ not upon my Authority, nor with taking
 “ any notice of me. Thus again, in page 440.
 “ granting that I made use of words some-
 “ what like his (as who has read any good
 “ Philosopher that does not do the same?)
 “ I humbly conceive also, says he, that he
 “ made use of them as his own, and not as
 “ my words; for I do not remember, that
 “ he quotes me for them. This I am sure, that
 “ in the words quoted out of him by your Lord-
 “ ship, upon which my Book is brought in,
 “ there is not one syllable of certainty by
 “ Ideas. The Bishop himself was forc’d at
 “ last to own, that Mr. LOCKE and I went
 “ upon different grounds; nay he averr’d that
 “ mine were the better (whether in justice to
 “ me, or opposition to ‘him, I leave to the
 “ judgment of the Publick) upon which Mr.
 “ LOCKE reply’d, pag. 443. I am suppos’d to
 “ say,

“ say, that the cause why I continue unsa-
 “ tisfied, is, that the Author mention'd went
 “ upon a ground different from mine: And,
 “ to satisfy me, I am told his way is better
 “ than mine, which cannot but be thought
 “ an Answer very likely to satisfy me. He
 “ shows, in a word, that I was misrepresented
 “ as well as himself, and presses the Bishop of
 “ WORCESTER, to produce the parallel places
 “ cut of him and me; as I do hereby call
 “ upon the Dean of WORCESTER, to show,
 “ where I have often, or once quoted Mr.
 “ LOCKE to support Notions he never dream'd
 “ of. As Mr. LOCKE then took notice, that
 “ his Name and mine were to be join'd, no
 “ matter what way; so people cannot but
 “ now observe, the same Artifice is us'd with
 “ regard to the Bishop of BANGOR: For which
 “ favour, of introducing me into so good
 “ Company, I thank both the Dignitaries of
 “ WORCESTER; tho' I shou'd never importune
 “ any body to violate the Rules of Candor
 “ and Decorum, in doing me a like kind-
 “ ness.

J. TOLAND.

London, Feb. 1. 1720.

IN Answer to this Advertisement, Dr. HARE
 publish'd the following one in the Daily-
 Courant (40):

“ Just

“ Just publish’d, the 4th Edition of,

“ The Dean of Worcester’s Visitation Ser-
 “ mon, entitled, *Church Authority vindica-*
 “ *ted.* [In the Postscript l. 9. from the end,
 “ instead of *is often quoted*, read *makes great*
 “ *use of Mr. LOCKE’S Principles.*] Sold by
 “ J. ROBERTS near the Oxford Arms in War-
 “ wick-lane. Price 6d.

Dr. HARE’S Advertisement occasion’d the publishing of a Pamphlet, with this title: *A short Essay upon Lying; or, a Defence of a Reverend Dignitary, who suffers under the Persecution of Mr. TOLAND, for a Lapsus calami.*

UPON a dispute between the Irish and British Houses of Lords with respect to Appeals, the latter order’d a *Bill* to be brought in for the better securing the *Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland, upon the Crown of Great Britain*; wherein it was declared, that there lay an Appeal from any Decree of the House of Lords in Ireland to the House of Lords in Great Britain, as to the supreme Court of Judicature and last resort. Some Pamphlets were printed at Dublin in favour of the Irish House of Lords, and to prevent the passing of that Bill, which Mr. TOLAND caus’d to be reprinted at London: and he himself publish’d on that occasion, *Reasons*
 . most

most humbly offer'd to the honourable House of Commons, why the Bill sent down to them from the most honourable the House of Lords, entitled, A Bill for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, shou'd not pass into a Law.

ABOUT that time, he printed a Latin Tract, intituled, *Pantheisticon: sive Formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae, in tres Particulas divisa; quae Pantheistarum, sive Sodalium, continent, I. Mores & Axiomata: II. Numen & Philosophiam: III. Libertatem, & non fallentem Legem neque fallendam. Praemittitur, de antiquis & novis Eruditorum Sodalitatibus, ut & de Universo infinito & aeterno, Diatriba. Subjicitur, de duplici Pantheistarum Philosophia sequendâ, ac de Viri Optimi & ornatissimi idea, Dissertatiuncula. Cosmopoli, M. dcc. xx.* That *Formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae*, is written by way of Dialogue, between the President of a Philosophical Society, and the Members of it. The President recommends to them the love of Truth, Liberty, and Health; and encourages them to be chearful, sober, temperate, and free from Superstition: and in their Answers they declare their readiness to observe his Precepts. He now and then reads to them passages out of CIGERO or SENECA; and sometimes they sing all together some Verses out of the antient Poets,

suitable

suitable to their Maxims. As to the Religion of these Philosophers, their name sufficiently shews what it is. They are *Pantheists*, and consequently acknowledge no other God than the Universe. And if we further look upon this Piece as made up of Responses, Lessons, a Philosophical Canon, and a sort of Litany, and the whole printed both in red and black; we shall hardly forbear thinking that it was written in derision of some Christian Liturgies. He himself seems to have been sensible, that he had too much indulg'd his loose imagination; for he got it printed secretly, at his own charge, and but a few copies, which he distributed with a view of receiving some presents for them.

I had almost forgot to tell you, SIR, that he prefix'd before this Pamphlet a short Preface under the name of JANUS JUNIUS EOGANESIUS; which, tho' it was his true Christen-name, and the name of his Country, yet it serv'd for as good a cover as any he cou'd feign or invent: no body in England, being acquainted with these particulars. But you see now plainly the meaning of it. From *Inis-Eogan*, i. e. *Eogani Insula*, the place of his birth, he form'd *Eoganesius*, as *Proconnesius*, or *Peloponnesius*.

SOME

SOME time after, he publish'd a Book intitl'd, *Tetradymus. Containing, I. HODEGUS; or the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that guided the Israelites in the Wilderness, not miraculous: but, as faithfully related in Exodus, a thing equally practis'd by other Nations, and in those places not onely useful but necessary* (41). II. *CLIDOPHORUS; or of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy, that is, of the External and Internal Doctrine of the Ancients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular Prejudices and the establish'd Religions; the other private and secret, wherein, to the few capable and discrete, was taught the real Truth stript of all disguises.* III. *HYPATIA; or the history of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and every way accomplish'd Lady; who was torn to pieces by the Clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their Archbishop CYRIL, commonly but undeservedly stil'd Saint CYRIL.* IV. *MANGONEUTES: being a Defence of Nazarenius, address'd to the right reverend JOHN Lord Bishop of London; against his Lordship's*

(41) That Dissertation was answer'd in a Pamphlet call'd: *Hodegus confuted: or a plain demonstration, that the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that guided the Israelites in the Wilderness, was not a Fire of human Preparation, but the most miraculous presence of God: 1721. In 8^o.* And in a Discourse upon the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire, which guided the Israelites thro' the Wilderness, proving it to have been miraculous; occasion'd by a Dissertation of A. TOLAND's call'd HODEGUS: inserted in the Bibliotheca Literaria, &c. 1723. Numb. V. pag. 1, &c.*

Ship's Chaplain Dr. MANGEY, his Dedicator Mr. PATERSON, and (who ought to have been nam'd first) the reverend Dr. BRETT, once belonging to his Lordship's Church.

IN the last of these Tracts, address'd to the late Bishop of London, he inserted his *Advertisement* against Dr. HARE, with the Doctor's Answer. After having observ'd “ that certain men (42) will neither allow
 “ themselves nor others to commend any
 “ thing in one from whom they differ; and
 “ that they do not stick at saying any thing
 “ to his prejudice, be it ever so improbable
 “ or even false:” and that “ these are the
 “ men who give Religion the deepest wounds,
 “ and who are not only the real and most
 “ dangerous unbelievers, but who likewise
 “ tempt the unwary and inconsiderate to be-
 “ come such: for if they were heartily per-
 “ suaded of the doctrines of Christianity,
 “ they wou'd not, in direct opposition to
 “ them, abandon all truth and charity; nor
 “ wou'd others think, they only made a
 “ gainful trade of teaching those holy doc-
 “ trines, but because they perceive their prac-
 “ tice glaringly contrary to their profession.
 “ Now since I am on this head, *pursues he,*
 “ and that, at the beginning of this *Letter*, I
 “ made out my right to demand justice of
 “ those among your Lordship's Clergy, who
 “ had

“ had injur’d me ; I shall lay before you the
 “ cause of some reasonable complaint, I con-
 “ ceive to have against Dr. HARE, a Preben-
 “ dary of your own Cathedral. This learn-
 “ ed gentleman hooking me into a work of
 “ his, without the least occasion or provoca-
 “ tion, I publish’d the following *Advertisse-*
 “ *ment* on the second of last February, in
 “ the *Post-man* and in *St. James’s Evening*
 “ *Post* (43). . . . Every body did me all the
 “ justice then, I cou’d require on this occa-
 “ sion, except Dr. HARE himself : who, far
 “ from giving glory to God, and ingenu-
 “ ously acknowledging his fault, gets inserted
 “ in the *Courant* of next day, these words ;
 “ Instead of, *is often quoted*, read, *makes great*
 “ *use of Mr. LOCKE’s Principles*. First,
 “ Mr. LOCKE peremptorily disowns, that I
 “ *made any use of his Principles, to support*
 “ *notions he never dreamt of* ; and, secondly,
 “ it appears by the whole connection, that
 “ this emendation was not in the Doctor’s
 “ thoughts at the beginning ; or supposing it
 “ were, that it serves his cause as little as
 “ the other way of speaking : since I pro-
 “ ceed upon different *Principles* from Mr.
 “ LOCKE, and *Principles* that are better, if
 “ you believe the then Bishop of Worcester.
 “ In fine, no *Slip of the Pen*, nor any of
 “ the methods laid down by an ingenious

“ writer (44), can possibly salve the Doctor
 “ from oblique dealing: as the drawing me
 “ by the head and shoulders into his Pam-
 “ phlet, was unnecessary; if not spiteful,
 “ with regard to me or some other. I say
 “ it again, that it would have been no con-
 “ descension below his dignity, since he
 “ vouchsafed to take notice of me at all,
 “ if he had accus’d his memory, or in any
 “ other manner own’d his mistake; instead of
 “ having recourse to shifts that deserve a
 “ coarser name, than I am willing to give,
 “ out of respect I pay him on other accounts.
 “ He shall find no man more ready to pro-
 “ claim his real merit, as I shall have some
 “ occasion to do so, before I finish this Let-
 “ ter. Uniformity of sentiments, as I have
 “ already told your Lordship more than once,
 “ shall never be the standard of my esteem;
 “ and Candor shall ever weigh more with
 “ me, than Learning or Parts, which yet
 “ with all the world I highly admire. How
 “ divine was that saying of Prince EUGENE!
 “ when sending a mark of his favor from
 “ Leicester-house to the reverend Mr. WHIS-
 “ TON; *tho I approve not at all his sentiments*
 “ (said he to an impertinent zealot) *yet I*
 “ *esteem him, as suffering for what he’s per-*
 “ *suaded to be the truth.* What a reproach
 “ is this to his Protestant Persecutors, out
 “ of

“ of the mouth of one of the Roman Com-
 “ munion!”

IN the conclusion of that Letter, he gives the following account of his Conduct and Sentiments: “ Notwithstanding, *says he* (45), “ the imputations of Heresy and Infidelity so “ often publish’d by the Clergy, as lately in “ the vauntingest manner by one not un- “ known to you (the whiffling and the ig- “ norant being ever the most arrogant and “ confident) I assure your Lordship, that the “ Purity of Religion, and the Prosperity of “ the State, have been ever my chiefest aims. “ CIVIL LIBERTY and RELIGIOUS TOLERA- “ TION, as the most desirable things in this “ World, the most conducing to peace, plen- “ ty, knowledge, and every kind of happi- “ ness, have been the two main objects of “ all my writings. But as by Liberty I did “ not mean Licentiousness, so by Tolera- “ tion I did not mean Indifference, and “ much less an Approbation of every Reli- “ gion that I could suffer. To be more par- “ ticular, I solemnly profess to your Lord- “ ship, that the Religion taught by JESUS “ CHRIST and his APOSTLES (but not as since “ corrupted by the subtractions; additions, “ or other alterations of any particular man “ or company of men) is that which I infi- “ nitely prefer before all others. I do over

* F 3

“ and

“ and over again repeat CHRIST *and his*
 “ APOSTLES, exclusive of either Oral Tradi-
 “ tion, or the determinations of Synods:
 “ adding, what I declared before to the
 “ World, that Religion, as it came out of
 “ their hands, was no less plain and pure,
 “ than useful and instructive; and that, as
 “ being the business of every man, it was
 “ equally understood by every body. For
 “ CHRIST did not institute one Religion for
 “ the learned, and another for the vul-
 “ gar, &c.

IN the Preface to this Volume, there is
 likewise a Vindication of himself and his
 Opinions: but it is too long to be inserted
 here.

Dr. HARE publish'd in 1721, a Book intitled,
Scripture vindicated from the Misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of BANGOR &c.,
 and in the Preface, speaking of the *Constitutions of Carolina*, he observes, that by one
 of the Articles, none are excluded from set-
 tling in that Country, upon the account of their
 Opinions, *but downright Atheists, such*, says
 he, *as the impious Author of the Pantheisti-*
con; and at the bottom of the page he hath
 the Note following (46): “ This Atheistick
 “ Writer not content with what he has
 “ dared to print in this prophane Piece, has,
 “ I

“ I am told, in some Copies inserted a Prayer
 “ in MSS. in these or the like words :

“ *Omnipotens & Sempiterne BACCHE, qui*
 “ *hominum corda donis tuis recreas, concede*
 “ *propitius, ut qui hesternis poculis agroti*
 “ *facti sunt, hodiernis curentur, &*
 “ *per pocula poculorum.* How to
 “ fill the blank I have left, I do not remem-
 “ ber. Thus prays this *Pantheist*, whose im-
 “ pudent Blasphemies loudly call for the Ani-
 “ madversions of the Civil Power.

AND upon further intelligence, he inser-
 ted this Advertisement in the *Errata* :

“ THE Prayer to BACCHUS, p. xxi. being,
 “ to the best of my remembrance, in the very
 “ words, in which I have heard it repeated
 “ more than once by the same person ; and
 “ yet differing much in expression from two
 “ written Copies I have lately seen ; (which
 “ also differ from each other ;) I thought it
 “ would not be unacceptable to the Reader,
 “ to give him the following Copy ; which,
 “ whatever the other be, I can assure him is
 “ from an Original.

“ *Omnipotens & Sempiterne BACCHE, qui*
 “ *humanam societatem maxime in bibendo*
 “ *constituisti ; concede propitius, ut istorum*
 “ *capita, qui hesternâ computatione gravantur,*

“ *hodiernâ leventur ; idq; fiat per pocula po-*
 “ *culorum. Amen.*

WHEN DR. HARE'S Book came out, I remember, SIR, you ask'd me whether Mr. TOLAND had really writ this Prayer : I cou'd not then answer your question ; but I have since enquir'd into this matter, and can now assure you that he never dream'd of any such thing. The person, who, I am told, is the author of it, I will forbear to name upon the account of his profession : tho', I believe, he only design'd it as a ridicule on Mr. TOLAND'S Club of Pantheist Philosophers, whom he imagin'd to be all drunkards ; whereas they are grave, sober, and temperate men. Upon the whole, it must be own'd, that as there is more wit and humour, so there is likewise a more bare-faced prophaness in this Prayer, than in any passage of the *Pantheisticon*.

THE same year, Mr. TOLAND publish'd some *Letters* of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY to the Lord MOLESWORTH, with an Introduction, wherein, after having done justice to the extraordinary parts and learning of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, he gives a particular account of his principles and conduct with respect to public affairs : *Letters from the right honourable the late Earl of SHAFTSBURY, to ROBERT MOLESWORTH Esq; now Lord Viscount of that name. With two Letters written*

ten

ten by the late Sir JOHN CROPLEY. To which is prefix'd a large Introduction by the Editor. These Letters turn chiefly upon two points, the Love of one's Country, and the Choice of a Wife.

Mr. TOLAND had for above four years past liv'd at Putney, from whence he cou'd conveniently go to London and come back the same day; but he us'd to spend most part of the winter in London. Being in town about the middle of December, he found himself very ill; having been lingering for some time before. His appetite and strength fail'd him; and a certain Doctor, who was call'd to him, made him a great deal worse, by bringing a continual vomiting and looseness upon him. However, he made a shift to return to Putney, where he grew better, and had some hopes of recovery. In this interval, he writ a Dissertation to shew the uncertainty of Physic, and the danger of trusting our life to those who practise it: while by our own care and experience we might easily provide such medicines as are proper and necessary for us (47). He did likewise prepare a Preface, to be prefix'd before a Pamphlet, call'd *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*, which it was thought seasonable to reprint against the

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(47) That Dissertation, intituled, *Physic without Physicians*, is printed in this *Collection*, Vol. II. pag. 273.

approaching Election of a new Parliament. In this Piece, he design'd to set forth the infinite mischiefs of long and pack'd Parliaments: but he cou'd not finish it; for he died on Sunday the 11th of March 1721-2, about four a-clock in the morning. He behav'd himself throughout the whole course of his sickness with a true philosophical patience, and look'd upon death without the least perturbation of mind; bidding farewell to those about him, and telling them, *he was going to sleep.*

SOME few days before he died, he made the following Epitaph:

H. S. E.

JOANNES TOLANDUS,
*Qui, in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,
 In Scotia & Hibernia studuit,
 Quod Oxonii quoque fecit adolescens;
 Atque Germania plus semel petita,
 Virilem circa Londinum transegit aetatem.
 Omnium Literarum excultor,
 Ac Linguarum plus decem sciens.
 Veritatis propugnator,
 Libertatis assertor:
 Nullius autem Sectator aut Cliens,
 Nec minis, nec malis est inflexus,
 Quin, quam elegit, viam perageret;*
Utili

Utiles honestum anteferens.
Spiritus cum æthereo patre,
A quo prodiit olim, conjungitur :
Corpus item, naturæ cedens,
In materno gremio reponitur.
Ipse vero æternum est resurrecturus,
At idem futurus TOLANDUS nunquam.
Natus Nov. 30.
Cetera ex Scriptis pete.

THUS, SIR, I have in obedience to your commands, and to the best of my ability, given you an Account of Mr. TOLAND, as an Author. I have, I presume, taken notice of all the Pieces he has publish'd ; but did not think it worth the while to mention his Projects. He hardly put out a Book, but he promis'd in it one or two more : which may help some learned German Biographer, to enlarge ALMELOVEEN'S *Bibliotheca promissa & latens*. The most considerable of these Projects, and which, I believe, he intended to pursue in good earnest, was his *History of the Druids*. But I am credibly inform'd, that he had not so much as begun it. He has, however, left a very curious Specimen of it, in three Letters to the Lord MOLESWORTH (48).

I

(48) That Specimen the Reader will find in this Collection, Vol. I. pag. 1.

I shall not enter into Mr. TOLAND's personal Character, since you have not requir'd it of me. Nor will I mention what has been said of him by other Authors; some of which have carried their partiality so far, that they won't even allow him one single commendable quality. I'll give you an instance of this, from a late weekly Writer.* After having misrepresented some circumstances of his Life, he proceeds thus :

“ HIS Misfortunes, *says he* (49), are to
 “ be ascribed to his Vanity; he affected sin-
 “ gularity in all things, (an easy way of be-
 “ ing distinguished) he would reject an Opi-
 “ nion, merely because an eminent Writer
 “ embraced it; he had a Smattering in many
 “ Languages, was a Critick in none; his Style
 “ was low, confused, and disagreeable; he
 “ prefix'd affected Titles to his Tracts, in imi-
 “ tation of some ancient Philosophers, in
 “ which he loved to talk of himself, and that
 “ in a most complaisant manner. Dabbling
 “ in Controversy was his Delight, in which
 “ he was rude, positive, and always in the
 “ wrong. His being known to the world,
 “ is owing chiefly to the Animadversions of
 “ learned Men upon his Writings, among
 “ whom 'twas a common trick in their Dis-
 “ putes

(49) *The Freeholders Journal*. March 21, 1721.

“ putes with one another, to charge their
 “ Adversary with an agreement to, or re-
 “ semblance of Mr. TOLAND’S NOTIONS, as
 “ the greatest Infamy, and the surest *Crite-*
 “ *riou* of Error. No man that wrote so
 “ voluminously against Religion, has ever
 “ done so little mischief; ’tis a Question whe-
 “ ther he was more pitied by the pious part
 “ of mankind, or despised by his fellow In-
 “ fidels. He was happy in one circumstance,
 “ that he expired the same Day with the Par-
 “ liament (50), whereby the little stream of
 “ his Impiety ’scaped the notice of those, who
 “ had their eyes fix’d upon the abatement of
 “ a deluge of Iniquity.”

YOU easily perceive, SIR, that several
 things here are overstrain’d, or purposely sug-
 gested to make Mr. TOLAND odious and con-
 temptible. After all, it must be own’d, that
 he might have employ’d his Talents much
 better than he has done. But he had the
 misfortune to fall into an idle indiscreet way
 of living, which he indulged to his death,
 notwithstanding the repeated advices and re-
 monstrances of his best friends. It were to
 be wish’d, he had consider’d that Wit and
 Learning don’t go a great way to make one
 esteem’d

(50) Mr. TOLAND did not expire the same day with the
 Parliament. He died on the eleventh, and the Parliament
 was dissolv’d on the tenth of March.

esteem'd and respected in the world, if they are not attended with those social Virtues, which are the ornaments as well as the duties of every man.

I am,

SIR,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant



A N E L E G Y

On the late ingenious Mr. TOLAND *.

O TOLAND! mighty friend to nature's laws,
Thou great support of Truth, and Reason's
cause;

Art thou no more? Is thy last breath expir'd?
And nature to her ancient seat retir'd?

Each jarring element gone angry home?
And Master TOLAND a *Non-ens* become?

Is all thy eloquent breath, thy wond'rous boast
Of argument, in boundless Æther lost?

Earth gone to earth, the mould'ring substance must,
By slow degrees, dissolve to native Dust.

The cooler fluids, and the wat'ry part

That damp't thy blood, and quench'd thy noble heart,
Now leave the stiff unanimated clay,

And to their mother Ocean seek their way.

The purer genial pow'rs, the vital flame,

That mov'd and quicken'd the mechanick frame,
Is flown aloft, a spark, a borrow'd ray,

And reunited to the Prince of Day.

Oh! weep, Britannia's sons, your champion's dead,

The patron of your Liberty is fled.

O Liberty! thou Goddess heav'nly bright!

That dost impart thy radiant beams of light

To this blest Isle, which of thy darling train,

Will, like this Hero, thy just cause maintain?

How greatly brave has he undaunted stood

Against a torrent, an impetuous flood,

Of

* This ELEGY was publish'd some days after Mr. TOLAND's Death; and 'tis a matter of doubt with some people, whether the Author design'd to praise or to ridicule him.

A N E L E G Y.

Of bigotted Enthusiasts, and tricks
 Of Pedantry, and priestly Politicks!
 Thou pregnant Genius, who thy praise can tell?
 Thy Reason did, like morning sun, dispel
 Dark clouds of Ignorance, and break the spell
 Of Rome's Inchantments, and the lesser frauds
 Of Churches Protestant, and English LAUDS.
 To thee we owe, to thy victorious hand,
 A rescu'd People, and a ransom'd Land.
 Thou hast broke off our manacles and chains,
 And freed our minds of superstitious pains.
 Thy shining lamp has brought resplendent day,
 Finely describ'd the plain and easy way,
 Clear'd of the rubbish of mysterious Schools,
 And mazes intricate of pious fools,
 Enslav'd to narrow Forms, and captivating Rules.
 Oh! hadst thou liv'd to banish all the Dreams
 Of fabulous Ages, and the Monkish Themes
 Of Miracles, of Mysteries, and Tales,
 (Where fancy over common sense prevails)
 Then might we mourn thy fate with less concern,
 With less regret behold thy sacred Urn.
 Howe'er, thy great example has inspir'd
 A noble emulation, it has fir'd
 The glowing breasts of our Britannick Youth,
 With love of Liberty, and love of Truth.
 Thou hast not left us in the gloom of night,
 Some Stars we have, that lend a friendly light,
 That shed a kind, auspicious influence,
 To cherish Reason, and to ripen Sense.



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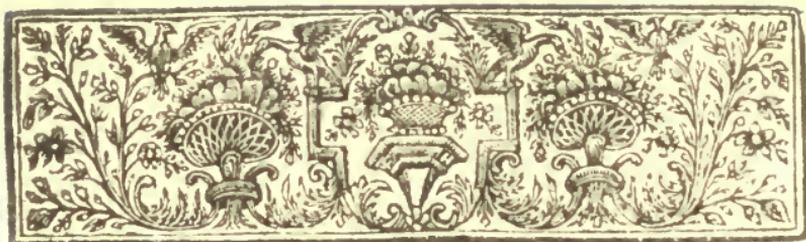


A
SPECIMEN
OF THE
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE
CELTIC RELIGION
AND LEARNING:

CONTAINING
An Account of the DRUIDS, or the
Priests and Judges; of the VAIDS, or the
Diviners and Physicians; and of the BARDS,
or the Poets and Heralds of the antient
Gauls, Britons, Irish and Scots.

WITH THE
History of ABARIS *the Hyperborean,*
Priest of the SUN.

In THREE LETTERS
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH;



THE
FIRST LETTER:
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. OME men, MY LORD, from a natural greatness of soul, and others from a sense of the want of Learning in themselves, or the advantages of it in others, have many times liberally contributed towards the advancement of Letters. But when they, whose excellent natural parts are richly cultivated by sound Literature, undertake the protection of the Muses, writers feel

a double encouragement ; both as they are happily inabled to perfect their studies, and as their Patrons are true judges of their performances. 'Tis from this consideration alone (abstracted, MY LORD, from all that you have already done, or may hereafter deserve from your country, by an unshaken love of Liberty) that I presume to acquaint your Lordship with a design, which I form'd several years ago at Oxford, and which I have ever since kept in view ; collecting, as occasion presented, whatever might any way tend to the advantage or perfection of it. 'Tis to write *The History of the DRUIDS, containing an account of the antient CELTIC RELIGION and LITERATURE* ; and concerning which I beg your patience for a little while. Tho' this be a subject, that will be naturally entertaining to the curious in every place ; yet it does more particularly concern the inhabitants of antient Gaule, (now France, Flanders, the Alpine regions, and Lombardy) and of all the British Islands, whose antiquities are here partly explain'd and illustrated, partly vindicated and restor'd. It will sound somewhat oddly, at first hearing, that a man born in the most northern (1) Peninsula of Ireland, shou'd undertake

(1) This peninsula is *Inis-Eogain*, vulgarly *Enis-owen*, in whose Isthmus stands the city of Londonderry, itself a peninsula, and, if the tradition be true, originally a famous Grove and School of the Druids. Hence comes the very name *Doire*, corruptly pronounc'd *Derry*, which in Irish signifies a Grove, particularly of Oaks. The great COLUMBA chang'd it into a College for Monks (who in his time were retir'd Laymen, that liv'd by the labor of their hands)

dertake to set the Antiquities of Gaule in a clearer light than any one has hitherto done. But when 'tis consider'd, that, over and above what he knows in common, relating to the DRUIDS, with the learned of the French nation, (whose works he constantly reads with uncommon esteem) he has also certain other advantages, which none of those writers have ever had: when this, I say, is consider'd, then

A 3

all

hands) as most commonly the sacred places of the Heathens, if pleasant or commodious, were converted to the like use by the Christians after their own manner. This Derry is the *Roboretum* or * *Campus roborum*, mention'd by BEDE in his *Ecclesiastical History*: but not *Ardmacha*, now *Armagh*, in the same province of Ulster, as many have erroneously conceiv'd; nor yet *Darramb*, now *Derrrough*, in that of Leinster, as some have no less groundless fancy'd, among whom Archbishop USHER. *Dearmach* is compounded of *Dair* an oak and the antient word *Mach* (now *Machaire*) a *field*. They who did not know so much, have imagin'd it from the mere sound to be *Armagh*, which, far from *Campus roborum*, signifies the height or mount of MACHA, (surnamed *Mongruadh* or redhair'd) a Queen of Ireland, and the only woman that ever sway'd the sovereign sceptre of that kingdom. But *Aimach* never was a monastery founded by COLUMBA, who in BEDE's time was call'd † *COLUIM-CILLE*, as he's by the Irish to this day: whereas it was from the monasteries of *Derry* and *I-columkille* (which last, tho the second erected, became the first in dignity) that all the other monasteries dedicated to COLUMBA, whether in Scotland or Ireland, were so many colonies. This is attested by the just mention'd ** BEDE, no less than by all the Irish *Annalists* since their several foundations.

* *Fecerat autem [COLUMBA] prius quam in Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearmach lingua Scotorum, hoc est campus roborum, vocatur. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

† Qui, videlicet COLUMBA, nunc a nonnullis, composito a *Cella* & *Co-*

lumba nomine, COLUMCELLI vocatur. *Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

** Ex quo utroque monasterio per plurima exinde monasteria, per discipulos ejus, & in Britannia & in Hibernia propagata sunt; in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit cori ore, principatum tenet. *Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

all the wonder about this affair will instantly cease. Yet let it be still remember'd, that whatever accomplishment may consist in the knowledge of languages, no language is really valuable, but as far as it serves to converse with the living, or to learn from the dead; and therefore were that knowledge of times and things contain'd in Lapponian, which we draw from the Greec, and that this last were as barren as the first: I shou'd then study Lapponian, and neglect Greec; for all its superiority over most tongues, in respect of sonorous pronunciation, copiousness of words, and variety of expression. But as the profound ignorance and slavery of the present Greecs does not hinder, but that their ancestors were the most learned, polite, and free of all European nations; so no revolution that has befallen any or all of the Celtic colonies, can be a just prejudice against the truly ancient and undoubted monuments they may be able to furnish, towards improving or restoring any point of Learning. Whether there be any such monuments or not, and how far useful or agreeable, will in the following sheets appear.

II. AMONG those Institutions which are thought to be irrecoverably lost, one is that of the DRUIDS; of which the Learned have hitherto known nothing, but by some Fragments concerning them out of the Greec and Roman authors. Nor are such Fragments always intelligible, because never explain'd' by any of those,
who

who were skill'd in the Celtic dialects, which are now principally six; namely *Welsh* or the insular Brittish, *Cornish* almost extinct, *Armorican* or French Brittish, *Irish* the least corrupted, *Manks* or the language of the Ile of Man, and *Earse* or Highland Irish, spoken also in all the western Ilands of Scotland. These, having severally their own dialects, are, with respect to each other and the old Celtic of Gaul, as the several dialects of the German language and the Low Dutch, the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Islandic; which are all descendants of their common mother, the Gothic. Not that ever such a thing as a pure Gothic or Celtic language either did or cou'd exist in any considerable region without dialects, no more than pure elements: but by such an original language is meant the common root and trunk, the primitive words, and especially the peculiar construction that runs thro' all the branches; whereby they are intelligible to each other, or may easily become so, but different from all kinds of speech besides. Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have been often taken for each other, are as different as Latin and Arabic. In like manner we conceive of the several idioms of the Grec language formerly, in Greece itself properly so call'd, in Macedonia, in Crete and the Ilands of the Archipelago, in Asia, Rhodes, part of Italy, in Sicily, and Marseilles; and at this time of the Sclavonian language, whose dialects not only prevail in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Ser-

via, but in a great many other places, too tedious to recite. But of this subject we shall treat professedly in a (2) *Dissertation* to be annex'd to the work, whereof I am giving your Lordship an account. Neither shall I in this *Specimen* dwell on some things, whereof I shall principally and largely treat in the design'd *History*; I mean, the Philosophy of the Druids concerning the Gods, human Souls, Nature in general, and in particular the heavenly Bodies, their magnitudes, motions, distances, and duration; whereof CESAR, DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, POMPONIUS MELA, and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS write more specially than others. These subjects, I say, will be copiously handled and commented in my *History*. In the mean time I do assure you, MY LORD, from all authors, that no Heathen Priesthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquisite than any other such system; as having been much better calculated to beget Ignorance and an Implicite disposition in the people, no less than to procure power and profit to the Priests, which is one grand difference between the true worship and the false. This Western Priesthood did infinitely exceed that of ZOROASTER, and all the Eastern sacred policy: so that *the History of the Druids*, in short, is *the complete History of Priestcraft*, with all its reasons and resorts; which to distinguish accurately from right Religion, is not only the in-

(2) A DISSERTATION concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.

terest of all wise Princes and States, but likewise does specially concern the tranquillity and happiness of every private person. I have used the word *Priestcraft* here on purpose, not merely as being the best expression for the design'd abuse and reverse of Religion, (for Superstition is only Religion misunderstood) but also because the coining of the very word was occasion'd by the DRUIDS: since the Anglo-Saxons having learnt the word *Dry* (3) from the Irish and Britons for a *Magician*, did very appositely call *Magic* or Inchantment *Drycraft* (4); as being nothing else but trick and illusion, the fourbery of Priests and their confederates.

III. NOW, this Institution of the Druids I think myself, without any consciousness of vanity, much abler to retrieve (as having infinitely better helps in many respects, of which, before I have done) than Dr. HYDE was to restore the knowledge of the antient Persian Literature and Religion; which yet he left imperfect for want of due encouragement, as I have shown in the first chapter of *Nazarenus*. From undoubted Celtic monuments, join'd to the Grecic and Roman remains, I can display the order of their Hierarchy, from the ARCH-DRUID down to the meanest of their four orders of Priests. Of these degrees, the ARCH-DRUID excepted, there's little to be found in the Classic authors,

(3) Pronounc'd as *Dree* in English.

(4) *Dry magus, Dry craft incantatio. Ælfric. in Glossar.*

that treat of the Druids : but very much and very particularly, in the Celtic writings and monuments. For many reasons their History is most interesting and entertaining : I mean, as on the one hand we consider them seducing their followers, and as on the other hand we learn not to be so deceiv'd. They dextrously led the people blindfold, by committing no part of their Theology or Philosophy to writing, tho' great writers in other respects ; but their dictates were only hereditarily convey'd from masters to disciples by traditionary Poems, interpretable (consequently) and alterable as they shou'd see convenient : which is a much more effectual way, than locking up a book from the Laity, that, one way or other, is sure to come first or last to their knowledge, and easy perhaps to be turn'd against the Priests. The Druids, as may be seen in the 6th book of *CESAR'S Commentaries*, drew the decision of all controversies of Law and Equity to themselves, the distribution of all punishments and rewards ; from the power that was first given, or afterwards assum'd by them, of determining matters of Ceremony and Religion. Most terrible were the effects of the Druidical (5) Excommunication on any man, that did not implicitly

(5) If the learned reader, who knows any of the passages, or the unlearned reader who wants authorities for proving the following assertions, should wonder I do not always cite them ; let it be known to both, that as in this *Specimen* I commonly touch but the heads of things (and not of all things neither) so I wou'd not crowd the margin with long passages

plicitely follow their directions, and submit to their decrees : not only to the excluding of private persons from all benefits of Society, and even from society itself ; but also to the deposing of the Princes who did not please them, and often devoting them to destruction. Nor less intolerable was their power of engaging the nation in war, or of making a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace ; while they had the address to get themselves exempted from bearing arms, paying taxes, or contributing any thing to the public but *Charms* : and yet to have their persons reputed sacred and inviolable, by those even of the contrary side, which veneration however was not always strictly paid. These privileges allur'd great numbers to enter into their communities, for such Sodalities or Fraternities they had ; and to take on them the Druidical profession, to be perfect in which, did sometimes cost them twenty years study. Nor ought this to seem a wonder, since to arrive at perfection in Sophistry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which last they were very expert : but to be masters of both, and withal to learn the art of managing the

passages, nor yet curtail what in my *History* shall be produc'd at large : and therefore all the following citations (the original manner of writing Celtic words excepted) are either samples of the quotations I shall give, or proofs of what I wou'd not for a moment have suspected to be precariously advanc'd, or, finally, for the better understanding of certain matters which come in by way of digression or illustration. Otherwise they wou'd not be necessary in a mere Specimen, tho' in a finish'd work indispensable.

mob, which is vulgarly call'd *leading the people by the nose*, demands abundant study and exercise.

IV. THE children of the several Kings, with those of all the Nobility, were committed to the tuition of the Druids, whereby they had an opportunity (contrary to all good politics) of molding and framing them to their own private interests and purposes; considering which direction of Education, PATRIC, had they been *a landed Clergy*, wou'd not have found the conversion of Ireland so easy a task. So easy indeed it was, that the heathen Monarch LAOGIRIUS (who, as some assert, was never himself converted) and all the provincial Kings, granted to every man free liberty of preaching and professing Christianity. So that, as GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS remarks, this is the only country of Christians, where no body was oblig'd to suffer (6) Martyrdom for the *Gospel*. This justice therefore I wou'd do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, *viz.* to maintain that this Tolerating principle, this *Impartial Liberty* (ever since unexampled there

(6) Omnes sancti terrae istius confessores sunt, & nullus martyr; quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire. Mirum itaque quod gens crudelissima & sanguinis sitibunda, fides ab antiquo fundata & semper tepidissima, pro Christi ecclesia corona martyrii nulla. Non igitur inventus est in partibus istis, qui ecclesiae surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cementaret: non fuit, qui faceret hoc bonum; non fuit usque ad unum. *Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. 3. cap. 29.*

as well as elsewhere, China excepted) is a far greater honour to it, than whatever thing most glorious or magnificent can be said of any other country in the world. GIRALD on the contrary (as in his days they were wont to overrate Martyrdom, Celibacy, and the like, much above the positive duties of Religion) thinks it a reproach to the Irish, *that none of their Saints cemented the foundations of the growing Church with their blood, all of them being Confessors, says he, and not one able to boast of the crown of Martyrdom.* But who sees not the vanity and absurdity of this charge? It is blaming the Princes and People for their reasonableness, moderation and humanity; as it is taxing the new Converts for not seditiously provoking them to persecute, and for not madly running themselves to a voluntary death, which was the unjustifiable conduct of many elsewhere in the primitive times of Christianity. 'Tis on much better grounds, tho' with a childish and nauseous jingle, that he accuses the Irish Clergy of his own time: and so far am I from being an enemy to the Clergy, that I heartily wish the like could not be said of any Clergy, whether there, or here, or elsewhere, from that time to this. Well then: what is it? *They are Pastors, says he (7), who seek not to feed, but to be fed: Pre-*

(7) Sunt enim pastores, qui non pascere quaerunt, sed pasci: sunt praelati, qui non prodesse cupiunt, sed praesse: sunt episcopi, qui non omen, sed nomen; non onus, sed honorem amplectentur. *Id. lib. 4.*

lates, who desire not to profit, but to preside: Bishops, who embrace not the nature, but the name; not the burthen, but the bravery of their profession. This, MY LORD, I reckon to be no digression from my subject, since what little opposition there happen'd to be in Ireland to Christianity, was wholly made by the Druids, or at their instigation: and that when they perceiv'd this new Religion like to prevail, none came into it speedier, or made a more advantageous figure in it, than they. The Irish however have their *Martyrologies* (lest this shou'd be objected by some trisler) but they are of such of their nation as suffer'd in other countries, or under the heathen Danes in their own country, some hundreds of years after the total conversion of it to Christianity.

V. THOSE advantages we have nam'd in the two last Sections, and many the like articles, with the Druids pretences to work miracles, to foretel events by Augury and otherwise, to have a familiar intercourse with the Gods (highly confirm'd by calculating Eclipses) and a thousand impostures of the same (8) nature, I can by irrefragable authorities set in such a light, that all of the like kind may to every one appear in as evident a view; which,

(8) The heads of the two last Sections, with these here mention'd (tho' conceiv'd in few words) will yet each make a separate chapter in the *History*; this present *Specimen* being chiefly intended for modern instances, as by the sequel will appear.

as I hinted before, cannot but be very serviceable both to Religion and Morality. For true Religion does not consist in cunningly devis'd fables, in authority, dominion, or pomp; but in spirit and truth, in simplicity and social virtue, in a filial love and reverence, not in a servile dread and terror of the Divinity. As the fundamental Law of a Historian is, daring to say whatever is true, and not daring to write any falshood; neither being sway'd by love or hatred, nor gain'd by favour or interest: so he ought of course to be as a man of no time or country, of no sect or party; which I hope the several nations, concern'd in this present enquiry, will find to be particularly true of me. But if in clearing up antient rites and customs, with the origin and institution of certain religious or civil Societies (long since extinct) any communities or orders of men, now in being, shou'd think themselves touch'd; they ought not to impute it to design in the author, but to the conformity of things, if indeed there be any real resemblance: and in case there be none at all, they shou'd not make people apt to suspect that there is, by crying out tho they are not hurt. I remember when complaint was made against an honourable person (9), that, in treating of the Heathen Priests, he had whipt some Christian Priests on their backs; all the answer he made was only

(9) Sir ROBERT HOWARD.

asking, *What made them get up there?* the benefit of which answer I claim beforehand to myself, without making or needing any other Apology. Yet if the correspondence of any Priests with heaven be as slenderly grounded as that of the Druids, if their miracles be as fictitious and fraudulent, if their love of riches be as immoderate, if their thirst after power be as insatiable, and their exercise of it be as partial and tyrannical over the Laity: then I am not only content they shou'd be touch'd, whether I thought of them or not; but that they shou'd be blasted too, without a possibility of ever sprouting up again. For Truth will but shine the brighter, the better its counterfeits are shown: and all that I can do to show my own candor, is, to leave the reader to make such applications himself, seldom making any for him; since he that is neither clear-sighted nor quick enough of conception to do so, may to as good purpose read the *Fairy-tales* as this *History*.

VI. BESIDES this impartial disposition, the competent knowledge I have of the Northern languages, dead and living (tho' I shall prove, that no Druids, except such as towards their latter end fled' thither for refuge, or that went before with Celtic invaders or colonies, were ever among the Gothic nations) I say, these languages will not a little contribute to the perfection of my work, for a reason that may with more advantage appear in the book itself,

self. But the knowledge of the ancient Irish, which I learnt from my childhood, and of the other Celtic dialects, in all which I have printed books or manuscripts (not to speak of their vulgar Traditions) is absolutely necessary; these having preserv'd numberless monuments concerning the Druids, that never hitherto have come to the hands of the learned. For as the Institutions of the Druids were formerly better learnt in Britain, by CESAR said to be the native seat of this superstitious race, than in Gaule where yet it exceedingly flourish'd: so their memory is still best preserv'd in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, comprehending the *Hebrida*, *Hebrides*, or Western Isles, among which the Ile of *Man*; where they continu'd long after their extermination in Gaule and South-Britain, mostly by the Romans, but finally by the introduction of Christianity. Besides, that much of the Irish Hea-then Mythology is still extant in verse, which gives such a lustre to this matter, and of course to the Grec and Roman Fragments concerning the Druids, as cou'd not possibly be had any other way.

VII. THUS (to give an example in the Philological part) the controversy among the Grammarians, whether they should write *Druis* or (10) *Druida* in the nominative case singular,

(10) The Irish word for Druid is *Druí*, corruptly *Droí*, and more corruptly *Druoi*, yet all of the same sound, which in Etymologies is a great matter: and in the nominative plural

can only be decided by the Irish writings, as you may see demonstrated in the margin; where all Grammatical remarks shall be inserted among the other *Notes* of the *History*, if they do not properly belong to the annexed *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*. This conduct I observe, to avoid any disagreeable stop or perplexity in the work itself, by uncouth words or of difficult pronunciation. For as every thing in the Universe is the Subject of writing, so an author ought to treat of every subject smoothly and correctly, as well as pertinently and perspicuously: nor ought he to be void of ornament and Elegance, where his matter peculiarly requires it. Some things want a copious stile, some a concise; others to be more floridly, others to be more plainly handl'd: but all to be properly, methodically, and handsomly express'd. Neglecting these particulars, is neglecting, and consequently affronting, the reader. Let a

ral 'tis *Druidhe*, whence comes no doubt the Grec and Latin *Druides*; as *Druis* in the singular was form'd by only adding *s* to *Druis*, according to those nations way of terminating. But as these words in Irish as well as the Brittish *Druidion*, are common to both sexes; so the Romans, according to their inflection, distinguish'd *Druidæ* for a She-Druid (which sort are mention'd by authors) whereof the nominative plural being *Druidæ*, it ought by us to be used in that sense only: and so I conclude, that in our modern Latin compositions *Druides* and *Druidæ* shou'd not be confounded; as they have frequently been by the Transcribers of old writings, who milled others. We are not to be mov'd therefore by reading *Druidæ* in any Latin author in the masculin gender, or in the Grec writers, who certainly us'd it so. All equivocation at least will be thus taken away.

Lady

Lady be as well-shap'd as you can fancy, let all her features be faultless, and her complexion be ever so delicate: yet if she be careless of her person, tawdry in her dress, or awkward in her gait and behavior, a man of true taste is so far from being touch'd with the charms of her body, that he's immediately prepossess'd against the beauties of her mind; and apt to believe there can be no order within, where there's so much disorder without. In my opinion therefore, the *Muses* themselves are never agreeable company without the *Graces*. Or if, as your Lordship's stile is remarkably strong, you wou'd, with (11) CICERO, take this simile from a man; you'll own 'tis not enough to make him be lik'd, that he has well-knit bones, nerves and sinews: there must be likewise proportion, muscling, and coloring, much blood, and some softness. To relate facts without their circumstances, whereon depends all Instruction; is to exhibit a skeleton without the flesh, wherein consists all comeliness. This I say to your Lordship, not pretending to teach the art of writing to one, who's so fit to be my master; but to obviate the censures of those, and to censure 'em in their turns, who not only do not treat of such subjects as I have now undertaken in a flowing and continu'd stile, but peremptorily deny the fields of Antiquity and Criticism to be capable of this culture: and indeed as suffering un-

(11) De Oratore lib. 1

der the drudgery of their hands, they generally become barren heaths or unpassable thickets ; where you are blinded with sand, or torn with bryars and brambles. There's no choice of words or expressions. All is low and vulgar, or obsolete and musty ; as the whole discourse is crabbed, hobbling, and jejune. Not that I wou'd have too much license taken in this respect ; for tho none ought to be slaves to any set of words, yet great judgement is to be employ'd in creating a new, or reviving an old word : nor must there be less discretion in the use of figures and sentences ; which, like imbroidery and salt, are to set off and season, but not to render the cloth invisible, or the meat uneatable. To conclude this point, we are told by the most eloquent of men, that a profuse (12) volubility, and a forbid exility of words, are to be equally avoided. And now after this Digression, if any thing that essentially relates to my task can be properly call'd one, I return to the Druids, who were so prevalent in Ireland, that to this hour their ordinary word for Magician is *Druid* (13), the art Magic is call'd *Druidity* (14), and the wand, which was one of the badges of their profession, *the rod of Druidism* (15). Among antient Classic authors PLINY is the most express concerning the Magic of the

(12) CICERO de Oratore, lib. 1.

(13) *Druis*.

(14) *Druidheacht*.

(15) *Slatuan Druidheacht*.

Druids, whereof the old Irish and Brittiſh Books are full: which Legerdemain, or ſecrets of Natural Philoſophy (as all Magic is either the one, or the other, or both) we ſhall endeavor to lay open in our *History of the Druids*; not forgetting any old author that mentions them, for there's ſomething particular to be learnt in every one of them, as they touch different circumſtances. Having occaſionally ſpoken of the Wand or Staff which every Druid carry'd in his hand, as one of the badges of his profeſſion (and which in a chapter on this ſubject will be ſhown to have been a uſual thing with all pretenders to magic) I muſt here acquaint you further, that each of 'em had what was commonly call'd the *Druid's Egg* (which ſhall be explain'd in the *History*) hung about his neck inchas'd in gold. They all wore ſhort hair, while the reſt of the natives had theirs very long: and, on the contrary, they wore long beards, while other people ſhav'd all theirs but the upper lip. They likewiſe all wore long habits, as did the Bards and the Voids: but the Druids had on a white Surplice, whenever they religiously officiated. In Ireland they, with the graduate Bards and Voids, had the privilege of wearing ſix colors in their *Breacans* or robes (which were the ſtrip'd Braccæ of the Gauls, ſtill worn by the Highlanders) whereas the King and Queen might have in theirs but ſeven, Lords and Ladies five, Governors of Fortreſſes four, Officers and young Gentlemen of quality three,

common Soldiers two, and common people one. This sumtuary Law most of the Irish Historians say, was enacted under King (16) ACHAIUS the first; tho others, who will have this to be but the reviving of an old Law, maintain it was first establish'd by king TIGERNMHAS.

VIII. AS the Druids were commonly wont to retire into grots, dark woods, mountains, and (17) groves (in which last they had their numerous Schools, not without houses as some have foolishly dreamt,) so many such places in France, Britain, and Ireland, do still bear their names: as *Dreux*, the place of their annual General Assembly in France; *Kerig-y-Drudion* (or Druid-stones) a parish so call'd in Denbighshire, from a couple of their Altars there still remaining. In Anglesey there's the Village of *Tre'r Driú*, the town of the Druid, next to which is *Tre'r Beirdh* or Bards-town: as also in another place of the same Iland *Maen-y-Druú*, that is, the Druid's stone; and *Caer-Dreúin*, or the city of the Druids, in Merionethshire. The places in Ireland and the Hebrides are infinite. The present ignorant vulgar, in the first of the last-mention'd places, do believe, that those Inchanters were at last themselves enchanted by their Apostle PATRIC

(16) EOCHAD EUDGHATHACH.

(17) These Groves for pleasure and retirement, as well as for awe and reverence, were different from the lurking places in forests and caves, into which they were forc'd when persecuted in Gaul and Britain

and his Disciples, miraculously confining them to the places that so bear their names; where they are thought to retain much power, and sometimes to appear, which are (18) fancies like the English notion of Fairies. Thus the Druid O MURNIN inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny in Inisoën, AUNIUS (19) in Benavny from him so call'd in the county of Londonderry, and GEALCOSSA (20) in Gealcoffa's mount in Inisoën aforesaid in the county of Dunegall. This last was a Druidess, and her name is of the Homerial strain, signifying *White-legg'd* (21). On this hill is her grave (the true incantment that confines her) and hard by is her Temple; being a sort of diminutive *Stonehenge*, which many of the old Irish dare not even at this day any way profane. I shall discover such things about these Temples (whereof multitudes are still existing, many of them intire, in the Hebrides, in Orkney, and on the opposite continent; as also many in Wales, in Jersey and Guernsey, and some in England and Ireland, the most remarkable to be accurately describ'd and delineated in our *History*)

(18) Such fancies came from the hiding of the persecuted Druids, from the reign of JULIUS, who made the first law against them (having been discountenanced by AUGUSTUS) but strictly put in execution by CLAUDIUS, and the following Emperors, till their utter extirpation by the general conversion of the people to Christianity.

(19) AUNNE, or OIBHNE.

(20) GEALCHOSSACH.

(21) *CREAG A VANNY* GEALCHOSSAIGH

I shall discover such things, I say, about the famous Egg of the Druids, to the learned hitherto a riddle, not to speak of their magical gems and herbs: as also about their favourite All-heal or (22) Mistleto, gather'd with so much ceremony by a Priest in his white Surplice, as PLINY (23) tells us, and with a gold pruning-knife; as well as about the abstrusest parts of their Philosophy and Religion, that the like has not yet appear'd in any author, who has treated of them. The books of such are either bare collections of Fragments, or a heap of precarious fables; I mean especially some French writers on this Subject, as PICARD, FORCATUS, GUENEBAUT, with others of no better allay in Britain and Germany; for as I admit nothing without good authority, so I justly expect, that, without as good, nothing will be admitted from me.

IX. BUT, MY LORD, besides these Druids, the antient Gauls, Britons, and Irish, had another order of Learned men, call'd BARD S, whereof we shall sufficiently discourse in our propos'd work. *Bard* is still the Irish and Scottish word, as *Bardh* the Armoric and Brittish. There's no difference in the pronunciation, tho', according to their different manner of writing in expressing the power of the letters, they vary a little in the

(22) All these heads will be so many intire Chapters.

(23) Sacerdos, candidâ veste cultus, æreorem scandit: falce aureâ demetic. *Hist. Nat. lib. 16. cap. 14.*

orthography (24). The Bards were divided into three orders or degrees; namely (to give an example now in the British dialect, as I shall give their turns to all the Celtic colonies) *Prívardh*, *Posvardh*, and *Arúyvardh*: but, with regard to the subjects whereof they treated, they were call'd *Prududh*, or *Tevluúr*, or *Clerúr*; which words, with the equivalent Irish names, shall be explain'd in our *History*, where you'll find this division of the Bards well warranted. The first were Chronologers, the second Heralds, and the third Comic or Satyrical Poets among the vulgar: for the second sort did sing the praises of great men in the heroic strain, very often at the head of armies, like him in VIRGIL

*Cretea musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
Et citharae cordi, numerosque intendere nervis;
Semper equos, atq; arma virum, pugnasq;
canebat:*

Virg. Aen. lib. 9.

(24) Let it be noted once for all, that as in other tongues, so in Irish and Welsh particularly, *r* and *d* are commonly put for each other, by reason of their affinity; and that *dh* and *gh* being pronounc'd alike in Irish, and therefore often confounded, yet an exact writer will always have regard to the origin as well as to the analogy of any word: and so he'll write *Druidhe* (for example) and not *Druighe*, much less *Draoiche* broadly and aspirately; nor will he use any other misspellings, tho' ever so common in books. This is well observ'd by an old author, who writing of CONLA a heathen freethinking Judge of Connacht, thus characterizes him; *Se do rinne an choinbhleacht ris na Druidhibh*: 'twas he that disputed against the Druids. These Criticisms, some would say, are trifles: but

Hae nuzae in scria ducant.
and

and the first, who likewise accompany'd them in peace, did historically register their genealogies and atchievements. We have some proofs that the Panegyrics of the Gallic Bards did not always want wit no more than flattery; and particularly an instance out of ATHENEUS, who had it from POSIDONIUS the Stoic, concerning (26) LUERNIUS a Gallic Prince, extraordinary rich, liberal, and magnificent. He was the father of that same BITTUS, who was beaten by the Romans. Now this LUERNIUS (says (27) my author) *having appointed a certain day for a feast, and one of the Barbarous Poets coming too late, met him as he was departing; whereupon he began to sing his praises and to extol his grandeur, but to lament his own unhapy delay. LUERNIUS being delighted, call'd for a purse of gold, which he threw to him, as he ran by the side of his chariot: and he taking it up, begun to sing again to this purpose; THAT OUT OF THE TRACKS HIS CHARIOT HAD PLOW'D ON THE GROUND, SPRUNG UP GOLD AND BLESSINGS TO MANKIND.* As some of the Gallic Bards

(26) Whether it be LUERNIUS, or as STRABO writes it LUERIUS, the name is frequent either way in the antientest Irish Writers, as LOARN, and LUIRE or LUIGHAIRE.

(27) Αφορισαντος δ' αυτη προθεσμιαν κατα της θοινης, αφυπερησαντα τινα των βαρβαρων ποιητην αφικεσθαι, και συναυτησαντα μετ' αυδης υμνειν αυτου την υπεροχην, ειαιτον δ' υποθρηνην επι υφερικη τουδε τεφθευτα θυλακιον αιτησαι χρυσιου, και ριψαι αυτω παρατρεχοντι; ανελομενον δ' εκεινον καλιν υμνον, λεγοντα, διο και τα ιχνη της γης (εφ' ης ερματηλαται) χρυσου και ευετυχισ αιθροισι Φερει. Editt. Lugd lib. 4. pag 157.

were truly ingenious, so were many of 'em mere quiblers: and among the bombast of the Brittish and Irish Bards, there want not infinite instances of the true Sublime. Their Epigrams were admirable, nor do the modern Italians equal them in conceits. But in stirring the passions, their Elegies or Lamentations far exceed those of the Greeks, because they express nature much more naturally. These Bards are not yet quite extinct, there being of them in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland: nor did any country in the world abound like the last with this sort of men, whose licentious panegyrics or satyrs have not a little contributed to breed confusion in the Irish History. There were often at a time a thousand *Ollaws* (28) or graduate Poets, besides a proportionable number of inferior Rhymers, who all of 'em liv'd most of the year on free cost: and, what out of fear of their railing, or love of their flattery, no body durst deny them any thing, be it armor, fewel, horse, mantle, or the like; which grew into a general custom, whereof the Poets did not fail to take the advantage. The great men, out of self love and interest, encourag'd no other kind of Learning, especially after they profess Christianity: the good regulation, under which they were in the time of Druidism, as then in some manner belonging to the Temples, having been destroyed with that Religion. In a small time they

(28) *Ollawh* is a Professor or Doctor in any faculty

became such a grievance, that several attempts were made to rid the nation of them: and, which is something comical (what at least our present Poets would not extraordinarily like) the orders for banishing them were always to the Highlands of Scotland; while they were as often harbor'd in Ulster, till upon promise of amendment (of their manners I mean and not of their Poetry) they were permitted to return to the other Kingdoms. At last, in a general national assembly, or Parliament, at Drumcat (29) in the country we now call the county of Londonderry, under (30) AIDUS ANMIREUS the 11th Christian King, in the year 597, where was also present (31) AIDUS King of Scotland and the great (32) COLUMBA, it was decreed: that for the better preservation of their History, Genealogies, and the purity of their Language, the supreme Monarch, and the subordinate Kings, with every Lord of a Cantred, should entertain a Poet of his own (no more being allowed by antient law in the Iland) and that upon each of these and their posterity a portion of land, free from all duties, shou'd be settl'd for ever; that, for encouraging the Learning these Poets and Antiquaries profess, public Schools shou'd be appointed and indow'd, under the national inspection; and that the Monarch's own Bard shou'd be ARCH-POET (33),

(29) *Druim-ceat* alias *Druimcheat*.

(30) AODHMHAC AINMHIRE.

(31) AODHANMEAC GAURAIN.

(32) COIUM-CILLE.

(33) *Arch-Ollamh*.

and have super-intendency over the rest. 'Tis a common mistake, into which father PEZRON has fallen among others, that the Bards belong'd to the body of the Druids: but this is not the place to rectify it. They made Hymns for the use of the Temples, 'tis true, and manag'd the Music there; but they were the Druids that officiated as Priests, and no Sacrifices were offer'd but by their ministry.

X. IN the *History* likewise shall be fully explain'd the third order of the Celtic Literati, by the Greeks call'd O U A T E I S, and by the Romans V A T E S; which yet is neither Greck nor Roman, but a mere Celtic word, viz. F A I D H, which signifies to this day a prophet in all Irish books, and in the common language, particularly in the Irish translation of the Bible; where *Druids* (34) are also commonly put for Inchanters, as those of Egypt, and especially for the *Mages*, or as we translate, *the wise men* (35) that came from the east, to visit JESUS in his cradle. So easily do men convey their own ideas into other men's books, or find 'em there; which has been the source of infinite mistakes, not onely in Divinity, but also in Philosophy and Philology. The Celtic (36) V A I D S were Physicians

(34) *Druidhe*. Exod. 7. 11. Anois Draoithe na Héigpte dor innedursanfós aran modhgceadna le nandroigheachtuibh.

(35) Mat. 2. 1. Feuch Tangadar Draoithe o naird shoir go Hiarufalem.

(36) The word is *Faidh* (or *Vair* by the usual conversion of the Letters *F* into *V* and *D* into *T*) whence the Latins made

and Diviners, great proficient in natural Philosophy (as were likewise the Druids, who had the particular inspection of Morals) but C I C E R O, who was well acquainted with one of the prime Druids, remarks, that their predictions were as much grounded on (37) conjecture, as on the rules of Augury: both equally fortuitous and fallacious. For the saying of EURIPIDES will ever hold true, that (38) *the best guesser is the best Prophet*. He that is nearly acquainted with the state of affairs; that understands the springs of human actions, and, that, judiciously allowing for circumstances, compares the present time with the past: he, I say, will make a shrewd guess at the future. By this time, MY LORD, you begin to perceive what is to be the Subject of the *History* I intend to write; which, tho a piece of general Learning and great curiosity, yet I shall make it my business so to digest: as to render it no less intertaining than instructive to all sorts of readers, without excepting the Ladies, who are pritty much concern'd in this

made *Vates*; and their Critics acknowledge, that they took many words from the Gauls. The *Euhages* and *Eubages*, in some copies of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, are false readings, as in time will appear. So are *Drusi*, *Drusides*, and *Drusades* for *Druides*: as likewise *Vardi*, from the British and Irish oblique cases of *Bard*.

(37) Siquidem & in Gallia Druides sunt, e quibus ipse DIVITIACUM Aeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi (inquit QUINTUS) qui & naturae rationem, quam physiologiam Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur; & partim Auguriis, partim conjecturâ, quae essent futura dicebat. *De Divinat. lib. I. cap. 41.*

(38) Μαντις ἀριστος, οὗτος εἰναῖται κατὰτος.

matter:

matter; throwing, as I told you before, all my Critical Observations, and Disquisitions about words, into the margin, or the *Dissertation* annext to the *History*. As to what I say of the Ladies being concern'd in this *History*, there were not only Druidesses; but some even of the highest rank were such, and Princesses themselves were educated by the Druids: for in our own *Annals* we read, that the two daughters of King (39) LAOGIRIUS (in whose reign PATRIC preach'd Christianity) were educated by them; and we have the particulars of a long dispute those young Ladies maintained against this new Religion, very natural but very subtil. Several other Ladies bred under the Druids became famous for their writings and proficiency in learning, of some of whom we shall occasionally give an account: but lest I shou'd be thought in every thing to flatter the Sex, how much soever I respect them, I refer the reader to a story in my third *Letter*. But, in order to complete my design, so as to leave no room for any to write on this subject after me; and also to procure several valuable *Manuscripts*, or authentic copies of them (well knowing where they ly) I purpose towards the Spring to take a journey for at least six months: which, at our next meeting, I shall do my self the honour to impart to your Lordship very particularly.

XI. THE Irish (a few Scandinavian and Danish words excepted) being not only a Dialect of the antient Celtic or Gallic, but being also liker the mother than her other daughter the British; and the Irish Manuscripts being more numerous and much antienter than the Welsh, shows beyond all contradiction the necessity of this language for retrieving the knowledge of the Celtic Religion and Learning. CAMDEN and others have long since taken notice of the agreement between the present Brittish and those old Gallic words collected by learned men out of Greec and Roman authors : and the industrious Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, late keeper of the *Museum* at Oxford, perceiv'd this affinity between the same words and the Irish, even before he study'd that language, by the demonstration I gave him of the same in all the said instances. Nor does he deny this agreement in *the comparative Etymologicon* he afterwards made of those languages, where he quotes CAMDEN and BOXHORNIVS affirming it about the Gallic and Brittish : *but there being*, says he (40), *no Vocabulary extant* [meaning no doubt in print] *of the Irish, or antient Scottish, they could not collate that language therewith, which the curious in these studies will now find to agree rather more than ours, with the Gaulish.* That it does so, is absolute fact, as will be seen by hundreds of instances in this present work.

(40) In the preface to his *Archæologia Britannica*, pag. 1.

I am aware that what I am going to say will found very oddly, and seem more than a paradox; but I deserve, MY LORD, and shall be content with your severest censure, if, before you have finish'd reading these sheets, you be not firmly of the same mind your self: namely, that, without the knowlege of the Irish Language and Books, the Gallic Antiquities (not meaning the Francie) can never be set in any tolerable light, with regard either to words or to things; and numerous occasions there will occur in this *History* of illustrating both words and things even in the Greec and Roman authors. I shall here give one example of this, since I just come from treating of the several professors of Learning common to the antient Gauls, Britons, and Scots, viz. the Druids, Bards, and Vuids. LUCIAN (41) relates that in Gaule he saw HERCULES represented as a little old man, whom in the language of the country they call'd OGMIOUS; drawing after him an infinite multitude of persons, who seem'd most willing to follow, tho drag'd by extreme fine and almost imperceptible chains: which were fasten'd at the one end to their ears, and held at the other, not in either of HERCULES's hands, which were both otherwise imploy'd; but ty'd to the tip of his tongue, in which there was a hole on purpose, where all those chains center'd. LUCIAN wondring at this manner of

(41) Τον Ἐρακλέα ἐν Κελτοῖσι ΟΓΜΙΟΝ οὐκ αἰχμαλωτὸν Φωνή τε ἐπι-
 χροῖσι, et quae sequuntur in HERCULE GALICO: Graeca
 etenim longiora sunt, quàm ut hic commodè inferi possint.

portraying HERCULES, was inform'd by a learned Druid who stood by, that HERCULES did not in Gaule, as in Greece, betoken *Strength of Body*, but the *Force of Eloquence*; which is there very beautifully display'd by the Druid, in his explication of the picture that hung in the Temple. Now, the Critics of all nations have made a heavy pother about this same word O G M I U S, and laboriously sought for the meaning of it every where, but just where it was to be found. The most celebrated BO-CHART, who, against the grain of nature (if I may so speak) wou'd needs reduce all things to Phenician; says it is an Oriental word, since the Arabians (42) call strangers and barbarians *Age-mion*: as if, because the Phenicians traded antiently to Gaule and the British Islands (for Colonies in them they planted none) they must have also imported their Language; and, with their other commodities, barter'd it for something to the natives, naming their places, their men, and their Gods for them. Our present Britons, who are at least as great Traders, do not find they can do so in Phenicia, nor nearer home in Greece and Italy, nor yet at their own doors in this very Gaule: besides that LUCIAN does positively affirm O G M I U S was a Gallic word, *a word* (43) *of the country*. This has not hinder'd a learned English Physician, Dr. EDMUND DICKENSON, from hunting still in the East for a derivation of it; conjecturing

(42) In *Geographia Sacra, sive Canaan, part. 2. cap. 42.*

(43) Φωνη τη επιχωριω. *Ubi supra.*

HERCULES to be (44) JOSHUA, who was surnamed OGMIVS, for having conquer'd OG King of Bashan :

*O ! sanctas gentes ! quibus haec nascuntur
in kortis*

Numina.

JUVENAL. *Sat.* 15. VER. 10.

I could make your Lordship yet merrier, or rather angrier, at these forc'd and far-fetch'd Etymologies, together with others hammer'd as wretchedly out of Grece, nay even out of Suedilh and German. But the word OGMIVS, as LUCIAN was truly inform'd, is pure Celtic; and signifies (to use TACITUS'S (45) phrase about the Germans) *the Secret of Letters*, particularly the Letters themselves, and consequently the Learning that depends on them, from whence the FORCE OF ELOQUENCE procedes: so that HERCULES OGMIVS is *the learned HERCULES*, or HERCULES *the Protector of Learning*, having by many been reputed himself a (46) Philosopher.

(44) JOSUAM quoque spectasse videtur illud nomen, quo Galli antiquitus HERCULEM nuncupabant. Unde vero Ogmivs? Annon ab OG victo? *Delpb. Phoenician. cap. 3.*

(45) Literarum Secreta viri pariter ac foeminae ignorant. *De moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.*

(46) Εν δε τοις χρονις της βασιλειας τη Φοινικος ην Έρακλις, ο Φιλοσοφος Τιριος, ος εις εφευρε την κρηχυδην, &c. *Palaephati fragmentum in Chronico Alexandrino.* Έρακλις Αλικυρνιος υιος Τυρτων Φιλοσοφονιστορουσ, &c. *Suidas in voce Έρακλις.* Et diu ante SUIDAM audiebat apud HERACLITUM, in Allegoriis HOMERICIS, Αηηρ εμφρων, και σοφιας ερανοι μισης, οσπερι κατα βασειας αχλυος επιβεδικυαν εφωτιζε την Φιλοσοφικην, καθαπερ εμολιγοισι και Στωικων οι δοκιματατοι.

To prove this account of the word, so natural and so apt, be pleas'd to, understand, that, from the very beginning of the Colony, O G U M, sometimes writen O G A M, and also (47) O G M A, has signify'd in Ireland the Secret of Letters, or *the Irish Alphabet*; for the truth of which I appeal to all the antient Irish Books, without a single exception. 'Tis one of the most authentic words of the language, and originally stands for this notion alone. Indeed after PATRIC had converted the nation, and, for the better propagating of Christian Books, introduc'd the use of the Roman Letters (instead of the antient manner of writing) their primitive Letters, very different from those they now use, began by degrees to grow obsolete; and at last legible only by Antiquaries and other curious men, to whom they stood in as good stead as any kind of occult characters: whence it happen'd that O G U M, from signifying the *secret of writing*, came to signify *secret writing*, but still principally meaning the original Irish Characters. There are several Manuscript Treatises extant, describing and reaching the various methods of this secret Writing; as one in the College-Library of (48) Dublin, and another in that of his Grace

(47) As in the Dublin College Manuscript, to be presently cited.

(48) 'Tis, among other pieces, in *the Book of Ballimore*; being the 257th volum in the Dublin Catalogue, in parchment, folio, D. 18.

the Duke of (49) CHANDOIS. SIR JAMES WARE, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, relating how *the antient Irifh did, besides the vulgar charaâters, praâctife alfo divers ways and arts of occult writing, call'd O G U M, in which they wrote their fecrets*; I have, continues (50) he, *an antient parchment Book full of thefe*, which is the fame juft now faid to belong to the Duke of CHANDOIS: and DUDLEY (51) FORBES, a hereditary Antiquary, wrote to the rather laborious than judicious Chronogift (52) O FLAHERTY, in the Year 1683, that he had fome of the primitive (53) *Birch-tables* (for thofe they had before the ufe of parchment or paper) and many forts of the old occult writing by him. Thefe are principally the *Ogham-beith*, the *Ogham-coll*, and the (54) *Ogham-craoth*, which laft is the old one and the true. But that the primary Irifh Letters, the Letters firft in common ufe, which in the manner we have fhown, became accidentally occult, were originally meant by the word O G U M; befides the appeal made above to all antient authors, is plain in particu-

(49) Anonymi cujusdam Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres occultis feribendi formulis, Hibernicè OGUM dictis.

(50) Praeter charaâteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis feribendi formulis feu artificiis, O G U M dictis, quibus fecreta fua feribebant: his referuntur hæc libellum membranaceum antiquum. Cap. 2.

(51) DUALTACH MHAC FIRBIS.

(52) RUDHRUIGH O FLAITH-BHEARTUIGH.

(53) *Ogygia, part. 3. cap. 30.*

(54) *Ogham-branches.*

lar from FORCHERN, a noted Bard and Philosopher, who liv'd a little before CHRIST. This learned man ascribing with others the invention of Letters to the Phenicians, or rather more strictly and properly to PHENIX (whom the Irish call FENIUS *farsaidh*, or PHENIX *the antient*) says, that, among other Alphabets, as the Hebrew, Greec, and Latin, he also compos'd that of (55) *Bethluision an Oghuim*, the *Alphabet of Ogum*, or the Irish Alphabet, meaning that he invented the first Letters, in imitation of which the Alphabets of those Nations were made. O G U M is also taken in this sense by the best modern writers: as WILLIAM (56) O DONELL, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, in his preface to the Irish *New Testament*, dedicated to King JAMES the First, and printed at Dublin in the Year 1602, speaking of one of his assistants, says, that *he enjoin'd him to write the other part according to the Ogum and propriety of the Irish tongue*; where O G U M must necessarily signify the Alphabet, Orthography, and true manner of writing Irish. From all this it is clear, why among the Gauls, of whom the Irish had their Language and Religion, HERCULES, as the protector of Learning, shou'd be call'd OGMUS, the termination alone being Greec. Nor is this all. O G M A was not only a known proper

(55) FENIUS FARSAIDH Alphabetum primum Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Latinorum, et Bethluision AN OGHUIM. composuit. EN FORCHERNI libro, octingentis retro annis Latine reddito.

(56) WILLIAM O DONNELL.

name in Ireland, but also one of the most ancient; since OGMAGRIANANN, the father of King (57) DALBOETIUS, was one of the first of the Danannan race, many ages before LUCIAN's time. He was a very learned man, marry'd to EATHNA a famous Poetess, who bore, besides the fore-mention'd Monarch, CAIRBRE likewise a Poet: infomuch that OGMAGRIANANN was deservedly surnamed (58) GRIANANN, which is to say *Phebean*, where you may observe Learning still attending this name. The Celtic Language being now almost extinct in Gaule, except onely in lower Britanny, and such Gallic words as remain scatter'd among the French; subsists however intire in the severall (59) dialects of the Celtic Colonies, as do the words *Ogum* and OGMAGRIANANN particularly in Irish. Nor is there any thing better known to the learned, or will appear more undeniable in the sequel of this work, than that words lost in one dialect of the same common language, are often found in another: as a Saxon word (for example) grown obsolete in Germany, but remaining yet in England, may be also us'd in Switzerland; or another word grown out of date in England, and flourishing still in Denmark, continues likewise in Iceland. So most of the antiquated English words are more or

(57) DEALBHAOITH.

(58) *Grian* is the Sun, and *Grianann* Sun-like, or belonging to the Sun.

(59) These are Brittish, Welsh, Cornish, Irish, Manks, and Earse.

less corruptly extant in Friezland, Jutland, and the other Northern countries; with not a few in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in the old English Pale in Ireland.

XII. NOW, from the name of *HERCULES* let's come to his person, or at least to the person acknowledg'd to have been one of the Heros worship'd by the Gauls, and suppos'd by the Greeks and Romans to be *HERCULES*. On this occasion I cannot but reflect on the opposite conduct, which the Learned and the Unlearned formerly observ'd, with respect to the Gods and divine matters. If, thro' the ignorance or superstition of the people, any fable, tho' ever so gross, was generally receiv'd in a Religion; the Learned being ashamed of such an absurdity, yet not daring openly to explode any thing wherein the Priests found their account, explain'd it away by emblems and allegories importing a reasonable meaning, of which the first authors never thought: and if the Learned on the other hand, either to procure the greater veneration for their dictates, or the better to conceal their sentiments from the profane Vulgar, did poetically discourse of the Elements and qualities of Matter, of the Constellations or the Planets, and the like effects of Nature, veiling them as persons; the common sort immediately took them for so many persons in good earnest, and render'd 'em divine worship under such forms, as the Priests judg'd fittest to represent them. Ob-
jects

jects of divine worship have been coin'd out of the rhetorical flights of Orators, or the flattering addresses of Panegyrist: even metaphors and epithets have been transform'd into Gods, which procur'd mony for the Priests as well as the best; and this by so much the more, as such objects were multiply'd. This is the unavoidable consequence of deviating ever so little from plain TRUTH, which is never so heartily and highly reverenc'd, as when appearing in her native simplicity; for as soon as her genuine beauties are endeavor'd to be heightn'd by borrow'd ornaments, and that she's put under a disguise in gorgeous apparel: she quickly becomes, like others affecting such a dress, a mercenary prostitute, wholly acting by vanity, artifice, or interest, and never speaking but in ambiguous or unintelligible terms; while the admiration of her Lovers is first turn'd into amazement, as it commonly ends in content and hatred. But over and above the difficulty, which these proceedings have occasion'd in the History of antient Time, there arises a greater from Time itself destroying infinite circumstances, the want whereof causes that to seem afterwards obscure, which at the beginning was very clear and easy. To this we may join the preposterous emulation of nations, in ascribing to their own Gods or Heros, whatever qualities were preeminent in those of others. That most judicious writer (57) *about*

(57) Φορνουτου θεωρια περι της των θεων Φυσεως, vulgò: sed, ut RAVII codex & Vaticanus legunt (notante doctissimo GALEO) verus titulus est Κορνουτου επιδρομη των κα'α την 'Ελληνικην θεωριαν παραδομενων.

the nature of the Gods, commonly call'd PHURNUTUS (tho his true name was CORNUTUS, a Stoic Philosopher) whom I shall have frequent occasion to quote hereafter, “ owns the great
 “ (58) variety, and consequently the perplexed-
 “ nefs and obscurity, that occurs in the History
 “ of HERCULES; whereby it is difficult to
 “ know certainly what were his real atchiev-
 “ ments, or what were fabuloufly father'd up-
 “ on him: but having been an excellent Ge-
 “ neral, who had in diverse countries signa-
 “ liz'd his valor, he thinks it not probable,
 “ that he went onely arm'd with a Lion's
 “ skin and a Club; but that he was repre-
 “ sented after his death with these, as sym-
 “ bols of generosity and fortitude, for which
 “ reason also he was pictur'd with a bow and
 “ arrows.” To this let me add, that several
 valiant men in several nations having, in imi-
 tation of some one man any where, been cal-
 led or rather surnam'd Hercules; not only the
 works of many, as subduing of Tyrants, ex-
 terminating of wild beasts, promoting or exer-
 cising of commerce, and protecting or improv-
 ing of Learning have been ascrib'd to one:

(58) Το δε δυσδιακριῖα γεγονέναι τα τῆς θεοῦ ἰδία, ἀπο τῶν περι τοῦ Ἡρώος ἰσοροουμενων. Ταχὰ δ' ἀν' ἡ λεοντή και το ροπαλον εκ της παλαιας θεολογιας ἐπι τοῦτον μένεννηνεγμενα εἰη; εἰρηλγον γαρ αὐτον γενομενον αγαθον, και πολλα μερη της γης μετα δυναμειως ἐπελθοντα, οὐχ' ὅσον τε γυμνον εδοξαν περιεληλυθεναι ξυλω μονω ὠπλισμενον: ἀλλα τοις * ἐπισημοις του θεου, μετα τον ἀπαθανατισμον, ὑπο των ευεργετουμενων κεκκοσμησθαι; σιμβολον γαρ ἑκάερον εἰη ρωμης και γενναιοτητος. *Uc. cap. 31.*

* *Alit* πικουοις.

but that also wherever any robust person was found represented with a skin and a club, a bow and arrows, he was straight deem'd to be HERCULES; whence the Egyptian, the Indian, the Tyrian, the Cretan, the Grecian or Theban, and the Gallic HERCULES. This was a constant way with the Greeks and Romans, who (for example) from certain resemblances perfectly accidental, conjectur'd that ISIS was honour'd by the (59) Germans, and BACCHUS worship'd by the (60) Jews, which last notion is refuted even by their enemy (61) TACITUS. Such superficial discoveries about the *Celtic Divinities* I shall abundantly expose. Yet that *Ogmios* might be really the Grecian HERCULES, well known in Gaule, it will be no valid exception that he was by the Druids Theologically made the Symbol of the *Force of Eloquence*, for which that country has been ever distinguish'd and esteem'd: since even in Greece he was, as THURNUTUS assures us, mystically accounted (62) *that Reason which is diffus'd thro*

(59) Pars Suevorum & Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi; nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum Liburnae figuratum, docet advectam Religionem. TACIT. *de mor. German. cap. 9.*

(60) PLUTARCH. *Symposiac Lib. 4.* quem prolixius differentem oisio us consula. . . .

(61) Quia sacerdotum eorum tibiâ tympanique concinebant, hederâ vinciebantur, vitæque a trea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, vomitorem Orientis, quicquam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis: quippe Liber festos laeto quæritas præcipit, Judæorum mos absurdus fordidusque. *Lib. 5. cap. . . .*

(62) Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ γένους τοῦ καθ' ὅν ἐ Φοῖβος ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κρῖα καὶ ἐστὶν, ἀνικητὴς καὶ ἀπεριγένητος ἰσχυρὸς καὶ τῆς πᾶσι μερῶν καὶ ὑπερῶν. *Ubi supra*

all things, according to which Nature is vigorous and strong, invincible and ever-generating; being the power that communicates virtue and firmness to every part of things. The Scholiast of APOLLONIUS affirms, that the natural Philosophers understood by HERCULES, *the (63) intelligence and permanence of beings: as the Egyptians held him to be (64) that Reason, which is in the whole of things, and in every part.* Thus the Learned allegoriz'd away among others (as I said before) the fabulous achievements and miraculous birth of this Hero, on which we shall however touch again, when we come to explain the Heathen humor of making all extraordinary persons the Sons of Gods, and commonly begot on Virgins; tho this last is not the case of HERCULES, who was feign'd to be the Son of JUPITER by ALCMENA, another man's wife. This wou'd be reckon'd immoral among men, but JUPITER (said the Priests) can do with his own what he pleases: which reason, if it contented the husbands, cou'd not displease the batchelors, who might chance to be sometimes JUPITER's substitutes. The Druidical allegory of OGMIIUS, or the Gallic HERCULES, which in its proper place I shall give you at large, is extremely beautiful: and as it concerns that

(63) Παρα τοις Φυσικοις ὁ Ἡρακλῆς συνέσις καὶ ἀλλή λαμβανεται.

(64) Τὸν ἐν πασι, καὶ διὰ πάντων, λόγον; non ἥλιον, ut corruptè legi cum GALEO suspicor in MACROBIO, *Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

eloquence whereof you are so consummate a master, cannot but powerfully charm you.

XIII. IN the mean time 'tis probable your Lordship will be desirous to know, whether, besides the language and traditions of the Irish, or the Monuments of Stone and other materials which the country affords, there yet remain any Literary records truly antient and unadulterated, whereby *the History of the Druids*, with such other points of antiquity, may be retriev'd, or at least illustrated? This is a material question, to which I return a clear and direct answer; that not onely there remain very many antient Manuscripts undoubtedly genuine, besides such as are forg'd, and greater numbers (65) interpolated, several whereof are in Ireland itself, some here in England, and others in the Irish Monasteries abroad: but that, notwithstanding the long state of barbarity in which that nation hath lain, and after all the rebellions and wars with which the kingdom has been harras'd; they have incomparably more antient materials of that kind for their history (to which even their Mythology is not unserviceable) than either the English, or the French, or any other European nation, with whose Manuscripts I have any acquaint-

(65) As the *Uraiceacht na neigios*, i. e. the Accidence of the Artists, or the Poets; which being the work of FORCHERN before-nam'd, was interpolated, and fitted to his own time, by CEANN FAOLADH the Son of OILIOLL, in the Year of *Christ* 628.

tance. Of these I shall one day give a Catalogue, marking the places where they now ly, as many as I know of them; but not meaning every Transcript of the same Manuscript, which wou'd be endless, if not impossible. In all conditions the Irish have been strangely sollicitous, if not to some degree superstitious, about preserving their books and parchments; even those of them which are so old, as to be now partly or wholly unintelligible. Abundance thro' over care have perished underground, the concealer not having skill, or wanting scarloth and other proper materials for preserving them. The most valuable pieces, both in verse and prose, were written by their Heathen ancestors; whereof some indeed have been interpolated after the prevailing of Christianity, which additions or alterations are nevertheless easily distinguish'd: and in these Books the rites and formularies of the Druids, together with their Divinity and Philosophy; especially their two grand doctrines of the Eternity and Incorruptibility of the Universe, and the incessant Revolution of all beings and forms, are very specially, tho' sometimes very figuratively express'd. Hence their *Allanimitation* and *Transmigration*. Why none of the Natives have hitherto made any better use of these treasures; or why both they, and such others as have written concerning the History of Ireland, have onely entertain'd the world with the fables of it (as no country wants a fabulous account of its original, or the succession of its Princes)

Princes) why the modern Irish Historians, I say, give us such a medly of relations, unpick'd and unchosen, I had rather any man else shou'd tell. The matter is certainly ready, there wants but will or skill for working of it; separating the Dross from the pure Ore, and distinguishing counterfeit from sterling coin. This in the mean time is undeniable, that Learned men in other places, perceiving the same dishes to be eternally serv'd up at every meal, are of opinion that there is no better fare in the country; while those things have been conceal'd from them by the ignorant or the lazy, that would have added no small ornament even to their classical studies. Of this I hope to convince the world by the lustre, which, in this work, I shall impart to the Antiquities not only of Gaule and Britain, but likewise to numerous passages of the Grecic and Latin authors. How many noble discoveries of the like kind might be made in all countries, where the use of Letters has long subsisted! Such things in the mean time are as if they were not: for

Paulum sepultae distat inertiae

Celata virtus. HORAT. lib. 4. Od. 9.

The use of Letters has been very antient in Ireland, which at first were cut on the bark of trees (66), prepar'd for that purpose; or on

(66) *Oraium.*

smooth tables of birch-wood, which were call'd (67) *Poets tables*: as their characters were in general nam'd (68) *trunks and branch-letters*, from their shape. Their Alphabet was call'd *Beth-luis-nion*, from the three first Letters of the same, B, L, N. *Beth*, *Luis*, *Nion* (69): for the particular name of every Letter was, for memory-sake, from some tree or other vegetable; which, in the infancy of writing on barks and boards, was very natural. They had also many characters signifying whole words, like the Egyptians and the Chinese. When PATRIC introduc'd the Roman Letters (as I said above) then, from a corruption of *Abcedarium*, they call'd their new Alphabet (70) *Aibghittir*; which, by the Monkish writers, has been Latiniz'd (71) *Abgetorium*. But there flourish'd a great number of Druids, Bards, Vuids, and other authors in Ireland long before PATRIC'S arrival; whose Learning was not only more extensive, but also much more useful than that of their Christian

(67) *Taibhle Fíleadh.*

(68) *Feadha: Craobh Ogham.*

(69) *Birch, Quicken, and Ash.*

(70) At first it was very analogically pronounc'd *Abkedair*, since the Letter C then in Latin, as still in Irish and Brittish, had the force of K no less before E and I, than before A, O, U; having never been pronounc'd like S by the antient Romans, who said KIKERO, *kenseo*, *koebus*, but not SISERO, *senseo*, *soecus*, when the words CICERO, *censeo*, *coecus*, or such like occur'd: so that *Abkedair* did naturally liquidate into *Aibghittir*, in the manner that all Grammarians know.

(71) *Scriptit Abgetoria [scilicet Patricius] 355, et eo amplius numero. NENN. Hist. Britan. cap. 59.*

Posterity: this last sort being almost wholly employ'd in Scholastic Divinity, Metaphysical or Chronological Disputes, Legends, Miracles, and Martyrologies, especially after the eighth century. Of all the things committed to writing by the Heathen Irish, none were more celebrated, or indeed in themselves more valuable, than their Laws; which were deliver'd, as antiently among some other nations, in short sentences, commonly in verse, no less reputed infallible Oracles than the Lacedemonian *Re-thræ* (72): and, what's remarkable, they are expressly term'd (73) *Celestial Judgements*; for the pronouncing of which, the most famous were FORCHERN, NEID, CONLA, EOGAN, MODAN, MORAN, King CORMAC, his Chief Justice FITHIL, FACHMA, MAINE, ETHNEA the daughter of AMALGAD, and many more. These *Celestial Judgements* were only preserv'd in traditionary Poems, according to the institution of the Druids, till committed to writing at the command of (74) CONCOVAR King of Ulster; who dy'd in the year of CHRIST 48, whereas PATRIC began his Apostleship but in the year 432. The Poets that wrote were numberless, of whose works several pieces remain still intire, with diverse Fragments of others. The three greatest encouragers of Learning among the Heathen Irish Monarchs were,

(72) Πάτριαι.

(73) *Breatha nimhe.*(74) CONCHOBHAR NESSAN, i. e. *Mic NEASSA.*

first, King (75) ACHAIUS (surnamed *The Doctor of Ireland*) who is said to have built at Tarah an Academy, call'd *The Court of the Learned* (76). 'Twas he that ordain'd, for every principal family, hereditary Antiquaries; or, in case of incapacity, the most able of the same historical house, with rank and privileges immediately after the Druids. The next promoter of Letters was King (77) TUATHALIUS, whose surname is render'd BONAVENTURA (tho not so properly) and who appointed a triennial revision of all the Antiquaries Books, by a Committee of three Kings or great Lords, three Druids, and three Antiquaries. These were to cause whatever was approv'd and found valuable in those books, to be transcrib'd into the royal (78) *Book of Tarah*; which was to be the perpetual standard of their History, and by which the contents of all other such books shou'd be receiv'd or rejected. Such good regulations I say there were made, but not how long or how well observ'd: or, if truth is to be preferr'd to all other respects, we must own they were but very slightly regarded; and that the Bards, besides their Poetical license, were both mercenary and partial to a scandalous degree. The ordinance however is admirable, and deserves more to be imitated, than we can ever expect it to be so any where. The third

(75) Eochaidh Ollamhfodla,

(76) *Mur-Ollamhan*.

(77) Tuathal Teachtmhara,

(78) *Leabhar Teampulra*.

most munificent patron of Literature was King CORMAC, surnamed (79) *Long-beard*, who renew'd the Laws about the Antiquaries, rebuilt and enlarg'd the Academy at Tarah for history, law, and military prowess: besides that he was an indefatigable distributor of Justice, having written himself abundance of Laws still extant. So is his (80) *Institution of a Prince* (81), or his *Precpts* to his Son and Successor CARBRE (82) LIFECAIR, who in like manner was not superficially addicted to the Muses. CORMAC was a great proficient in Philosophy, made light of the Superstitions of the Druids in his youth; and, in his old age having quitted the Scepter, he led a contemplative life: rejecting all the Druidical fables and idolatry, and acknowledging only one Supreme Being, or first Cause. This short account of the primevous Irish Learning, whereof you'll see many proofs and particulars in the more than once mention'd *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies* (to be annexed to our *Critical History*) will, I am confident, excite your curiosity.

XIV. THE custom therefore, or rather cunning of the Druids, in not committing their

(79) ULFHADA.

(80) 'Tis. among other most valuable pieces, in the Collection call'd O DUVEGAN's, folio 190. a, now or late in the possession of the right honorable the Earl of CLANRICKARD. There are copies of it elsewhere, but that's the oldest known.

(81) *Teagarg Riogh.*

(82) CAIBRE LIFEIOCHAIR.

rites or doctrines to writing, has not depriv'd us (as some may be apt to imagine) of sufficient materials to compile their *History*. For, in the first place, when the Romans became masters of Gaule, and every where mixt with the natives; they cou'd not avoid, in that time of light and Learning, but arrive at the certain knowledge of whatever facts they have been pleas'd to hand down to us, tho not always rightly taking the usages of other nations: as it must needs be from a full conviction of the Druidical fraudulent Superstitions, and barbarous Tyranny exercis'd over the credulous people, that these same Romans, who tolerated all Religions, yet suppress this Institution in Gaule and Britain, with the utmost severity. The Druids however were not immediately extinguish'd, but only their barbarous, tyrannical, or illusory usages. And indeed their human Sacrifices, with their pretended Magic, and an authority incompatible with the power of the Magistrate, were things not to be indur'd by so wise a State as that of the Romans. In the second place, the Grec colony of Mar-seilles, a principal mart of Learning, cou'd not want persons curious enough, to acquaint themselves with the Religion, Philosophy, and Customs of the country, wherein they liv'd. STRABO and others give us an account of such. From these the elder Grecs had their information (not to speak now of the Gauls seated in Greece it self and in lesser Asia) as the later Grecs had theirs from the Romans; and, by
good

good fortune, we have a vast number of passages from both. But, in the third place, among the Gauls themselves and the Britons, among the Irish and Albanian Scots, their Historians and Bards did always register abundance of particulars about the Druids, whose affairs were in most things inseparable from those of the rest of the inhabitants: as they were not only the judges in all matters civil or religious, but in a manner the executioners too in criminal causes; and that their Sacrifices were very public, which consequently made their rites no less observable. One thing which much contributed to make them known, is, that the King was ever to have a Druid about his person; to pray and sacrifice, as well as to be a judge for determining emergent controversies, tho he had a civil judge besides. So he had one of the chief Lords to advise him, a Bard to sing the praises of his ancestors, a Chronicler to register his own actions, a Physician to take care of his health, and a Musician to intertain him. Whoever was absent, these by Law must be ever present, and no fewer than the three Controllers of his family; which Decemvirate was the institution of King CORMAC. The same custom was taken up by all the Nobles, whereof each had about him his Druid, Chief Vassal, Bard, Judge, Physician, and Harper; the four last having lands assign'd them, which descended to their families, wherein these Professions were hereditary, as were their Marshal, and the rest of their officers. After

the introducing of Christianity, the Druid was succeeded by a Bishop or Priest, but the rest continu'd on the antient foot: insomuch, that for a long time after the English Conquest, the Judges, the Bards, Physicians, and Harpers, held such tenures in Ireland. The O DUVEGANS were the hereditary Bards of the O KELLES, the O CLERYS and the O BRODINS were also hereditary Antiquaries: the O SHEILS and the O CANVANS were such hereditary Doctors, the MAGLANCHYS such hereditary Judges, and so of the rest; for more examples, especially in this place, are needless: it wou'd be but multiplying of names, without ever making the Subject clearer. Only I must remark here, from the very nature of things, no less than from facts, that (tho CESAR be silent about it) there were civil judges in Gaule just as in Ireland, yet under the direction and controll of the Druids. This has led many to imagine, that, because the Druids influenc'd all, there were therefore no other judges, which is doubtless an egregious mistake.

XV. FURTHER, tho the Druids were exempted from bearing arms, yet they finally determin'd concerning Peace and War: and those of that order, who attended the King and the Nobles, were observ'd to be the greatest make-bates and incendiaries; the most averse to Peace in Council, and the most cruel of all others in Action. Some of 'em were ally'd to Kings, many of 'em were King's sons,
and

and great numbers of them cull'd out of the best families: which you see is an old trick, but has not been always effectual enough to perpetuate an Order of men. This however made Historians not to forget them, and indeed several of 'em render'd themselves very remarkable; as the Druid TROSDAN, who found an Antidote against the poyson'd arrows of certain Brittish invaders: (83) CABADIUS, grandfather to the most celebrated champion (84) CUCULAND; (85) TAGES the father of MORNA, mother to the no less famous (86) FIN MAC CUIL: DADER, who was kill'd by EOGAN, son to OLILL OLOM King of Munster; which EOGAN was marry'd to MOINIC, the daughter of the Druid DILL. The Druid MOGRUTH, the son of SINDUINN, was the stoutest man in the wars of King CORMAC: nor less valiant was (87) DUBCOMAR, the chief Druid of King FIACHA; and LUGADIUS MAC-CON the abdicated King of Ireland, was treacherously run thro the body with a lance by the Druid (88) FIRCHISUS. IDA and ONO (Lords of Corcachlann near Roscommon) were Druids; wherof ONO presented his fortress of *Imleach-Ono* to PATRIC, who converted it into the religious house of *Elphin*,

(83) CATHBAID.

(84) CUCHULAIID.

(85) TADHG.

(86) FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.

(87) DUBHCHOMAR.

(88) FEARCHIS.

since an (89) Episcopal See. From the very name of (90) LAMBERG, or *Bloody-hand*, we learn what sort of man the Druid was, who by the vulgar is thought to live enchanted in the mountain between Bunncranach and (91) Fathen in the county of Dunegall. Nor must we forget, tho' out of order of time, King (92) NIALL *of the nine hostage's* Arch-Druid, by name (93) LAGICINUS BARCHEDIUS; who procured a most cruel war against EÓCHA King of Munster, for committing Manlaughter on his son: and which the Druids making a common cause, there was no honor, law, or humanity observ'd towards this King; whose story, at length in our book, will stand as a lasting monument of Druidical bloodyness, and a Priest-ridden State. I conclude with BARRACH (chief Druid to CONCHOBHAR NESSAN King of Ulster) who is fabl'd by the monks long after the extinction of the Druids, to have before it happen'd, others say at the very time, describ'd the passion of JESUS CHRIST, in so lively and moving a manner; that the King transported with rage drew his sword, and with inexpressible fury fell a hack-

(89) *Ailfenn*, from a vast Obelisc that stood by a well in that place; and that fell down in the year 1675. The word signifies the *white Stone*, and was corrupted into *Oilfenn*. Some wou'd derive the name from the clearness of the fountain, but 'tis by torture: others from one OILFENN, a Danish commander.

(90) LAMBDEARG.

(91) *Taobhsaol-treoch*.

(92) NIAL NAOIGHI-ALACH.

(93) LAIGHICIN MHAO BARRCHEADHA

ing and hewing the trees of the wood where he then was, which he mistook for the Jews: nay, that he put himself into such a heat as to dy of this frenzy. But even O FLAHERTY fully confutes this silly fiction, (94) not thinking it possible that such circumstances could be any way inferr'd from an Eclipse (which is the foundation of the story) nor that a clearer revelation shou'd be made of those things to the Irish Druids, than to the Jewish Prophets; and, finally, by shewing, that Conchobhar dy'd quietly in his bed 15 years after the crucifixion of CHRIST. BACRACH however was a great man, and the King himself had a Druid for his step-father and instructor.

XVI. IT can be no wonder therefore, that men thus sacred in their function, illustrious in their alliances, eminent for their learning, and honour'd for their valor, as well as dreaded for their power and influence, should also be memorable both in the poetry and prose of their country. And so in fact they are, notwithstanding what DUDLEY FORBES, before mention'd, did, in a Letter to an Irish writer, (95) in the year 1683, affirm: namely, that, in PATRIC's time no fewer than 180 Volumes, relating to the affairs of the Druids, were burnt in Ireland. Dr. KENNEDY says, (96) that PATRIC burnt 300 *volumns*,

(94) *Ogyg.*

(95) O FLAHERTY.

(96) *Dissertation about th. Family of the STUARTS*, Pref. page 29.

stuffed with the fables and superstitions of Heathen Idolatry: unfit, adds he, to be transmitted to posterity. But, pray, how so? why are Gallic or Irish superstitions more unfit to be transmitted to posterity, than those of the Greeks and Romans? Why shou'd PATRIC be more squeamish in this respect than MOSES or the succeeding Jewish Prophets, who have transmitted to all ages the Idolatries of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Caldeans, and other eastern nations? What an irreparable destruction of History, what a deplorable extinction of arts and inventions, what an unspeakable detriment to Learning, what a dishonor upon human understanding, has the cowardly proceeding of the ignorant, or rather of the interested, against unarm'd monuments at all times occasion'd! And yet this Book-burning and Letter-murdring humor, tho' far from being commanded by CHRIST, has prevail'd in Christianity from the beginning: as in the *Acts of the Apostles* we read, (97) *that many of them which believ'd—and us'd curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver, or about three hundred pounds sterling.* This was the first instance of burning Books among Christians; and ever since that time the example has been better follow'd, then any precept of the *Gospel*.

(97) Acts 19. 19.

XVII. FROM what we have hitherto observ'd, you see that our Historians, MY LORD, do (in spite of all chances) abound with matter enough to revive and illustrate the memory of the Druids. Besides that the rites and opinions of other nations serve not only to give light to theirs, but were many of them of Druidical or Celtic extraction. This no body will deny of the Aboriginal Italians, who having been often over-run by the Gauls, and having several Gallic Colonies planted among them, they partook both of their Language and Religion; as will be very easily convinc'd in our *Dissertation*, and has been already tolerably done by Father PEZRON in his *Celtic Originals*. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, in the Proem of his *Philosophical History*, reckons the Druids among the chief Authors of the Barbarous Theology and Philosophy, long anterior to the Greeks, their disciples: and PHURNUTUS, in his treatise of *the nature of the Gods*, says most (98) expressly, that *among the many and various fables which the antient Greeks had about the Gods, some were derived from the Magers, some from the Egyptians and Gauls, others from the Africans and Phrygians, and others from other nations:*

(98) Τῆ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας περὶ θεῶν γεγονέναι παρὰ τοῖς τάλαιοις Ἑλλήσι μῦθοις, ὡς ἀλλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Μαγῶν γεγονασίν, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Κελτοῖς, καὶ Λιβύσι, καὶ Φρυγί, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι. *C. r. p.* 17. Thus the Manuscript very accurately: but the printed Copy has τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι superfluously in the end, and wants Φρυγί, before, which is very essential.

for

for which he cites HOMER as a witness, nor is there any thing that bears a greater witness to it self. This however is not all : for, over and above the several helps I have mention'd, there are likewise numerous monuments of the worship of the Druids, their valor, policy, and manner of habitation, still remaining in France, in Britain, in Ireland, and in the adjacent Islands; many of 'em intire, and the rest by the help of these easily conceiv'd. Most are of stone, as the lesser ones are of glass, and others of earth bak'd extremely hard. The two last kinds were ornaments or magical gems, as were also those of Chrystal and Agat, either perfectly Spherical, or in the figure of a Lentill; or shap'd after any of the other ways, which shall be describ'd and portray'd in our Book. The Glass Amulets or ornaments are in the Lowlands of Scotland, call'd *Adder-stanes*, and by the Welsh *Gleini na Droedh*, or Druid-Glass, which is in Irish *Glaine nan Druidhe*, *Glaine* in this language signifying *Glass*, tho obsolete now in the Welsh dialect, and preserv'd only in this *Gleini na Droedh*. But the more massy Monuments shall, in a day or two, be the Subject of another Letter from,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most
oblig'd and very
humble Servant.

June 25. 1718.



THE
SECOND LETTER:
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I.  ERMIT me at this time, (MY LORD) according to the promise with which I concluded my last, to send to your Lordship *A Specimen of the Monuments relating to the Druids*, that are still extant, either intire or imperfect. I have ever indeavor'd to avoid deserving the blame, with which an approv'd author charges those; who, while very conversant in the history of other places, appear to be absolute strangers in their
OWN

own country: and as I know no man better versed in foren affairs or in our own (which an able Statesman will never separate) nor a greater master of ancient or modern history than yourself; so I am apt to hope, that the collection of Brittish and Irish Antiquities I here take the liberty to present to your Lordship, may not prove altogether disagreeable. The French examples (a few excepted) I reserve for the larger work, and in the mean time I procede. On the tops of mountains and other eminences in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, in the Scottish Ilands and the Ile of Man, (where things have been least disorder'd or displac'd by the frequency of inhabitants, or want of better ground for cultivation) there are great heaps of stones, like the (1) MERCURIAL *heaps* (2) of the Greecs, whereof when we treat of the Celtic MERCURY in particular. The heaps, which make my present subject, consist of stones of all sorts, from one pound to a hundred. They are round in form, and somewhat tapering or diminishing upwards: but on the summit was always a flat stone, for a use we shall presently explain. These heaps are of all bignesses, some of 'em containing at least a hundred cartload of stones: and if any of 'em be grown over with earth, 'tis purely accidental in the long course of time wherin

(1) Προσωρευουσι δε τους λιθους τοις Ἑρμαιοις ἑκατος των παριοντων ἑνα τινα αυτοις προσεθεισ, &c. PHURNUT. de Nat. Deor. cap. 16.

(2) Ἑρμαιοι, i. e. Acervi Mercuriales,

they have been neglected; for no such thing was intended in the first making of them, as in the sepulchral barrows of the Gothic nations, which are generally of earth. Such a heap is in the antient Celtic language, and in every dialect of it, call'd CARN; and every Carn so dispos'd, as to be in sight of some other. Yet they are very different from the rude and much smaller pyramids, which the old Irish erect along the roads in memory of the dead, by them call'd *Leachda*, and made of the first stones that offer. From the devotional rounds perform'd about the Carns in times of Heathenism, and which, as we shall see anon, are yet continu'd in many places of the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides, any circle, or turning about, is in Armoric call'd *cern* (1), as *cerna* in that dialect is to make such a turn. On the Carn call'd *Crig-y-dyrn*, in the parish of Trelech in Caermarthenshire, the flat stone on the top is three yards in length, five foot over, and from ten to twelve inches thick. The circumference of this Carn at the bottom is about sixty yards, and 'tis about six yards high; the ascent being very easy, tho I suppose there was originally a ladder for this purpose.

II. LET this Carn serve for an example of the rest, as to their form and bulk; only we may take notice here by the way, what odd

(3) C is pronounc'd as K.

imaginations men are apt to have of things they do not understand. Thus Mr. WILLIAM SACHEVERELL, Governor of the Ile of Man under the right honorable the Earl of DERBY in part of King WILLIAM'S reign, mistaking these Carns in his (4) description of that Iland, *The tops of the mountains* (says he) *seem nothing but the rubbish of nature, thrown into barren and unfruitful heaps, as near two thirds of the Iland are of this sort. Some seem particularly worthy our remark, as the two Barowls, Skcyall, the watch-hill of Knock-a-low : but particularly Sncafeld, where it is not unpleasant* (continues he) *when the weather is clear and serene, to see three noble nations surrounding one of the most obscure in the Universe : which is, as it were, the center of the Brittish Empire.* These heaps our Author thought the work of chance, tho artfully contriv'd in all the Celtic countries; as Dr. MARTIN thought a Carn in the Ile of Saint KILDA, wherof presently, to be a signal effect of Providence: But as for the Mannian nation (which is visibly the center of the Brittish world) it is very undeservedly become obscure, whether we consider what has been transacted in former ages, it having been the theater of many surprizing revolutions: or the particular usages in religious and civil affairs, that even now obtain there, especially their Laws, which still continue mostly unwritten (for which rea-

(4) Page 13.

son they call 'em *Breast-laws*) being without expence or delay, and undoubted remains of the Justice of the Druids. For, wherever they were not themselves a party, neither the Egyptians, nor Persians, nor Greeks, nor Romans, did surpass the wisdom, equity, and strictness of the Druids in the sanction or execution of their Laws; which made all sorts of men leave their controversies of every kind to their determination, without any further appeal. Nor without some regard in fact, and a vast deal more in profession, to moral virtue, cou'd any Set of Impostors in any country possibly support their false doctrines and superstitious observances; which receive credit from hence, as the teachers of 'em do all their power and authority, in proportion to the austerities they practise, or the appearances they have of devotion. I say appearances, because this in most, join'd to real self-denial in a few (who by the rest are deem'd silly tho' useful creatures) will long uphold an institution both erroneous and tyrannical: which is the reason that, to this hour, the memory of the Druids is highly venerable among those of the Ile of Man; and that their Laws are infinitely prefer'd to all others by the Mankmen, who say the family of DERBY comes nearest their excellence of any race of men now in the world. Wherefore, as well in these regards, as in many others essential to my design, I shall, in the Body of the *History*, give a true idea of the past and present customs of this antient, tho' mixt people.

ple. Their numerous Cairns, of whose origin anon, are not the onely monuments they have of the Druids. But that the chief College of these Philosophers was ever establish'd there, and much leis any such College appointed by the Kings of Scotland (as HECTOR BOETHIUS feign'd) I shall demonstrate to be pure romance: and at the same time will not fail doing justice to the memory of the great Hero and Legislator of the Iland, MANANNAN; reported, after the manner of those ages, to have been the Son of (5) LEAR, or the God of the Sea, from his extraordinary Skill in navigation and commerce. He was truly the Son of (6) ALLADIUS, who was of royal blood, and his own name ORBSEN; but call'd MANANNAN from his country, and kill'd by one ULLIN near Galway, in Ireland: of all which the particulars will be given in their proper Place, especially *the Republic of MANANNAN*; who, from his instruction by the Druids, was reputed a consummate Magician, and was indeed most happy in stratagems of war both by land and sea. Mr. SACHEVE-RELL, except in affirming MANANNAN (whom he misnames MANNAN) to have been (7) *the father, founder, and legislator of the Iland*, is out in every thing he says concerning him: for, instead of living about the beginning of the fifth century, he liv'd as many centuries

(5) MANANNAN MUAC LEIR.

(6) ALLAID.

(7) Page 20.

before CHRIST; and so cou'd not be contemporary with PATRIC, the Apostle of Man as well as Ireland. Neither was MANANNAN the son of a King of Ulster, nor yet the brother of FERGUS II. (8) King of Scotland: and as for his not being able to get any information what became of him, I have already told that he was kill'd in Ireland, and by whom.

III. IN process of time the Carns, to which we now return, serv'd every where for beacons, as many of them as stood conveniently for this purpose: but they were originally design'd, as we are now going to see, for fires of another nature. The fact stood thus. On May-eve the Druids made prodigious fires on those Carns, which being every one (as we said) in sight of some other, cou'd not but afford a glorious shew over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of BEAL or BEALAN, latiniz'd by the Roman authors into (9) BELENUS, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the Sun: and therefore to this hour the first day of May is by the Aboriginal Irish call'd *La BEALTEINE*, or *the day of BELEN'S fire* (10). I remember one of those Carns on Fawn-hill within some miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but

(8) Ibid.

(9) Herodian. Aufon. Capitolin. Tertul. &c. Videantur etiam Gruter. et Reines. in *Inscriptionibus*.

(10) Etiam *Bealltaine*, & antiquitus *Beltine*.

that of BEALTEINE, facing another such Carn on the top of Inch-hill: and GREGORY of Tours, in his book *de Gloria Confessorum*, mentions a (11) hill of the same name (12) between Artom and Riom in Auvergne in France, from which Riom might be fairly view'd. But tho' later writers affirm with VALESIIUS, in his *Galliarum notitia*, this hill to be now unknown; yet BELEN's heap on the top of it, is a sure mark whereby to discover it. His circular Temple, as we shall see hereafter, is still there (if not the Carn) having certainly existed in GREGORY's time. Abundance of such heaps remain still on the Mountains in France, and on the Alps. Those writers however are not to be blam'd, as being strangers to the origin or use of such heaps; and not able to distinguish them from certain other heaps, under which robbers and traitors were bury'd. These last are call'd in general by the Welsh *Carn-Vradúyr* and *Carn-Lhadron* (13); or particularly after the proper names of the underlying criminals, as *Carnedh-LEÚELYN*, *Carnedh-DAVID*, and such like. As far from Auvergne as the Island of Saint KILDA, in the 58th degree of northern latitude, there is another hill denominatèd from BELENUS (which more consonant to the Celtic

(11) *Cùm [ex Artonensî vico] venisset in cacumen montis Belenatenfis, de quo vici Ricomagensis positio contemplatur, vidit hos &c. De Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.*

(12) *Mons Belexatenfis.*

(13) *Traitor and thieves Carn: in Irish Carn-bhrateoir & Carn an Ladroin.*

idiom HERODIAN (14) writes BELIN) corruptly call'd *Otter-VEAUL* (15), or BELEN'S *height*; on which is a vast heap, whereof Doctor MARTIN, in his account of that Iland, did not know the use, as I said before (16): but the Carn being on the hill just above the landing place, he thinks it so order'd by providence; that by rouling down these stones, the inhabitants might prevent any body's coming ashore against their will. In the Church of Birsá (near which stands a very remarkable Obelisk) at the west end of the Iland call'd *Pomona*, or the mainland, in Orkney, there is an erect stone, with the word BELUS inscrib'd on it in antient characters. Yet whether this be any remembrance of BELENUS (better according to the Irish idiom BELUS) or be the Monument of a native Prince so call'd, I shall not here decide. The fact it self is told us by Mr. BRAND (17), in his *Description of Orkney and Zetland*. I wish he had also told us, of what kind those antient characters are, or that he had exactly copy'd them: and if there be a man's portraiture on the stone, as Dr. MARTIN affirms (18), the dress and posture will go a great way towards clearing the matter.

IV. BUT to make no longer digression, May-day is likewise call'd *La BEALTLIN* by

(14) Lib. 8. Cap. 7.

(15) *Uachdar* BHEIL.

(16) Page 64.

(17) Page 14.

(18) Page 358.

the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemptible part of the Celtic off-spring. So it is in the Ile of Man: and in Armorica a Priest is still call'd *Belec*, or the servant of BEL, and Priesthood *Belegieth*. Two such fires, as we have mention'd, were kindl'd by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation (as well throout all Gaule, as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining lesser Ilands) between which fires the men and the beasts to be sacrific'd were to pass; from whence came the proverb, *between BEL's (19) two fires*, meaning one in a great strait, not knowing how to extricate himself. One of the fires was on the Carn, another on the ground. On the eve of the first day of November (20), there were also such fires kindl'd, accompany'd (as they constantly were) with sacrifices and feasting. These November fires were in Ireland call'd *Tine tlach'd-gha*, from *tlach'd-gha (21)*, a place hence so call'd in Meath, where the ARCH-DRUID of the realm had his fire on the said eve; and for which piece of ground, because originally belonging to Munster, but appointed by the supreme Monarch for this use, there was an annual acknowledgement (call'd *sgreaboll*) paid to the King of that province. But that all the Druids of Ireland assembl'd there on the first of November, as several authors injudiciously write; is not only a thing improbable,

(19) *Ittir dha theine* BHEIL.

(20) *Sambhuin*.

(21) *Fire-ground*.

but also false in fact: nor were they otherwise there at that time, nor all at any time together in one place, but as now all the Clergy of England are said to be present in their Convocations; that is, by their representatives and delegates. Thus CÆSAR is likewise to be understood, when, after speaking of the ARCH-DRUID of Gaule, he says that (22) *the Druids at a certain time of the Year assembled in a consecrated grove in the country of the Carnutes* (23), *which is reckon'd the middle region of all Gaule.* But of these assemblies in their place. On the foresaid eve all the people of the country, out of a religious persuasion instill'd into them by the Druids, extinguish'd their fires as intirely; as the Jews are wont to sweep their houses, the night before *the feast of unleavened bread.* Then every master of a family was religiously oblig'd, to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire a-new in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay however for his future happiness, whether the event prov'd answerable or not: and tho his house should be afterwards burnt, yet he must deem it the punishment of some new sin, or ascribe it to any thing, rather than to want of virtue in the consecration of the fire, or of validity in the

(22) *Il [Druides] certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, confidunt in loco consecrato. De bello Gallico, lib. 6. cap. 15.*

(23) Now *le Pisis Chartrain*, the place *Dreux*.

benediction of the Druid; who, from officiating at the Carns, was likewise call'd (24) *Cairneach*, a name that continu'd to signify a Priest, even in the Christian times. But if any man had not clear'd with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the Carns, nor durst any of his Neighbors let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of Excommunication; which, as manag'd by the Druids, was worse than death. If he wou'd brew therefore or bake, or roast or boil, or warm himself and family, in a word, if he wou'd live the winter out, the Druids dues must be paid by the last of October: so that this trick alone was more effectual, than are all the *Acts of Parliament* made for recovering our present Clergy's dues; which *Acts* are so many and so frequent, that the bare enumeration of them wou'd make an indifferent volum. Wherefore I cannot but admire the address of the Druids, in fixing this ceremony of rekindling family-fires to the beginning of November, rather than to May or Midsummer, when there was an equal opportunity for it.

V. A WORLD of places (25) are denominated from those Carns of all sorts, as in Wales *Carn-Lheckart*, *Carn-Lkaid*; in Scotland

(24) This is the true origin of the word *Cairneach*, as signifying a Priest: but not deriv'd, as men ignorant of antiquity fancy, from *Covineach*, alluding to the crown-form'd tonsure of the Monks, not near so old as this word.

(25) The places are numberless in all these countries.

Carn-wath, Carn-tulloch, Drum-cairn, Glen-cairn; in Ireland *Carn-mail, Carn-aret, Carnan-tagher, Carnan-tober* (26); and in Northumberland, as in other parts of the North of England, they are sometimes call'd *Laws* or *Lowes*, a name they also give the Gothic Barrows. The Lowland Scots call 'em in the plural number *Cairns*, whence several Lordships are nam'd, as one in Lennox, another in Galloway (to mention no more) from which the surname of CAIRNS. The family of CARNE, in Wales, is from the like original: but not, as some have thought, the O'KEARNYS (27) of Ireland; one of which, Mr. JOHN KEARNY, Treasurer of Saint PATRIC'S in Dublin, was very instrumental in getting the *New Testament* translated into Irish, about the end of the last century but one. As to this Fire-worship, which (by the way) prevail'd over all the world, the Celtic nations kind'd other fires on midsummer eve, which are still continu'd by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their Corn-fields. This they do likewise all over France, and in some of the Scottish Isles. These Midsummer fires and sacrifices, were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the first of May, that they might prosperously grow: and those of the last of Octo-

(26) *Carnan* is the diminutive of *Carn*.

(27) O *Cearnaigh*, besides O *Cearnaigh*.

ber, were a thanksgiving for finishing their Harvest. But in all of 'em regard was also had to the several degrees of increase and decrease in the heat of the Sun ; as in treating of their Astronomy, and Manner of reckoning time, we shall clearly show. Their other festivals, with their peculiar observations, shall be likewise explain'd each in their proper Sections ; especially that of New-year's day, or the tenth of March (their fourth grand festival) which was none of the least solemn : and which was the day of seeking, cutting, and consecrating their wonder-working, *All-beal*, or Miffelto of Oak. This is the ceremony to which VIRGIL alludes by his *golden-branch*, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, for which there is incontestable proof, which we shall give in a section on this subject. 'Tis PLINY who says, that the Druids call'd it, in their language, by a word signifying (28) *All-beal* ; which word in the Armoric dialect is *oll-yach*, in the Welsh *ol-hiach*, and in the Irish *Uil-iceach*. Here by the way, we may observe, that as the Greeks had many words from the Barbarians, for which PLATO in his (29) *Cratylus*, judges it would be lost labor to seek etymologies in their own language : so it is remarkable, that certain feasts of APOLLO were call'd (30) *Carnea*, from the

(28) Omnia-sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, &c. *Lit.* 16. cap. 44.

(29) Εἰ τις ζητοῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Φωνὴν, ὡς εἰκοτὸς κείται ; ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην, ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει ὄν, οἶσα ἐστὶ ἀποροίαν. *Inter opera*, edit. Paris. vol. 1. pag. 409.

(30) Τα κάρνια.

killing of no body knows what Prophet CARNUS. Some said that he was the son of JUPITER and EUROPA, kill'd for a Magician by one ALES; and others yet, that CARNI was a common name for an order of Prophets in Acarnania. APOLLO himself was surnamed CARNUS (31); and, from him, May was call'd the *Carnean Month*. Nay there were *Carnean Priests*, and a particular kind of Music, which we may interpret the *Cairn-tunes*, was appropriated to those festivals in May, perfectly answering those of the Celtic tribes. It is therefore highly probable, that the Greeks did learn these things from the Gauls their conquerors, and in many places seated among them; or from some of their travellers in Gaule itself, if not from the Phocæan colony at Marseilles. We know further, that the making of hymns was a special part of the Bards office; who by STRABO, are expressly term'd *Hymn-makers* (32): and I shew'd before, that the antient Greeks (by their own confession) learnt part of their Philosophy, and many of their sacred fables, from the Gauls. So that this criticism is not so void of probability, as many which pass current enough in the world. However, I fairly profess to give it onely for a conjecture; which I think preferable to the farr-fetched and discordant accounts of the Greeks: who, in spite of PLATO and good sense, wou'd needs be fishing for the

(31) ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΣ

(32) Ἰμνολογοί.

origin of every thing in their own language. In the mean time it is not unworthy our remark, that as (33) Prizes were adjudg'd to the Victors in this *Carnean* Music among the Greeks: so the distributing of Prizes to the most successful Poets, was no less usual among the Gauls and their colonies; whereof there is undeniable proof in the British and Irish Histories, as will be seen in our Section concerning the *Bards*.

VI. ANOTHER Criticism relating immediately to APOLLO (for which I think this a proper place) I give as something more than a conjecture. In the Lordship of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, was formerly dug up a stone with an Inscription to APOLLO GRANNUS; concerning which Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE Baronet, in his second edition of CAMBEN'S *Description of Scotland*, thus expresses himself after his (34) author. *Who this APOLLO GRANNUS might be, and whence he should have his name, not one (to my knowledge) of our grave Senate of Antiquaries hitherto could ever tell. But if I might be allow'd, from out of the lowest bench, to speak what I think; I would say that APOLLO GRANNUS, among the Romans, was the same that (35) APOLLON AKERSEKOMES, that is, APOLLO with long*

(33) Τιμοθεος—τα Καρνεια αγωνιζομενος. *Plutarch. in Apophthegm.*

(34) This passage in CAMBEN is in the 897th page of CHURCHILL'S edition, anno 1695.

(35) Απollow ακερσεκομης: item Ακερσεκομης.

hair, among the Greeks: for ISIDORE calls the long hair of the Goths GRANNOS. This consequence will by no means hold: for what are the Goths to the Romans, who express this Greek by *intonsus* APOLLO? And since Goths speaking Latin had as little to do in the shire of Lothian, it will not be doubted, but that it was some Roman who paid this vow; as soon as 'tis known, that, besides the man's name QUINTUS LUSIUS SABINIANUS, *Grian*, among the many (36) Celtic names of the Sun, was one, being the common name of it still in Irish: and that, from his beams, *Greannach* in the same language signifies *long-hair'd*, which is a natural epithet of the Sun in all nations. There is no need therefore of going for a Gothic derivation to ISIDORE, in whom now I read *Scots* instead of *Goths*; and not, as I fancy, without very good reason. It would be superfluous to produce instances (the thing is so common) to show that the Romans, to their own names of the Gods, added the names or attributes under which they were

(36) Besides the Sun's religious attribute of BEAR, BEAR, BELIN, or BELENUS, it is call'd *Hawl* in Welsh, *Houl* in Cornish, *Heol* in Armoric; in all which the aspirate *h* is put for *s*, as in a world of such other words: for any word beginning with *s* in the antient Celtic, does in the oblique cases begin with *h*. Yet *s* is still retain'd in the Armoric *Diful*, in the Cambrian *Dyddysye*, and the Cornubian *Dezyl*; that is to say, *Sunday*. It was formerly *Diasoil* in Irish, whence still remain *Solus* light, *Soillse* clearness, *Soillseach* bright or sunny, *Solleir* manifest, and several more such. 'Tis now call'd *Dia Demknaigh*, or *Dies Dominicus*, according to the general use of all Christians.

invok'd in the country, where they happen'd on any occasion to sojourn. Nor was this manner of topical worship unknown to the ancient Hebrews, who are forbid to follow it by MOSES in these words: (37) *Enquire not after their Gods, saying, how did these nations serve their Gods? even so will I do likewise.* *Grian* therefore and *Greannach* explain the (38) Lothian Inscription very naturally, in the ancient language of the Scots themselves (spoken still in the Highlands and Western Isles, as well as in Ireland) without any need of having recourse to Gothland, or other foren countries.

VII. TO return to our Carn-fires, it was customary for the Lord of the place, or his son, or some other person of distinction, to take the entrails of the sacrific'd animal in his hands, and walking barefoot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceas'd, to carry them strait to the Druid, who waited in a whole

(37) Deut. 12. 80.

(38) This Inscription, as given us by CAMBDEN from Sir PETER YOUNG, preceptor to King JAMES VI. (for the Laird of Merchiston's *Exposition of the Apocalyps* I never saw) runs thus:

APOLLINI
GRANNO
Q. LUSIUS
SABINIA
▲US
PROC *
AUG *

* Procurator.
* Augusti.

V. S. S. L. V. M *

* Votum susceptum solvit
lubens merito.

skin at the Altar. If the Nobleman escap'd harmless, it was reckon'd a good omen, welcom'd with loud acclamations: but if he receiv'd any hurt, it was deem'd unlucky both to the community and to himself. Thus I have seen the people running and leaping thro the St. JOHN's fires in Ireland, and not onely proud of passing unscor'd: but, as if it were some kind of Lustration, thinking themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, of whose original nevertheless they were wholly ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it. Yet without being appriz'd of all this, no reader, however otherwise learned, can truly apprehend the beginning of the Consul FLAMINIUS's speech to EQUANUS the Sabin, at the battle of Thrasimenus, thus intelligently related by (39) SILIUS ITALICUS.

*Then seeing EQUANUS, near Soracte born,
In person, as in arms, the comelyest youth;
Whose country manner 'tis, when th' archer
keens*

*Divine APOLLO joys in burning HEAPS,
The sacred Entrails thro the fire unburnt
To carry thrice: so may you always tread,*

- (39) Tum Soracte fatum, praestantem corpore et armis,
AEQUANUM noscens; patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Dum pius Arcitenens incensis gaudet ACERVIS,
Extâ ter innocuos latè portare per ignes:
Sic in APOLLINEA semper vestigia prunâ
Inviolata teras; victorque vaporis, ad aras
Dona serenato referas Solemnia PHOEBO.

Lib. 5. ver. 175.

With

*With unscorch'd feet, the consecrated coals ;
And o'er the heat victorious, swiftly bear
The solemn gifts to pleas'd APOLLO'S Altar.*

Now let all the Commentators on this writer be consulted, and then it will appear what sad guess-work they have made about this passage ; which is no less true of an infinite number of passages in other authors relating to such customs : for a very considerable part of Italy follow'd most of the Druidical rites, as the inhabitants of such places happen'd to be of Gallic extraction, which was the case of many Cantons in that delicious country. But this is particularly true of the Umbrians and Sabins, who are by all authors made the (40) antientest people of Italy, before the coming thither of any Grecic Colonies. But they are by (41) SOLINUS from the historian BOCCHUS, by (42) SERVIUS from the elder MARC ANTONY, by (43) ISIDORE also and (44) TZETZES, in direct terms stil'd *the issue of the antient Gauls*, or a branch of them : and DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS, the most judicious of Antiquaries, proves out of ZENODOTUS, that the Sabins

(40) Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 3. cap. 14. Flor. lib. 1. cap. 17, &c.

(41) Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse. *Polyhist. cap. 8.*

(42) Sanè Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem esse, MARCUS ANTONIUS refert. *In lib. 12. Aeneid. ante fn.*

(43) Umbri Italiae gens est, sed Gallorum veterum propago. *Origin. lib. 9. cap. 2.*

(44) Ὀμβροὶ γένος Γαλατικόν ἢ Γαλατῶν. Schol. in Lycophron. *Alex. ad ver. 1360.*

were descendants of the Umbrians; or, (45) as he expresses it, *Umbrians under the name of Sabins*. The reason I am so particular on this head, is, that the mountain (46) *Soracte* is in the Sabin country, in the district of the Faliscans about 20 miles to the north of Rome, and on the west side of the Tyber. On the top of it were the Grove and Temple of APOLLO, and also his *Corn* (47), to which SILIUS, in the verses just quoted out of him, alludes. PLINY has preserv'd to us the very (48) name of the particular race of people, to which the performing of the above describ'd annual ceremony belong'd: nor was it for nothing that they ran the risk of blistering their soles, since *for this they were exempted from serving in the wars, as well as from the expense and trouble of several offices*. They were call'd HIRPINS. VIRGIL, much elder than SILIUS or PLINY, introduces ARUNS, one of that family, forming a design to kill CAMILLA, and thus praying for success to APOLLO.

*O patron of SORACTE'S high abodes,
PHEBUS, the ruling pow'r among the Gods!*

(45) Σαβίνων; & Ουβρινων. *Antiq. Rom. lib. 1.*

(46) Now *Monte di San sylvestro*.

(47) *Acerus*.

(48) *Haud procul urbe Româ, in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt paucae, quae vocantur HIRPIAE; quaeque sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soracte APOLLINI, super ambulatam ligni struem ambulantes, non aduruntur: et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiae, aliorumque munerum, vacationem habent. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 2. Idem ex eodem S. An. Polybist. cap. 8.*

Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine

Burn on thy HEAP, and to thy glory shine:

*By thee protected, with our naked soles
Thro flames unsing'd we pass, and tread the
kindl'd coals.*

*Give me, propitious pow'r, to wash away
The stains of this dishonorable day (49).*

DRYDEN'S VERSION.

A Celtic Antiquary, ignorant of the origin of the Umbrians and Sabins, wou'd imagine, when reading what pass'd on *Soraacte*, that it was some Gallic, Brittish, or Irish mountain, the rites being absolutely the same. We do not read indeed in our Irish Books, what preservative against fire was us'd by those, who ran barefoot over the burning coals of the Carns: and, to be sure, they wou'd have the common people piously believe they us'd none. Yet that they really did, no less than the famous fire-eater, whom I lately saw making so great a figure at London, men of penetration and uncorrupted judgements will never question. But we are not merely left to our judgements, for the fact is sufficiently attested by

- (49) Summe Deum, sancti custos Soraactis, APOLLO,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor ACERVO
Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ:

Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

Aen. lib. II. ver. 785.

that

that prodigy of knowledge, and *perpetual opposer of superstition*, MARCUS VARRO; who, as SERVIUS on the above-cited Passage of VIRGIL affirms (50), *describ'd the very ointment of which the HIRPINS made use, besmearing their feet with it, when they walk'd thro' the fire.* Thus at all times have the multitude (that common Prey of Priests and Princes) been easily gull'd; swallowing secrets of natural Philosophy for divine Miracles, and ready to do the greatest good or hurt, not under the notions of vice or virtue: but barely as directed by men, who find it their Interest to deceive them.

VIII. BUT leaving the Druids for a while, there are over and above the Cairns, in the Highlands of Scotland and in the adjacent Isles numberless OBELISCS, or stones set up an end; some 30, some 24 foot high, others higher or lower: and this sometimes where no such stones are to be dug, Wales being likewise full of them; and some there are in the least cultivated parts of England, with very many in Ireland. In most places of this last kingdom, the common people believe these Obelisks to be men, transform'd into stones by the Magic of the Druids. This is also the notion the vulgar have in Oxfordshire of *Roll-*

(50) Sed VARRO, ubique Religionis expugnator, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret, *eo uti solent HIRPINI, qui ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento Plantas tingunt.* Ad ver. 787. lib. 11. *Aeneid.*

wright stones, and in Cornwall of the *Hurlers*; erect stones so call'd, but belonging to a different class from the Obelisks, whereof I now discourse. And indeed in every country the ignorant people ascribe to the Devil or some supernatural power, at least to Giants, all works which seem to them to exceed human art or ability. Thus among other things (for recording their Traditions will have its pleasure as well as usefulness) they account for the Roman Camps and Military Ways, calling such the *Devil's Dykes*, or the like: while the more reasonable part are persuaded, that the erect stones of which we speak, are the Monuments of dead persons, whose ashes or bones are often found near them; sometimes in Urns, and sometimes in stone-coffins, wherein scales, hammers, pieces of weapons, and other things have been often found, some of them very finely gilt or polish'd. Dogs also have been found bury'd with their masters. The erect stones in the midst of *stone-circles* (whereof before I have done) are not of this funeral sort; nor does it follow, that all those have been erected in Christian times, which have Christian Inscriptions or Crosses on them: for we read of many such Obelisks thus sanctify'd, as they speak, in Wales and Scotland. And, in our Irish Histories, we find the practice as early as PATRIC himself; who, having built the Church of *Donack-PATRIC* on the brink of *Loch-HACKET* (51) in the county of Clare,

(51) Formerly *Demnack-mor* and *Loch seilga*.

did there on three Colosses, erected in the times of Paganism, inscribe the proper name of CHRIST in three languages: namely, JESUS in Hebrew on the first, SOTER in Greek on the second, and SALVATOR in Latin on the third. That Obelisk (if I may call it so) in the Parish of Barvas in the Island of Lewis in Scotland, call'd the *Thruskel-stone*, is very remarkable; being not onely above 20 foot high, which is yet surpass'd by many others: but likewise almost as much in breadth, which no other comes near.

IX. BESIDES these Obelisks, there is a great number of FORTS in all the Isles of Scotland, very different from the Danish and Norwegian *Raths* in Ireland, or the Saxon and Danish *Burghs* in England: nor are they the same with the Gallic, Brittish, and Irish *Lios*, pronounc'd *Lis* (52); which are fortifications made of unwrought stones and uncemented, whereof there are two very extraordinary in the Isles of Aran, in the bay of Galway in Ireland. *Dun* is a general Celtic word for all fortifications made on an eminence, and the eminences themselves are so call'd; as we see in many parts of England, and the sand-hills on the Belgic coast. Yet *Rath* and *Lis* are often confounded together, both in the speech and writing of the Irish. But the Forts in question are all of wrought stone, and

(52) *Lios* in Irish, *Les* in Armoric, and *Llys* in Welsh, signifies in English a *Court*; as *Lis-Luin*, *Lynscourt*.

often of such large stones, as no number of men cou'd ever raise to the places they occupy, without the use of Engines; which Engines are quite unknown to the present inhabitants, and to their ancestors for many ages past. There's none of the lesser lies, but has one Fort at least, and they are commonly in sight of each other: but the *Dún* in St. KILDA (for so they call the old fort there) is about 18 leagues distant from North Uist, and 20 from the middle of Lewis or Harries, to be seen only in a very fair day like a blewish mist: but a large fire there wou'd be visible at night, as the ascending smoak by day. In this same lie of Lewis (where are many such *Dúns*) there's north of the village of Brago, a round fort compos'd of huge stones, and three stories high: that is, it has three hollow passages one over another, within a prodigious thick wall quite round the fort, with many windows and stairs. I give this onely as an example from Dr. MARTIN an eye-witness, who, with several others, mention many more such eifwhere: yet (which is a great neglect) without acquainting us with their dimensions, whether those passages in the wall be arch'd, or with many such things relating to the nature of the work; and omitting certain other circumstances, no less necessary to be known. I mention these Forts, MY LORD, not as any way, that I yet know, appertaining to the Druids: but, in treating of the Monuments truly theirs, I take this natural occasion of communicating, what may be

be

be worthy of your Lordship's curiosity and consideration; especially when, like Episodes in a Poem, they serve to relieve the attention, and are not very foren to the subject. Considering all things, I judge no monuments more deterving our researches; especially, if any shou'd prove them to be Phenician or Massilian Places of security for their commerce: since 'tis certain that both People have traded there, and that PYTHEAS of Marseilles (as we are inform'd by STRABO) made a particular description of those Ilands; to which CESAR, among other Descriptions, without naming the authors, does doubtless (62) refer. But my own opinion I think fit at present to reserve.

X. FROM the conjectures I have about these numerous and costly Forts, in Ilands so remote and barren, I pass to the certainty I have concerning THE TEMPLES OF THE DRUIDS, whereof so many are yet intire in those Ilands, as well as in Wales and Ireland; with some left in England, where culture has mostly destroy'd or impair'd such monuments. These Temples are *Circles of Obelises* or erect stones, some larger, some narrower (as in all other Edifices) some more and some less magnificent. They are for the great-

(62) In hoc medio cursu [inter Hiberniam scilicet & Britanniam] est insula, quae appellatur *Mona*. Complures praeterea minores obelicae insulae existimantur, de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos 30 sub bruma esse noctem. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 5.*

est part perfectly circular, but some of them semicircular: in others the Obelisks stand close together, but in most separate and equidistant. I am not ignorant that several, with Dr. CHARLTON in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Danes*, believe those Circles to be Danish works; a notion I shall easily confute in due time, and even now as I go along. But few have imagin'd 'em to be Roman, as the famous Architect INIGO JONES wou'd needs have this same *Stone-henge* (according to me one of the Druid Cathedrals) to be the Temple of CELUM or TERMINUS, in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Romans*. Nevertheless, MY LORD, I promise you no less than demonstration, that those Circles were Druids Temples: against which assertion their frequenting of Oaks, and performing no religious rites without Oak-branches or Leaves, will prove no valid exception; no more than such Circles being found in the Gothic countries, tho' without *Altars*, whereof we shall speak after the Temples. The outside of the Churches in Spain and Holland is much the same, but their inside differs extremely. As for INIGO JONES, he cannot be too much commended for his generous efforts (which shows an uncommon genius) to introduce a better taste of Architecture into England, where 'tis still so difficult a thing to get rid of Gothic Oddnesses; and therefore 'tis no wonder he shou'd continue famous, when so few endeavour to exceed him: but we must beg his pardon, if, as he was unacquainted

quainted with History, and wanted certain other qualifications, we take the freedom in our Book to correct his mistakes.

XI. IN the Island of Lewis before-mentioned, at the village of Clascernis, there is one of those Temples extremely remarkable. The Circle consists of 12 Obelisks, about 7 foot high each, and distant from each other six foot. In the center stands a stone 13 foot high, in the perfect shape of the rudder of a Ship. Directly south from the Circle, there stand four Obelisks running out in a line; as another such line due east, and a third to the west, the number and distances of the stones being in these wings the same: so that this Temple, the most intire that can be, is at the same time both round and wing'd. But to the north there reach (by way of avenue) two straight ranges of Obelisks, of the same bigness and distances with those of the Circle; yet the ranges themselves are 8 foot distant, and each consisting of 19 stones, the 39th being in the entrance of the avenue. This Temple stands astronomically, denoting the 12 signs of the Zodiac and the four principal winds, subdivided each into four others; by which, and the 19 stones on each side the avenue betokening the cycle of 19 years, I can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the Sun; but subordinately to the Seasons and the Elements, particularly to the Sea and the
Winds,

Winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle. The Sea, consider'd as a Divinity, was by the ancient Gauls call'd ANVANA or ONVANA, as the raging Sea is still call'd *Anafa* in so many Letters by the Irish (63); and both of 'em, besides that they were very good Astronomers, are known to have paid honor not only to the Sea, but also to the Winds and the Tempests, as the (64) Romans were wont to do. But of this in the account of their worship. I forgot to tell you, that there is another Temple about a quarter of a mile from the former; and that commonly two Temples stand near each other, for reasons you will see in our *History*. East of Drumcray in the Scottish Ie of Aran, is a Circular Temple, whose area is about 30 paces over: and south of the same Village is such another Temple, in the center of which still remains the Altar; being a broad thin stone, supported by three other such stones. This is very extraordinary, tho (as you may see in my last Letter) not the only example; since the zeal of the Christians, sometimes apt to be over-heated, us'd to leave no Altars standing but their own. In the greatest Iland of

(63) They vulgarly call the sea *mor* or *muir*, *mar*, *cean*, *fairge*, &c.

(64) Sic fatus, meritis aris maestavit honores:

Taurum NEPTUNO, taurum tibi, pulcher APOLLO;
Nigram HYEMI pecudem, ZEPHYRIS felicibus albam.

Aen. lib. 3.

Videatur etiam Horatius, Epod. 10. ver. ult. Cic. de nat. Deor. lib. 3. Et Aristoph. in *Ranis* cum suo Scholiaste.

(65) Orkney, commonly call'd the *Mainland*, there are likewise two Temples, where the natives believe by Tradition, that the Sun and Moon were worshipt: which belief of theirs is very right, since the lesser Temple is leam-circular. The greater is 110 paces diameter. They know not what to make of two green Mounts erected at the east and west end of it: a matter nevertheless for which it is not difficult to account. There's a trench or ditch round each of these Temples, like that about Stonehenge; and, in short, every such Temple had the like inclosure. Many of the stones are above 20 or 24 foot in height above the ground, about 5 foot in breadth, and a foot or two in thickness. Some of 'em are fallen down: and the Temples are one on the east and the other on the west side of the Lake of Stennis, where it is shallow and fordable, there being a passage over by large stepping stones. Near the lesser Temple, (which is on the east-side of the lake, as the greater on the west) there stand two stones of the same bigness with the (66) rest; thro the middle of one of which there is a large hole, by which criminals and victims were ty'd. Likewise in the land of

(65) The Isles of *Orkney* are denominated from *Orcas* or *Orcs*, which, in DIODORUS SICULUS and PROLEMY, is the ancient name of Caithness; and this from *Orc*, not a salmon (as by some interpreted) but a whale: so that in old Irish *Orc-i* is the *Whale Islands*. The words of DIODORUS are, Το δε ὑποκειμενον [της Βρετανίας] ἀνηκειν μὲν ἰσορουσιν εἰς τὸ πελαγόν, οὐ μάλιστα δὲ Ὀρκαν. lib. 4.

(66) Brand, pag. 44.

Papa-Weftra, another of the Orkneys, there stand, near a lake (now call'd St. TREDWELL'S (67) Loch) two fuch Obelisks, in one of which there is the like hole; and behind them lying on the ground a third stone, being hollow like a trough.

XII. THE SE few I only give for examples out of great numbers, as I likewise take the liberty to acquaint you (MY LORD) that at a place call'd *Biscan-woon*, near Saint Burien's in Cornwall, there is a circular Temple consisting of 19 stones, the distance between each 12 foot; and a twentieth in the center, much higher than the rest. But I am not yet inform'd, whether this middle stone has any peculiar figure, or whether inscrib'd with any characters; for such characters are found in Scotland, and some have been observ'd in Wales; but (except the Roman and Christian Inscriptions) unintelligible to such as have hitherto seen them. Yet they ought to have been fairly represented, for the use of such as might have been able perhaps to explain them. They would at least exercise our Antiquaries. The Circle of *Rollrich-stones* in Oxfordshire, and the *Hurlers* in Cornwall, are two of those Druid Temples. There is one at Aubury in Wiltshire, and some left in other places of England. In GREGORY of *Tours* time there was remaining, and for ought I know may

(67) Brand, pag. 58.

still be so, one of those Temples on the top of BELEN'S *Mount* between Arton and Riom in Auvergne. It was within this inclosure that MARTIN, the sainted Bishop, stood taking a (68) view of the country, as before mention'd. Now of such Temples I shall mention here no more, but procede to the Druids ALTARS, which, as I said before, do ordinarily consist of four stones; three being hard flags, or large tho thin stones set up edge-wise, two making the sides, and a shorter one the end, with a fourth stone of the same kind on the top: for the other end was commonly left open, and the Altars were all oblong. Many of 'em are not intire. From some the upper stone is taken away, from others one of the side-stones or the end. And, besides the alterations that men have caus'd in all these kinds of monuments, Time it self has chang'd 'em much more. Mr. BRAND speaking of the Obelises in Orkney, *many of 'em* (says (69) he) *appear to be much worn, by the washing of the wind and rain, which shows they are of a long standing: and it is very strange to think, how, in those places and times, they got such large stones carry'd and erected.* 'Tis naturally impossible, but that, in the course of so many ages, several stones must have lost their figure; their angles being expos'd to all weathers, and no care taken to

(68) Extat nunc in hoc loco cancellus, in quo Sanctus dicitur stetitisse. *Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.*

(69) Pag. 46.

repair any disorder; nor to prevent any abuse of them. Thus some are become lower, or jagged, or otherwise irregular and diminish'd: many are quite wasted, and moss or scurf hides the Inscriptions or Sculptures of others; for such Sculptures there are in several places, particularly in Wales and the Scottish Ile of Aran. That one sort of stone lasts longer than another is true: but that all will have their period, no less than Parchment and Paper, is as true.

XIII. THERE are a great many of the ALTARS to be seen yet intire in Wales, particularly two in Kerig Y Drudion parish mention'd in my other Letter, and one in Lhan-Hammúlch parish in Brecknockshire; with abundance elsewhere, diligently observ'd by one I mention'd in my first Letter, Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, who yet was not certain to what use they were destin'd. Here I beg the favor of your Lordship to take it for granted, that I have sufficient authorities for every thing I alledge: and tho I do not always give them in this brief *Specimen*, yet in the *History* it self they shall be produc'd on every proper occasion. The Druids Altars were commonly in the middle of the Temples, near the great Colossus, of which presently; as there is now such a one at Carn-Lhechart in the parish of Lhan-Gyvelach in Glamorganshire, besides that which I mention'd before in Scotland. They are by the Welsh in the singular number

number call'd *Kist-váen*, that is a stone-chest, and in the plural *Kistieu-váen*, stone-chests. These names, with a small variation, are good Irish: but the things quite different from those real stone-chests or coffins (commonly of one block and the lid) that are in many places found under ground. The vulgar Irish call these Altars (70) *DERMOT and GRANIA's bed*. This last was the Daughter of King *CORMAC ULFHADA*, and Wife to (71) *FIN MAC CUIL*; from whom, as invincible a General and Champion as he's reported to have been, she took it in her head (as women will sometimes have such fancies) to run away with a nobleman, call'd (72) *DERMOT O DUVNY*: but being pursu'd every where, the ignorant country people say, they were intertain'd a night in every quarter-land (73) or village of Ireland; where the inhabitants sympathizing with their affections, and doing to others what they wou'd be done unto, made these beds both for their resting and hiding place. The Poets, you may imagine, have not been wanting to imbellish this story: and hence it appears, that the Druids were planted as thick as Parish Priests, nay much thicker. Wherever there's a Circle without an Altar, 'tis certain there was one formerly; as Altars are found where the Circular Obelisks are mostly or all taken away

(70) *Leab. DHIARMAIT agus GHRAINE.*

(71) *FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.*

(72) *DIARMAIT O DUIBHNE.*

(73) *Seifreach & Ceathramhach.*

for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consum'd them. They, who, from the bones, which are often found near those Altars and Circles (tho seldom within them) will needs infer, that they were burying places; forget what CESAR, PLINY, TACITUS, and other authors, write of the human sacrifices offer'd by the Druids: and, in mistaking the ashes found in the Carns, they show themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices, for which they were rear'd, as we have shown above. The huge coping stones of these Carns were in the nature of Altars, and Altars of the lesser form are frequently found near them; as now in the great Latin and Grec Churches, there are, besides the High Altar, several smaller ones.

XIV. THERE'S another kind of Altar much bigger than either of these, consisting of a greater number of stones; some of 'em serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk. These the Britons term CROMLECH in the singular, *Cromlechu* in the plural number; and the Irish CROMLEACH or *Cromleac*, in the plural *Cromleacha* or *Cromleacca*. By these Altars, as in the center of the Circular Temples, there commonly stands (or by accident lyes) a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a Pedestal to some Deity: for all these *Cromleachs* were places of worship, and to call'd from *bowing*, the word
fig-

signifying the (74) *lowing-stone*. The original designation of the tool CROM CRACH (whereof in the next section, may yet be from *Crum*, an equivalent word to *Tairneach Taran* or *Tarnan*, all signifying Thunder; whence the Romans call'd the Gallic Jupiter *Taromis* or *Taranis*, the thunderer: and from these *Crombacks* it is, that in the oldest Irish a Priest is call'd *Crombach*, and Priesthood *Crombachod*, which are so many evident vestiges of the Druidical (75) religion. There's a *Cromach* in Nevern-Parish in Pembroke-shire, where the middle stone is still 18 foot high, and 9 broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lyes by it a piece broken of 10 foot long, which seems more than 20 oxen can draw: and therefore they were not void of all skill in the Mechanics, who could set up the wheel. But one remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by five lesser stones, exceeds all in the British Islands, as being sixty foot in circumference (76). I fancy however that this was a *Rocking-stone*: There's also a noble *Cromback* at Bod-ouyr in Anglesey. Many of them, by a modest computation, are 30 tun weight: but

(74) From *crom* or *crum*, which, in Armeric, Irish, and Welsh, signifies *lent*; and *Lech* or *Leac*, a broad stone.

(75) Of the same nature is *Cairreach*, of which before: for *Sagart*, the ordinary word for a Priest, is manifestly form'd from *Sacerdos*.

(76) La pierre levée de Poitiers a soixante pieds de tour, & elle est posée sur cinq autres pierres, sans qu'en sache rien plus ni pourquoi, ni comment. CHEVREAU, *Mémoires d'Angleterre*, page 380.

they differ in bigness, as all pillars do, and their Altars are ever bigger than the ordinary *Kistieu-vâen*. In some places of Wales these stones are call'd *Meineu-gúyr*, which is of the same import with *Cromlechu*. In Caithness, and other remote parts of Scotland, these Cromleacs are very numerous, some pretty entire; and others, not so much consum'd by time or thrown down by storms, as disorder'd and demolish'd by the hands of men. But no such altars were ever found by OLAUS WORMIUS, the great northern antiquary (which I desire the abettors of Dr. CHARLTON to note) nor by any others in the Temples of the Gothic nations; as I term all who speak the several dialects of Gothic original, from Izeland to Switzerland, and from the Bril in Holland to Presburg in Hungary, the Bohemians and Polanders excepted. The Druids were onely co-extended with the Celtic dialects: besides that CESAR says expressly, there were (77) no Druids among the Germans, with whom he says as expressly that *seeing and feeling was believing* (honoring onely the Sun, the Fire, and the Moon, *by which they were manifestly benefited*) and that they made no sacrifices at all: which of course made altars as useles there (tho afterwards grown fashionable) as they were necessary in the Druids Temples, and which

(77) Germani—neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsint, neque Sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum operibus aperte juvantur; Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne famâ quidem acceperunt. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 6.*

they show more than probably to have been Temples indeed; nor are they call'd by any other name, or thought to have been any other thing, by the Highlanders or their Irish progenitors. In Jersey likewise, as well as in the other neighbouring Ilands, formerly part of the Dutchy of Normandy, there are many Altars and Cromlechs. *There are yet remaining in this Iland* (says Dr. FALLU in the 115th page of his account of Jersey) *some old monuments of Paganism. We call them Pouqueleys. They are great flat stones, of vast bigness and weight; some oval, some quadrangular, rais'd 3 or 4 foot from the ground, and supported by others of a less size. 'Tis evident both from their figure, and great quantities of ashes found in the ground thereabouts, that they were us'd for Altars in those times of superstition: and their standing on eminences near the sea, inclines me also to think, that they were dedicated to the Divinities of the Ocean. At ten or twelve foot distance there is a smaller stone set up an end, in manner of a desk; where'tis suppos'd the Priest kneel'd, and perform'd some ceremonies, while the Sacrifice was burning on the altar.* Part of this account is mistaken, for the culture of the inland parts is the reason that few *Pouqueleys* are left, besides those on the barren rocks and hills on the sea side: nor is that situation alone sufficient for entitling them to the Marine Powers, there being proper marks to distinguish such wheretoever situated.

XV. BUT to return to our Cromleachs, the chiefest in all Ireland was CRUM-CRU-ACH, which stood in the midst of a Circle of twelve Obelises on a hill in Bresin, a district of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Leitrim. It was all over cover'd with gold and silver, the lesser figures on the twelve stones about it being onely of brass; which mettals, both of the stones and the statues that they bore, became every where the prey of the Christian Priests, upon the conversion of that kingdom. The legendary writers of PATRIC'S *Life* tell many things no less ridiculous than incredible, about the destruction of this Temple of *Moyselet* (78), or *the field of Adoration*, in Bresin; where the stumps of the circular Oblises are yet to be seen, and where they were noted by writers to have stood long before any Danish invasion, which shows how groundleis Dr. CHARLTON'S notion is. The Bishop's See of Clogher had its name from one of those stones, all cover'd with gold (*Clockoir* signifying *the golden stone*) on which stood KERMAND KELSTACH, the chief Idol of Ulster (79). This stone is still in being. To note it here by the way, Sir JAMES WARE was mistaken, when, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, he said Arcklow and Wicklow were feren names: whereas they are mere Irish, the first being *Ardeloch*, and the second *Bu-*

(78) *Magh-sléucht.*

(79) MERCURIUS CELTICUS,

idbe cloch, from high and yellow stones of this consecrated kind. 'Tis not to vindicate either the Celtic nations in general, or my own countrymen in particular, for honoring of such stones, or for having stony symbols of the Deity: but to show they were neither more ignorant nor barbarous in this respect than the politest of nations, the Greeks and the Romans, that here I must make a short literary excursion. Wherefore, I beg your Lordship to remember, that KERMANDKELSTACH was not the onely MERCURY of rude stone, since the MERCURY of the Greeks was not portray'd antiently in the shape of a youth, with wings to his heels and a caduceus in his hand: but (80) *without hands or feet, being a square stone*, says PITHURNUTUS, and I say without any sculpture. The reason given for it by the Divines of those days, was, *that as the square figure betoken'd his solidity and stability; so he wanted neither hands nor feet to execute what he was commanded by JOVE.* Thus their merry-making BACCHUS was figur'd among the Thebans by a (81) *pillar only.* So the Arabians worship I know not what God (says (82) MAXIMUS TYRIUS) *and the statue that I saw of*

(80) Πλαττεται δε και αχειρ, και απους, και τετραγωνος τω εχηματι, ο Ερμης: τετραγωνος μεν, το εδραιον τε και ασφαλές εχειν --- αχειρ δε και απους, επει ουτε ποδων ουε χειρων δειται, προς το κυλειν το προκειμενον αιτω. *De Nit. Deor. cap. 16.*

(81) Στυλος Θεβαίοισι Διονυσος πολυγυνης. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1.*

(82) Αραβιοι σεβουσι μεν εντινα δ' ουκ οίδα: το δε αγαλμα ο ειδον λιθος ην τετραγωνος. *Serm. 38.*

him, was a square stone. I shall say nothing here of the oath of the Romans *per Jovem Lapidem*. But no body pretends that the Gauls were more subtil Theologues or Philosophers, than the Arabians, Grecs, or Romans; at least many are apt not to believe it of their Irish Offspring: yet 'tis certain, that all those nations meant by these stones without statues, *the* (83) *eternal stability and power of the Deity*; and that he cou'd not be represented by any similitude, nor under any figure whatsoever. For the numberless figures, which, notwithstanding this doctrine, they had (some of 'em very ingenious, and some very fantastical) were onely emblematical or enigmatical symbols of the divine attributes and operations, but not of the divine essence. Now as such symbols in different places were different, so they were often confounded together, and mistaken for each other. Nor do I doubt, but in this manner the numerous Cairns in Gaule and Britain induc'd the Romans to believe, that MERCURY was their (84) chief God, because among themselves he had such heaps, as I show'd above; whereas the Celtic heaps were all dedicated to BELENUS, or the Sun. The Roman Historians in particular are often misled by likenesses, as has been already, and will not seldom again, be shewn in our *History*; especially with regard to the Gods, said

(83) Το ανεκδινητον του θεου και μονιμον. *Id. Ibid.*

(84) Deum maximè Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra, &c. *Caes. de bello Gallico, lib. 6.*

to have been worship'd by the Gauls. Thus some modern Critics have forg'd new Gods, out of the sepulchral inscriptions of Gallic Heroes. I shall say no more of such pillars, but that many of them have a cavity on the top, capable to hold a pint, and sometimes more; with a channel or groove, about an inch deep, reaching from this hollow place to the ground, of the use whereof in due time.

XVI. NOR will I dwell longer here, than our subject requires, on the FATAL STONE so call'd, on which the supreme Kings of Ireland us'd to be inaugurated in times of Heathenism on the hill of (85) *Tarab* (86); and which

(85) *Teimhuir*, or in the oblique cases *Teimhira*, whence corruptly *Taragh*, or *Tarab*.

(86) The true names of this stone are *Lia-sail* or *the fatal stone*, and *Cloch ra cinamhna* or *the stone of fortune*: both of them from a persuasion the antient Irish had, that, in what country soever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign. But this prov'd as false as such other prophecies for 300 years, from EDWARD the first to the reign of JAMES the first in England. The Druidical Oracle is in verse, and in these original words:

*Cioniodh siut saor an fine,
 Man b' breag an Faidne,
 Mar a bhuid an Lia-sail,
 D'ghid flaitheas do ghabhail.*

Which may be read thus truly, but monkishly translated, in HECTOR BOETHIUS:

*Ne fallit fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
 Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

The Lowland Scots have rhym'd it thus:

*Except old Saws do feign,
 And wizards wits be blind,
 The Scots in place must reign,
 Where they this stone shall find.*

which being inclos'd in a wooden Chair, was thought to emit a sound under the rightful Candidate (a thing easily manag'd by the Druids) but to be mute under a man of none or a bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of those Priests. Every one has read of Memnon's vocal statue in Egypt. This fatal stone was superstitiously sent to confirm the Irish Colony in the north of Great Britain, where it continu'd as the Coronation-seat of the Scottish Kings, even since Christianity; till, in the

And some English Poet has thus render'd it;

*Consider Scot, where'er you find this stone,
If Jates jail not, there fixt must be your throne.*

The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years: nay Ireland it self is sometimes, from this stone, by the poets call'd *Inis-fail*. But how soon they begun to use it, or whence they had it, lyes altogether in the dark. What's certain is, that after having long continu'd at Tarah, it was, for the purpose I have mention'd, sent to FERGUS, the first actual King of Scot; and that it lay in Argile (the original seat of the Scots in Britain) till, about the year of Christ 842, that KENNETH the 2d, the son of ALPIN, having enlarg'd his borders by the conquest of the Picts, transferr'd this stone, for the same purpose as before, to Seone. So great respect is still paid by Christians to a Heathen Prophecy! not onely false in fact, as I have this moment prov'd; but evidently illusory and equivocal, it being a thing most difficult to find any prince in Europe, who, some way or other, may not claim kindred of every other princely race about him, and consequently be of that blood. This is the case of our present Sovereign King GEORGE, who is indeed descended of the Scottish race, but yet in propriety of speech is not of the Scottish line; but the first here of the Brunswick line, as others begin the Brittish, Saxon, Danish, Saxo-Danish, Norman, Saxo-Norman, and Scottish lines. Yet this not being the sense in which the Irish and Scots understand the Oracle, they ought consequently at this very time to look upon it as false, and groundless.

year

year 1300, EDWARD the first of England brought it from Stone, placing it under the Coronation-chair at Westminster: and there it still continues, the antientest respected monument in the world; for tho' some others may be more antient as to duration: yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not. I had almost forgot to tell you, that 'tis now by the vulgar call'd *JACOB stone*, as if this had been *JACOB'S* pillow at Bethel (37). Neither shall I be more copious in treating of another kind of stones, tho' belonging also to our subject. They are roundish and of vast bulk; but so artificially pitch'd on flat stones, sometimes more, sometimes fewer in number: that touching the great stone lightly, it moves, and seems to totter, to the great amazement of the ignorant; but flirs not, at least not sensibly (for that is the case) when one uses his whole strength. Of this sort is *Maen amber* in Cornwall, and another in the Peak of Derby, whereof Dr. WOODWARD has given me an account from his own observation. Some there are in Wales, one that I have seen in the Parish of Clunmany (88) in the north of Ireland, and the famous *rocking stones* in Scotland; of all which, and many more, in our *History*. Yet I cou'd not excuse it to my self, if I did not with the soonest, let your Lordship into the secret of this reputed Magic; which the no less learned antiquary than able Physician, Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, has disco-

(87) Gen. 28. 11, 18, 19.

(88) *Clunianize*.

ver'd in the appendix to his *History of Fife and Kinross*. That Gentleman speaking of the Rocking-stone near Balvaird (or the Bards town) *I am inform'd*, says he, *that this stone was broken by the usurper [CROMWEL'S] Soldiers; and it was discover'd then, that its motion was perform'd by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-surface of the upper-stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone.* To which let me add, that as the lower stone was flat, so the upper stone was globular: and that not onely a just proportion in the motion, was calculated from the weight of the stone, and the wideness of the cavity, as well as the oval figure of the inserted prominence; but that the vast bulk of the upper stone did absolutely conceal the mechanism of the motion; and the better still to impose, there were two or three Surrounding flat stones, tho' that onely in the middle was concern'd in the feat. By this pretended miracle they condemn'd of perjury, or acquitted, as their interest or their affection led them; and often brought criminals to confess, what could be no other way extorted from them. So prevalent is the horror of Superstition in some cases, which led many people to fancy (and among them the otherwise most judicious STRABO) that it might be a useful cheat to society: not considering that in other cases (incomparably more numerous and important) it is most detrimental, pernicious, and destructive, being solely useful to the Priests
that

that have the management of it; while it not onely disturbs or distresses society, but very often confounds and finally overturns it, of which History abounds with examples.

XVII. I COME now to the DRUID'S HOUSES, by which I don't mean their Forts or towns, of which they had many, but not as Church-lands; nor yet the houses for their schools, situated in the midst of pleasant groves: but I mean little, arch'd, round, stone buildings, capable only of holding one person, where the retir'd and contemplative Druid sat, when his Oak could not shelter him from the weather. There's another sort of Druid's houses much larger. Of both these sorts remain several yet intire in the Ile of Sky, and also in some other Iles; being by the Natives (89) call'd *Tightke nan Druidhneach*, that is, Druids houses. Many of them are to be seen in Wales, and some in Ireland: but different from those under-ground-houses, or artificial Caves, which are in all those places; consisting frequently of several chambers, and generally opening towards rivers or the sea: having been, as those of the Germans describ'd by (90) TACITUS, magazins against the extreme rigor of winter,

(89) Corruptly *Tinan Dyuinich*.

(90) Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant: suffugium hiemi, ac receptaculum frugibus; quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis moiliunt. Et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et desolata aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt. *De moribus German. cap. 3.*

or hiding places for men and goods in time of war. The vulgar in the Ilands do still show a great respect for the *Druid's houses*, and never come to the antient sacrificing and fire-hallowing *Carns*, but they walk three times round them from east to west, according to the courie of the Sun. This sanctify'd tour or round by the south, is call'd (91) *Deiseal*; as the unhallow'd contrary one by the north, (92) *Tuapkoll*. But the Irish and Albanian Scots do not derive the first (as a certain friend of mine imagin'd) from *Di-sul*, which signifies *Sunday* in Armorican British, as *Dydd-syl* in Welsh and *De-zil* in Cornish do the same; but from (93) *Deas*, the *right* (understanding *hand*) and *Soil*, one of the antient names of the Sun, the right hand in this round being ever next the heap. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the *D.ignol*, as the Papists. Hereby it may be seen, how hard it is to eradicate inveterate Superstition. This custom was us'd three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors the antient Gauls of the same religion with them; who *turn'd round right-hand-wise, when they worship'd their Gods*, as (94) ATHENEUS informs us out of POSIDONIUS a much elder writer. Nor is this con-

(91) *Dextrosum.*(92) *Sinistrosum.*(93) Item *Deis.*

(94) Οὗτοι θεοῦ προσκυνοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά αἰσθημένοι. Lib. 4.

tradicted, but clearly confirm'd by PLINY, who says, *that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the (95) Romans, turn'd to the left in their religious ceremonies*; for as they began their worship towards the east, so they turn'd about, as our Islanders do now, from east to west according to the course of the Sun, that is, from the right to the left, as PLINY has observ'd; whereas the left was among the Romans reputed the right in Augury, and in all devotions answering it. Nor were their neighbors, the Aboriginal Italians (most of 'em of Gothic descent) strangers to this custom of worshipping right-hand-wise, which, not to allege more Passages, may be seen by this one in the (96) *Curculio* of PLAUTUS, who was himself one of them: *when you worship the Gods, do it turning to the right hand*; which answers to turning from the west to the east. It is perhaps from this respectful turning from east to west, that we retain the custom of drinking over the left thumb, or, as others express it, according to the course of the Sun; the breaking of which order, is reckon'd no small impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, since this, if you have faith in HOMER, was the custom of the Gods themselves. VULCAN, in the

(95) In adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in laevum fecisse Galli religiosius credunt. *Hist. Nat. lib. 28. cap. 2.*

(96) Si Deos salutas, dextroorsum censeo. *Act. 1. Scen. 1. ver. 70.*

first book of the (97) *Iliad*, filling a bumper to his mother JUNO,

*To th' other Gods, going round from right
to left,
Skenk'd Nectar sweet, which from full flask
he pour'd.*

But more of the right hand in the chapter of *Augury*.

XVIII. TO resume our discourse about the Druids houses, one of them in the Island of St. KILDA is very remarkable; and, according to the tradition of the place, must have belong'd to a Druidess. But be this as it will, it is all of stone, without lime, or mortar, or earth to cement it: 'tis also arch'd, and of a conic figure; but open at the top, and a fire-place in the middle of the floor. It cannot contain above nine persons, to sit easy by each other: and from this whole description 'tis clear, that the edifice call *ARTHUR'S Oven* in Sterlingshire, just of the same form and dimensions, is by no means of Roman original, whatever our antiquaries have thoughtlessly fancy'd to the contrary. Some make it the Temple of *TERMINUS*, and others a triumphal arch, when they might as well have fancy'd it to be a hog-trough: so little is it like any of those arches.

(97) Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἀλλοῖσι θεοῖς ἐνδεξία πασὶν
Ὠνοχρεῖ, γλυκὺ νεκτάρ ἀπο κρητήρος ἀφυσσών.

As to the house in St. KILDA, there go off from the side of the wall three low vaults, separated from each other by pillars, and capable of containing five persons a piece. Just such another house in all respects, but much larger, and grown over with a green sod on the outside, is in Borerá, an Ile adjacent to St. KILDA; and was the habitation of a Druid, who 'tis probable was not unacquainted with his neighboring Druids. Shetland abounds with another kind of stone houses, not unfrequent in Orkney, which they ascribe to the Picts; as they are apt all over Scotland to make every thing Pictish, whose origin they do not know. The Belgae or Firbolgs share this honor with the Picts in Ireland, and King ARTHUR is reputed the author of all such fabrics in Wales, except that those of Anglesey father 'em on the Irish. These instances I have given your Lordship, to convince you, how imperfect all *Treatises about the Druids* (hitherto publish'd) must needs be; since they contain nothing of this kind, tho' ever so essential to the subject: and that none of these Monuments, very frequent in France, are there ascrib'd to the Druids, their records about such things being all lost; while very many of ours happily remain to clear them, since the usages were the same in both countries. Nor are those Treatises less defective in the more instructive part, concerning the *Druidicall Philosophy and Politics*, whereot the modern French and British writers, have in reality known nothing further, than the Classic authors

authors furnish'd 'em; or if they add any thing, 'tis absolutely fabulous, ill-invented, and unauthoriz'd. These subjects I reserve intire for my greater work. JOHN AUBREY Esq; a Member of the Royal Society (with whom I became acquainted at Oxford, when I was a sojourner there; and collecting during my idler hours a Vocabulary of Armorican and Irish words, which, in sound and signification, agree better together than with the Welsh) was the only person I ever then met, who had a right notion of the Temples of the Druids, or indeed any notion that the Circles so often mention'd were such Temples at all: wherein he was intirely confirm'd, by the authorities which I shew'd him; as he supply'd me in return with numerous instances of such Monuments, which he was at great pains to observe and set down. And tho he was extremely superstitious, or seem'd to be so: yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted. Nor will I deny justice on this occasion, to a person whom I cited before, and who in many other respects merits all the regard which the curious can pay; I mean Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, who, in his foresaid *History of Fife* (but very lately come to my hands) affirms, that there are several Druids Temples to be seen every where in Scotland, particularly in the County he describes. *These* (says he) *are great stones plac'd in a circle, at some distance from each other,*

&c.

&c. Mr. AUBREY show'd me several of Dr. GARDEN'S letters from that kingdom to the same purpose, but in whose hands now I know not.

XIX. I SHALL conclude this Letter with two examples of such works, as tho' not (that I can hitherto learn) belonging any way to the Druids, yet they may possibly be of that kind: or be they of what kind you will, they certainly merit our notice; as, together with those for which we can truly account, they highly serve to illustrate the Antiquities of our British world. My first example is in the Main-land of Orkney, describ'd among the rest of those Islands by Dr. WALLACE and Mr. BRAND; where, on the top of a high rocky hill at the west end of the Island near the village of Skeal, there is a sort of pavement, consisting of stones variously figur'd, some like a heart, others like a crown, others like a leg, some like a weaver's shuttle, others of other forms: and so on for above a quarter of a mile in length, and from 20 to 30 foot in breadth. In taking up any of these stones, the figure is as neat on the under-side as the upper: and being as big as the life, all of one color, or a reddish kind of stone pitch'd in a reddish earth, and the pavement being so very long; it cannot possibly be any of the tessellated, or chequer'd works of the Romans. *I saw a part of the garden wall of the house of Skeal,* says (98) Mr. BRAND, de-

corated with these stones: and we intended to have sent a parcel of them to our friends in the south, as a rarity; if they had not been forgot, at our return from Zet-land. Dr. WALLACE (99) also says, that many of the stones are taken away by the neighboring gentry, to set them up like Dutch tiles in their chimneys: so that, at this rate, in less than a century this pavement will in all likelihood subsist only in books. All such Monuments, when I go to Scotland, I shall so accurately describe in every respect, and give such accounts of them where accountable; that I hope the curious will have reason to be satisfy'd, or at least some abler person be emulous of satisfying the world, and me among the rest. Wherever I am at a loss, I shall frankly own it; and never give my conjectures for more than what they are, that is, probable guesses: and certainly nothing can be more amiss in Inquiries of this kind, than to obtrude suppositions for matters of fact. Upon all such occasions, I desire the same liberty with CRASSUS in CICERO *de* (100) *Oratore*: that *I may deny being able to do, what I measure I cannot; and to confess that I am ignorant, of what I do not know.* This I shall not onely be ever ready to do my self, but to account it in others a learned ignorance.

(99) Pag. 55.

(100) *Mihi liceat negare posse, quod non potero; et fateri nescire, quod nesciam. lib. 2.*

XX. BUT, MY LORD, before I take my intended journey, I desire the favour of having your thoughts upon my next example. I speak of a couple of instances, really parallel; brought here together from parts of the world no less distant in their situation and climates, than different in their condition and manners. Egypt, I mean, and the Isles of Scotland. Yet this they have in common, that Egypt, once the mother of all arts and sciences, is now as ignorant of her own monuments, and as fabulous in the accounts of them, as any Highlanders can be about theirs. Such changes however are as nothing in the numberless revolutions of ages. But to our subject. HERODOTUS says, in the second Book of his *History*, that near to the entry of the magnificent Temple of MINERVA at Sais in Egypt (of which he speaks with admiration) he saw an edifice 21 cubits in length, 14 in breadth, and 8 in height, the whole consisting onely of one stone; and that it was brought thither by sea, from a place about 20 days sailing from Sais. This is my first instance. And, parallel to it, all those who have been in Hoy, one of the Orkneys, do affirm (without citing, or many of them knowing this passage of HERODOTUS) that there lies on a barren heath in this Island an oblong stone, in a valley between two moderate hills; call'd I suppose antiphrastically, or by way of contraries, the DWARFY-STONE. It is 36 foot long,

18 foot broad, and 9 foot high. No other stones are near it. 'Tis all hollow'd within, or (as we may say) scoop'd by human art and industry, having a door on the east side 2 foot square; with a stone of the same dimension lying about two foot from it, which was intended no doubt to close this entrance. Within there is, at the south end of it, cut out the form of a bed and pillow, capable to hold two persons: as, at the north end, there is another bed, Dr. WALLACE says a couch, both very neatly done. Above, at an equal distance from both, is a large round hole: which is suppos'd, not onely to have been design'd for letting in of light and air, when the door was shut; but likewise for letting out of smoke from the fire, for which there is a place made in the middle between the two beds. The marks of the workman's tool appear every where; and the tradition of the vulgar is, that a Giant and his wife had this stone for their habitation: tho the door alone destroys this fancy, which is wholly groundless every way besides. Dr. WALLACE thinks it might be the residence of a Hermit, but it appears this Hermit did not design to ly always by himself. Just by it is a clear and pleasant spring, for the use of the inhabitant. I wish it were in Surrey, that I might make it a summer study. As to the original design of this monument, men are by nature curious enough to know the causes of things, but they are not patient enough in their search: and so
will

will rather assign any cause, tho' ever so absurd; than suspend their judgements, till they discover the true cause, which yet in this particular I am resolv'd to do.

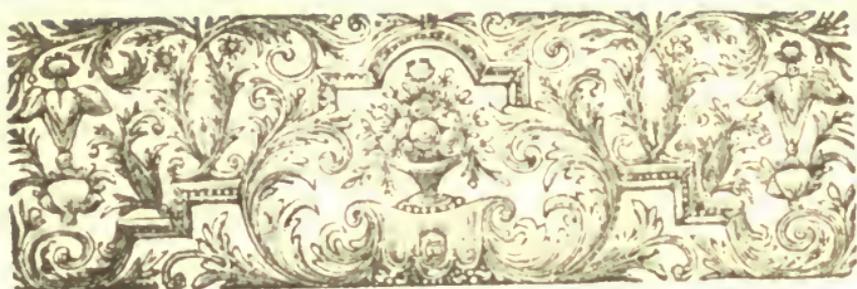
XXI. NOW, MY LORD, imagine what you please about the religious or civil use of this stone, my difficulty to your Lordship is; how they were able to accomplish this piece of Architecture, among the rest that I have mention'd, in those remote, barren, and uncultivated Ilands? And how such prodigious Obelises cou'd be erected there, no less than in the other parts of Britain, and in Ireland? for which we have scarce any sufficient machines, in this time of Learning and Politeness. These monuments of every kind, especially the Forts and the Obelises, induc'd HIERON BORTHUIS to tell strange stories of the Egyptians having been there in the reign of MAINUS King of Scotland: nor do they a little confirm the notion, which some both of the Irish and Albanian Scots have about their Egyptian, instead of a Scythian, or (as I shall evince) a Celtic original; tho' I assign more immediately a British for the Irish, and an Irish extraction for the Scots. Nor is there any thing more ridiculous than what they relate of their Egyptian stock; except what the Britons fable about their Trojan ancestors. Yet a reason there is, why they harp so much upon Egyptians and Spaniards: but altogether misunderstood or unobserv'd by writers. But, not to forget our

Monuments, you will not say (what, tho possible, appears improbable) that, according to the ceaseless vicissitude of things, there was a time, when the inhabitants of these Islands were as learned and knowing, as the present Egyptians and the Highlanders are ignorant. But say what you will, it cannot fail diffusing light on the subject; and to improve, if not intirely to satisfy, the Inquirer. The Ile of MAN, as I said above, does no less abound in these Monuments of all sorts, than any of the places we have nam'd; and therefore sure to be visited, and all its ancient remains to be examin'd, by,

MY LORD,

July 7.
1728.

Your Lordship's most
oblig'd and very
humble Servant.



THE
 THIRD LETTER:
 TO
 THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
 THE LORD
 VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH,

I. **T**AKE the Liberty (MY LORD) to trouble you a third time with the company of the DRUIDS; who, like other Priests, resort always to the place where the best intertainment is to be found: and yet I must needs own, it derogates much from the merit of their visit; that, in the quality of Philosophers they know not where to find a heartier welcome than in your Lordship's study. Tho' I

have very particularly explain'd the plan of my *History of the Druids*, in the two last Letters. I did my self the honor to send you on this subject; yet the work being considerably large, and containing great variety of matter, I have still something to impart, in order to give the clearer idea of my design. And it is, that, besides the citations of authors, indispensably requisite in proving matters of fact newly advanced, or in deciding of antient doubts and controversies (not to speak of such as come in by way of ornament, or that a writer modestly prefers to his own expressions) I have sometimes occasion to touch upon passages, which, tho' I cou'd easily abridge, or needed but barely hint with relation to the purpose for which I produce them: yet being in themselves either very curious and instructive, or lying in books that come into few people's hands, I chuse to give them in my *History* intire. This method I have learnt from my best masters among the antients, who practis'd it with much success; tho', like them, I use it very sparingly. One or two instances you'll not be sorry to see. The explication I have given, in the 11th section of my first Letter, of OGMIVS, the antient Gallie name of HERCULES, I am no less certain you do not forget, than that you remember I promis'd to take an opportunity of sending you the whole piece; which I have thus translated from the original Greece, with the utmost accuracy. *The Gauls*, says
LU-

(1) LUCIAN, call HERCULES in their country language OGMIOUS. But they represent the picture of this God in a very unusual manner. With them he is a decrepit old man, bald before, his beard extremely gray, as are the few other hairs he has remaining. His skin is wrinkl'd, sunburnt, and of such a swarthy hue as that of old mariners: so that you wou'd take him to be CHARON, or some IAPETUS from the nethermost hell, or any thing rather than HERCULES. But tho he be such thus far, yet he has withall the Habit of HERCULES; being clad in the skin of a Lion, holding a Club in his right hand, a Quiver hanging from his shoulders, and a bent Bow in his left hand. Upon the whole it is HERCULES. I was of opinion that all these things were purposely done, in dishonor of the Grecian Gods, by the Gauls to the picture of HERCULES: revenging themselves upon him by such a representation, for having formerly over-run their country, and driving a Prey out of it; as he was seeking after the herd of GERYON, at which time he made incursions into most of the western nations. But I have not yet told, what is most odd and strange in this picture; for this old HERCULES draws after him a vast multitude of men, all ty'd by their Ears. The cords by which he does this are small fine Chains, artificially

(1) Τὸ Ἡρακλῆα οἱ Κελτοὶ ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ὀνομάζουσι Φωνὴ τῆ ἐ-
 χροῖα, et quae sequuntur in HERCULE Gallico: Graeca etenim
 longiora sunt, quam ut hic commode inferi possint.

made of gold and electrum, like to most beautiful bracelets. And tho' the men are drawn by such slender bonds, yet none of 'em thinks of breaking loose, when they might easily do it; neither do they strive in the least to the contrary, or straggle with their feet, leaning back with all their might against their Leader: but they gladly and cheerfully follow, praising him that draws them; all seeming in haste, and desirous to get before each other, holding up the chains, as if they should be very sorry to be set free. Nor will I grudge telling here, what of all these matters appear'd the most absurd to me. The Painter finding no place where to fix the extreme links of the Chains, the right hand being occupi'd with a Club, and the left with a Bow, he made a hole in the tip of the God's tongue, (whoturas smiling towards those he leads) and painted them as drawn from thence. I look'd upon these things a great while, sometimes admiring, sometimes doubting, and sometimes chafing with indignation. But a certain Gaul who stood by, not ignorant of our affairs, as he show'd by speaking Greec in perfection (being one of the Philosophers, I suppose, of that nation) said, I'll explain to you, O stranger, the enigma of this picture, for it seems not a little to disturb you. We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greecs, that MERCURY is SPEECH or Eloquence; but we attribute it to HERCULES, because he's far superior in strength to MECURY. Don't wonder, that he's represented

sented as an old man: for SPEECH alone loves to show its utmost vigor in old age, if your own Poets speak true.

All young men's breasts are with thick darkness fill'd:

*But age experienc'd has much more to say,
More wise and learned, than rude untaught youth.*

Thus, among your selves, honey drops from NESTOR'S tongue; and the Trojan Orators emit a certain voice call'd Lirioessa, that is, a florid speech; for, if I remember right, flowers are call'd Liria. Now that HERCULES, or SPEECH, shou'd draw men after him ty'd by their Ears to his Tongue, will be no cause of admiration to you; when you consider the near affinity of the Tongue with the Ears. Nor is his Tongue contumeliously bor'd: for I remember, said he, to have learnt certain Iambics out of your own Comedians, one of which says,

The tips of all Prater's tongues are bor'd.

And finally, as for us, we are of opinion, that HERCULES accomplish'd all his atchievements by SPEECH; and, that having been a wise man, he conquer'd mostly by persuasion: we think his arrows were keen Reasons, easily shot, quick, and penetrating the souls of men; whence you have, among you, the expression
of

of wing'd words. *Hitherto spoke the Gaul,*
 From this ingenious picture LUCIAN draws to himself an argument of Consolation: that the study and profession of Eloquence was not unbecoming him in his old age, being rather more fit than ever to teach the *Belles Lettres*; when his stock of knowlege was most complete, as his Speech was more copious, polish'd, and mature, than formerly.

II. AS my first instance is furnish'd by a man, who, for his Eloquence and love of Liberty (qualities no less conspicuous in your Lordship) deserv'd to have his memory consecrated to Immortality, which was all that the wisest of the ancients understood by making any one a God; so my second instance shall be taken from a woman, whose frailty and perfidiousness will serve as a foil to those learned Druideſſes, and other illustrious Heroines, which I frequently mention in my *History*. I introduce her in a passage I have occasion to allege, when I am proving, that wherever the Gauls or Britons are in any old author simply said to offer sacrifice (without any further circumstances added) this nevertheless is understood to be done by the ministry of the Druids; it having been as unlawful for any of the Celtic nations to sacrifice otherwise, as it was for the Jews to do so without their Priests and Levites. *The Druids*, says (2) JULIUS CAE-

(2) Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. *De Bello Gallico*, lib. 6. cap. 12.

SAR, perform divine service, they offer the public and private sacrifices, they interpret religious observances: and even when particular persons would propitiate the Gods, for the continuing or restoring of their Health; they make use of the Druids, adds he (3), to offer those sacrifices. 'Tis the establish'd custom of the Gauls, says 4 DIODORUS SICULUS, to offer no sacrifice without a Philosopher, which is to say, a Druid: and STRABO so expresses it, affirming, that (5) they never sacrifice without the Druids. This unanswerable proof being premis'd, now follows one of the passages, wherein a Gaul being said simply to sacrifice, I think fit to relate the whole story. 'Tis the eighth of PARTHENIUS of Nicæa's *Love-stories*, related before him (as he says) in the first book of the *History* written by ARISTODEMUS of Nysa, now lost. This PARTHENIUS addresses his book to CORNELIUS GALLUS, for whose use he wrote it, being the same to whom VIRGIL inscrib'd his tenth *Eclog*. The story runs thus. When (6) the Gauls had made an incursion into Ionia, and sack'd most of the cities, the Thesmophorian festival was celebrated at Miletus; which occasioning all the women to assemble together

(3) Administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur. *Ibid.*

(4) Ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μὴδεὶα ἑστῆαι τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφῶσι. *L'ib. 5. pag. 308. Edit. Hænon.*

(5) Ἐθὺς δὲ οὐκ ἂν εὐδραῖον. *L'ib. 4. pag. 323. Edit. Amyel.*

(6) Ὅτε δὲ οἱ Γαλαταὶ κατέδραμον τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἐπὶ ᾧ ἐξῆς ἀκολουθεῖται.

in the Temple, that was not far from the city: part of the Barbarian army, which separated from the rest, made an irruption into the Milesian territory, and seiz'd upon those women; whom the Milesians were forc'd to ransom, giving in exchange a great sum of gold and silver. Yet the Barbarians took some of them away for domestic use, among whom was ERIPPE (7) the wife of XANTHUS (a man of the first rank and birth in Miletus) leaving behind her a boy onely two years olde. Now XANTHUS passionately loving his wife, turn'd part of his substance into money, and having amass'd a thousand pieces of gold, he cross'd over with the soonest into Italy; whence being guided by some whom he had intertain'd in Greece, he came to Marseilles, and so into Gaule. Then he went to the house where his wife was, belonging to a man of the greatest authority among the Gauls, and intreated to be lodg'd there: whereupon those of the family, according to that nation's usual Hospitality, cheerfully receiving him, he went in and saw his wife; who running to him with open arms, very lovingly led him to his apartment. CAVARA (8) the Gaul, who had been abroad, returning soon after, ERIPPE acquainted him with the arrival of her Husband; and that it was for her sake he came, bring-

(7) ARISTODEMUS calls her GYTHIMIA.

(8) So he's nam'd by ARISTODEMUS: and it is to this day a common name in Ireland. Vid. *At* for attainting SHANE O NEIL.

ing with him the price of her redemption. The Gaul extoll'd the generosity of XANTHUS, and strait inviting several of his own friends and nearest relations, hospitably treated him; making a feast on purpose, and placing his wife by his side: then asking him by an interpreter what his whole estate was worth, and XANTHUS answering a thousand pieces of gold; the Barbarian order'd him to divide that sum into four parts, wherof he should take back three, one for himself, one for his wife, and one for his little son, but that he should leave him the fourth for his wife's ransom. When they went to bed, his wife heavily chid XANTHUS, as not having so great a sum of gold to pay the Barbarian; and that he was in danger, if he could not fulfill his promise. He told her, that he had yet a thousand pieces more hid in the shoes of his servants; for that he did not expect to find any Barbarian so equitable, believing her ransom would have cost him much more. Next day the wife inform'd the Gaul what a great sum of gold there was, and bids him kill XANTHUS; assuring him, that she lov'd him better than her country or her child, and that she mortally hated XANTHUS. CAVARA took no delight in this declaration, and resolv'd in his own mind from that moment to punish her. Now when XANTHUS was in haste to depart, the Gaul very kindly permitted it, going with him part of the way, and leading ERIPPE. When the Barbarian had

accompany'd them as far as the mountains of Gaule, he said, that, before they parted, he was minded to offer a sacrifice; and having adorn'd the victim, he desir'd ERIPPE to lay hold of it: which she doing, as at other times she was accusom'd, he brandish'd his sword at her, ran her thro, and cut off her head; but pray'd XANTHUS not to be at all concern'd, discovering her treachery to him, and permitting him to take away all his Gold. 'Tis no more hence to be concluded, because no Druid is mention'd, that CAVARA offer'd this sacrifice without the ministry of one or more such (unless he was of their number himself, which is not improbable) than that a man of his quality was attended by no servants, because they are not specially mention'd; for ordinary, as well as necessary circumstances, are ever suppos'd by good writers, where there is not some peculiar occasion of inserting them.

III. IN my third instance I return again to HERCULES, of whom a story is told in the same book, whence we had the last; which, tho related and recommended by the author as a good argument for a Poem, affords however no small illustration, to what I maintain by much more positive proofs, *viz.* that *Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain in Gaule, and that from Gaule the original inhabitants of all the Brittish Islands (I mean those of CESAR'S time) are descended.*

scended. Listen for a moment to PARTHENIUS. 'Tis (9) said that HERCULES, as he drove away from (10) Erythia the oxen of GERYON, had penetrated into the region of the Gauls, and that he came as far as BRETTANNUS, who had a daughter call'd CELTINA. This young woman falling in love with HERCULES, hid his oxen; and would not restore them, till he should enjoy her first. Now HERCULES being desirous to recover his oxen, and much more admiring the beauty of the maid, he lay with her; and in due time was born to them a son nam'd CELTUS (11), from whom the Celts are so denominated. Many of the antient writers mention the incursion of HERCULES into Gaule, when he made war against GERYON in Spain; which the judicious DIODORUS SICULUS shows to have been at the head of a powerful Army, not with his bare Club and Bow, as the Poets feign; and that it was he who built the fortreis of Alexia, whereof the Siege, many ages after by JULIUS CESAR, became so famous. DIODORUS likewise tells this very story of PARTHENIUS, but without naming BRETTANNUS or CELTINA.

(9) Λεγεται δε και 'Ηρακλεα, οτε απ' Ερυθειας τας Γερουνου βοις ηγαγεν, αλωμενον δια της Κελτων χωρας, αφικηται παρα Βρεταινον; τω δε αρα υπαρχει θυγατερα. Κελτινην ονομα: ταυτην δε, μασβεσαν του 'Ηρακλεοις, κατακρυψαι τας βους; μη θε ειντε αποδουσαι, ει μη προτερον αυτη μιχη'ηναι: τονδε Ηρακλεα, το μεν τοι και τας βοις σπειγομενον αναεωσασθαι; πολυ μαλλον το καλλος εκπληρεται της κορης, συγγενεσθαι αυτη: και αυτοις, χροου περιηκοντος, γενεσθαι παιδα Κελτον, αφ' ου δε Κελτοι προσηγορευθησαν. Cap. 30.

(10) Now Cadiz.

(11) GALLUS, GALLI.

He onely says (12), “ a certain illustrious man, “ that govern’d a Province in Gaule, had a “ daughter exceeding the rest of her sex, in “ stature and beauty : who, tho despising all “ that made court to her, being of a very high “ spirit; yet fell in love with HERCULES, “ whose courage and majestic person she great- “ ly admir’d. With her parent’s consent she “ came to a right understanding with this hero, “ who begot on her a son, not unworthy the “ pair from whom he sprung, either in body “ or mind. He was call’d GALATES (13), suc- “ ceeded his grandfather in the government ; “ and, becoming renown’d for his valor, his “ subjects were call’d *Galatians* (14) after his “ name, as the whole country it self *Galatia* “ (15).” This is plainly the same story, onely that one writer supplies us with the names, which the other omits; and Armorican Britain being probably the Province, wherein BRETANNUS rul’d (since we find it insinuated, that HERCULES had penetrated far to come to him) ’tis still more than probable, that it was denominatèd from him: as I shall prove beyond the possibility of contradiction, that our Britain had its name from that of Gaule, as

(12) Της Κελτικής τοινυν το παλαιον, ως Φασιν, εδυνασευσεν επι-Φανες ανηρ, ω θυγατερ εγενετο δεσ. — μιχθεισα δε τω Ηρακλει εγεννησεν υιον ονομα Γαλατην — περιβοητος δε γενόμενος επ’ ανδρεια, τους υπ’ αυτον τεταγμενους ωνομαζεν αφ’ εαυτου Γαλατας, αφ’ ων η συμπασα Γαλατια προσηορευθη. Lib. 4. pag. 303.

(13) GALLUS.

(14) Gall.

(15) Gallia.

New England has from the Old. HESYCHIUS, in the word BRETANNUS, is of the same opinion with me. So is DIONYSIUS (16) PERIEGETES, with his Commentator (17) EUSTATHIUS: and I am not a little countenanc'd by PLINY the elder, who places (18) Britons on the maritim coasts of Gaul, over against Great Britain. But I have more evidence still. To lay nothing at present of CÆSAR so many ages before EUSTATHIUS, TACITUS likewise among the (19) ancients, and among those of the middle (20) age, and some of the most celebrated modern writers, are as express as words can possibly make any thing, that Britain was peopled from Gaul. Nor is the epithet of *Great*, added to our *Britain*, any more an objection to this assertion; than the coast of Italy, formerly call'd *Magna Graecia*, could be made the mother

(16) ————— Εἰς τὴν Βρετανίαν,
 Δελικὰ τε φύλλα νεμεύονται ἀρσιμαγάντων Ἰταλιανῶν.

Ver. 284.

(17) Τῶν δὲ Βρετάνων τούτων παρανομοῖσι, αἱ αὐτῆς αὐτῶν Ἰταλιανῶν ἰδιότητες νομοῖσι.

(18) A Scaldi incolunt extera Toxandri pluribus nominibus: deinde Menapij, Morini, Oromanfai juncti Pagus qui Gessoriacus vocatur: * BRITANNI, Ambiani, Bellovaci, Hassi. *Nv. Hist. lb. 4. cap. 17.*

(19) In universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est: eorum sacra deprehensas, superstitionum persuasione: Sermo haud malum diversus, &c. *Vir. Agric. cap. 11.*

(20) Haec Insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolae habuit; qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam adveñti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt. *Hist. Eccles. lb. 1. cap. 1.*

* In quibusdam exemplaribus, sed perperam, *Britanni*.

country of Greece, when the cities of that coast were all Colonies from thence: besides that *Great Britain* was antiently so call'd with respect to *Ireland*, which (before the fable of the Welsh colony in Gaule was invented) is call'd *Little Britain*, as you'll see anon. These disquisitions come not into *the History of the Druids*, but into the annex't *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*. There you'll see the folly of deriving *Britain* from the fabulous Irish Hero BRIGTAN, or from the no less imaginary BRUTUS the Trojan; nor is the word originally PRIDCAIN, *Prytania*, *Bridania*, or descended from either Phenician, or Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even any Brittish words. The insular Britons, like other Colonies, were long govern'd by those on the continent; and by the neighboring Provinces, who join'd in making settlements here. It was so even as low down as a little before JULIUS CESAR's conquest; in whose (21) *Commentaries* it is recorded, that *those of Soissons had within their memory* (say the ambassadors of Rheims to him) DIVITIACUS (22) *for their King, the most potent Prince of all Gaule: who sway'd the scepter, not onely of a great part of those regions, but also of Britain*. In the same *Dissertation*, after exploding the

(21) Sueffones esse suos finitimos, latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse Regem nostrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum; qui, cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 2. cap. 4.*

(22) Different from DIVITIACUS the Eduan or Burgundian-Welsh

Welsh fable about Britain in France, you'll read as positive proofs, that the ancient Irish, not one of their Colonies excepted (the Neme-tes, the Firbolgs, the Danannans, and the Milesians) were all from Gaule and Great Britain; whose language, religion, customs, laws and government, proper names of men and places, they constantly did and do still use: whereas (to forbear at present all other arguments) not one single word of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biscalian, which is the true old Spanish; the present idiom being a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. Besides this, all the antients knew and held the Irish to be Britons, as Ireland it self is by PTOLOMY call'd (23) *Little Britain*. They were reckon'd Britons by ARISTOTLE, who in his book *de Mundo*, calls the country (24) *Ierne*; as ORPHEUS before him (25) *Iernis*, if ONOMACRITUS be not the author of the *Argonautica*, or rather, as SUIDAS asserts, ORPHEUS of CROTONA, contemporary with the Tyrant PISTRATUS. And if this be true, Archbishop USHER did not Gasconnade, when he (26) said, that the *Roman* people cou'd not any where be found so antiently mention'd as *Iernis*. DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, before

(23) Μικρα Βρεττανια, in Almagest. lib. 2. cap. 6.

(24) Εν τούτῳ γεμεν [οκεανῶ] νησοι μεγαλαι τε τυρχανουσιον ησαι δειο, Βρετανικαι λεγομεναι, Αλβιον και Ιερνη. Cap. 3.

(25) Αγκαιο: δ' οιοκας επιζαμενωσ επιταινε,
Παρ δ'αρα νησων αμειβεν Ιερνιδα—— Ver. 1240.

(26) *Primord. Eccles. Britannicar. pag. 724.*

cited, is of the same opinion in his *description of the* (27) *world*, that the Irish were Britons: as STEPHANUS *Byzantium* names it (28) *British Juvonia, the least of the two Islands*. DIODORUS SICULUS mentions (29) *the Britons inhabiting the Island call'd Iris*, a name better expressing *Ere* (vulgarly *Erinn*) the right name of Ireland, than *Ierne, Juvona, Hibernia*, or any name that has been either poetically or otherwise us'd. STRABO files Ireland (30) *Brittish Ierna*, as his ancient Abridger calls the Irish (31), *the Britons inhabiting Ierna*: and, if we may intermix ludicrous with serious things, where 'tis now read in the same STRABO, that the Irish were *great eaters* (32) his said Abridger reads it *herb-eaters* (33); which wou'd induce one to believe, that so long ago *Shamrogs* were in as great request there as at present. PLINY says in express words (34), that *every one of the British Islands was call'd Britain; whereas Albion was the distinguishing name of the Britain now peculiarly so call'd, and so famous*

(27) Δύο νησοὶ εἰσι Βρετανίδες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠθιοπίας. Ver. 566.

(28) Ἰουερνία ἢ Πρετανικὴ, τῶν δύο ἐλασσών.

(29) ——— Ὅσπερ καὶ τῶν Βρετανῶν, τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν οὐνομαζομένην Ἰρην. Lib. 5. pag. 309.

(30) Ὅτι τὴν Βρετανικὴν Ἰερην ἰδόντες, &c. Lib. 1. pag. 110.

(31) Ὅτι τὴν Ἰερην νῆσον κατοικοῦντες Βρετανοὶ. Lib. 3.

(32) Πελύφαγοι.

(33) Πομφατοὶ.

(34) Britannia clara Graecis nostrisque scriptoribus—
Albion ipsi non en fuit, cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes
Insulae non-pe Britannicae.] Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 16.

in the Grec and Roman writings. These particulars (I repeat it) much below the dignity of our *History*, will be found in the before-mention'd *Dissertation*; which, tho infinitely less useful, I dare prophesy will be full as much read, if not much more relish'd. The greatest men however have not thought it unbecoming them, to search at their leisure into such Originals: and I, for my part, found it almost a necessary imployment, considering the light it adds to my principal work.

IV. TO return thither therefore, there are diverse passages, some longer some shorter, in the most antient Grec authors we have, or copy'd by these from such as are quite lost; which, tho generally neglected and unobserv'd, will be no small ornament to the *History* I have taken in hand. And, to say it here by the way, 'tis certain that the more antient Grec writers, such as HECATEUS, EUDOXUS, HIPPARCHUS, ERATOSTHENES, POLYBIUS, POSIDONIUS (not to speak of DICEARCHUS and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the Brittish Ilands: by reason of the frequent navigations of the Grecs into these parts, after the way was shown them by the Phenicians; so antient an author as HERODOTUS affirming, that his countrymen had their Tin from (35) hence, tho he cou'd give little account of the

(35) — Ο τε νησοῦσιν αὐτὰ Κασσιτερίδαι εὐρεῖται, ἐκ τῶν ἐκασσιτεροῦ ἡμῖν Φοῖται. *Lib. 3. cap. 115.*

Iland. But this commerce being interrupted for several ages afterwards, the later writers did not onely themselves vend abundance of fables about these northern parts of the world; but treat as fabulous, what their Predecessors had recorded with no less honesty than exactness. Of this I shall have occasion to give some convincing proofs in this very Letter. But not to forget the passages of the antients, when you call to mind those *Rocking-stones* set up by the Druids, describ'd in the xivth and xvith Section of our second *Letter*, and whereof several are yet standing; you'll not doubt but 'tis one of them, that is mention'd in the Abridgement we have of P^TOL^MY HEPHESTION'S *History*: who, in the third chapter of the third book, is said *to have writtten about the* (36) *GIGONIAN STONE standing near the ocean; which is mov'd with such a small matter as the stalk of asphodel, tho' immoveable against the greatest force imaginable.* This passage needs, in my opinion, no comment. But we are to note, when those old writers talk of any thing near the Ocean with respect to the straights of HERCULES (37), and without specifying the place; that it may then be on the coast of Spain, or of France, in the Brittish Ilands, or on any of the northern shores. It is onely to be discover'd either by matter of fact, or by probable

(36) Περὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ωκεανὸν Γίγωνιας πέτρας, καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀσφιδέλῳ κινεῖται, πρὸς πᾶσαν βίαν ἀμετακίνητος, οὐκ.

(37) Now of Gibraltar.

circumstances: as this *Gigonian stone* (for example) was necessarily in some of the Celtic or Brittish territories, whose Druids alone set up such stones. So were the Birds, whereof I am now going to speak. *What ARTEMIDORUS has deliver'd concerning the Ravens* (says (38) STRABO) *sounds very much like a fable. He tells us, that there is a certain lake near the Ocean, which is call'd the lake of the two ravens, because two ravens appear in it, which have some white in their wing: that such as have any controversy together come thither to an elevated place, where they set a table, each laying on a cake separately for himself: and that those birds flying thither, eat the one while they scatter the other about; so that he, whose cake is thus scatter'd, gets the better of the dispute. Such fables does he relate!* But I wou'd ask STRABO, what is there fabulous in all this? or why shou'd the rude Gauls and Britons being influenc'd by the eating or not eating of ravens, be thought more strange or fabulous, than the *tripudium solistimum* of chickens among the polite Romans? which CASAUBON, I will not say how truly, thinks was deriv'd from these

(38) Ταυτο δ' ετι μυθοδεσπερον ειρηκεν Αρτεμιδαρος, το περι τουσ Κορακασ συμβαινον. Λιμενα γαρ τινα της παρωκεανιδος Ισθμου δυο κορακων επονομαζομενουσ Φαινεσθαι δ' εν τωτω δυο κορακασ, την δεξιαν περιγα παραλευκουσ εχοντασ; τουσ ουν περι τινων αμφισβητουσ, αφικομενουσ δευρο εφ' υψηλου τοπου, σανιδα θεντασ, επιβαλλειν Φαισα, εκατερον χωρισ: τουσ δ' ορνεισ εφιπταντασ τα μεν εσθιειν, τα δε σκορπιειν; ου δ' αν σκορπισθη τα Φαισα, εκεινον νικην. Ταυτα μεν ουν μυθοδεσπερα λεγει. *Lib. 4. pag. 303.*

very (39) ravens. If STRABO had said, that the Divination it self was superstitious and vain, or that it was ridiculous to imagin the ravens cou'd discern the cake of the guilty from that of the innocent (tho they might greedily eat one of them when hungry, and wantonly sport with the other when their bellies were full) no man of judgement wou'd contradict him. As for ravens having some white in their wings, it contains nothing fabulous, I my self having seen such, and no Ornithologists omitting them. I will own indeed, that so uncommon a thing as white in the wing of a raven, and for a couple of them to hold a place so cunningly to themselves, was enough to work upon the superstitious fancies of ignorant people, who laid such stress above all nations upon Augury; so that in this whole story of the two ravens, nothing appears to me either fabulous or wonderful. Nay I am persuaded ARTEMIDORUS was in the right, there being examples at this time of ravens thus securing a place to themselves; and the first I shall give is, for ought any body knows, the very place hinted by ARTEMIDORUS. Dr. MARTIN, in his *Description of the Iles of Scotland*, discoursing of Bernera (which is five miles in circumference, and lyes about two leagues to the south of Harries) in this Iland, says (40) he, *there's a couple*

(39) In Annotatione ad hunc STRABONIS locum.

(40) Page 47.

of ravens, which beat away all ravenous fowls: and when their young are able to fly abroad, they beat them also out of the Iland, but not without many blows and a great noise. In this Iland moreover, to remark a further agreement with ARTEMIDORUS, there's a fresh-water lake call'd Loch-bruist, where many land and sea-fowl build. He tells us (41) elsewhere of another such couple, which are of the same inhospitable, or rather cautious and frugal disposition, in a little Iland near North Uist; and still of such another couple (42), in all respects, upon the Ile of Troda near Sky. But as Eagles were no less birds of Augury than ravens, the Doctor, in his account of a little Iland near the greater one of Lewis (43), says that he saw a couple of eagles there; which, as the natives assur'd him, wou'd never suffer any other of their kind to continue in the Iland: driving away their own young ones, as soon as they are able to fly. The natives told him further, that those eagles are so careful of the place of their abode, that they never kill'd any sheep or lamb in the Iland; tho' the bones of lambs, fawns, and wild-fowl, are frequently found in and about their nests: so that they make their purchase in the opposite Ilands, the nearest of which is a league distant. There's such another couple of eagles, and as tender of injuring their native country, on

(41) Page 60.

(42) Page 166.

(43) Page 26.

the north end of St. Kilda (44) which Ilands may be view'd in the map of Scotland. I must observe on this occasion, that there's no part of our education so difficult to be eradicated as SUPERSTITION; which is industriously instill'd into men from their cradles by their nurses, by their parents, by the very servants, by all that converse with them, by their tutors and school-masters, by the poets, orators, and historians which they read: but more particularly by the Priests, who in most parts of the world are hir'd to keep the people in error, being commonly back'd by the example and authority of the Magistrate. Augury was formerly one of the most universal Superstitions, equally practis'd by the Grecs and the Barbarians; certain Priests in all nations, pretending, tho by very contrary rites and observations, to interpret the language, the flight, and feeding of birds: as ENEAS thus addressses HELEN the Priest of (45) APOLLO,

*Trojugena, interpres Divum, qui numina
PHOEBI,
Qui tripodas, CLARII lauros, qui sidera
sentis,
Et volucrum linguas, et praepetis omina
pennae,
Fare age.*

(44) Page 299.

(45) Virg. Aen. lib. 3.

Now to comprehend what deep root Superstition takes, and how the sap keeps alive in the stump, ready to sprout forth again, after the trunk and branches have for many ages been cut off; I beg your patience to hear the following story, especially since we are upon the subject of ravens. When I was in Dublin in the year 1697, I walk'd out one day to the village of Finglafs, and overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the old Irish stock, with whom I had contracted some acquaintance at the Coffee-house. They told me they were going a good way further, about a business of some importance; and not many minutes after one of 'em cry'd out with joy to the other, tee cousin, by heaven matters will go well: pointing at the same instant to a raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. The other appear'd no less transported, nor would they stir till they saw what way the raven flew; which being to the south of them, and with a great noise, they were fully confirm'd about the success of their business. This brought to my remembrance that oblation Augury in (46) VIRGIL:

- (46) ————— Geminæ cum forte Columbae
 Ipsa sub ora viri coelo venere volantes,
 Et viridi sedere solo——vestigia pressit,
 Observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.

Aeneid. lib. 6. ver. 193.

Scarce had he said, when full before his
sight
Two doves, descending from their airy
flight,
Secure upon the grassy plain alight——
———With watchful sight
Observing still the motions of their flight,
What course they took, what happy signs
they shew ;
They fled, and, flutt'ring by degrees, with-
drew—— &c.

DRYDEN'S *Translat.*

Nor was I unmindful, you may be sure, of that passage in (47) PLAUTUS,

'Tis not for nought, that the Raven sings
now on my left ;
And, croaking, has once scrap'd the earth
with his feet.

Upon my putting some questions to those gentlemen, they said it was certain by the observation of all ages, that a raven having any white in its wings, and flying on the right hand of any person, croaking at the same time, was an infallible presage of good luck. I us'd

(47) Non temerè est, quod corvos cantat mihi nunc ab
 laeva manu ;
 Semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocitabat
 sua.

Aulul. Act. 4. Scen. 3. ver. 1.

a great many arguments to show them the vanity and unreasonableness of this piece of Superstition, comparing it among other extravagancies, to the no less absurd one of dreams; where if one happens by chance to come to pass, while ten thousand fail, these are forgot and the other remember'd. But I am persuaded all I did or cou'd say, even my argument *ad hominem*, in proving that Augury was specially forbid by the Law of Moses, wou'd have made little impression on them; had it not been that they miscarry'd in what they went about, as one of them candidly own'd to me some weeks afterwards, who cou'd then listen to my reasons, and seem'd to taste them. Thus far have I been led by the ravens of ARTEMIDORUS. But I have not rambl'd yet so far after birds as the old Gauls, *whereof a part* (to use the words of (48) JUSTIN after TROGUS) *settled in Italy, which took and burnt the city of Rome; while another part of them penetrated into the Illyric bays, by the slaughter of the Barbarians, and under the guidance of birds, (FOR THE GAULS EXCELL ALL OTHERS IN THE SKILL OF AUGURY) settled in Pannonia:* telling next, how, after dividing their forces, they invaded Greece, Macedonia, and most parts of Asia,

(48) Ex his portio in Italia confedit, quae et urbem Romanam captam incendit; et portio Illyricos sinus, ducibus Avibus (nam Augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent) per strages Barbarorum penetravit, et in Pannonia confedit. *Lib. 24. cap. 4.*

where they founded the Gallogrecian Tetrarchy. But still you see they were birds, that guided those famous expeditions.

V. I HAVE by good authorities shown before, that the antientest Greece writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the Brittish Ilands, even the most remote and minute, than such as came after them; by reason that the Grecian trade hither, open'd first by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quite abandon'd. Thus in time the original Relations came to be look'd upon as so many fables, at which I do not so much wonder in any man, as in the most judicious of all Geographers and the most instructive, I mean the Philosopher STRABO. These later Greecs were implicitly credited and transcrib'd by the Roman writers, till Britain came to be fully known, having rather been shown than conquer'd by JULIUS CESAR; and scarce believ'd to be an Iland, tho it was constantly affirm'd to be so by the most antient discoveries, till VESPASIAN'S Lieutenant, AGRICOLA, found it beyond all possibility of contradiction to be an (49) Iland, part of the Roman fleet sailing round it. But of the remotest Ilands there has been no exact account from that time to this. That of DONALD MONRO, in JAMES

(49) Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primùm Romanæ Classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit. *Tacit. in Vita Agric. cap. 10.*

the fifth of Scotland's time, is very reported; and tho' in our own time Doctor MEADON, who is a native of one of those Lands, has travell'd over them all to laudable purposes; yet his descriptions are by many judic'es too short, besides that he omits several observations, which his own materials shew he ought to have frequently made. Considering therefore the curious things out of him and others that may be agreeably read in my two former Letters (together with many more accounts of Monuments there, which I have from good hands) I own that I am passionately desirous to spend one Summer in those Lands, since the *History of the Bruids* makes a public appearance in the world. But I return to the ancient writers who mention the remotest Brittish Lands, of whom PYTHAGAS of Massilia, a Greece colony in Gaul (now Marseilles) is the very first on record. He liv'd in the time of ALEXANDER the great, and publish'd his Geographical work, or rather his Voyages, intitul'd (50) the *Tour of the Earth*, before his contemporary TIMEUS wrote, or DIETRICHUS, or ERATOSTHENES, or POLYBIUS: who follow'd each other, and who in some things disagree. This PYTHAGA, and also one LUTHYMENES, were sent by the Senate of Marseilles to make discoveries: the former to the north, the latter to the south. LUTHYMENES, sailing along the coast of Africa, pass'd the line:

(50) Περὶ τῆς γῆς. Scholiast. in Apollonii Argonautica, lib. 4. ad vers. 701.

and PYTHEAS, landing in Britain and Ireland, as well as on the German coast and in Scandinavia, sail'd beyond Iceland. Both the one and the other made such discoveries, as long past for fables: but time, by means of our modern navigation, has done both of 'em justice. PYTHEAS, on his part, was terribly decry'd by STRABO, who without ceremony calls him (51) *a most lying fellow*; tho' he's since found, and now known by every body, to be much more in the right than himself. Nothing is more exact, than what he has related, or that is related after him, of the temperature of the British climate, of the length of the nights and days, of the strange birds and monstrous fishes of the Northern Ocean: nor is it a small loss, that a treatise he wrote in particular *of the Ocean* has perish'd with his other works, whereof we have onely a few fragments. He was the first, for ought appears, that mention'd *Thule*, meaning thereby the utmost inhabited Island beyond Britain; from which he says it is about (52) six days sail, and near the frozen sea, which perfectly agrees to Iceland. But STRABO denies that there was ever any (53) *Thule*,

(51) Πυθέας ἀνευ ψευδεπιστοῦ εἰρηάζει. *Lib. I. p. 110.*

(52) — Διὰ Θουλόυ, ἢν Φίσι Πυθέας ἀπο μὲν τῆς Βρετανικῆς ἕξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπεχεῖν πρὸς ἀρκτὸν, ἐγγὺς δεῖναι τῆς πεπηγυῖας θαλάσσης. *Ibid. pag. 109.*

(53) *Tul* in the ancient language signifies naked and bleak, as Iceland has neither tree nor shrub; so that *Tul-i*, without any alteration, is *the naked Island*, the most proper name for Iceland, and which foreners must have naturally learnt of the Britons, whether Ibernian or Albionian. *Tul, gaul*

ALEXANDER, than STRABO who liv'd in the time of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS; and that it is a proceeding no lets impertinent than unjust, to have any man contradicted who was upon the spot, but by such others as were also there: unless the things related be manifestly impossible, or that the relator is no competent judge; as if a traveller, who understands no mathematics, should affirm the Malabarians to be the best Mathematicians in the world. But STRABO, who, notwithstanding all these gross mistakes in the extremities of Europe, is one of the foremost authors in my esteem: STRABO, I say, a little lower in the same book, as doubting whether he was in the right, and pretending it was no great matter should he be in the wrong, affirms that at least it is not known whether there be any habitable place beyond Ireland (which he still places to the north of Britain) *nor (56) is it of any importance to the Prince, says he, to have an exact notice of such regions or their inhabitants; especially should they live in such lands, which cannot contribute any thing to our damage or profit (meaning the Romans) there being no intercourse between us.* This reflection might perhaps be true with respect to the Emperor and the Empire: yet it is a very lame reason for a Geographer, who is

(56) Προς τε τας Ἡγεμονίας χρείας οὐδεν ἂν εἰν πλεονεκτήμα, τας τοιαύτας ἰσχυρίζειν χώρας καὶ τοὺς οἰκοντάς: καὶ μάλιστα εἰ νικέουσι οὐκ εἰς τοιαύτας, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴτε λυπεῖν μὴτε ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς δύνανται μηδέν, δια το ἀνεπίσταντων. *Ibid.* pag. 176.

accurately to describe all places, but them have relation to his Prince or not. But the nature of it is, he would not believe the accounts of Punic and Massinian sailors; neither had he any better information himself, whereby to supply or to correct them.

VI. AS for Ireland, it was very well known to the more antient Geographers, as I shew'd before; it being directly in the way of the Phenicians (who are said by (57) ARISTOTELI to have discover'd it) when they sail'd for Britain. Lying therefore so conveniently for the Phenicians, Grecians, Spaniards, and Gauls, it was always a place of great trade: and for this reason TACITUS (58) says (agreeable to the Irish annals) *that its ports were better known for trade, and more frequented by merchants, than those of Britain.* Neither is PYTHEAS'S account of the frozen sea, any more than that of Thule, a fable. Whoever was in Greenland, knows it to be literally true. It is therefore, in the antient Grec and Roman books, call'd the icy, the flow, (59) the congeal'd, the dead seas; as I have read that it is in some Arabic books very properly

(57) Εν τη θύραση, τῆς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκπορευούσης, ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκπορευούσης, ἐκπορευόμενον πλοῦτον, τὸν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιῶν πλοῦτον, καὶ τοῦ Ἰταλιῶν πλοῦτον, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκπορευόμενον πλοῦτον; et quae convenientur illis reliqua, δι' ἐννιαχ ἰμprimis convenientia. *De M^o l. 1 fult.*

(58) Melius aditus portusque, per commercia et negotiatores, cogniti. *Vit. Agric. cap. 24.*

(59) Mare glaciale, pigrum, congelatum, mortuum.

written, the dark sea and the sea of pitch. In the oldest Irish books 'tis call'd by words (60) that import the *foul*, and the *foggy* sea; and likewise *Muir-chroim*, or the coagulated (61) sea, from the word *Croim*, which signifies close and thick as well as (62) round. From this original, which PYTHIAS and other travellers learnt no doubt from the Britons, this sea was nam'd (63) *Cronium*: and not (as afterwards invented from the mere sound) because CRONOS, or SATURN, was enchanted in Ogygia, an Island west of Britain; which is fabulously reported by (64) PLUTARCH and other writers, who have hitherto been inconsiderately follow'd by every body. I wonder they do not affirm after them, since they may do so with equal reason, that some of the west and north British Islands are possess'd by (65) heroes and departed souls. The northern sea, even before one comes to the Icy part, and perhaps most properly, may be term'd *slow* and *dead*, by reason of the *Roufs*, or

(60) *Muir-beacht, Muir-beach.*

(61) *Mare concretum.*

(62) *Croim* has the same signification in Welsh; and *Cronal* or *Croinnig* in both the languages signifies to gather, to obstruct, to heap, and particularly *Croim* to thicken or stagnate waters: so that this derivation of the *Cronian*, and *croim'd sea*, cannot be reasonably call'd in question.

(63) *Ἰσθμὸς Κρονίου.*

(64) *De facie in orbe Lunæ: de Ecclētiæ Oraculo.* Videndi etiam ORPHEUS in *Argonauticis*, PLENIUS, SOLINUS, ISAACIUS TERZES in *LYCOPHRONIS Alexandrini*, &c.

(65) *Iidem* consulendi, quorum in Annotatione præcedenti mentio: nec non in HORATII Epodam 16 commentantes legendi.

meetings of contrary Tides; whose Conflict is sometimes so equal, that they are a great impediment to the boat or ship's way: nay sometimes, tho' under sail, they can make no way at all; but are very often impetuously whirl'd round, and now and then quite swallow'd up. This kind of shipwreck is no less naturally than elegantly describ'd by VIRGIL, when he relates the fate of ORONTES who commanded a ship under ENEAS:

*Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit; excutitur, pronusque ma-
gister
Volvitur in caput: ast illam ter fluctus
ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat ae-
quore vortex.*

Aen. lib. 1.

I shou'd not forget here, that, upon the discovery of Thule by PYTHIAS, one ANTONIUS DIOGENES wrote a Romance in twenty four books, which he intitl'd *the Incredibilities of Thule*; where he laid his scene, and whereof PHOTIUS has given some (66) account. I have dwelt the longer upon these Ilands, because they did not onely, like the other parts of Britain, abound with Druids, who have there left various memorials of themselves:

(66) Των ὑπερ Θεωλην ἀπίστων λόγων κ'. In Bibliotheca, cod. 166.

but also because the last footing they had in the world was here, which makes it little less than essential to my subject. Nor was it in the Ile of *Minn* alone, that a peculiar Government was set up by their procurement or approbation; as you have read in my second Letter of their Disciple, the admirable Legislator *MANANNAN*. There was likewise another Government of their erection, singular enough, in the (67) *Hebrides*; where better provision was made against the changing of an elective into a hereditary Monarchy, and against all other exorbitances of the Prince, than ever I read in any author antient or modern. *SOLINUS* speaking of these Ilands, *there is one King*, says (68) he, *over them all; for they are, as many as be of them, divided one into narrow channels. This King has nothing of his own, but shares of every thing that every man has. He is by certain Laws oblig'd to observe equity: and lest avarice should make him deviate from the right way, he learns justice from Poverty; as having*

(67) Another name for the Western Iles, equivalent to the *Hebrides*: if they were not originally the same, having perhaps by the mistake of Transcribers been written for each other; nothing being easier, than to confound *ni* with *vi*, or *vi* with *ni*, as antiently written.

(68) *Rex unus est universis: nam quotquot sunt, omnes angustâ interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet, omnia universorum. Ad aequitatem certis Legibus stringitur; ac, ne avaritiâ disertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam: utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur foemina propria; sed per vicissitudines, in quacunque commotus sit, usurariam sumit: unde ei nec votum, nec spes, Liberorum. Cap. 22.*

no manner of property, being maintained upon the public expence. He has not as much as a wife of his own, but by certain laws makes his own children, towards whom he has an indifferency, where it happens, that he has neither the desire nor the hope of any children. Thus say this author has not specify'd those Laws, by which equity was preferib'd to the Hibernian Monarch, in moving what was proper for him or other men's goods: and that he has not told us, how those vicissitudes were regulated, whereby he had the temporary use of other men's wives, who nevertheless were to father all the children. As I shov'd this passage one day, to a couple of my friends, one of them readily agreed, that the State must needs find their account in this constitution; both as it sav'd the expence of treasure in maintaining a numerous Royal Progeny, and as it sav'd the expence of blood in settling their several claims or contentions: but had it not been, said he, for the strict care taken against accumulating riches or power on the Prince, I should have naturally thought, that it was one of those Druidical Priests, who had this advantage only car'd for himself. Hereupon the other reply'd, that he fancy'd such Priests would be contented to have plentiful eating and drinking, and variety of women, thus establish'd by Law for them; since it was for no other end, he conceiv'd, but to obtain these, that they struggl'd so hard any where for power and riches. But if this were

fo, the Druids cou'd be at no manner of lofs about their pleasures; confidering the fway they bore in the civil authority, and their management of the much more powerful engine of Superftition: for *without the Druids, who understand Divination and Philofophy,* fays (69) DION CHRYSOSTOM, *the Kings may neither do nor confult any thing; fo that in reality they are the Druids who reign, while the Kings (tho they fit on golden thrones, dwell in fpacious palaces, and feed on costly difhes) are onely their Minifters, and the executioners of their Sentence.* Judge now what influence thofe Priests had upon the People, when they might thus control the Prince; and confequently, whether they could poffibly want any thing, that brought 'em either pleasure or power. The Kings bore all the envy, and the Druids poffeft all the fweets of authority.

VII. BUT leaving both for a while, I fubmit to your Lordfhip's confideration, upon fuch evidences and proofs as I am going to produce; whether the *Hyperborean Ifland*, fo much celebrated by antiquity, be not fome

(69) Κεῖτοι δὲ εὖς ὀνομαζοῦσι Δρυΐδας, καὶ τοὺτους περὶ μαντικῆς οὐτας καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν σοφίαν, ἂν ἀνευ τοῖς Βασιλευσιν οὐδὲν εἴην πράττειν οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι; ὡς το μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνοις ἀρχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ὑπερήτας καὶ διακονοὺς γιγέσθαι τῆς γνομῆς, ἐν ἡρόνοις χρυσοῖς καθήμενοις, καὶ οὐκίας μεγάλας εἰσιτάς, καὶ πολιτικῶς εὐαρχοῦμενοις. *De recusatione Magistrat. in Senitu, pag. 538. Edis. Paris.*

one or more of the remotest British Islands: and particularly the great Island of Lewis and Harries, with its appendages, and the adjacent Island of Sky; which in every circumstance agree to the description that DIODORUS SICULUS gives of the Land of the *Hyperboreans*. Let's mention some of those circumstances. He (70) says that the Harp was there in great repute, as indeed it is still; every Gentleman having one in his house, besides a multitude of Harpers by profession, intertain'd gratis wherever they come. He tells us, that above all other Gods (71) they worshipt APOLLO; which, in my first *Letter*, I evidently show they did under the name of BILLESUS (72). He says further, that besides a magnificent sacred Grove, APOLLO's remarkable Temple (73) there was round, wherof I have given a particular description and plan in my second *Letter* (74), it subsisting in great part still. He affirms that they had a peculiar Dialect, which in reality continues the same to this day; it being *Farse*, or the sixth among the Celtic Dialects I enumerated in my first *Letter*: and approaching so near to that of

(70) Του δε κατοικουσαν αυτην τους πλειους ειναι Κιθαριζας. *L. l. 2. παρ. 130.*

(71) Του Απ' αλλο μαλιστα των αλλων θεων παρ' αυτοις τιμασθαι. *Ibid.*

(72) In the Celtic language ΒΕΛΙ and ΒΕΛΙΑΝ.

(73) Πάχει δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑσση τεμένης τοῦ Ἀπ' αλλαντος μεγαλοπρεπὲς, καὶ ἐκείνη ἀεὶ ἄγρη, ἀναθιμισσι τοῖσιν; κενὸς ἐπιμένει, σφαιροειδῆ τὴν σελήνην. *Ibid.*

(74) Section XI.

the Irish, that these and the Islanders discourse together without any difficulty. But, omitting several other matters no less concordant, he adds, that the Island was frequented of old by the (75) Greeks, and in friendship with them; which will be easily admitted, after perusing the fourth and fifth Sections of this present *Letter*, where I manifestly prove this intercourse. I very well know, that others, who are far from agreeing among themselves, do place the Hyperboreans elsewhere: nor am I ignorant that diverse, after the example of (76) ANTONIUS DIOGENES's *Thulian Romance*, have endeavor'd to divert their readers, no less than themselves, with Hyperborean fictions; and so made such variations of site or circumstances, as best suited their several plans, to speak nothing of such as were grossly ignorant in Geography. Allowances ought to be made for all these things. And the Hyperborean continent (which was unquestion'd the most northern part of Scythia, or of Tartary and Muscovy, stretching quite to Scandinavia, or Sweden and Norway) this Hyperborean continent, I say, must be carefully distinguish'd from the Hyperborean Island; whose soil was more temperate and fertile, as its inhabitants more civiliz'd, harmless, and happy. But, to prevent all cavils, I declare beforehand, that as by *Thule* I mean onely that of PYTHEAS, or Iceland, and not the conjectures

(75) *Προς τους Έλληνας και οικιστάτα διακρίσει, &c. Ibid.*

(76) See the last Section.

or mistakes of people that liv'd long after him; some making it to be Ireland, others Schetland (which I believe to be the Thule of (77) TACITUS) others the northermost part of Great Britain, and others other (78) places: so by the Iland of the Hyperboreans, I mean that describ'd by DIODORUS SICULUS after HECATEUS and others, as being an Iland *in the Ocean beyond (79) Gaule to the north*, or under the Bear, where people liv'd with no less simplicity, than indolence and contentment; and which ORPHEUS, or, if you please, ONOMACRITUS, very rightly places near the (80) Cronian or Dead Sea. 'Tis by this situation, as hereafter more particularly mark'd, that I am willing to be judg'd: showing it also to be an Iland near the *Scots*, whether Hiibernian or Albanian; who are, by (81) CLAUDIAN, made borders on the Hyperborean Sea. From this Iland the Argonauts, after touching there coming out of the Cronian

(77) *Insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Despecta est et Thule, quam haestenus nix et hiems abdebat. In vita Agric. cap. 10.*

(78) See the *Essay concerning the Thule of the Antients*, by Sir ROBERT SIBBALD.

(79) ———— *Εν τοῖς ἀντιπέραν τῆς Κελτικῆς πελοῦς, κατὰ τὸν Ωκεανόν, εἶναι νῆσον, ἢ κ' ἐλαττωτῆς Σικελίας; ταύτην ὀνομάζει ἀπὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρκτῆρας. Lil. 2. παρ. 130.*

(80) ———— *Κ... τε ἐτικῆγκοσι*

Πύτοι ὄπε. Οὐρανὸν ἀερόσιν ἀνιόντα βίβρασαν.

Argonaut. ver. 1079.

(81) ———— *Scythiam et promittunt gentes,*

Fregit Hyperboreos vel. 1. inditibus undis.

De Cons. Honor. ver. 55.

Ocean,

Ocean, according to ORPHEUS, sail'd to (82) Ireland in the Atlantic Ocean; and so to the (83) Pillars of HERCULES, where they enter'd again into the Mediterranean (84). No marks can be plainer, so there is no other Iland (those of Faroë and Iceland excepted) but the northwest British Ilands, between the Cronian and the Atlantic Ocean, as every one knows that has once look'd into a map; which expresses situation of the Hyperborean Iland, together with its being said by DIODORUS to ly beyond the Gallic regions towards the north, or the Bear, the frequent use of the Harp there, and the worship of APOLLO in a round Temple, amounts I think to as full a proof as any thing of this nature requires. DIODORUS adds, in the place where I last quoted him, that the Hyperborean City and Temple were always govern'd by the family of the (85) BOREADS (86), who with no more probability were *the descendants of BOREAS*, an imaginary Person or Deity, than the Hyperboreans were so call'd, *from being situated more northerly*

(82) Λυκαίος δ'οίακας ετίσανενοσ ετίτανε,
Παρ δ'άρωνεσσον αμειλεν Ιερνίδα—————

Ibid. ver. 1178.

(83) Κεμα διαπρησσουτες, ανα φομα τερνησοιο
Ίκομεθα, φιλαισι δ'εκελσαμεν Ήρακλεΐος.

Ibid. ver. 1240.

(84) Now the Straits of Gibraltar.

(85) Βασιλευντε της πολωσ ταυτης, και τη τεμενοσ επαρχειν της
ενομαζομενοσ Βορεαδασ, απογονουσ ο τας Βορεου, και καταγενοσ αιε
διαδεχασθαι τας αρχας. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

(86) BOREADES,

than

than the (87) North-wind: but in reality they were then, as they are still, govern'd by their chiefs or heads of tribes, whom they call'd in their own language BOIREADHACH, that is to say, the Great ones, or powerful and valiant men, from *Borr*, antiently signifying Grandeur and (88) Majesty. The Greeks have in a thousand instances apply'd foren words to the very different sense of other words approaching to the same found in their own language. Their mistaking into those parts gave the Islanders the name of *Hyperboreans*, from their lying *so far towards the North* with respect to the situation of HERCULES, (89) for which I have indispensible authority; and after having once thus found them, they credibly catch'd at the same found of their Leaders or Magistrates, calling by those Grandees, or BOIREADHACH into BOREADES: which was literally understood in Greece of the turbulous descendants of BOREAS, very conformantly to their Mythology, or, if you will, to their Theology. (But I must go) before, that

(87) ΑΠΟΤΥΠΠΗΡΩΣΙΣ ἡ ἐπιθετικὴ τοῦ βορρῆ πύριος. L. b. 2. p. 15.

(88) As for these words *Bir* and *Borr* *Bair* or *Bair* (the vowels *u* and *o* being with us most frequently put for each other) I might appeal to *Etymologicæ Mathematicæ* but, because such are not obious to many, I will rather refer my readers to the *Synonymicæ* or *synonymicæ* vocabulary of obsolete words by OCHSLEY, and the Learned's printed *Irish English Dictionary*: for that these words are in children of fancy, as but too frequent in the etymologies. From the same root are *Bor* and *Bor*, and *Borthoradhawe* or *work*, with the like.

(89) Now of *Hyperborea*.

(90) Letter H. Section V.

PLATO, in his *Cratylus*, was of (91) *opinion the Greeks had borrow'd many words from the Barbarians; especially, adds he, such of the Greeks as liv'd in the Barbarian territories: which may be fairly suppos'd to include those who navigated, or that drove any traffic among them. And hence the divine Philosopher himself draws this accurate (92) inference, that if any man wou'd endeavor to adjust the Etymologies of those words with the Grec language, and not rather seek for them in that to which they originally belong, he must needs be at a loss.* 'Tis farther most deserving observation, that ERATOSTHENES, an antient Chronologer and Geographer of vast reputation for Learning, speaking of APOLLO's famous *Arrow*, with which he flew the Cyclopes, and in honor of which one of the Constellations is so call'd, says that (93) *he hid it among the Hyperboreans, where there is his Temple made of wings, or a winged Temple, the words being capable of both senses.* If the latter was the meaning of ERATOSTHENES, we have already given the Description of such a winged Temple,

(91) Εννοω γαρ, ὅτι πολλὰ δι' Ἕλληνας ὀνόματα, ἀλλῶς τε καὶ ὅς ὑπο τοῖς βαρβαροῖς οἰκοντες. παρὰ τῶν βαρβαρῶν εἰληφασί. *Inter Opera, Edit. Paris. Vol. 1. pag. 409.*

(92) Εἰ τις ζητοῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Φωνὴν ὡς εἰκοτῶς κείται, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην εἰς ἣς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει οὐ, οἴθη ὅτι ἀποροῖ αὐ. *Ibid.*

(93) Εἰρῆψε δὲ αὐτὸ [τὸ τοξικόν] ἐν ὑπερβορείοις, ὅς καὶ ὄνομα ὁ πτερινός. *In Catasterismis, inter Opuscula Mythologica et Physica. Edit. Amst. pag. 124.*

yet standing there : and if the former, no place under heaven cou'd furnish more feathers, nor of more various kinds, to adorn men or buildings, than those same Ilands ; where many of the inhabitants pay their rent with them, and make a considerable profit besides. For this reason perhaps, and not from its promontories, the Ile of Skie is in the language of the natives call'd *Scianach*, (94) or the winged Iland, whereof the English name *Skie* is an abbreviation or corruption. Now, if the Hebrides were the Hyperboreans of DIODORUS (as I fancy it can scarce hereafter be doubted) then the most celebrated ABARIS was both of that Country and likewise a Druid, having been the (95) Priest of APOLLO. SUIDAS, who knew not the distinction of Insular Hyperboreans, makes him a Scythian ; as do some others misled by the same vulgar error, tho' DIODORUS has truly fix'd his country in the Iland, not on the continent. And indeed their fictions or blunders are infinite concerning our *Abaris*. This is certain however among 'em all, that he travell'd quite over (96) Greece, and from thence into Italy, where he familiarly convers'd with PYTHAGORAS ; who

(94) *Oilem Sciatbanach.*

(95) Το μεν γαρ ότι του μηρον χρυσοῦν επεδείξεν Αβαριδιτω Ἰπερβορεω, εικασαντι αυτον Απολλωνα ειναι τον εν Ἰπερβοροεις, ουτερ ην ιερευς ο Αβαρις, βεβαιοντα ως τουτο αληθες τεθρυλληται. Porphyrius in vita Pythagorae. Eadem, et iisdem equidem verbis habet Jamblichus, Lib. 1. cap. 28.

(96) Ωσαυτως δε και εκ των ὑπερβορεων Αβαριν εις την Ἑλλαδα και ταυτησαντα το παλαιον, &c. *Ubi supra.*

favor'd him beyond all his Disciples, by imparting his doctrines to him (especially his thoughts of nature) in a more compendious and plainer method, than to any others. This distinction cou'd not but highly redound to the advantage of ABARIS. For, the reasons of PYTHAGORAS's backwardness and retention in communicating his doctrines, being, in the first place, that he might eradicate (if possible) out of the minds of his Disciples all vitious and turbulent passions, forming them by degrees to a habit of virtue, which is the best preparative for receiving Truth; as, next, to fit them, by a competent knowlege of the Mathematical Sciences, for reasoning with exactness about those higher contemplations of nature, into which they were to be initiated; and, lastly, to have repeated proofs of their discretion in concealing such important discoveries from the *ignorant* and the *wicked*, the latter being unworthy, and the former incapable of true Philosophy: it follows therefore, that he judg'd ABARIS already sufficiently prepared in all these respects, and so he oblig'd him, with an immediate communication of his most inward sentiments; conceal'd from others under the vail of numbers, or of some other enigmatical Symbols. The Hyperborean in return presented the Samian, as if he had equal'd APOLLO himself in Wisdom, with the *sacred Arrow*; riding astride which he's fabulously reported by the Grec writers, to have flown in the air over rivers and lakes, forests and

moun-

mountains: as our vulgar still believe, and no where more than in the Hebrides, that wizards and witches waft whither they please upon Broom-sticks. But what was hid under this Romantic expedition, with the true meaning of the *Arrow* it self, the nature of the predictions that ABARIS spread in Greece, and the doctrines that he learnt at Crotona; with the conceit of these Hyperboreans that LATONA the mother of APOLLO, was born among them, nay that he was so too, and their most exact astronomical cycle of nineteen years: these particulars, I say, you'll read at large in my *History of the Druids*, tript of all fable and diuine; as well as a full discussion of the Question (about which ancient writers are divided) *whether the DRUIDS learnt their* (97) *symbolical and enigmatical method of teaching, together with the doctrine of Transmigration from PYTHAGORAS, or that this Philosopher had borrow'd these particulars from the DRUIDS?* The communication between them was easy enough, not only by means of such travellers as PYTHAGORAS and ABARIS, but alio by the nearness of Gaule to Italy: tho there will still remain another Question, viz. whether the Egyptians had not these things before either of them; and therefore whether they did not both receive them from the Egyptians?

(97) Και φασι τους μεν Γυμνοσοφιστας και Δρυιδας ανιματωδως αποφθεγγομενους Φιλοσοφειναι. Diogen. Laert. in prooem. Sect. 6.

VIII. YET before all things we must here examine what can be offer'd, with any color, against our account of *the Hyperborean Iland*; after that so many circumstances, and particularly the situation, seem to point demonstratively to the true place: nor certainly, when things are duely consider'd, will the objections that have been started in private conversation (as I know of no other that can be publickly made) be found to have the least difficulty. Thule or Iceland, rightly plac'd by CLAUDIAN in the (98) Hyperborean Climate, besides the incongruities of the soil and the intemperateness of the air, is distinguish'd by DIODORUS himself from the Iland in question: and the Iles of Faroe, being onely a parcel of barren rocks of very small extent, without any monuments of antiquity, deserve not so much as to be mention'd on this occasion. Neither indeed has any of my acquaintance insisted on either of these. But DIODORUS (says one of 'em) tho exactly agreeing to your situation or that of ORPHEUS, and that your other circumstances do perfectly tally to his description: yet is different in this, that he speaks onely of one Iland, not less than (99) Sicily; whereas you understand this of several Ilands, which

(98) ————Te, quò liber ire, sequemur:
Te vel Hyperboreo damnatam sidere Thulen,
Te vel ad incensas Libyae comitabor arenas.
In Rufin. lib. 2.

(99) Οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας. *Ubi supra.*

altogether have scarce that extent. I answer, that the marks of the right place which I have mentioned already, and such others as I shall presently alledge, will more than counterbalance any mistake (if there be any) about the bigness of the Iland. Travellers and Mariners, who either have not been ashore or not staid long enough in any place to survey it, are known to speak onely by guesses, and frequently very much at random. Has not Great Britain it self (so much celebrated, as PLINY justly (100) writes, by the Greec and Roman authors) been taken to be of vast extent, and not certainly known by the Romans to be an Iland, till the time (101) of VESPASIAN? Endless examples of this kind might easily be produc'd. And as for the multitude of those Ilands, which are separated onely by narrow channels, it makes nothing at all against me. For, besides that such an aggregation of Ilands is often taken in common speech for onely one; as not to go out of our own Dominions, such is Schetland, in name one country, but in effect consisting of more than 30 Ilands: so there are several indications, join'd to the Tradition of the Inhabitants (of which see Dr. MARTIN in his *Account of Saint Kilda* and elsewhere) that some of those western Ilands have been formerly united, and many of them nearer each other than at present.

(100) See Section III.

(101) See Section V.

However, taking them as they now are, Lewis, otherwise call'd *the Long Island*, being at least a hundred miles in (102) length, Skie forty, several of the rest above four and twenty each, and all appearing as one Island (having many winding bays or inlets) to one who sails without them, or that touches onely at some of the greatest; considering this, I say, the mistake will not be reckon'd so enormous in a sailor or stranger, if he compares them in the lump to Sicily for extent. Another person, granting all this, objects that DIODORUS represents the Hyperborean Island a very (103) temperate region; which, according to my friend, cannot be said of any place in the northern Latitude of 58, and partly of 59. But whoever has travell'd far himself, or read the Relations of such as have; will be convinc'd that the seasons in every region of the world, do not always answer to their position: of which the causes are various, as huge ridges of mountains, the neighborhood of vast lakes or marshes, winds blowing from places cover'd with snow, or the like. Thus Britain and Ireland are known, not onely to be much more temperate than the places on the Continent of the same position with them,

(102) I reckon as Dr. MARTIN and the natives do, from the most northerly point of Lewis to Bernera south of Barra, this string of Islands being onely divided by channels mostly fordable: and if it be consider'd that I make use of Scottish miles, every place is at least a third part more, according to the English or Italian measure.

(103) Οὐσαν δ' αὐτὴν εὐγείοντε καὶ παρφοραν, ἐπὶ δὲ εὐκρασία διαφέρουσαν, ἑτέροις κατ' ἑτος ἐκφέρειν κερταίς. *Ubi supra.*

but

but even than some of such as are more southerly; by reason of the salt vapors and continual agitations of the surrounding Ocean, which dissolve, allay, and mitigate the frosts and winds blowing from the Continent. This holds as true with regard to the Hebrides, which by experience are allow'd to be yet more temperate; the snow not lying near so long as in Britain, and a tepid vapor being very sensible there in the midst of winter. This was enough to fill the Grec sailors with admiration, which to us ought to be none; since their learned men often spoke of many places, not as they actually were in themselves, but as in their speculations they imagin'd they ought to be: without considering whether there might not occur some of the diversifying circumstances we have just now hinted, or any others begetting the like influences. But that most sagacious interpreter of nature, HIPPOCRATES, knew better things, when he taught what he learnt by experience (having been an Ilander himself) that Ilands, situated (104) far in the sea, are kindly warm, and that no snow can lie on them in winter; while such as are near the shore become scarce habitable for cold, by reason of the snow and ice remaining on the continent, which from thence transmit bleak winds into those Ilands. The antients, who

(104) Τῶν δὲ νήσων, αἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς τῶν ἡπείρων, δυσχειμερτέρας εἰσιν; αἱ δὲ ποντικαί, ἀεινότεραι τοῦ χειμῶνα: διότι αἱ χιμῶνες καὶ παγοὶ ἐν μὲν τῆσιν ἡπείροισιν εἰσὶν ἄσπιτον, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα ψυχρὰ περτοῦσιν ἐς τὰς ἐγγὺς νήσους. Τὰ δὲ πελαγικὰ οὐκ ἔχειν ἄσπιτον ἐν χειμῶνι. *De Diæta, lib. 2. cap. 3.*

judg'd of places where they never were by their bare positions, did consequently enough from thence conclude the torrid Zone to be inhabitable : but since this Zone has not onely been frequently visited, but is daily penetrated to the temperate and cold Zones beyond it, 'tis not onely found every where inhabited ; but those breezes and showers, with other causes, that make living there very comfortable, are the common themes of Philosophers. This brings me to the last, and seemingly the strongest Objection, viz. that the Hyperborean Iland of DIODORUS, or rather of HECATEUS and others long before him, was so plentiful as to have (105) two crops a year. Yet this expression, upon a fair construction, will be so far from embarrassing, that it will highly illustrate my explication. It onely signifies great plenty and abundance, which I cou'd instance by many passages of the antients ; but shall chuse the nearest home I can, and that is what (106) VIRGIL says of Italy :

*Perpetual spring our happy Climate sees,
Twice breed the cattle, and twice bear the
trees ;*

And summer suns recede by slow degrees.

DRYDEN'S Translation.

(105) Read the Note immediately preceding, bating one.

(106) Hic ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus aestas ;
Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.

Georgic. lib. 2.

But

But who is ignorant, that this is not literally true? and as to the plenty meant by it in general, 'tis certain that no country abounds more with the necessaries of life, and at less labor or charge, than the Hebrides. I shall dwell so much the longer on this head, as my *History* may possibly reach further than the Celtic Nations. Wherefore, in the first place, there is known to be in those Islands a prodigious plenty of Flesh and Fish. Their cattle of all sorts (as Cows, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs) are exceeding numerous and prolific: small indeed of size, as are likewise their Horses, but of a sweet and delicious taste. So are their Deer, which freely range in herds on the Mountains. No place can compare with this for tame and wild fowl, there being of the latter no where in the world a greater diversity, many sorts of 'em extremely beautiful or rare, and utterly unknown elsewhere. The like may be said of their various amphibious animals. Numberless are their fountains and springs, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, very wholesome in their waters, and every where superabounding with fish, especially the most delicate, as Trout and Salmon: nor is it by Herrings alone that all Europe knows no Seas to be better stor'd, nor with more kinds, from the shrimp to the whale; as no harbors or bays are superior, whether regard be had to number or commodiousness. Add to this their variety of excellent roots and plants, particularly those of marine growth, every one of
them

them serving for food or physic. Their pastures are so kindly, that they might live on milk alone, with that inconceivable quantity of Eggs they yearly gather of the desert rocks and Ilets. But flesh and fish, milk-meats, eggs, and sallads in the greatest abundance (some will be apt to say) are slender and comfortless food without the staff of bread. On this assertion, tho' I might fairly dispute it from the practice of whole nations, and the experience of particular persons no strangers to me, I will not however insist; bread, among their other productions, being plentiful enough in the Hebrides, which sometimes cannot be said of the neighboring Ilands. The ground is generally allow'd to be much richer than on the Scottish continent, some parts whereof are not seldom supply'd (107) hence with corn: and I have also such proofs of it from Dr. MARTIN (who, when he wrote his *Description* of those Ilands, was far from dreaming of the *Hyperboreans*) as will sufficiently justify the expression of DIODORUS about their crops or harvests. Lewis is very fruitful: and tho' Barley, Oats, and Rye, be the onely grain sown there at present; yet the ground both in that, and in most of the other (108) Ilands is fit to bear wheat, and consequently Legumes of all sorts. 'Tis truly amazing they have any crop at all, considering how unskilful they are in Agriculture, how desitute of the properest

(107) See Dr. MARTIN's *Description*, page 140.

(108) Page 53, 337, &c.

instruments to till the ground, and that they scarce use any other manure but sea-wrack or tangles. From the ignorance of the inhabitants in these respects, as also in planting, inclosing, and draining, many fruitful spots ly uncultivated: but the abundance of choice Eatables (and namely the most nourishing shell-fish of various kinds) with which they are richly suppl'd by bountiful nature, compensates more than any thing to that Indolence, which the antient Greeks esteem'd their Happiness. The goodness of the soil appears by nothing more evidently, than by the want of cultivation, whereof I have been just complaining. Dr. MARTIN, who was an Ey-witness, and strictly examin'd the fact, affirms (109) that in Bernera, near Harries, the produce of Barley is many times from twenty to thirty-fold; that in Harries and South-Uist (110) one barley-grain sometimes produces from seven to fourteen ears, as in North-Uist from ten to thirty-fold (111) in a plentiful year; that at Corchattan, in Skie, the increate (112) amounted once to thirty-five; that if the ground be laid down for some time, it gives a good (113) crop without dunging, some fields not having been dung'd in forty years; and that he was inform'd a small tract of ground, at

(109) Page 42.

(110) Ibid.

(111) Page 53.

(112) Page 132.

(113) Page 137.

Skerry-breck (114) in the said Ile of Skie, had yielded a hundred-fold. Nay, I have been told my self by a native of that Ile, that the people there believe they might have two crops a year, if they took due pains. For this I beg'd their pardon, but allow'd what was tantamount, since the words of DIODORUS may no less justly be render'd *a double crop*, than *two* (115) *crops*, which last however is in some respects literally true. For with regard to their pastures (of which somewhat before) nothing is more common than for a sheep to have two (116) lambs at a time. This not onely confirms my construction, and puts me in mind of that verse in (117) VIRGIL,

She suckles twins, and twice a day is milk'd :

but also of what the so often mention'd Dr. MARTIN relates on this (118) occasion ; which is, that besides the ordinary rent a tenant paid, it was a custom in the Ilands, if any of his cows or sheep brought two young ones at a time, one of them was to go to the Landlord : who, on his part, was oblig'd, if any of his tenant's wives bore twins, to take one of them into his own family ; and

(114) Ibid.

(115) Διτῆρος καρπός.

(116) Page 108.

(117) Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere foetus.

Eclog. 3. ver. 30.

(118) Page 109.

that he himself knew a Gentleman, who had sixteen of these twins in his house at a time. 'Tis no wonder they are populous. Even the wild Goats on the Mountains, for such there are in Harries, are observ'd to bring (119) forth their young twice a year: all which put together, makes the last objection against me to be none, and therefore finally justifies my explication of the passage in DIODORUS. From hence 'tis evident, MY LORD, that those Islands are capable of great improvement, as they abound likewise in many curiosities, especially in Subjects of Philosophical observation. Nor is it less plain by the many antient Monuments remaining among them, and the marks of the plow reaching to the very tops of the mountains (which the artless inhabitants think incapable of culture) that in remote ages they were in a far more flourishing condition than at present. The ruins of spacious houses, and the numerous Obelisks, old Forts, Temples, Altars, with the like, which I have describ'd (120) before, undeniably prove this: besides that the country was formerly full of woods, as appears by the great Oak and Firr-trees daily dug out of the ground, and by many other tokens; there being several small woods and coppices still remaining in Skie, Mull, and other places. Tho I don't pretend, no more than DIODORUS, that these were *the fortunate*

(119) Page 35.

(120) Letter II, Sections VIII, IX, X, &c.

Ilands of the Poets, or the Elyzian fields of the dead, by some plac'd in those (121) seas, as by others elsewhere; yet the following lines of (122) HORACE agree to no spot better, than the *Ilands* we have been just describing.

————— *From lofty hills*
With murmuring pace the fountain trills.
There Goats uncall'd return from fruitful
vales,
And bring stretch'd dugs to fill the pails.
No bear grins round the fold, no lambs he
shakes;
No field swells there with poy'snous
snakes.
More we shall wonder on the happy plain:
The wat'ry East descends in rain,
Yet so as to refresh, not drown the fields;
The temperate glebe full harvest yields.
No heat annoys: the ruler of the Gods
From plagues secures these blest abodes.

CREECH'S Translation.

(121) Videas Annotationem 63 & 64.

(122) ————— Montibus altis

Levis crepante lympha defilit pede.
 Illic injussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
 Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera.
 Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
 Nec intumescit alta viperis humus.
 Pluraque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
 Aquosus Eurus arva cadat imbribus,
 Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis;
 Utrumque Rege temperante Coelitum.

Epod. 16. ver. 47.

The Inhabitants (that I may make a complete commentary on the passage of DIODORUS) are not to be mended in the proportion of their persons: no preposterous bandages distorting them in the cradle, nor hindring nature from ducly forming their limbs; which is the reason, that bodily imperfections of any sort are very rare among them. Neither does any over-officiously preventive Physic in their infancy, spoil their original constitution; whence they have so strong a habit of body, that one of them requires treble the dose, as will purge any man in the south of Scotland. But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, is constant Temperance and Exercise. As they prefer conveniency to ornament both in their houses and their apparel (which last I think not disagreeable) so, in their way of eating and drinking, they rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their food is commonly fresh, and their meals two a day, water being the ordinary drink of the vulgar. They are strangers to many of the Distempers, as they are to most of the Vices of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name: and it may no less truly be observ'd of these than of the ancient Scythians, that (123) the ignorance of vices has had a better effect upon them, than the knowlege of Philosophy upon

(123) Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignorantio, quam in his [*Graecis nimirum*] cognitio virtutis. JUSTIN. *Hj?*. lib. 2. cap. 2.

politer nations. They owe every thing to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labor. Hence they are stout and active, dextrous in all their exercises; as they are with all remarkably sagacious, choleric but easily appeaz'd, sociable, good natur'd, ever cheerful, and having a strong inclination to Music: all which particulars, with the other parts of their past and present character, I have not onely learnt from the concurrent testimonies of several judicious authors; but also from the intimate knowlege I have had my self of many scores of the natives, as well in Scotland as elsewhere. They are hospitable beyond expression, intertaining all strangers of what condition soever gratis; the use of money being still in some of those Ilands unknown, and till a few ages past in all of them. They have no Lawyers or Attorneys: which, no more than several other particulars here specify'd, I do not understand of the Highlanders on the continent; tho speaking the same language, and wearing the same dress with them. The men and women plead their own causes; and a very speedy decision is made by the Proprietor, who's Perpetual president in their courts, or by his Bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief plagues of Mankind, LUXURY and AMBITION; which consequently frees them from all those restless pursuits, consuming toils, and never-failing vexations, that men suffer elsewhere for those
airy,

airy, trifling, shortliv'd vanities. Their content of superfluities is falsely reckon'd Poverty, since their felicity consists not in having much, but in coveting little; and that he's supremely rich, who wants no more than he has: for as they, who live according to nature, will never be poor; so they, who live according to opinion, will never be rich. 'Tis certain that no body wants, what he does not desire: and how much easier is it not to desire certain things, than otherwise? as it is far more healthy and happy to want, than to enjoy them. Neither is their ignorance of vices in these Islands any diminution to their virtue, since not being by their situation concern'd in any of the disputes about dominion or commerce, that distract the world) they are not onely rigid observers of Justice, but show less propensity than any People to tumults; except what they may be unwarily led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to the opinion of their Chiefs and Leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring (as at this very (124) time) on these well-meaning HYPERBOREANS. For Hyperboreans I will now presume to call them, and withall to claim A-BARIS as a Philosopher of the British world, which has principally occasion'd this Digression; on that account not improper, nor, I hope, altogether useless in other respects. Be this as your Lordship shall think fit to judge, I

(124) 1719.

will not finish it before I have acquainted you with an odd custom or two, that have from time immemorial obtain'd in Barra and the lesser circumjacent Ilands, which are the property of MAC-NEIL. The present is the thirty fifth Lord of Barra by uninterrupted lineal descent, a thing whereof no Prince in the world can boast: and he's regarded, you may imagine, as no mean potentate by his subjects, who know none greater than he. (125) When the wife of any of 'em dies, he has immediate recourse to his Lord, representing first his own loss in the want of a meet help; and next that of MAC-NEIL himself, if he should not go on to beget followers for him. Hereupon MAC-NEIL finds out a suteable match (neither side ever disliking his choice, but accepting it as the highest favor) and the marriage is celebrated without any courtship, portion or dowry. But they never fail to make merry on such occasions with a bottle or more of Ufquebah. On the other hand, (126) when any woman becomes a widdow, she's upon the like application soon provided with a husband, and with as little ceremony. Whoever may dislike this Hyperborean manner of preventing delay, disdain, or disappointment, yet he cannot but approve MAC-NEIL's conduct, in supplying (127) any of his tenants with as many Milch-cows, as he may chance to lose by the

(125) MARTIN, page 97.

(126) Ibid.

(127) Ibid.

severity of the weather, or by other misfortunes; which is not the less true charity, for being good policy. Most worthy likewise of imitation is his taking into his own family (building a house hard by on purpose for them) and maintaining to the day of their death, as many old men, as, thro' age or infirmity, (128) become unfit for labor. But I shou'd never have done, if I proceeded with the particular usages of the North and West Islanders. Several of them, retain'd from the remotest times of the Druids, are explain'd in this and the preceding Letters. Yet one custom (very singular; I cannot help relating here, tho' long since grown obsolete; or rather that it has been in disuse, ever since their conversion to Christianity. When a man had a mind to have a wife, (129) as soon as he gain'd the consent of the maid he lik'd, he took her to his bed and board for a whole year; and if, upon thus coming thoroly acquainted with the conditions both of her mind and body, he kept her any longer, she then became his wife all her days: but if he dislik'd her to such a degree on any account, as to be perswaded she shou'd not make him eas'y during life, he return'd her (with her portion, if she had any) at the twelve month's end to her parents or guardians; legitimating the children, and maintaining them at his own

(128) Page 98.

(129) Page 114.

charge, in case there were such. Nor was this repudiation any dishonor or disadvantage to the young woman in the eyes of another man, who thought she wou'd make him a better wife, or that he might to her be a better husband. It was a custom, I must own, like to prevent a world of unhappy matches: but, according to our modern ideas, 'tis not onely unlawful, but also barbarous.

IX. TO return whence I digress'd, having thus happily discover'd and asserted the country of ABARIS, and also his profession of a *Druid*; I shall give here some account of his person, referring to another place the History of his adventures. The Orator HIMERIUS, tho one of those, who, from the equivocal sense of the word *Hyperborean*, seems to have mistaken him for a Scythian; yet accurately describes his person, and gives him a very noble character. That he spoke Greek with so much facility and elegance, will be no matter of wonder to such as consider the antient intercourse, which we have already prov'd between the Greeks and the Hyperboreans: nor wou'd the latter, to be sure, send any ambassador (as we'll see presently they did ABARIS) to the former, unless, among the other requisite qualifications, he perfectly understood their language. But let's harken a while to HIMERIUS. *They relate*, says he, *that ABARIS the Sage was by nation a Hyperborean, become a Grecian in speech, and*
re-

resembling a Scythian in his habit and appearance. Whenever he mov'd his tongue, you wou'd imagine him to be some one out of the midst of the Academy or very Lyceum (130). Now that his habit was not that of a Scythian ever cover'd with skins, but what has been in all ages, as generally at this present, worn in the Hebrides and the neighboring Highlands, it needs onely to be describ'd for removing all doubts and scruples. ABARIS came to Athens, continues (131) HIMERIUS, holding a bow, having a quiver hanging from his shoulders, his body wrapt up in a plad, girt about his loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trowsers reaching from the soles of his feet to his waste. A gun and pistol, being of modern date, cou'd make no part of his equipage: and you see he did not make his entry into Athens riding on a broom-stick, as fabulouſly reported, but in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot. As for what regards his abilities, 'twas impossible for his principals to have made a better choice; since we are inform'd by the

(130) Αβαριν μὲν σφῆρα τὸν Ἰπποκράτην ἔδειξεν, Ἰππικὸν δὲ φωνὴν γεννηθεῖσαι, καὶ Σκιπρὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα πολεμῶν δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα. Εἰ δὲ τοὶ γυμναῖον κηρύσσῃ, ταῦτα ἔδειξεν ἑκ μέρους Ἀναξίμανος καὶ αὐτοῦ Δικέου γινώσκοντα. Ex Oratorijs ad Ulpianum apud PNEUMATIUM in Biblioth. ed. 243, ed. t. Kithomas. pag. 1135.

(131) Ἦκεν Αβαρὶς Ἀθηναῖς τὸλμα ἔχων, φαειτῆραν ἡμμεῖσι, ἐν ἄκρων, χλαμυδὶ σφίγγομενος: ἑσσην ἢ κατ' ἴσον χροσση, ἀνδρόδεος ἐκ τὰρσων ἀκρων ἀχρι καὶ γούτων ἀνατείνουσαι. Id. *ibid.*

same (132) HIMERIUS, that *he was affable and pleasant in conversation, in dispatching great affairs secret and industrious, quick-sighted in present exigences, in preventing future dangers circumspect, a searcher after wisdom, desirous of friendship, trusting indeed little to fortune, and having every thing trusted to him for his prudence.* Neither the Academy nor the Lyceum could furnish out a man with fitter qualities, to go so far abroad and to such wise nations, about affairs no less arduous than important. But if we attentively consider his moderation in eating, drinking, and the use of all those things, which our natural appetites incessantly crave; adding the candor and simplicity of his manners, with the solidity and wisdom of his answers (all which we'll find sufficiently attest-ed) it must be own'd, that the world at that time had few to compare with ABARIS.

THUS I have laid before your LORDSHIP a Specimen of my History of the Druids. Give me leave to send you with this Letter two small Pieces which I don't doubt will be agreeable to you. One is *Mr. Jones's Answer to Mr. Tate's Questions about the Druids, and the other British Antiquities*, which I transcrib'd

(132) Ην ἡδὺς εἰ-τιχεν. δι. ἡ ἡσυχὴ μεγάλην τράξιν ἐργασασ-
ται, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων φιλατῆσθαι, σοφίας
ἡφύων, ἐραστῆς Φιλίας, ὀλίγα μὲν τύχη τιςελαν, γνῶμη δὲ τὰ πάντα
πιστευμένος. *Id. ibid.*

from a Manuscript in the Cotton Library (133); and the other, some Collections mention'd in one of my Letters (134), shewing the Affinity between the Armoric and Irish Language, &c. I am,

MY LORD,

April, 18.
1719.

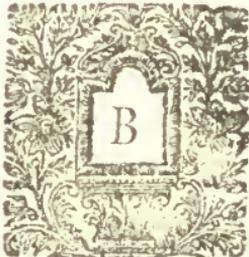
Your Lordship's most
oblig'd and very
humble Servant.

(133) Vitel. E. v. 6.
(134) Letter II. §. 18. pag. 112.



MR. TATE'S
 QUESTIONS
 ABOUT THE
 DRUIDS
 AND OTHER
 BRITISH ANTIQUITIES,
 WITH
 Mr. JONES'S ANSWER
 TO THEM.

Mr. TATE'S QUESTIONS.

I.  Y what names were they call'd by the Brittons, which the Latins call *Druidae* or *Druides*?

II. Whether the *Druids* and *Flamens* were all one, and the difference between them? how the *Flamens*

Flamens were called in Brittish, and their antiquity and habits?

III. WHAT Degrees were given to the Professors of Learning? when, where, and by whom, and their habits or apparel?

IV. WHETHER the *Barth* had any office in war answering our Heralds? their garments and ensigns? and whether they us'd the *Caduceus*? many fetching the original thereof from the Britton's charming of serpents.

V. WHAT Judges and Lawyers had the Brittons that follow'd the King? and what are *Tri ankepcor Brewhin*, and their use?

VI. WHAT Judges and Lawyers were there resident in the Country? their number? what Judges were there *per dignitatem Terrae*? and what their duty? and how were they assembl'd to do the same?

VII. IT appeareth there were always many Kings and Princes in this Realm before the coming in of the Saxons: were their countries divided into *Talaiths*, as all between Severn and the Sea was after their coming?

VIII. WAS there any division into Shires before the Saxon's coming, and what difference betwixt a Shire and a *Swydb*? There were anciently with you *Maenors*, *Commodes*, *Cantretbs*, answerable wherunto are our *Manors*, *Tythings*, *Hundreds*. And that maketh me to encline that *Swydb* should be like our Shire, as *Swyd caer Bhyrdin*, *Swyd Anwythig*, *Swyd caer Wrangon*; and the General Officers

Officers of them were called *Swydogion*, under whom were *Maer*, *Gngbellawr*, *Rhinghill*, *Ophiriat*, and *Brawdur trwyr Swyd*, except all bear the name of *Swydogion*. I find in an ancient Book of Landaff *Gluiguis* or *Glivisus* King of Demetia (which of this King is call'd *Glenguiffig*) of whom it is said *septem pagos rexit*, whercof *Glamorgan*, now a Shire, was one; and *pagus* is us'd for a Shire.

IX. WHETHER the Britons had Noblemen bearing the name of *Duces*, *Comites*, *Barones*? and what they were called in British? In the Book of Landaff I find it thus written, *Gandeleius Rex totam regionem suam Cadoco filio suo commendavit, privilegiumque concessit, quatenus a fonte Faennun haen donec ad ingressum fluminis Nadavan pervenitur, omnes Reges et Comites, Optimates, Tribuni, atque domestici in Coenobij sui coemeterio de Lancarvan sepeliantur*. And K. Ed. I. enquiring of the Laws of the Britons, demandeth how the Welsh *Barons* did administer justice, and so distinguished them from *Lords Marchers*.

X. WHAT is the signification of the word *Affach*? A statute of K. Hen. 6. saith, some offer'd to excuse themselves by an *Affach* after the custom of Wales; that is to say, by an oath of 30 men.

XI. WHAT officer is he that in the Laws of *Howel Da* is called *Disfein*, and the signification of the word?

XII. WHAT do you think of this place of Petrus Ramus in his book *de moribus veterum Gallorum: Hae civitates Brutos suos habebant. Sic a Caesare nominantur Senatus Eburonicum, Lexobiorum, Venetorum.* Was there any Counsil or Senate in the Brittish Government, and by what name were they call'd?

Mr. JONES'S ANSWERS

T O

Mr. TATE'S QUESTIONS.

- I.  O the first I say, that *Druides* or *Druidae* is a word that is derived from the Brittish word *Drudion*: being the name of certain wise, discreet, learned, and religious Persons among the Brittons. *Drudion* is the plural number of this primitive word *Drud*. By adding *ion* to the singular number, you make the plural of it *secundum formam Britannorum*; sic *Drud, Drudion*. This primitive word *Drud* has many significations. One signification is *Dialwr*, that is a revenger, or one that redresseth wrong: for so the Justicers call'd *Drudion* did supply the place of Magistrates. Another signification *Kreulon*, and that signifies cruel and merciless; for they did
execute

execute justice most rightcouſly, and puniſht offenders moſt ſeverely. *Drud* ſignifies alſo *glew* and *prid*, that is, valiant or hardy. *Drud* is alſo dear or precious, unde venit *Drudanieth*, which is Dearth. Theſe *Drudion* among the Brittons by their office did determine all kind of matters as well private as publick, and were Juſticers as well in religious matters and controversies, as in Law matters and controversies, for offences of death and title of Laws. Theſe did the ſacrifices to the Heathen Gods, and the ſacrifices cou'd not be made without them, and they did forbid ſacrifices to be done by any man that did not obey their decree and ſentence. All the Arts, Sciences, Learning, Philoſophy, and Divinity that was taught in the land, was taught by them; and they taught by memory, and never wou'd that their knowledge and learning ſhou'd be put in writing: whereby when they were ſuppreſt by the Emperor of Rome in the beginning of Chriſtianity, their Learning, Arts, Laws, Sacrifices, and Governments were loſt and extinguiſht here in this land; ſo that I can find no more mention of any of their deeds in our tongue than I have ſet down, but that they dwelled in rocks, and woods, and dark places, and ſome places in our land had their names from them, and are called after their names to this day. And the Iland of *Mone* or Angleſea is taken to be one of their chiefſt ſeats in Britain, becauſe it was a ſolitary Iland full of wood, and not

inhabited of any but themselves; and then the Ile of Mone, which is called Anglesea, was called *yr Inys Dwyll*, that is, the dark Iland. And after that the *Drudion* were suppressed, the huge groves which they favor'd and kept a-foot, were rooted up, and that ground till'd. Then that Iland did yield such abundance and plenty of corn, that it might sustain and keep all Wales with bread; and therefore there arose then a proverb, and yet is to this day, viz. *Mon mam Gymbrv*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Wales. Some do term the proverb thus, *Mon mam Wynedd*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Northwales, that is, that *Mon* was able to nourish and foster upon bread all Wales or Northwales. And after that this dark Iland had cast out for many years such abundance of corn where the disclosed woods and groves were, it surceas'd to yield corn, and yielded such plenty of grafs for cattle, that the Countrymen left off their great tilling, and turn'd it to grazing and breeding of cattle, and that did continue among them wonderful plentiful, so that it was an admirable thing to be heard, how so little a plat of ground shou'd breed such great number of cattle; and now the inhabitants do till a great part of it, and breed a great number of cattle on t'other part.

II. AS for the second Question, I do refer the exposition of it to those that have written of the *Flamens* in Latine. The *Drudion* in Britain, according to their manner and custom,
did

did execute the office and function of the *Flamens* beyond the sea: and as for their habits, I cannot well tell you how, nor what manner they were of.

III. TO the third Question: There were four several kinds of Degrees, that were given to the Professors of Learning. The first was, *Disgibliysbas*, and that was given a man after three years studying in the art of Poetry and Musick, if he by his capacity did deserve it. The second degree was *Disgibldisgybliaidd*, and that was given to the Professor of Learning after six years studying, if he did deserve it. The third degree was *Disgiblpenkerddiaidd*; and that was given to the Professor of Learning after nine years studying, if he did deserve it. And the fourth degree was *Penkerdd* or *Athro*, and *Athro* is the highest degree of Learning among us, and in Latine is called Doctor. All these degrees were given to men of Learning as well Poets as Musicians. All these foresaid degrees of Learning were given by the King, or in his presence in his Palace, at every three years end, or by a Licence from him in some fit place thereunto (appointed) upon an open disputation had before the King or his Deputy in that behalf, and then they were to have their reward according to their degrees. Also there were three kinds of Poets. The one was *Prududd*: the other was *Tevlwr*: the third was *Klerwr*. These three kinds had three several matters

to treat of. The *Prududd* was to treat of Lands, and the praise of Princes, Nobles, and Gentlemen, and had his circuit among them. The *Tevlur* did treat of merry jests, and domestical pastimes and affairs, having his circuit among the Countrymen, and his reward according to his calling. The *Clericr* did treat of invective and rustical Poetry, differing from the *Prududd* and *Tevlur*; and his circuit was among the Yeomen of the Country. As for their habits, they were certain long apparel down to the calf of their leggs or somewhat lower, and were of diverse colours.

IV. TO the fourth Question I say, the *Bard* was a Herald to record all the acts of the Princes and Nobles, and to give arms according to deserts. They were also Poets, and cou'd prognosticate certain things, and gave them out in metre. And farther there were three kinds of *Beirdd* the plural of *Bardd* viz. *Priveirdd*, *Poswardd*, *Arwyddwardd*. The *Priveirdd* (plurally) were *Merlin Silvester*, *Merlin Amorosus*, and *Taliesin*; and the reason they were call'd *Priveirdd* was, because they invented and taught such Philosophy and other Learning as were never read or heard of by any man before. The interpretation of this word *Priveirdd* is Prince, or first learner, or learned man: for *Bardd* was an appellation of all learned men, and professors of Learning, and Prophets, as
also

also were attributed to them the titles of *Privardd*, *Posvardd*, and *Arwyddvardd*. *Bardd Telyn*. And they call *Merlin Ambrosius* by the name of *Bardd Gortheyrn*, that is, *Vortiger's Philosopher*, or *learned man*, or *Prophesyer*. *Bardd Telyn* is he that is Doctor of the Musicians of the Harp, and is the chief harp in the Land, having his abode in the King's palace : and note no man may be called *Privardd*, but he that inventeth such Learning, and Arts, or Science, as were never taught before. The second kind of *Bardd* is *Posvardd*, and those *Posveirdd* were afterwards *Prydiddion* : for they did imitate and teach what the *Priveirdd* had set forth, and must take their author from one of them ; for they themselves are no Authors, but registers and propagators of the Learning invented by the others. The third kind is *Arwyddvardd*, that is by interpretation an *Ensign-bard*, and indeed is a Herald at Arms ; and his duty was to declare the Genealogy and to blazon the Arms of Nobles and Princes, and to keep the record of them, and to alter their Arms according to their dignity or deserts. These were with the Kings and Princes in all battles and actions. As for their Garments, I think they were long, such as the *Prydiddion* had ; for they challenge the name of *Beirdd* ut supra. Whereas some writers, and for the most part all foreners that mention the *Beirdd*, do write that *Bard* has his name given him from one *Bardus*, who was the first inventor of

Bar-

Barddonieth, and some say he was the fourth King of Brittain; I say it is a most false, erroneous, and fabulous surmise of foren writers, for there never was any of that name either a King or King's son of Brittain. But there was a great scholar and inventor both of Poetical verses and musical Lessons that was some time King of Brittain. His name was *Blegywryd ap Gefyllt*, and he was the 56th supreme King of Great Brittain, and dy'd in the 2067th year after the deluge, of whom it is written that he was the famousst Musician that ever lived in Britain. No writer can show that *Bard* had his name from *Bardus*, it being a primitive British word that has the foresayd significations. And *Barddonieth* (which is the art, function, and profession of the *Bardd*) is also us'd for Prophecy and the interpretation thereof, and also for all kinds of Learning among us that the *Beirdd* were authors of.

V. AS for the fifth Question, the King had always a chief Judge resident in his Court, ready to decide all controversies that then happen'd, and he was called *Egnat Lllys*. He had some privilege given him by the King's household officers, and therefore he was to determine their causes gratis. As for the *tri anhebkor brenin*, I think it superfluous to treat of them here, seeing you have this matter in my Book of Laws more perfect than I can remember it at this time. Look in the Table

among the *tricedd kyfraith*, and those are set down in two or three several places of the Book. And if you cannot find it there, see in the office of *Egnat Llys*, or *Pentevlu*, or *yffeiriaid llys*, and you'll be sure to find it in some of those places. I do not find in my Book of Laws, that there were any officers for the Law that did dwell in the King's Palace, but onely his *Egnat Llys*, that was of any name, or bore any great office: for he was one of the *tri anhebbkor brenin*.

VI. AS for the sixth Question, I say that there were resident in the Country but *Egnat Comot*, that I can understand. But when an Assembly met together for the title of Lands, then the King in his own Person came upon the Land; and if he cou'd not come, he appointed some Deputy for him. There came with the King his chief Judge, and called unto him his *Egnat Komot*, or County-Judge, together with some of his Council that dwelt in the *Komot*, where the Lands lay that were in the controversy, and the Free-holders also of the same Place, and there came a Priest or Prelate, two Counsellors, and two *Rhingill* or Serjeants, and two Champions, one for the Plaintiff and another for the Defendant; and when all these were assembled together, the King or his Deputy viewed the Land, and when they had viewed it, they caused a round Mount to be cast up, and upon the same was the Judgment Seat placed, having his back to-
ward

ward the sun or the weather. Some of these Mounts were made square and some round, and both round and square bore the name of *Gorseddwy dadle*, that is, the Mount of Pleading. Some also have the name of him that was chief Judge or Deputy to the King in that judicial Seat; and it was not lawful to make an assembly no where for title of Lands, but upon the Lands that were in controversy. These *Gorsedde* are in our Country, and many other places to be seen to this day; and will be ever, if they be not taken down by men's hands. They had two sorts of Witnesses, the one was *Gwybyddyeid*, and the other *Ambiniogev*. The *Gwybyddyeid* were such men as were born in the *Komot*, where the Lands that were in controversy lay, and of their own perfect knowledge did know that it was the Defendants right. And *Ambiniogev* were such men as had their Lands mearing on the Lands that were in controversy, and hemmed up that Land. And the Oath of one of those *Ambiniogev*, otherwife called *Keidweid*, was better than the Oath of twain that were but *Gwybyddyeid*. Look in the Table of my Book of Laws for the definition of *Keidweid*, *Ambiniogev*, and *Gwybyddyeid*, and how the King did try his Causes; and that will manifest it more at large. The *Mayer* and the *Kangellawr* had no authority amongst the Brittons for any lands but the Kings lands; and they were to set it and let it, and to have their circuit amongst the King's tenants; and

they did decide all Controversies that happened amongst them. Vide in the Table of my Book of Laws for the Definition of *Mayer* and *Kangellawr*.

VII. TO the seventh Question, I say that there were in this Land about a hundred superial Kings, that governed this Land successively; that were of the Brittish blood: yet notwithstanding there were under them divers other Princes that had the name of Kings, and did serve, obey, and belong to the superial King, as the King of *Alban* or *Prydyn* or Scotland, the King of *Kymbery* or Wales, the King of *Gwneydd* or Venedotia. Yet notwithstanding the same law and government was used in every Prince or King's dominion, as was in the superial King's proper dominion; unless it were that some Custom or Privilege did belong to some place of the Kingdom more than to another: and every inferiour King was to execute the Law upon all transgressors that offended in their dominion.

In the time of Kassibelanus there arose some controversy between the superial King Kasswallawne and Ararwy King of London, one of his inferior Kings, about a murther committed. The case is thus. The superial King keeping his Court within the dominion of one of the inferior Kings, a controversy falling between twain within the Court, and there and then one was slain, the Question is, Whether the murtherer ought to be tryed by

by the officers and privilege of the superior King, or of the inferior King. I think that the murderer ought to be tried by the Law and Custom of the inferior King's Court, because it is more seemly that the superior King's Court, which did indure in that Country but a week or twain, or such like time, should lose his privilege there for that time, than the inferior King's Court should lose it forever. *Vide in libro meo de legibus.* It may seem to those that have judgment in histories, that this was the very cause that Ararwy would not have his kinman tried by the Judges and Laws or privilege of Kaiwalanne, whose Court did remain in the dominion of Ararwy but a little while, but would have the felon tried by his Judges and his Court. There is no mention made of *Talaitb* any where amongst the Brittons before the destruction of Brittain, but that there were in Brittain but one superial Crown and three *Talaitb* or Coronets or Prince's Crowns; one for the Alban, another for Wales, and the third for *Kerniw* or Kornwale. There were divers others called Kings which never wore any Crown or Coronet, as the Kings of *Dyved* in South Wales, the King of *Kredigion*, and such, and yet were called Kings, and their Countries were divided as you shall see in the next Question.

VIII. TO the eighth Question, I say, that according to the primitive Law of this Land,

that *Dyfwal Moel Mvd* made, for before the Laws of *Dyfwal Moel Mvd* the Trojan laws and customs were used in this Land, and we cannot tell what division of Lands they had, nor what officers but the *Druidion*, he divided all this Land according to this manner, thus: *Trikud y gronin haidd*, or thrice the length of one Barly Corn maketh a *Modvedd* or inch, three *Modvedd* or Inches maketh a *Palf* or a Palm of the hand, three *Palf* or Palm maketh a *Troedvedd* or foot, 3 feet or *Troedvedd* maketh a *Kam* or Pace or a stride, 3 *Kam* or strides to the *Naid* or leape, 3 *Naid* or leape to the *Grwmg*, that is, the breadth of a Butt of Land or *Tir*; and *mil* of those *Tir* maketh *Miltir*, that is, a thousand *Tir* or mile. And that was his measure for length which hath been used from that time to this day; and yet, and for superficial measuring he made 3 *kud gronin haidd*, or Barley Corn length, to the *Modvedd*, or Inch, 3 *Modvedd* or Inch to the *Palf* or hand breadth, 3 *Palf* to the *Troedvedd* or foot, 4 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Veriav* or the short yoke, 8 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Neidiav*, and 12 *Troedvedd* or foot in the *Gestiliav* and 16 *Troedvedd* in the *Hiriav*. And a Pole or Rod so long, that is 16 foot long, is the breadth of an Acre of Land, and 30 Poles or Rods of that length, is the length of an *Erw* or Acre by the Law, and four *Erw* or Acre maketh a *Tyddyn* or Messuage, and four of that *Tyddyn* or Messuage maketh

a *Rhandir*, and four of those *Rhandiredd* maketh a *Gafel* or Tenement or Hault, and four *Gafel* maketh a *Tref* or Township, and four *Tref* or Townships maketh a *Maenol* or *Maenor*, and twelve *Maenol* or *Maenor* and *dwy dref* or two Townships maketh a *Kwmwd* or *Gomot*, and two *Kwmwd* or *Gomot* maketh a *Kantref* or *Cantred*, that is a hundred Towns or Townships. And by this reckoning every *Tyddyn* containeth four *Erw*, every *Rhandir* containeth sixteen *Erw*, and every *Gafel* containeth sixty four *Erw*. Every Town or Township containeth two hundred fifty six *Erw* or Acres, these *Erws* being fertile arable Land, and neither meadow nor pasture nor woods. For there was nothing measured but fertile arable ground, and all others was termed wastes. Every *Maenol* containeth four of these Townships, and every *Kwmwd* containeth fifty of these Townships, and every *Cantred* a hundred of these Townships, whereof it hath its name. And all the Countries and Lords dominions were divided by *Cantreds* or *Cantre*, and to every of these *Cantreds*, *Gomots*, *Maenors*, *Towns*, *Gafels* were given some proper names. And *Gwlad* or Countrey was the dominion of one Lord or Prince, whether the *Gwlad* were one *Cantred* or two, or three or four, or more. So that when I say he is gone from *Gwlad* to *Gwlad*, that is, from Countrey to Countrey, it is meant that he is gone from one Lord or Prince's dominion to another Prince's dominion; as for ex-

ample, when a man committeth an offence in *Gwynedd* or *Northwales*, which containeth ten *Cantreds*, and fleeth or goeth to *Powys*, which is the name of another Country and Prince's dominion, which containeth ten other *Cantreds*, he is gone from one Country or dominion to another, and the Law cannot be executed upon him, for he is gone out of the Country. *Tegings* is a Country and containeth but one *Cantred*, and *Dyfrun Glwyd* was a Country, and did contain but one *Cantred*. And when any did go out of *Tegings* to *Dyfrun Glwyd*, for to flee from the law, he went out from one Country to another. And so every Prince or Lord's dominion was *Gwlad* or Country to that Lord or Prince, so that *Gwlad* is *Pagus* in my judgment. Sometimes a *Cantred* doth contain two *Comot*, sometimes three, or four, or five; as the *Cantrefe* of Glamorgan or *Morganwg* containeth five *Comots*. And after that the Normans had won some parts of the Country, as one Lord's dominion, they constituted in that same place a Seneſcal or Steward, and that was called in the Brittiſh tongue *Swyddog*, that is an Officer; and the Lordſhip that he was Steward of was called *Swydd* or Office, and of theſe *Swyddes* were made Shires. And *Gwydd* is an Office be it great or ſmall, and *Swyddog* is an Officer likewiſe of all ſtates; as a Sheriff is a *Swyddog*, his Sheriff-ſhip or Office, and the Shire whereof he is Sheriff, is called *Swydd*. So that *Swydd* doth contain

as well the Shire as the Office of a Sheriff, as *Swydd Amwythig* is the Shire or Office of the Steward, Senefcal, or Sheriff of Salop, &c.

IX. A S for the ninth Question, The greatest and highest degree was *Brenin*, or *Teyen*, that is, a King; and next to him was a *Twyfog*, that is a Duke; and next to him was a *Jarll*, that is an Earl; and next to him was an *Ar-glwydd*, that is a Lord; and next to him was a *Barwn*, and that I read least of. And next to that is the *Breir* or *Vchelwr*, which may be called the Squire: next to this is a *Gw-rchange*, that is a Yeoman; and next to that is an *Alttud*; and next to that a *Kaeth*, which is a Slave; and that is the meanest amongst these nine several Degrees. And these nine Degrees had three several tenures of Lands, as *Maerdir*, *Vchelordir*, *Priodordir*. There be also other names and degrees, which be gotten by birth, by office and by dignity; but they all are contained under the nine afore-said Degrees.

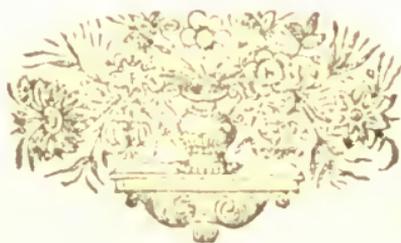
X. A S for the tenth Question, I do not find nor have not read neither to my knowledge, in any Chronicle, Law, History or Poetry, and Dictionary, any such word; but I find in the Laws and Chronicles, and in many other places this word *Rhaidh* to be used for the oath of 100 men, or 200 or 300, or such like number, for to excuse some heinous fact,
and

and the more heinous was the fact, the more men must be had in the *Rhaith* to excuse it; and one must be a chief man to excuse it amongst them, and that is called *Peurhaith*, as it were the foreman of the Jury, and he must be the best, wisest, and discreetest of all the others. And to my remembrance the *Rhaithwyr*, that is the Men of the *Rhaith*, must be of those that are next of kin, and best known to the supposed offender, to excuse him for the fact.

XI. AS for the eleventh Question, I say that I find a Steward and a Controller to be used for a *Distain* in my *Dictionary*. I cannot find any greater definition given it any where, then is given it in my Book of Laws. Vide *Distaine*, in the Table of my Book of Laws.

XII. TO the twelfth Question, I say, that the Brittons had many Councils, and had their Counsellors scatter'd in all the Lordships of the Land. And when any controversy or occasion of Counsel happen'd in *Swynedd*, the King called his Counsellors that had their abode there, for to counsel for matters depending there, together with those that were there of his Court or Guard: for the King had his chief Judge and certain of his Council always in his company; and when the King had any occasion of Counsel for matters depending in *Demetia*, or *Powys*, or *Cornwal*,
he

he called those of his Counsel that dwelled in those coasts for to counsel with them. And they went to a certain private house or tower on a top of a hill, or some solitary place of counsel far distant from any dwelling, and there advised unknown to any man but to the Counsellors themselves; and if any great alteration or need of counsel were, that did pertain to all the land, then the King aslited unto him all his Counsellors to some convenient place for to take their advice; and that happen'd but very seldom.





CATALOGUS *vocum* quarundam
 ARMORICARUM quas HIBERNICAS esse de-
 prehendi, quasque ex libello quem mihi mu-
 tuo dedit Cl. et Rev. Dominus, Dominus
 JO. MILLIUS S. S. T. in Academia Oxoni-
 ensi P. ibidemque Aula Sanct. Edmundaræ
 Principalis, collegi et desumpsi.



RITTANNI Armorici Angliam
Bro-saos vocant, hoc est, Saxonum
 patriam; quo nomine paululum va-
 riato, Hiberni idem regnum indigi-
 tare solent: et ipsos incolas *Clan na Sassa-
 nach*, id est, Saxones; ad verbum verò *Saxo-
 num filios*, appellant.

Hibernis gentilis sermo *Gaolac* dicitur, quod
 idem sonat significatque, ac Armoricorum
Gallec, qua voce Gallorum linguam in hodi-
 ernum usque diem intelligunt, ut in amba-
 rum gentium scriptis videre est.

Etiam si in sequenti Parallelo aliquando lit-
 teræ et syllabæ quadam non levem discre-
 pantiam præ se ferre videantur; eadem tamen
 illis est potestas, et sonus idem. Sic *at*, *aff*,
 et *es* figurae Armoricæ, respondent *ach*, *agh*,

et

et *as* Hibernicis. *Guy* initialis cum *fi*, *b* cum *p*, *d* cum *t*, *f* cum *v* sapissime commutantur.

Sed de hiſce fuſius, et ſimilis argumenti omnibus, in Diſſertatione, quam de veterum Lingua Gallorum, cum primùm Romanorum arma experti ſunt, annuente ſummo numine, ſcripturi ſumus.

*Oxonia, 19 Decembris, Anno
à Chriſto nato,
1693.*

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.
Iſel.	<i>Iſcal.</i>	Humilis.
Iſelhat.	<i>Iſcalact.</i>	Humiliatio.
Oan.	<i>Can.</i>	Agnus.
Oanic.	<i>Canin.</i>	Agnellus.
Flem.	<i>Flemb*.</i>	Aculeus.
Den.	<i>Duine.</i>	Homo.
Denbihan.	<i>Duinebuineach.</i>	Homuncio.
Caret.	<i>Caraid †.</i>	Amicus.
Carantes.	<i>Carrantas ‡.</i>	Amicitia.
Guyr.	<i>Coir.</i>	Jus.
Hirrahah.	<i>Dirachagh.</i>	Elongatio.
Bloaz.	<i>Bliaghun.</i>	Annus.

* *Gair* etiam Hibernice.

† *Cara* Hibernis Auſtralibus.

‡ *Cards* etiam Hibernice.

Amfer.	<i>Amfeir.</i>	Tempus.
Gronan.	<i>Gruan</i> *.	Arena.
Afen.	<i>Affil.</i>	Afinus.
Dall.	<i>Dall.</i>	Cæcus.
Dallaf.	<i>Dallagh.</i>	Cæcitas.
Gonalen.	<i>Gualun.</i>	Humerus.
Querch.	<i>Coire.</i>	Avena.
Ives.	<i>Ives.</i>	Etiam.
Guilé.	<i>Oilé.</i>	Alius.
Pocq.	<i>Póg.</i>	Osculum.
Scubellen.	<i>Scuab.</i>	Stopa.
Scubaf.	<i>Scuabagh.</i>	Verrere, Scopa.
Lezron.	<i>Leafrach.</i>	Femora.
Mat.	<i>Maith.</i>	Bonus.
Matgræt.	<i>Maithghniotb.</i>	Beneficium.
Madclez.	<i>Maitheas.</i>	Bonitas.
Cam.	<i>Cam.</i>	Curvus.
Ber.	<i>Bear.</i>	Veru.
Losq.	<i>Loscath.</i>	Uftio.
Quarrec.	<i>Carric.</i>	Rupes.
Gouris.	<i>Cris.</i>	Cingulum.
Ludu.	<i>Luoth.</i>	Cinis.
Codoer.	<i>Caithir.</i>	Cathedra.
Caboun.	<i>Cabun.</i>	Capo.
Glaouen.	<i>Gualan.</i>	Carbo.
Moall.	<i>Maoil.</i>	Calvus.
Derven.	<i>Dair</i> †.	Quercus.
Gaor.	<i>Gaur.</i>	Caper.
Em ty me.	<i>An ma thi.</i>	In Domo mea.
Quy.	<i>Cu.</i>	Canis venaticus.
Caöll.	<i>Cál.</i>	Brassica.

* *Ganibb* etiam Hibernice.

† Unde forte *droi* Druides, *duire* nemus.

Ancuff.	<i>Nemb.</i>	Cœlum.
Coar.	<i>Ceir.</i>	Cera.
Garan.	<i>Garagh.</i>	
Taig.	<i>Tairné.</i>	Clavus.
Coulm.	<i>Coluim.</i>	Columba.
Evel, eguis	<i>Evail, eguis</i>	Ut.
Quillocq.	<i>Culloch.</i>	Gallus Gallinaceus
Ilin.	<i>Illin.</i>	
Acr.	<i>Athir.</i>	Coluber.
Las.	<i>Lis.</i>	Domus regia.
Guiriff.	<i>Gurigh.</i>	Ova ponere.
Goloff.	<i>Foluigh.</i>	Tegere.
Crotiezzr.	<i>Criathar.</i>	Cribra.
Cridiff.	<i>Credimb.</i>	Credece.
Creven.	<i>S'creavog.</i>	Cruſta.
Creiz.	<i>Cré.</i>	Lutum.
Lezr.	<i>Leathir.</i>	Corium.
Dlé.	<i>Dliagh.</i>	Debitum.
Dref.	<i>Deregh.</i>	Ponè.
Diaoiill.	<i>Diabhil.</i>	Diabolus.
Lavaret.	<i>Lauairt.</i>	Loqui.
A creis.	<i>Achreis.</i>	E medio.
Droue.	<i>Droch.</i>	Malus.
Mezuiff.	<i>Misce.</i>	Ebrius.
Choar.	<i>Senar.</i>	Soror.
Tremengua.	<i>Dremire.</i>	Scala.
Clezeu.	<i>Claiau.</i>	Gladius.
Tcoahat.	<i>Tiubaçt.</i>	Spiffitas.
Ober.	<i>Obuir.</i>	Opus.
Tan.	<i>Tinne.</i>	Ignis.
Map.	<i>Mac.</i>	Filius.
Moch.	<i>Muc.</i>	Porcus

Sæz.	<i>Siste.</i>	Imbecillis.
Dinerz.	<i>Dineart.</i>	Vis.
Nerz.	<i>Neart.</i>	Fossa, puteus.
Poull.	<i>Poll.</i>	Folium.
Delyou.	<i>Duillog.</i>	Fugere.
Techet.	<i>Tethagh.</i>	Genu.
Glin.	<i>Glin.</i>	Patibulum.
Croucq.	<i>Croith.</i>	{ Navisguber-
Srut.	<i>Sdiuir.</i>	{ naculum.
Greunen.	<i>Granin.</i>	Granum.
Bloanec.	<i>Blunic.</i>	Pinguedo.
Eurmat.	<i>Uairmbaitb.</i>	Auspicium.
Hoary.	<i>Uavar.</i>	Ludus.
Encfen.	<i>Inis.</i>	Insula.
Teant.	<i>Teangha.</i>	Lingua.
Ledan.	<i>Lethan.</i>	Largus.
Lenfr.	<i>Leabhár.</i>	Liber.
Dorn.	<i>Dorn.</i>	Pugnus.
Ty.	<i>Ti*.</i>	Domus.
Claf.	<i>Clabh.</i>	Æger.
Drouchoberer.	<i>Drochobri.</i>	Maleficus.
Læfman.	<i>Leasmbathir.</i>	Noverca.
Mintin.	<i>Madin.</i>	Manc.
Mor.	<i>Muir †.</i>	Marc.
Trugarez.	<i>Trocare.</i>	Misericordia.
Coch.	<i>Cac.</i>	Merda.
Quemesq.	<i>Meascagh.</i>	Miscere.
Offeren.	<i>Aiffrin .</i>	Missa.
Manach.	<i>Manach.</i>	Monachus.

* *Deac* etiam Hibernicè.

† *Morb* et *Moir* etiam.

‡ Haud dubium quin a Latino *offero* deducendum sit.

Mis.	<i>Mi.</i>	Mensis.
Boucq.	<i>Bog.</i>	Mollis.
Maru.	<i>Marc.</i>	Mortuus.
Bugale.	<i>Buachvill.</i>	Puerulus.
Quelgeuen.	<i>Cuileog.</i>	Musca.
Guenell.	<i>Gineal.</i>	Nasci.
Nedelec.	<i>Nolluic.</i>	{ Nativitatis Christi festum.
Du.	<i>Du.</i>	Niger.
Duat.	<i>Duach.</i>	Nigredo.
Craouen.	<i>Croa.</i>	Nuces.
Beuzet.	<i>Baite.</i>	Merius.
Ui.	<i>Ui vel Oi.</i>	Ovum.
Plusquen.	<i>Blusc.</i>	
Plusquen un ui	<i>Blusc na hui.</i>	
Ezn.	<i>Ean.</i>	Avis.
Eznic.	<i>Eanin.</i>	Avicula.
Eznetair.	<i>Eanadair.</i>	Auceps.
Diegus.	<i>Diabhuin.</i>	Otiosus.
Læshann.	<i>Leasainm.</i>	Cognomen.
Ivin.	<i>Ighuin.</i>	Unguis.
Colo.	<i>Calog.</i>	Palea.
Bara.	<i>Aran.</i>	Panis.
Rannaff.	<i>Rannagh.</i>	Dividere.
Quetren.	<i>Keavrin.</i>	Particula.
Golgen.	<i>Galvun.</i>	Passer.
Crochen.	<i>Crocean.</i>	Pellis.
Crib.	<i>Cir*.</i>	Peccen.
Collet.	<i>Cailte.</i>	Perditus.
Tat.	<i>Athair.</i>	Pater.
Bran.	<i>Brim.</i>	Ventris crepitus.

* Hiberni etiam dicunt *Cribm.*

Troat.	<i>Troith.</i>	Pes.
Truez.	<i>Truaighe.</i>	Compassio.
Leun.	<i>Lan.</i>	Plenus.
Gouclaff.	<i>Gulagh.</i>	Flere.
Goucluan.	<i>Gulan.</i>	Fletus.
Aval.	<i>Avull.</i>	Malus, arbor.
Squevent.	<i>Scavan.</i>	Pulmo.
Breinaff.	<i>Breanagh.</i>	Putrescere, foetere.
Brein.	<i>Brein.</i>	Putridus.
Doün.	<i>Doüin.</i>	Profundus.
Queiguel.	<i>Cuigeal.</i>	Colus.
Scuillaf.	<i>Scuileagh.</i>	Solvere.
Segal.	<i>Segul.</i>	Secale.
Bouzar.	<i>Bovar.</i>	Surdus.
Logoden.	<i>Luchog.</i>	Mus.
Tarus.	<i>Tarv.</i>	Taurus.
Guyader.	<i>Fiadoir.</i>	Textor.
Lien.	<i>Lian.</i>	Lintcum.
Bieuch.	<i>Beach.</i>	Bestia *.
Levé.	<i>Laoi.</i>	Vitulus.
Glas.	<i>Glas.</i>	Viridis.
Guyrioncz.	<i>Fioriontas.</i>	Veritas.
Bouët.	<i>Biath.</i>	Cibus.
Beu.	<i>Beo.</i>	Vivus.
Scuzl.	<i>Sál.</i>	Calx pedis.
Amman.	<i>Eim.</i>	Butyrus.
Olen.	<i>Solun.</i>	Sal.
Loufaouen.	<i>Lus, Luffan.</i>	Herba.
Mifmeurz.	<i>Mimairt.</i>	Mensis Martius.
Mifeprell.	<i>Miobreal.</i>	Aprilis †.
Mifmesuen.	<i>Mimheafvach.</i>	Junius ††.

* Speciatim Vacca Armorica.

† Operarius.

‡ Formosus.

} Mensis.

Misgouaré.	<i>Miguaré.</i>	Julius*.
Misguengolò.	<i>Mifinfoloi.</i>	September †.
Mistrezé.	<i>Mibeasfri.</i>	October ‖.
Misdu.	<i>Mi dbu.</i>	November ‡.
Mesquerdu.	<i>Micbruandu.</i>	December**.
Misguenuer.	<i>Micainvair.</i>	Januarius ††.
Misheurer.	<i>Michuir.</i>	Februarius*.
Sizun.	<i>Seachtuin.</i>	Septimana.
Dillun.	<i>Dealluin.</i>	Dies Lunæ.
Doué.	<i>Diá.</i>	Deus.
Ælez.	<i>Aighlé.</i>	Angeli.
Kar.	<i>Caibir.</i>	Civitas.
Menn.	<i>Meannan.</i>	Hædus.
Crouër.	<i>Cruigheoir.</i>	Creator.
Iffern.	<i>Iffrin.</i>	Tartarus.
Choareil.	<i>Corgas.</i>	Quadragesima
Ezom.	<i>Eassomb.</i>	Indigentia.
Buanegéz.	<i>Baneghas.</i>	Furor.
Marchyat.	<i>Marcuiacht.</i>	Æquitatio.
Tourch.	<i>Torc.</i>	Aper.

* Portuum. † Albitegumenti. ‖ Aratorius. } Mensis,
 ‡ Niger. ** Nigerrimus. †† Initialis.
 † Sementarius.



V O C A B U L A R I U M

Armorico-Hibernicum.

ARMORICE. HIBERNICE. LATINE.

A.

A ER.	<i>Aighir.</i>	Acr.
Aur.	<i>Or.</i>	Aurum.
Ar.	<i>Ar, Aras.</i>	Terra.
All.	<i>Oile.</i>	Alius.
Angor.	<i>Ancoire.</i>	Anchora.
Argent.	<i>Argiod.</i>	Argentum.
Arm.	<i>Arm.</i>	Arma.
Alt.	<i>Alt.</i>	Saltus.
Anc, Enc.	<i>Anam.</i>	Anima.
Aval.	<i>Aval.</i>	Pomum.

B.

Bara.	<i>Barin.</i>	Panis.
Brun.	<i>Brunn.</i>	{ Venter, ma-
Brech.	<i>Braigh.</i>	{ milla.
Bu.	<i>Bo.</i>	Brachium.
Broch.	<i>Broc.</i>	{ Vas fictile
Berr.	<i>Bearr.</i>	{ vel ligneum.
Bresych.	<i>Praysseach.</i>	Brevis.
		Braslica.

Bach,

Bach, Bagl.	<i>Batta, Backull.</i>	Baculus.
Brenn, Brennyn.	{ <i>Brennin,</i> <i>Breatheamb.</i> }	Rex, Judex.
Bardd.	<i>Bard.</i>	Poeta.
Baar.	<i>Barra.</i>	Vectis.
Breur.	<i>Brathair.</i>	Frater.
Bren.	<i>Brenn.</i>	Foetidus.
Buch, Bouch.	<i>Buc.</i>	Caper mas.

C.

Ki, Kun.	<i>Cu, Cun.</i>	Canis, canes.
Cren.	<i>Cruinn.</i>	Rotundus.
Crou.	<i>Cruaigh.</i>	Durus.
Carr.	<i>Carr.</i>	{ Carrus aut { Currus.
Cat, Caz.	<i>Cat.</i>	Felis.
Canab.	<i>Canaib.</i>	Canabis.
Cantol.	<i>Coinneol.</i>	Candeia.
Craou, Craouen.	<i>Cru, Cnu.</i>	Nux.
Coir.	<i>Ceir.</i>	Cera.
Caul.	<i>Cál.</i>	{ Caulis vel { Braslica,
Cist.	<i>Ciste.</i>	Cista.
Cán.	<i>Cann, Caintic.</i>	Canticum,
Cana.	<i>Canagh.</i>	Canere.
Cambr.	<i>Seomra.</i>	Camera.
Cam.	<i>Cam.</i>	Curvus.
Cant.	<i>Cant, Cèud.</i>	Centum.
Canol.	<i>Canal.</i>	Canalis.
Caru, Caro.	<i>Carr-fhiggh.</i>	Cervus.
Chaden.	<i>Caddan.</i>	Catena.
Council.	<i>Cunin.</i>	Cuniculus.
Calc.	<i>Coill.</i>	Sylva.

Cár.	<i>Cara.</i>	Charus.
Croug.	<i>Cros.</i>	Crux.
Curun, coron.	<i>Coroin.</i>	Corona.
Corf.	<i>Corp.</i>	Corpus.
Coch.	<i>Coch, Corkire.</i>	{ Coccus, Purpureus.
Crin.	<i>Crian.</i>	Aridus.
Cóq.	<i>Cocuire.</i>	Cóquus.
Carchar.	<i>Carcan.</i>	Carcer.
Caban.	<i>Caban.</i>	Casula.
Calch.	<i>Cailce.</i>	Creta.
Caus.	<i>Caise.</i>	Casus.

D.

Deru.	<i>Dair.</i>	Quercus.
Dun.	<i>Dún.</i>	Celis.
Daigr.	<i>Deor.</i>	Gutta, lachryma.
Deilen.	{ <i>Duille,</i> <i>Duilleog.</i>	Folium.
Dour.	<i>Dorn.</i>	Pugnus.
Dour.	<i>Dúr.</i>	Aqua.
Doun.	<i>Domhain.</i>	Profundus.
Di, Deiz.	<i>De.</i>	Dies.
Dec.	<i>Deag, Deich.</i>	Decem.
Dolur.	<i>Dolas.</i>	Dolor.
Dug.	<i>Duibhee.</i>	Dux.
Dor.	<i>Dorus.</i>	Ostium.
Dag.	<i>Daggear.</i>	Pugio.
Dreuc.	<i>Droch.</i>	Malus.
Dol.	<i>Dál.</i>	Vallis.
Den.	<i>Duine.</i>	Homo.

E.

Eduyn.	<i>Eadkan.</i>	Videlicet.
Erigea.	<i>Eirigh.</i>	Surgere.

F.

Forn.	<i>Fuirn.</i>	Furnus.
Fin.	<i>Fin.</i>	Subtilis.
Fin.	<i>Finn.</i>	Candidus.
Feur.	<i>Féar.</i>	Nundinae.
Foen.	<i>Féur.</i>	Toenum.
Ffruyñ.	<i>Sreun.</i>	Froenum.
Fron.	<i>Srón, Sronin.</i>	Natus, Nares.
Fals.	<i>Falsa.</i>	Falius.
Fallat.	<i>Fallagh.</i>	Faliere.
Forch.	<i>Forc.</i>	Furca.
Furm.	<i>Foirm.</i>	Forma.
Fest.	<i>Feasta.</i>	Festus.

G.

Gouin.	<i>Fion.</i>	Vinum.
Greun.	<i>Grain.</i>	Granum.
Gaur.	<i>Gabbar.</i>	Caper.
Glu, Glut.	<i>Gleu.</i>	Gluten.
Groin.	<i>Groinn.</i>	{ Porcorum { proboscis.
Glas.	<i>Glas.</i>	Viridis.
Glin.	<i>Glin.</i>	Genu.
Gloar.	<i>Gloir.</i>	Gloria.
Glaif.	<i>Claidheamb.</i>	Gladius.
Goaz.	<i>Giagh.</i>	Anser.
Gard.	<i>Gardin.</i>	Hortus.
Garm.	<i>Gairm.</i>	Beatus.

H.

Hun.	<i>Sín.</i>	Somnus,
Henn.	<i>Sean.</i>	Vetus.

I.

Imaich,	<i>Imbaigh.</i>	Imago.
Ifge.	<i>Uifge.</i>	Aqua.

L.

Lin.	<i>Linn.</i>	Stagnum, lactis.
La.	<i>Lamb.</i>	Manus.
Lin.	<i>Líon.</i>	Linum.
Lili.	<i>Lili.</i>	Lilium.
Lug.	<i>Lúg.</i>	Corvus.
Laguen.	<i>Lag.</i>	Lacuna, stagnum.
Lech.	<i>Leac.</i>	Rupes.
Lin.	<i>Línin.</i>	Linea.
Liffr.	<i>Leabhar.</i>	Liber.
Lancç.	<i>Langa.</i>	Lancea.
Lacç.	<i>Nask.</i>	Laqueus.
Lys, Les.	<i>Lis.</i>	Aula, Curia.
Leu.	<i>Lcomban.</i>	Leo.
Ledr, Lezu.	<i>Leathar.</i>	Corium.
Logis.	<i>Lóstin.</i>	Hospitium.

M.

Mis.	<i>Mi.</i>	Mensis.
Milin.	<i>Mulinn.</i>	Molendinum.
Mantel.	<i>Mantal.</i>	{ Muliebre
Mal.	<i>Mala.</i>	{ pallium.
Moch.	<i>Muc.</i>	Sacci genus.
		Porcus.

Mam.

Mam.	<i>Mathair.</i>	Mater.
Misgu.	<i>Measgab.</i>	Miscere.
Mor, Mar.	<i>Muir, Mara.</i>	Mare.
Mél.	<i>Mil.</i>	Mel.
Mill.	<i>Mile.</i>	Mille.
Mall.	<i>Mallachta.</i>	{ Malus, see- } leratus.
Maotr.	<i>Maghisdir.</i>	Magister.
March.	<i>Marc.</i>	Equus.
Marg.	<i>Meirg.</i>	Ferrugo.

N.

Nos.	<i>Noiche.</i>	Nox.
Neu, neues.	<i>Nua, Nuath.</i>	Novus.
Nef.	<i>Neamb.</i>	Nubes.
Nith, Neis.	<i>Nead.</i>	Nidus.
Neuth.	<i>Snaithe.</i>	Filum.
Neza, Niddu.	<i>Snaight hagh.</i>	Nere.
Niul, Niful.	<i>Néull.</i>	Nebula.
Naou.	<i>Naoi.</i>	Novem.
Nith.	<i>Nigheann.</i>	Neptis.
Natur.	<i>Naduir.</i>	Natura.

O.

Oll.	<i>Oll, uile.</i>	Omnis.
Orgouil.	<i>Orgoill.</i>	Superbus.
Ober.	<i>Obuir.</i>	Opera.
Oleu, Eol.	<i>Ola.</i>	Oleum.
Office.	<i>Offig.</i>	Officium.
Oncç.	<i>Unsa.</i>	Uncia.
Or.	<i>Ore.</i>	Terminus.

P.

I - .	{ <i>Pemp</i> , vox <i>Antiqua</i> .	Quinque.
Pis.	<i>Pis</i> .	Pisum.
Pez.	<i>Pisa</i> .	Fruustum.
Ppiz.	<i>Pris</i> .	Pretium.
Peath.	<i>Purt</i> .	Portus.
Peabr.	<i>Purfur</i> .	Purpura.
Pea.	<i>Posa</i> .	Postis.
Pea.	<i>Parta</i> .	Pondo.
Pobi.	<i>Pobul</i> .	Populus.
Perill.	<i>Pericl</i> .	Periculum.
Plant.	<i>Planta</i> .	Planta.
Parc.	<i>Pairc</i> .	Viridarium.
Pul, Poul.	<i>Poll</i> .	{ Stagnum, La- cuna, Sinus.

R.

Rhodl.	<i>Ramba</i> .	Remus.
Raden, radin.	<i>Rathin</i> .	Filix.
Rhy.	<i>Riogh</i> .	Dominus, Rex.
Rac.	<i>Rach</i> .	Enim, nam.
Rafon.	<i>Resin</i> .	Ratio.
Rot, Rhod.	<i>Rbotha, rit</i> .	Rota.
Roufin.	<i>Rosin</i> .	Refina.
Ros, Rosen.	<i>Rosa</i> .	Rosa.

S.

Sebon.	<i>Sopa</i> .	Sapo.
Segal.	<i>Seagul</i> .	Secale.
Saeth.	<i>Saghid</i> .	Sagitta.
Súg.	<i>Su</i> .	Succus.

Sgub,

Sgub, yfgub.	<i>Scuab.</i>	Scopa.
Sul.	<i>Solus.</i>	Sol, Lux.
Siell, Sél.	<i>Seala.</i>	Sigillum.

T.

Taru, Taro.	<i>Tarbh.</i>	Taurus.
Tur.	<i>Tor.</i>	Turris.
Tumbe.	<i>Tumba.</i>	{Tumulus, Sepulchrum.
Tir.	<i>Tir.</i>	Terra.
Tec.	<i>Deach.</i>	Domus.
Termen.	<i>Tearmonn.</i>	Terminus.
Ti.	<i>Ti, Tigh.</i>	Domus.
Taran.	{ <i>Torman,</i> <i>Tarneach.</i>	Tonitru.
Torch.	<i>Torch.</i>	Torques.
Titl.	<i>Tiodal.</i>	Titulus.
Teyrn.	<i>Tighearna.</i>	Dominus, Rex.
Teyrnas.	<i>Tighearnas.</i>	Dominatio.
Tafg.	<i>Taisce.</i>	Vectigal.
Tonn.	<i>Tunn.</i>	Cadus.
Teuth.	<i>Tuath.</i>	Gens.

V.

Uy.	<i>Oibh.</i>	Oyum.
Ur, Gur.	<i>Fear.</i>	Vir.

A

S P E C I M E N

O F T H E

ARMORICAN LANGUAGE.

THE BEATITUDES *Mat. viii. 1, &c.*

Eürus bras e'on
 peuryen vès à
 speret rac rouantelez
 an euffaon à appar-
 chant onté.

*Eürus bras eo an re
 debonner, rac an douar
 a possedint.*

*Eürus bras eo an re
 à goüel, rac consolet
 vezint.*

*Eürus bras eo an
 re ho devez naoun ha
 rechet, rac rassassiet
 vezint.*

Blessed are the
 poor in Spirit,
 for the kingdom of
 Heaven is theirs, &c.

PRONUNCIATION.

Cha as *sha*, &c. *ç*
 as *f*. A final *f* is mute.
 Double *ff* as *v* Con-
 sonant. *Ga, go, gu*,
 hard; *Ge, gi* soft. *Gn*
 as *ni* in *Opinion*. *H*
 is always pronounc'd.
J Consonant as in
 Dutch.

Eürus bras eo an re trugareaus ò devezo.

Eürus bras eo an re ò deves ho caloun nat, rac guelet à raint Doue.

Eürus bras eo an re pacificq, rac gualvet vezint bugale Doué.

Eürus bras eo an re pere à andur persètion à palamour da justice rac rouantelez an euffaon so deze.

The Sum of the Law and Gospel.

Te à caro an Antraou da Doue a creis da calon, a creis da enef, hac a creis da entendamant.

Te à caro da ness'aff eueldot da hunan.

The ten Commandments in verse.

I. *En un Doué parfat ez credy, Ha parfatamant à quiry.*

Dutch. A final *x* as *s*. *Z* has a particular pronunciation. *Je, an*, Diminutive terminations; as *Map, Mapié; Merch, Merchie; Gruech, Gruechie, or Gruech biban, &c.*

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy understanding.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy own self.

In English prose.

I. One onely God frait thou believe, And perfectly love.

- II. *Doué è van ne
touy quet,
Na dememes nettra
erbet.* II. By God in vain thou
shalt not swear,
Nor likewise by any
other thing.
- III. *An Sulyon hac an
Gonelyon Din* III. Sundays and Holy-
days shalt thou
keep
In serving God de-
voutly.
- IV. *Da let da mam
hep bout fell,
A enory hac ez be-
vy pell.* IV. Thy father and
mother shalt thou
honour,
That thou mayst
lead a long life.
- V. *Muntrer yvez ne
vizy quet,
A volontez nac a
effet.* V. Thou shalt likewise
do no murther
By Will nor Deed.
- VI. *Luxurius mir ma
vizy;
Na dre effeēt na
dre desir.* VI. Nor shalt thou be
luxurious
In Deed or Desire.
- VII. *Laezerez na mi-
ret ma daou den
En ep guys ne ry bi-
zuicquen.* VII. Thou shalt not
keep the goods of
another
Privately or by
force.
- VIII. *Nac a euep den
fals testeny
Gaon è lech guir
ne liviry.* VIII. Thou shalt not
bear false wit-
ness
Nor ly in any wise.

IX. *Na desir euffr au
quicq bizuicquen.*

*Nemet gaut priet
ep muy quen.*

X. *Madaon da hentez
ne hoantaï quet,*

*Euit ep rasoun ho
miret.*

The Lord's Prayer.

*Hon Tat pekiny so
en euffou.*

*Hoz hano bezet
sanctifiet.*

*Ho rouantelez de-
vet demp.*

*Ho volonte: bezet
grat en douar euel en
euff.*

*Rait demp bizyau
hon bara pemdizyec.*

*Ha pardonet dem
hon offançon, euel ma
pardonomp dan reen
deves ny offançet.*

*Ha na permettet
quet ez coveze m'en
tentation.*

*Hoguen hon deli-
vret a droue.*

IX. Thou shalt not do
the works of the
flesh,

But in marriage one-
ly.

X. Thou shalt not co-
vet thy neigh-
bours goods

To keep them with-
out reason.

In English.

Our Father which
art in Heaven.

Hallowed be thy
name.

Thy kingdom come.

Thy will be done
on Earth, as it is in
Heaven.

Give us this day our
daily bread.

And forgive us our
offences, as we for-
give those that offend
us.

Suffer us not to fall
into temptation.

But deliver us from
evil.

Ma

*Ma Doué ho pet
truez onziffervez ho
trugarez bras.*

Lord have pity up^a
on me according to
thy great mercy.

The Creed.

*Me à cret en Doué
è Tat ollgalloudec,
croïer dan Euff ha
dan donar. Hac en
Jesus Christ e map
unic hon Antrahou.
Pehiny so bet conce-
vet ves au Speret san-
tel, guanet vès an
guerches Mary. En
deves gouzavet didan
Ponçe Pilat, so bet
crucifset, maru, ha se-
beliet. So bet disquen-
net en issernaou, ha
dan trede dez ressu-
scitet à maru da veu.
(from Death to Life)
So pingnet en Euffaon,
hac asezet an tu de-
hou da Doué, è Tat
ollgalloudec. Ahanè
èz duy da barn an re
beu, hac an re maru.
Me cret en Speret san-
tel, hac an Ilis Ca-
tholic. Ha commu-*

I believe in God
the Father, &c.

Antraou Doué dif-
cuezit diff hos enthou,
ha quelennet diff ho
garantehou. En hanu
an Tat, an Map, an
Speret santel.

That is,

Lord God shew me
thy ways and teach me
thy paths, in the name
of the Father, Son,
and holy Spirit.

*Jesus map Doué ho
pet truez ouziff.*

Jesus Son of God
have pity upon me.

*Hann Doué bezet
benniguet.*

The name of the
God be blessed.

*Antraou koz bet
trugarez onzemp.*

Lord have mercy
upon us.

*nion an sènt. Remis-
sion an pechedon. Re-
surrection an Quic.
An tubez eternal.
Eu a!-jè bezet græt.*

*A brennan, b'pret
da b'z'icq. n.
From this time to
Eternity.
So be it.*

Numbers.

*Unan, daon, try,
penar, pemp, buech,
seiz, viz, nao, dec,
unnec, daouzec, try-
zec, penarzec, pemp-
zec, chuezec, seittec,
eittec, naontec, ugent.*

One, two, three,
four, five, six, seven,
eight, nine, ten, e-
leven, twelve, thir-
teen, fourteen, fif-
teen, sixteen, sev-
enteen, eigh-
teen, nineteen, twen-
ty.

*Unan voar n'uguent,
&c.*

One and twenty,
&c.

*Tregont, daougent,
hanter cant, try u-
gent, dec a try u-
gent, penar ugent,
dec a penar ugent,
Cant, Mil, Million.*

Thirty, forty, half
a hundred, *i. e.* fifty,
threecore, threecore
and ten, fourcore,
fourcore and ten, a
Hundred, Thousand,
Million.

Days of the Week.

*Dyffull, Dyllun,
Demeurz, Demercher,
Dizion, Derguener,
Dessadoru, un Sizun,
un Dez.*

Sunday, Munday,
Tuefday, Wednesday,
Thurfday, Friday, Sa-
turday, a Week, a
Day.

*Doné da roiff dez
mat dech.*

Ha dechhu Ivez.

*Penaus a hanoch-
hu?*

*Yach ouf à truga-
rez Doué.*

Peà lech ez it-hu?

*Me govezo an gui-
rvonez.*

God give you a
good day.

And to you like-
wife.

How do you do?

I am well by God's
mercy.

Whither go you?

I shall know the
truth.

DII GALLORUM.

TAramis.
Hefus.

Teutates.

Belenus, *vel*

Abellio.

Onvana. *Anara*, Hib.

Hogmius.

Adraffe. Andate.

SUMMUS MAGI- STRATUS.

Vergobretus. { *Fergo-
brethr,*
Hib.

OFFICIORUM MAXI- mè *sacrorum no- mina.*

Patera.

Cana.

Bardi. *Bard, Baird*, H.

Druidæ. { *Droi, Dru-
idhe*, Hib.

Eubages. corruptè pro
Vates.

MILITARIA VOCA- BULA.

Ger.

Alauda.

Alauda.
Caterva.

Machinae Bellicae.

MILITUM SPECIES.

Manga. }
Mangana. } Diminuti
Mangona- } *Mean-*
lia. } *ghan.*

Galatae. } *Gaiscio-*
 } *ghack, H.*

Vargi.

Curruum Nomina.

Crupellarii.

Bagaudae. *Bagadai.*

Benna.

Galearii.

Petoritum.

Carrus.

Covinum.

ARMORUM NOMINA.

Effedum.

Rheda.

Spatha.

Gessum.

Lancea.

Vestium Nomina.

Cateia.

Matara.

Rheno.

Thyreus. *Tarei, Hib.*

Sagus.

Cetra.

Linna †.

Carnon. } *Carnan, vi-*
 } *deas, quaras.*

Gaunacum.

Bardiacus, pro Bardis.

† *Linnae*, saga quadra et mollia sunt, de quibus Plaut. *Linnae* cooperta est textrino Gallia. Isidor.

Linna Diodoro est *αίγυς ψιδός*, et Varroni mollis *sagus*. Hibernis hodiernis indusium est non una mutata littera.

Bardocucullus, etiam pro Bardis.
 Braccæ, pro omnibus. *Breaccan.*
 Maniaci.

Animalium Nomina.

Marc, Equus.
 Rhapsius, Lupus Cervinus.
 Abrana, Simia.
 Barracacæ, Pellium, &c.
 Lug. Cornix. Mus.
 Clupea. Piscis species.



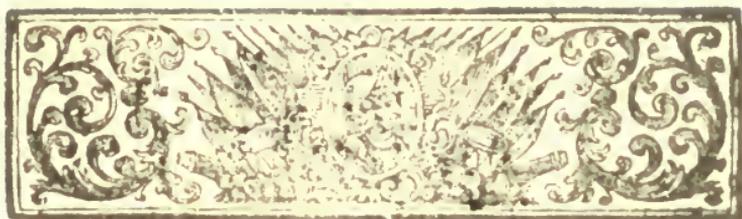
C I C E R O
ILLUSTRATUS,
DISSERTATIO
PHILOLOGICO-CRITICA:

S I V E

Consilium de toto edendo CICERONE, alia
plane methodo quam hætenus unquam
factum.

*Vixit, vivetque per omnem seculorum memoriam: dum-
que hoc vel forte, vel providentiâ, vel ut unque con-
stitutum, rerum Naturæ corpus (quod ille paenè so-
lus Romanorum antioro vidit, ingenio complexus est,
eloquentiâ illuminavit) manebit incolum., comitem
ævi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet.*

Vel. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 66.



CICERO ILLUSTRATUS.

CAPUT I.

Viro
Natalibus, ingenio, literis, armis
Insigni,

D. D. GEORGIO GULIELMO

Baroni de Hohendorf,

In copiis sac. Caes. Majest. equitum Tribuno,

Serenissimi Principis

Summique Imperatoris

EUGENII SABAUDI

Adjutori generali & Optioni,

S. P. D.

JOANNES TOLANDUS.



IR quidam, ad miraculum usque
cruditus, saepe me dicentem au-
divit, CICERONEM MIHI SIMPLI-
TALEM FORE, QUALIS CICERONI
EXTITERAT PLATO: cūmque idem
istud in scriptis meis (omni tamen compara-
tione procul remotā) non semel legisset, enixè

assiduèque hortatus est, ut novam hujus incomparabilis Oratoris, optimi Civis, sapientissimi Maritimi Philofophi, editionem adornare vellem. Nemo enim amico nostro acutiùs ea animadvertere solet, quae in quibusvis editionibus aut exuberent quoquo modo aut deficiant; sive quòd editores aliqui oscurantes nimis & imprudentes fuerint, sive quòd aliqui subsidiis mirùs & otio gavisi sint; sive hoc denique (quod frequentius certè) ex plerorumque Grammaticorum ac Commentatorum ridicula affectatione, ex fastidiosi doctrinae ostentatione, ex declamatoria rerum pusillarum amplificatione, aut ex arrogantia minimè ferendâ evenerit. Impulsu ergo hujus amocniorum studiorum arbitri, ac vehementi meâ erga Ciceronem propensione commotus, non exemplar modò, sed consilium etiam perfectioris omni ratione, quam unquam hætenus, editionis faciundæ, tacitus mecum primò efformavi. Haud parum deinceps in proposito me confirmarunt viri, non magis iudicii laude, quàm scientiæ amplitudine conspicui: nam paucissimis, fateor, quorum apud me auctoritas plus quàm multitudinis approbatio valet, quali in hoc negotio animo essem, aperui. Et pergere demum præ omnibus unus accendebat, qui utilissimum hujusmodi coeptum pro merito quidem aestimare imò & liberaliter insuper promoveri potis est.

II. SED O Dii boni! quàm altos susulsi animos, quantumque incitatus his studiis & in-

inflammatus eo die Generosissime BARO) quo deductus sum a te primâ vice ad serenissimum EUGENIUM SABAUDUM, nomen toto orbe celeberrimum, & literarum cultoribus imprimis venerandum, cum sit ipse omnium bonarum artium decus & lumen! Quando intronissus (inquam) Hagae-Comitis ad cellissimum Principem, ac praesentem intueri fas erat, immo quando mentem eius sensitque circa hanc ipsam Ciceronis editionem perspicere dabatur; non diutius licuit ambigere, non amplius hære, quin me meaque omnia statim in fidem & potestatem victoris permitterem. Antea mihi cum omnibus, quos oriens sol aut occidens respicit, iuxta notum erat, illum non modo eorum hominum qui nunc sunt gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam bellicâ virtute superasse, omnetque omnium gentium Imperatorum res gestas longe post se reliquisse. nullae siquidem *nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero praeciorum, nec varietate regionum, nec claritate consiendi*, cum ipsius praeclaris facinoribus conierri possunt. Quod enim belli genus in quo eum non exerceuit fortuna, virtus non reddiderit victorem? An Turcicum memorem vel Hungaricum, Germanicum, Italicum, Allobrogicum, Belgicum, Gallicum, aliaque bella? in quibus manum ipsius & animum indomitum obsecratura nulla unquam sit oblivio. Ut Tullii verbis illum fideliter exprimere pergam, *saepius eum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit: plura bella gessit, quam*

ceteri

ceteri legerunt: plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt: & ejus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis; non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis; non stipendiis sed triumphis est erudita. Haec, aio, omnia non poterant non mihi esse notissima. Sed in cum usque diem me fateor latuisse (quod exinde luculenter cognovi) non minus scilicet EUGENIUM literis esse potentem quam armis? nec literis tantum humanioribus, quae ipsi in deliciis sunt, sed arte etiam historica graphicè pollere: non in Romanis duntaxat & Graecis antiquitatibus esse veritatum, sed praestantissimam ejus esse peritiam in universo jure belli & pacis, quod non solum libri, sed res ipsae docuerunt; cum usque & ingenio tantum valeat, quantum fide & auctoritate. Philosophiam, seu naturae contemplationem & morum doctrinam, qua nullum majus aut melius à Diis datum munus habet, in omnium morum omnium oculatissimus simul & moralissimus non invitâ attigit Minerva. Nae incredibile dictum est, quantos in omnibus ejus partibus progressus fecerit. Inde venit, ut tam facilis sit ad eum privatorum aditus, ut tantus sit in eo lepos, venustas, & elegantia sermonis; ut nemo denique illum prudentiâ, consilio, constantiâ, fortitudine, magnitudine animi, innocentia, probitate, aut ullo genere laudis excellat: & talis hercule est, ut quicquid de eo dicitur, idem de nullo alio eodem modo intelligi possit; unus nempe, qui omnia

tanquam singula absolvat. Tam largus est & munificus in artium liberalium, immo & ingeniosarum, excultores (quos benigno semper excipit vultu) ut beneficentia ipsius & liberalitas in proverbium jam abierint. Picturae, Poetico, & Musices non stadiosior, quam doctus & intelligens aestimator. Sed librorum amor, quos undiquaque miranda cum diligentia & delectu conquirat, alia fere omnia studia si peravit. Ardorem hunc Bibliothecae locupletissimae infraendae nostrates omni praedicatione decorandum censuerunt praeterita hieme, quando, Danubio, Pado, Rheno, Mosae jampridem mirabilis, Oceano tandem & Thamesi nostro maiorem se adhuc & clariorem spectandum obtulit. Praesentiam eius diu est, quod Baravis inviderunt Britanni. Utinam & hic consistat illa Invidia! *Hunc audi bant antea, nunc autem vident, tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate; ut ii beatissimi esse videntur, et ad quos ille diutissime commoratur.* A remotissimis finibus, & ab ultima terrarum Thule, fit bonorum omnium apud hospitium eius concursus. Aures eius acclamationibus, oculos tuos gratissimo spectaculo implent. Oppletae undique viae, angustus ipsi trames relictus. Senes, pueri, matronae, virgines, nobiles, ignobiles, certim videre & coram venerari gellunt; paucis omnino exceptis, apud quos *non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet, non iudicium, non existimatio creum, non posteritatis verecundia.* Non tantam ergo res
 eius

ejus bellicae à Britannis jam celebrabuntur, ut antea; sed rerum etiam humanarum ac divinarum scientia, in castris (quod mirandum) & tumultu comparata: nam unicus ferè post antiquos junxit EUGENIUS, res hoc tempore diversissimas, Literas & Arma. At quo progredior? Nullius est certè tanta dicendi aut scribendi copia, quae non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, ac multo minus exaequare, tot animi dotes, tot egregia facta possit; omnium tamen populorum literis atque linguis memoranda. Sic longè denique latèque diffusae sunt ejus laudes, ut gloriae ejus domicilium ipsis universi finibus terminetur. Caetera praestabit honor aeternus Annalium. Dum anima ergo spirabo meâ, HOHENDORFI, tui in me beneficii, qui notitiam tanti herois & favorem mihi conciliasti, nunquam ero immemor; nec ulla unquam dies gratias tanto debitas officio definiet. O me beatum! qui te habeam non solum acquirissimum studiorum meorum aestimatorem, sed acrem subinde hortatorem & idoneum. Quum facillimè idcirco in nemine tuo acquiescam, par est ut accuratè tecum & particulatim, de meo in edendo Cicerone proposito, agam; unde meam quoque de ipso Cicerone, ut & de quibusdam maleferiatis Aristarchis, sententiam ediscas. Ceterùm, quòd diligi a te & curari me intelligam, immortaliter gaudeo.

III. QUAMVIS imprimis persuasum habeam omnium gentium atque temporum ingenia,
dum-

dummodo rerum adjuncta rite pensitentur, esse aequalia: quae tamen ex puoicae disciplinae aut privatae educationis methodis diversissimis, quae ex plerorumque hominum occupationibus necessariis aut voluntaria exercitatione, sic fere contingit; ut quicquid in eloquentia & rerum politicarum studiis profecerimus, potioram partem, Graecis id omne & Latinis scriptoribus ex aequo debeamus. Horum nempe manus in Libris tuis (quasi ex sepulcris alloquentes) orbi omni tradiderunt, jamque etiam nunc tradunt, ornatioris sermonis, rei publicae prudenter administrandae, morum politiorum simul & castissimorum praecleara documenta; innumeris omnia illustrata & confirmata exemplis. Hinc accidit, ut elaboratissima linguarum hodiernarum idiomata, leges & consuetudines probatissimae, ac selectissima etiam proverbia, sint a nobismet ipsis, aut ab aliis inter legendum inde desumpta: plurimi enim, qui Graecis nunquam aut Romanis literis operam impenderunt, doctiorum tamen labores vel pertractando crebrius vel imitando, eadem illinc elegantiae, perspicuitatis, atque ordinis emolumenta lucrati sunt; ut de solidiori rerum cognitione, aut de egregiis omni eventui accommodandis exemplis, nihil dicam.

IV. HORUM verò antiquorum, non uno tantum nomine praestantissimus semper habendus est MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO; sed omnium etiam defectum quodammodo supplere posset, si, ad reliquorum instar, fuissent
ad.

adhucdum restantes deperditi. Quòd in historia Philosophorum & doctrina tradendâ, in Politicorum speculationibus & exercitiis, ac (quod primum memorare debueram) in origine, progressu, & perfectione Eloquentiae, Romanis omnibus tam extantibus quàm extinctis immensum antecellat, est proculdubio verissimum; si fidem potissimum illis adhibemus, quorum in hac causa testimonium sine absurditate recusari nequit, utpote qui proximi ab illo sint ipsi in hisce artibus principes censendi. Graecos illos, quos primum perquam diligenter evoluit, ac postea non minus feliciter imitatus est, longissimè demum superavit, & totum idcirco genus humanum.

V. TUTO nihilosecius asseverare possum, eundem hunc *Ciceronem* non paucis in ipso orbe Literario penè ignotum esse; etiamsi nullius profectò nomen, idque meritissimò, in omnium ore frequentius versetur. A simulatis Grammaticis (nam genuinos plurimi facio) ab ignobilibus, inquam, verborum opificibus ita ineptè tractatus, & tam perversis etiamnum modis acceptus est, ut ex ipsis unum fuisse complures existiment; unde omnes quotquot foedissimo hoc errore post Philelphum laborant, illum aequè ac trivialem quemvis ludimagistrum aut petulantem refugiant paedagogum. Idem de Rhetoribus dico, putido illo sensu quo vulgò nunc intelliguntur umbratiles Declamatores. Causidici, pragmatici, & procuratores, vel blanditiis illum, vel metu,

ru, vel numeribus, vel fraude adurgent, ut in ipſo um Co legum ſe cooptatum profiteatur: nec deſunt, qui allegata praestent, falſi teſtes: aut, qui argutiis hominem illaqueare velint, legulei. Hoc apud imperitos facit, ut verboſus, impudens, venalis, & litigioſus habeatur, eadem odioſa imputatione, qua rabulae forenſes & cavillatores, digniſſimis Patronorum Advocatorumque vitae conditionibus indigniſſimè abutuntur. Nullus eſt urbeculae vel tenuiſſimae praefectus, ſive Major ſit (ut barbare loquuntur) ſive Burgomagifter; non ſyndicus, non ſcabinus, non ſcultetus, non viae publicae vel aedificiorum curator, quin ſe Ciceronem, aut ſimilem omnino ſibi Ciceronem credat: tam appoſitè rebus adaptaverunt nomina recentiores Critici! illis namque tot Conſules, Praetores, Aediles, Quaeftores (& quid non huius generis?) hi omnes ſiunt, evadunt, cluunt.

VI. TU autem (Vir Illuſtriſſime) qui Reipublicae Romanae formam & adminiſtrationem, qualemque in ea locum noſter obtinuerit, tam probè calles; adeo hæc omnia à veritate abhorrere noviſti, ut nullus jam in Europa Princeps, aut alius quicumque magiſtratus, ſe gradu & dignitate cum Cicerone exaequare, non plus quam ditiones ſuas & auctoriſtatem Romano Imperio acquirare, poſſit. At, quod ejus famæ claritatem magis adauget, ex equeſtris ordinis novo homine, Romae, tunc orbis terrarum dominae,

minae, Quaestor, Aedilis, Praetor, Consul, Augur, Proconsul cum Imperio, perpetuâ serie electus est, Imperatorque ab exercitu in Cilicia salutatus. Erat non sui modò, sed omnium equidem temporum, scientiae civilis peritissimus; quod *Orationes & Epistolae* luculenter ostendunt. Eloquentiae ipsius amplitudo oibis Imperio par; & hostis quondam Julius Caesar (nemo siquidem illi inimicus patriae amicus esse poterat) agnovit Ciceronem (1) *omnium triumphorum lauream adeptum majorem, quanto plus est, ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quàm Imperii*: posterius namque hoc bestiis nobiscum commune est; cùm prius istud a Ratione, qua Deum quadantenus referimus, profiscatur. Erat Orator Ille omnibus numeris absolutus, quem antiquiores sibi nunquam cognitum, sed in animo duntaxat effictum & adumbratum, fatentur; qualisque ipse mehercule addubitat, an unquam extiterit. Coactanei verò, & alii cuncti in hodiernum usque diem, Ciceronem solum fuisse mortalium omnibus ingenii dotibus praeditum, unâ voce conclamant. Proh Jupiter! quam est verborum copiâ, delectu, situ admirabilis! quanta orationis dignitas, efficacia, suavitas! quàm exuberantes inventionis fontes, & paratissima rerum eligendarum amplificandarumque topica! quàm exquisitus & concinnus ordo! quàm limpida & defocata perspicuitas! quàm

(1) Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 10.

stupenda elegantia, & pulcherrima lumina totum exornant ! quantus in commovendo pariter ac delectando artifex ! qualis tamen (ut verbo dicam) argumentandi non interrupta series, quantaque persuadendi vis nequaquam resistenda ! facilis tamen ubique & expeditus est, simplicissimus, jucundissimus, honestissimus. Hoc quaecunque elogium ad meritorum sublimitatem nimis quantum humile ! nam Romanorum civium fuit haud dubie optimus, patriae autem prae universis amantissimus (in quibus Cato solus non sine rivali ipsum reliquit) & sui denique temporis, nec illo scientiae miraculo Varrone excepto, in omni doctrinae genere eruditissimus. Non Oratoribus enim, Politicis, & Philosophis pervestigandis totus incubuit ; sed quicquid etiam Poetae, Grammatici, Geographi, Historici scripserant, quicquid Graecae docuerunt vel Latinae literae, id omne imbiberat penitus & animo complexus est. Ne quem fallat rerum haec minuta expositio, non subvercor : namque te (HOHENDORFI) famam mihi & auctoritate tantopere praecellentem, non minimum eorum quae vel jam dixi, vel denuo dicturus sum, ignorare ullatenus arbitror. Levissima istiusmodi stoliditatis suspicio mihi me, ac omnibus juxta, deridendum objiceret. Honestam solummodo ambitione animatus, tibi demonstrare percupio, me de Auctore nostro adeo recte sentire ; ut accuratum illud novae editionis consilium, quod tuo subacriori iudicio submittendum proposui, confecturum me, ac

ad exitum pro rei dignitate perducturum, sit admodum verisimile.

VII. METHODUS illa verè præposterâ, qua Ciceronis opera in crudium puerulorum manus tenerè ac sine delectu conjiciuntur a nullius acuminis ludimagistris, qui eos flagris quoque inclementer accipere solent, cùm minus consequuntur, quae neque juventutis perfaepe neque reipublicae rectores satis intelligunt; haec (inquam) disciplina iliberalis in causâ est, cur tam perperam de viro illo divino plerique concipiant; & quòd aliquando ad nomen ipsius, propter verbera sic olim à plagosis Orbiliis importunè accepta, toti contremiscant. Ita quidem *Orationes* ejus & *Epistolae* (quae gravissimas de rebus civilibus controversias, eximias politicorum artes, & recondita imperii arcana complectuntur) non alio a quibusdam habentur loco, quàm *Declamationes*, quas exercitandi causâ pronuntiant quandoque scholastici; aut *Epistolas*, quas in Museis suis, absque subjecto ullo vel consiliorum socio proposito, scriptitant homines otiosi. Haec ergo & reliqua ejusdem opera, non digniori fine ab aliis leguntur, quàm ut verborum inde copiam, tanquam ex repertorio quodam, depromant; quod plurimos induxit, ut nihil in iis praeter verba reperiri censerent. Inde (sicuti credere par est) evenit, ut in libris nonnullorum, qui Ciceronem in deliciis habere prae se ferunt, sonora tantùm verba, ac sensibus omnino destituta, reperias.

Nulle

Nullo non tempore tales extiterunt, quorum & ipse in primo *de Oratore* meminit: (2) *quid est enim* (inquit) *tam furiosum, quam verborum, vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum, sonitus inanis? nullâ subjèctâ sententiâ, nec scientiâ.* Cave tamen, amabo, ne credas me Ciceronem interdicendum velle pueris, a quibus nunquam non terendus est, & ex quo quicquid libero homine dignum est hauriri possint. Unde, quaeso, Latinam linguam faciliùs, meliùs, citiùs ediscant, quàm ab ipso Romanae eloquentiae principe? Vulgarem tamen docendi rationem improbare me non diffiteor. In scholas, quasi in pistrinum aliquod, detruduntur miselli; unde, sicuti pleraeque institutae sunt, librorum odium non amorem reportant: ac postea in Academiis quibusdam cruditis ineptiis tantùm non catenati, ipsas literas, propter literatorum inanem fastum, & odia ob res nihili internecina, per totam vitam aipernantur. *At ille se profecisse sciat,* inquit Quintilianus, *cui Cicero valde placebit.*

VIII. NON infulsùs aliquando de Cicerone ferunt ulli iudicium, quàm illi e quorum manibus (tuum, si sapiunt, sequuturi exemplum) neque interdii neque noctu excuti debuit; viros intelligo natalium splendore & civili scientiâ nobiles. Ne pedaneus aliquis & calamistratus sit verborum propola, ne cum

(2) Cap. 12.

que in pretio fuit, revoces tantum in memoriam, injustae expulsiōnis tristitiam velocis laetitiae redivitū oppidō superatam. Neglecta poena (10) recipientibus, omnes ubique honorificentissimè illum exceperunt, ac in exteris provinciis insolitis prosequuti sunt honoribus. Illis, qui quocunque modo ei subvenissent, gratiae a Senatu actae, quod ipse meminit *pro Domo sua*: ut & decreta ibidem amplissima recenset de ipsius redivitū, non paganorum solummodo, montanorum, & collegiorum urbanorum, sed civitatum etiam, nationum, provinciarum, regum, ac orbis denique terrarum. Legati in ipso redivitū non solum ab omnibus Italiae urbibus, coloniis, praefecturis, & municipiis gratulabundi occurrunt (ut videre est in Orationibus *pro P. Sextio* & in *L. Pisonem*) sed ab iis insuper qui hosce miserunt, cum conjugibus & liberis, cum servis item & colonis, agebantur dies festi, viae publicae arctabantur. Obviam ei extra urbem Senatus & Populus egressus (qualis nulli unquam contigit honos) quasi (11) *Roma, sedibus suis convulsa, ad suum conservatorem completendum processisset*. Splendidissimè sic a bonis omnibus in Capitolium deductus est, ac *humeris* (ut ipse (12) alicubi dixit, & ut Rhetor ei sub Salustii nomine objicit) *Italiae reportatus*: unde non sine ra-

(10) Orat. pro domo sua apud Pontif. c. 20. Item Plutarch. in Cicerone.

(11) Orat. in Lucium Pisonem, c. 22.

(12) In extrema Oratione post redivitū in senatu. Invect. Salust. c. 4.

tionem (13) unum illum diem immortalitati aequiparandum censebat.

X. UT totum itaque Ciceronem in hoc conspectu exhibeam, quo jam non nisi dimidiatum & minusculum efflaxi, novam ejus operum de integro mollior editionem: eoque etiam animo, ut eadem commodiora prorsus & utiliora iis, in quorum gratiam conscripta sunt, officiosus reddam; Principibus scilicet viris & Nobilibus, Philosophis etiam, Politicis, Judicibus, & omnibus quibuscunque Magistratibus. Quum aliis hi sint magna ex parte disstricti occupationibus, plurimi equidem interest, ut hunc praeceptorem suum inoffenso pede, & non suspensis quasi vestigiis, percurrant. Sine mediocri saltem literarum usu, neque diuturnum quidquam, neque stabile, in aliis rebus invenient. Hoc solum permanet, ac in omni vitae parte jucundè inservit: *nam ceterae* (inquit Tullius (14) noscer) *neque temporum sunt, neque aetatum omnium, neque locorum; haec studia adolescentiam agunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis persugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.* Hujus pulcherrimae descriptionis veritatem nemo utquam te ipso (Vir Doctissime) frequentius expertus est. Domi, foris, in castris, in itineribus, seu mari seu terrà versaris,

(13) Orat. in L. Pison. c. 22. & alibi.

(14) Orat. pro Archia poeta, c. 7.

libri semper comites, libri semper ad manum. Qualisnam tandem futura est selectissima illa Bibliotheca? Sed tandem aliquando modum illum & consilium, quod in hac nova editione sequendum constituo, tibi me exponere par est: haud dubius, quin, tam in erratis benignè condonandis, quàm in iisdem severè corrigendis, sis acque futurus religiosus. Operis verò Conditiones vel Articuli (ut loquuntur) sic se habent.

XI. ART. I. CHARTAM non solummodo meliorem, & literas quàm in ulla hæcenus editione venustiores, sed quas aut inveniri aut etiam effingi poterunt optimas, nomine pollicor Bibliopolæ, qui hæc præstare obstrictus est; ac, ut bonâ fide exsolvat promissâ, ego certè curabo. Neque cultus aut ornatus negligetur: nitorem enim & elegantiam in hac Editione, non minùs quàm omnimodam aliam bonitatem proponens, quatuor figuræ vel imagines leniori ex aere caelaturâ, ab artificiosa manu profectæ, quatuor partibus, in quas Ciceronis opera distribuuntur, adaptandæ sunt; Rhetoricæ nimirum, Oratoricæ, Epistolari, & Philosophicæ. Numorum itidem, gemmarum, lapidum, Ciceronem quoquomodo referentium, in primo volumine inferentur cætypa, ad summam fidem expressa. Sed præ omnibus ornabit librum nostrum icuncula Ciceronis ærea, ex Kempiano Cimelio ad justam magnitudinem repræsentanda. Nihil autem Museo hoc Joannis Kempii, viri candidissimi, selecti-

us

us aut elegantius; cùm simulacris, inscriptionibus, numismatibus, & omni genere rariorum veterum reliquiarum, summo adhibito colligendi judicio, sit refertum. Editionis verò hæc conditio tam faciliè intelligitur, ut pluribus hic uti verbis nequaquam sit necesse.

XII. ART. 2. TEXTUM (uti vocant) omnium hæcenus fore emendatissimum, tam verborum quam interpunctionis respectu habito, haud gravatim in me suspicio. Accurata hæc interpungendi ratio, tam proficua tamque necessaria, in cunctis desideratur editionibus; adeo ut hoc ipsum, si nihil aliud præstandum esset, novam postulare videatur. Quantum solus hic defectus auctorem reddiderit difficilem, ac lectoris voluptatem minuerit, non cuiusvis modò experientia, sed quotidianæ pariter undequaque querimoniae, satis manifestum faciunt. Idoneum ergo huic vulnere remedium ferre, rem esse immensi laboris & industriæ nullus non fatebitur: ista tamen pensio nostri portio jampridem absoluta est, cum ego manu propriâ totum Ciceronem, praelo quando lubuerit subjiciendum, ante aliquot annos interpunxerim. Solertiam meam in his minutis & patientiam laudari, non acumen aut ingenium suspici, cupio. De literis proculdubio non malè meritis est Probus ille Valerius apud (15) Suetonium, qui *multa exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere, & ad-*

(15) De illust. Grammaticis.

notari curavit: soli huic, nec ulli praeterea Grammatices parti, deditus. Sed unum aut alterum interpungendi exhibere specimen non erit a scopo nostro alienum. Locus hic, ex (16) tertio *de natura Deorum*, sic in Gronoviana distinguitur editione, omnium nempe recentissimâ. *Quòd si tales Dii sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint: Natio quoque Dea putanda est: cui, cùm fana circumimus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere solemus. quæ quia partus matronarum tueatur, a Nascentibus Natio nominata est. Ea si dea est; dii omnes illi qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia. Ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quæ cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere. quod si verisimile non est: ne illud quidem est, hæc unde fluxerunt.* Ego verò sic distinguere malim, quod aliorum censurae subijcio. *Quòd si tales Dii sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint, Natio quoque Dea putanda est: cui, cùm fana circumimus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere solemus; quæ, quia partus matronarum tueatur, a nascentibus Natio nominata est. Ea si Dea est; Dii omnes illi, qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia: ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quæ cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere; quod si verisimile non est, ne illud quidem hæc unde fluxerunt.* In oratione pro Lucio Cornelio Balbo sequenti modo locus, ex capite 24to depromtus interpungitur. *Sacra Cereris, Iudices,*

summâ Majores nostri religione confici, caeremoniaque voluerunt: quae cum essent assumpta de Graecia, & per Graecas semper curata sunt sacerdotes, & Graeca omnia nominata: sed cum illam, quae Graecum illud sacrum monstraret, & faceret, ex Graecia deligerent: tamen sacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt, ut Deos immortales scientia peregrina, & externa; mente domestica, & civili precaretur. Ego sic, & rectè, ni fallor, interpungo. Sacra Cereris (Judices) summâ majoris nostri religione confici caeremoniaque voluerunt; quae, cum essent assumpta de Graecia, & per Graecas semper curata sunt Sacerdotes, & Graeca omnia nominata: sed cum illam, quae Graecum illud sacrum monstraret & faceret, ex Graecia deligerent, tamen sacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt; ut Deos immortales scientiâ peregrina & externa, mente domesticâ & civili, precaretur. Quèd locos hosce non dedita operâ selegerim cuicumque librum, ubi volet, inspicienti patebit; nec unquam ferè aliter se res habet. Non loci solum & verius ex aliis scriptoribus, a Cicerone allegatis diverso Characterè imprimuntur (ut a quibusdam jam rectè factum est) sed talia quaedam hactenus non animadverta, nec ideo ab ipsius propriis verbis satis distincta, a nobis ad aliorum normam excidentur. Commata (sive Caesa Latiniùs vel Incisa mavis) tam multa aliquando occurrunt, ut non distinguant & articulent, sed interrumpant & perturbent. Colon, sive me-
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dia distinctio, a semicolo rariùs discriminatur ; priori siquidem crebriùs utuntur editores, quia, in codicibus infimae aetatis manuscriptis, omnium ferè aliarum interpunctionum locum obtinebat. Puncta, seu absolutae Periodi, facpissime sine ullo iudicio interferuntur, nec sequentis periodi prima litera semper (uti debuit) majuscula est : quae omnia lectorem habent mirificè perplexum, maximâ auctorem injuria afficiunt, & ipsius paginae speciem deformant. Loci tamen quos superiùs adduxi, ad alios comparati, emendatissimi sunt, ut cuivis ad aperturam libri apparebit. Cum quacunque etiam volueris editione conferantur illi loci, quos, ubi usus venit, in sequentibus allegaturus sum. Membra haec & particulae orationis multoties a Cicerone nostro, summo scribendi artifice, commemorantur ; iisque duplicem attribuit causam, sermonis nempe distinctiorem, & respirationem lectoris. Illo autem tempore incisionibus, ductibus, punctis, aliisque hujus generis notis signabantur istiusmodi clausulae ; quamvis sequentibus seculis tota haec scribendi ratio a festinantibus Librariis, nulla distinctiõne nedum vocum distantia servatâ, in pejus omnino immutata est. *Clausulas* (inquit Cicero in tertio *de Oratore*) *atque interpuncta verborum, animae interclusio atque angustiae spiritus attulerunt. Versus enim* (sic paulo superius loquitur) *veteres illi in hac soluta oratione propemodum, hoc est numeros quosdam, nobis esse adhibendos putaverunt : interspirationis*

tionis enim non defatigationis nostrae, neque librariorum notis, sed verborum & sententiarum, modò interpunctas clausulas in orationibus esse voluerunt. Non ergo interpunctione tantum, sed & re ipsa, distingui debebant partes orationis: neque semper utendum est perpetuitate, & quasi conversione verborum; sed saepe carpenda membris minutioribus oratio est, quae tamen ipsa membra sunt numeris vincienda: ne (quod in Oratore dicit) infinite feratur, ut flumen, oratio; quae non aut spiritu pronunciantis, aut interductu librarii, sed numero coacta debet insistere. Et quidem frustra sunt cum omni notarum apparatu, qui structurâ & sententiâ non sua scripta distinguant.

XIII. ART. 3. POST *Dedicationem* (de qua in hac Ichnographia non opus est ut amplius loquar) sequetur *Vita Ciceronis*, per Consulatus intersecta, ac a Francisco Fabricio Marcodurano conscripta. Eiusdem vitae rationes ab aliis pariter editas multis nominibus post se reliquit Fabricius, vir summa diligentia, iudicio, & candore praeditus: nec ob ea quae ipsum effugerunt tam est culpandus, quàm laudandus propter ea quae solertissime omnium collegit. Inter plura quae praetermiserat, annumeranda ratio illa est, quam in Ciceronis elogio supra retulimus; qua ipsius nempe in exilium profectio a nimia lenitate & timiditate vindicatur. Ut aliud adhuc exemplum praebeam, nullam adhibuit defensionem

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nem

nem contra illos, qui levitatis eum & inconstantiae infimularunt; quia cum iis nimirum, a quibus antea solebat dissentire, in gratiam non semel redierat. Non ille tamen, sed ejus familiares de sententia decedebant, nec ullus sapiens secus unquam fecerat: *illi namque, qui iisdem, quicquid agant, pertinacius student, non judicium aliquod habent de Reipublicae utilitate* (ut optimè (17) animadvertit) *sed hominibus amici aut inimici sunt.* Ipsum ulterius loquentem audias, & si potes, reprehendas. (18) *Stare enim omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo Reipublicae; qui, quoniam versetur, eam deligere partem, ad quam nos illius utilitas salusque converterit.* Regulam hanc egregiâ illustrat similitudine. (19) *Accum videam navem secundis ventis, cursum suum tenentem, si non ea eum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, sed alium non minùs tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempestate pugnem periculosè potius, quàm illi, salute praesertim propositâ, obtemperem & paream? neque enim inconstantis puto sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium atque cursum, ex reipublicae tempestate moderari. Ego verò haec didici, haec vidi, haec scripta legi; haec de sapientissimis & clarissimis viris, & in hac republica & in aliis civitatibus, monumenta nobis literae prodiderunt: non semper easdem sententias ab iisdem, sed quascunque*

(17) Orat. pro Cn. Plancio, c. 39.

(18) Ibid. c. 38.

(19) Ibid. c. 39.

Reipublicae status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiae postulare, esse defendendas, quod ego & facio (Laterensis) & semper faciam; libertatemque, quam in me requiris, quam ego neque dimisi unquam neque dimittam, non in pertinacia, sed in quadam moderatione positam putabo. Talia bene multa Ciceronis historiae pernecessaria, nec minoris momenti ad vulgaria de vitae ratione eluenda praesudicia, in *Annalibus* a Fabricio omittuntur.

XIV. ART. 4. Ut huic ergo auctori succenturiatus veniam, tractatui ipsius, pro meo jure, *Critico-Historicam Dissertationem* subnectam. Multa persequetur specialia capita ab aliis scriptoribus, qui totam Ciceronis vitam, aut aliquam saltem scripserunt partem, observata, ut & praetermissa. Tales sunt Plutarchus, Leonardus Aretinus, Constantius Felix, Henricus Bullingerus, Petrus Ramus, Sebastianus Corradus, & alii plurimi. Disceptationes pariter eruditorum & disquisitiones, sive laudem Ciceronis sive vituperium exhibentes, in Dissertatione nostra pari fidelitate & brevitate exponentur; ut & omnia quae fortem ipsius aut timidum animum, aequitatem, doctrinam, partium studium, stitium, amores (si Diis placet) vel similia spectant. Duo jam a Fabricio omissa notavi, quibus tertium nunc adjiciendum. Nullum ferè hominem aut librum contules, qui Ciceronem non nimium sane & valde frequentem in propriis laudibus criminantur. Statim dicturi sunt Lucium Lucceium,

ceium, ut Consulatus sui historiam (a seipso Latinis versibus & prosa Graeca editam) soluta oratione perscriberet, maximè (20) sollicitatum; eandemque gratiam, eum a (21) Graeculo quodam, ut eundem Consulatum Graecis scilicet versibus ederet, expetiisse: imo triumphum se reportaturos non desperant, quando ab amico suo Marco Bruto culpatum (22) ostendunt, quòd Nonas Decembris semper in ore haberet: tempus videlicet illud quo Catilinae conjurationem everterat. Sed, ut innumeris non immorer exemplis quibus se defendere possit, immensa illa laudum cupido, sine qua nihil unquam aut bonum aut magnum susceptum, satis excusatum habet; *nullam enim virtus* (inquit ipse) (23) *aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis & gloriae: quâ quidem detractâ, quid est quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo & tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus?* Non solum tamen nominis perpetuandî desiderium (quamvis & id quoque prae oculis semper habuisse (24) generosè fatetur) eum, ut tam saepe de se loqueretur, impellerat. In multis aliis orationibus, acquè ac in illis pro *Domo sua*, pro *P. Sextio*, & in *L. Pisonem*, de rebus suis, non minùs quàm eorum quos vel defenderet vel accusaret, agebatur. Inimicorum praeterea mendacia & calumnias nunquam non

(20) Epist. fam. l. 5. ep. 12.

(21) Pro Archia, c. 11.

(22) Epist. fam. l. 1. ep. 9. ibid. ep. 16. & ep. 1. l. 1. ad Att.

(23) Orat. pro Archia Poeta, c. 11. & alibi.

(24) Ibid. c. 6. & infinitis aliis locis.

refellere ac diluere necessario adigebatur, ut pleribus confirmare exemplis in prochi foret: sed illud quod inimicissimo Clodio, idem hoc obijcienti, respondit, ad reliquis omnibus os obturandum iussit. *Et quoniam hoc reprehendis (25) (inquit) quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius praedicare; quis unquam audivit cum ego de me, nisi coactus & necessario, dicerem. Nam si, cum mihi furta, largitiones, libidines, obijciuntur, ego respondere soleo, meis consiliis, periculis, laboribus, patriam esse conservatam; non tam sum existimandus de gestis rebus gloriari, quam de objectis non confiteri. Sed si mihi, ante haec durissima Reipublicae tempora, nihil unquam aliud objectum est, nisi crudelitas illius temporis, cum a patria perniciem depuli; quid? me huic maledicto utrum non respondere, an demisse respondere decuit? Ego vero, etiam Reipublicae semper interesse putavi, me illius pulcherrimi facti (quod ex auctoritate senatus, consensu bonorum omnium, pro salute patriae gessissem) splendorem verbis, dignitatemque retinere: praesertim cum mihi uni in hac Republica, audiente populo Romano, operam meam hanc urbem & hanc Rempublicam esse salvam, jurato dicere fas fuisset. Integrum hunc descripsi locum, ut una eademque operam vulgaris hujus accusationis appareat levitas, utque omissiones quas Fabricio imputavi, non*

(25) Orat. pro Domo sua ad Pontif. c. 35, 36 consulatur etiam cap. 12. orationis pro L. Sulla.

de nihilo videantur. Plurimas hujus generis animadversiones continebit Dissertatio nostra; sed locis quàm brevissimè indicatis, neque crassa nimis erit neque praelonga.

XV. ART. 5. TUNC insequetur *Textus*, eo, quo dixi, more castigatus; ac propter citationum facilitatem, in capita, majusculis notis arithmeticis insignita, distinctus. Sed alii paragraphi, absque ullo judicio facti, penitus ablegantur. Ut in quibusdam editionibus usu venit, sic in nostra quoque praefigentur *Libri quatuor Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*; seu a Cornificio vel patre vel filio conscripti, seu a Marco Gallioae, aut quocunque alio, quod in argumento, priori libro praeponendo, examinabitur. Auctorem, non doctrinâ neque eloquentiâ destitutum, Ciceronis tempore, aut non multò saltem post vixisse, satis constat. Sed quando earundem cum eo rerum & nominum definitiones tradit (quod per saepe fit) disparitas adeo palpabilis sese prodit, ut de contrariis etiam sententiis nihil dicam, quòd mirer mediis fidius Sanctum Hieronymum olim & Priscianum, vel nuperiùs Marinellum & Kirchnerum libros hos Ciceroni attribuisse. Hujus postremo dicti indubitatis operibus & fragmentis *Invectivam* contra illum, Crispo Sallustio adscriptam, & *Responsionem* non minùs ridiculè sibi ipsi imputatam, subtexam: haec enim symbolam qualemcunque ad ejus Historiam conferunt, nihilque ullo lectorum generi in nostra editione desiderandum relinquunt.

Prop-

Propter easdem rationes *Orationem ad Populum & Equites antequam iret in exilium, & Declamationem*, vel potius *Epistolam ad Octavianum* additurus sum: cum in manuscriptorum enim codicibus locum invenerint, cur idem in impressis privilegium non obtineant, haud perspicio. Reliquis etiam *Consolationem* adjungere visum, non ideo duntaxat quod a quibusdam etiamnum genuina credatur; sed quia, ut eruditissimus simul & reverendissimus Johannes Albertus Fabricius (26) advertit, eleganter scripta & lectu digna est. Alia quaedam scripta, ut manifesto spuria & barbara, praetermitto; qualia sunt *Oratio pro Marco Valerio, liber de synonymis ad L. Victurium, Orpheus sive de adolescente studioso, & Tironis notae Tachygraphicae*. Quod ad Ciceronis *de Memoria artificiali libellum*, Jacobo Lectio & aliis memoratum, attinet, fabricatus est a nescio quo, qui fraudis occasionem ex decimo sexto capite libri tertii *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*, Ciceroni falso (ut diximus) adscripti captavit. Locus sic se habet. *Memoria utrum habeat quidquam artificiosi, an omnis a natura proficiscatur, aliud dicendi tempus magis idoneum dabitur. Nunc perinde atque constet in hac re multum valere artem & praecptionem, ita de ea re loquemur: placet enim nobis esse artificium memoriae, quare placeat aliam ostendemus.* Tractatus ipse nihil aliud est quam reliqui hujus ter-

(26) Bibliot. Latin. in Cicerone.

tii libri ad finem usque interpolatio. Ars verò Memoriae Ciceroni probata, & sub Antonii persona tradita, legi potest in capitibus 86, 87, 88, libri secundi *de Oratore*. Ad omnium denique complementum, *Orationem Graecam de pace*, cum ejusdem Latina versione, ex Dione (27) Casto inferendam putavi. Latina illa, quae pro ipsius Tullii foetu, a Carolo Merovinio in editione *Orationum in usum Delphinii* obtrahitur, pudendis ubique scatet Gallicanis, neque probioris est monetae, quam Petronii Fragmenta Nodotiana. Ut, quod ad Textum pertinet, nihil amplius in praesens differam, *Epistolis* subjicitur *Index Chronologicus*, ea serie qua scriptae sunt, illas accuratè digerens, quod, ad istorum temporum historiam enucleandam, non parum adfert momenti: nam qui rerum gestarum ordinem non praeculis habent, ii planè in rebus ipsis caccutiunt.

XVI. ART. 6. CUNCTIS libris, *Orationibus*, *Dialogis*, & *Epistolis* succincta praefiguntur, sed accurata, *Argumenta*, sive Praefationes; absque his enim omnia intellectu difficillima reperientur, neque cum ullo fructu perlegenda. Hoc linguarum intermortuarum fatum est. Quando aliorum argumenta satis nobis ardebant, libenter illis, sub propriorum auctorum nominibus, usuri sumus. Quando vel nimis longa sunt, vel nimis pressa,

(27) Lib. 44.

maximè autem cum talia nulla existunt, novis tunc cudendis elaborabimus. *Philosophicos omnes & Rhetoricos* quoddam Libros ipse argumentis ab integro donabo: siquidem absque hoc, genuina Ciceronis de rebus sententia haudquaquam dignosci queat: quoniam non semper quid vere cogitarit, sed quid causa, tempus, locus, & auditores postularant, dicere contueverit. Hoc ipse certe, in Oratione supra memorata *pro A. Cluentio*, aperte (23) taterur: quando etenim ab Attio obiectum, alia cum occasione plane contrarium propugnasse, disertè sic respondit. *Illa oratio potius temporis mei, quam iudicii, & auctoritatis, fuit; cum enim accusarem & mihi initio proposuissem, ut animos & populi Romani & iudicium commoverem: cumque omnes offensiones iudiciorum, non ex mea opinione, sed ex hominum rumore, proferrem; istam rem, quae tam populariter est agitata, praeterire non potui. Sed errat vehementer si quis in Orationibus nostris, quas in iudiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitratur: omnes enim illae Orationes causarum & temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum ac patronorum.* Si huic loco aliisque similibus, advertissent Lectores, non Ciceronem tam saepe infuissimè citatum deprehenderemus, neque quam minima illi, ab iis quae fecerit & senserit alienissima, tam indigne fuissent attributa. Tale quid ab Aesconio Pediano, in scholiis ad primam *pro Cornelio*

(28) Orat. pro A. Cluentio, c. 50.

adnotatur. Sed exactissimè hoc in Dialogis animadvertendum est, quoniam ad ea, quae ex diametrio cum veris ipsius sententiis pugnant, confirmanda, vulgò allegantur; quali sufficeret, nulla loquentis ratione habitâ, ut hoc vel illud in Cicerone offendatur. Nonne eniri sui sensum, in libris *de Oratore*, cum ex ore Marci Crassi tradere perspicuum est. Quando sibi pro se *de Haruspicum responsis* in senatu perorandum erat, his nationibus & Praefagiis aliquid tribuere videri (29) voluit; idem in libris *de Legibus*, qui populo destinabantur, (30) ostendit: sed ea omnia in illis *de Divinatione*, pro alio hominum genere (Platophilis nimirum) conscriptis, praefractè quidem & planissimè everat. Nonne ipse Cotta ille est, seu Academicus, in libris *de Natura Deorum*? Unde ideo in citationibus inde pro ideis innatis, causis finalibus, consensu universali, & talibus rebus, desuntis; non Cicero, qui haec alternatur, citari debuit, sed Velleius Epicureus apud Ciceronem, Balbus Stoicus apud Ciceronem, & sic de aliis. At si quis (ut multi praeseferunt) addubitat illum sub Cottae ibi persona loquentum, quia in libri terti conclusionis, iudicium hocce tanquam (31) Auditor, tulerat; *haec cum essent dicta ita discessimus, ut Velleio Cottae disputatio verior, mihi Balbo ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propen-*

(29) Cap. 9. legatur etiam pro Domo sua ad Pontif.

(30) Lib. 2. c. 15.

(31) Cap. 40. & ult.

stior: si aliquis (inquam) contentionis quam veritatis cupidior, non videt claufulam hanc idem profus esse, ac epud recentiores librum paradoxum Catholicæ, ut loquimur, Ecclesiæ iudicio submittere; vel, ut Quintus Cicero aliis verbis fratri (32) subridens ait, *non communita jura migrare videatur*, is advertet velim, cum in libris *de Divinatione* (qui, ipso (33) pluries dicente, horum *de Natura Deorum* sunt tantummodo continuatio) librum sibi aperte detrahere, ac eadem omnino sibi ipsius nomine affirmare. Sed, ne mentem ejus non caperent tandem Lectores, subverens, satis speciatim subjectam illorum Librorum sententiam in fine secundi *de Divinatione*, his verbis (34) declarat. *Ut vere loquamur, Superstitio susa per gentes oppressit omnium serè animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit; quod & in iis Libris dictum est, qui sunt de Natura Deorum, & hac Disputatione id maxime egimus: multum enim & nobismet ipsis & nostris profuturi videbamur, si eam funditus susulissimus. Nec verò id enim diligenter intelligi volo) superstitione tollendâ Religio tollitur: nam & majorum inslituta tueri, sacris caeremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est; & esse praestantem aliquam aeternamque Naturam, & eam susulicendam admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi or-*

(32) De divinat. l. 1. c. 5.

(33) Conferatur cap. 8. l. 3. de Nat. Deor. cum 7. l. 1. de divinat. & potissimum cum cap. 1. l. 2.

(34) Ibid. c. 72.

doque rerum coelestium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem, ut Religio propaganda etiam, quae est juncta cum cognitione naturae; sic superstitionis stirpes omnes ejiciendae. Eadem regula in *Tusculanis Disputationibus*, & aliis omnibus dialogis perlegendis, est sedulò observanda, ut in Argumentis iis praefixis fusius explicabimus: non quòd sollicitus sim quaenam fuerit Ciceronis de ulla re sententia (cùm nullius in verba jurandum censeam) sed ut criticè tantùm & historicè lecturis de vera ipsius mente, seu erraverit neene, constaret. Argumentis praecipuè opus est ante *Orationes*, quae ideo minus placent & intelliguntur quàm reliqua Ciceronis opera, quia perpetuae inibi allusiones & provocationes ad Leges sunt. Quamvis Orator enim & Jurisconsultus non iidem (ut a millibus ineptè putatur) fuissent, & quod *Orationes* haec tantùm a recentioribus fori acritationibus, quantum Romanae Reipublicae Proceres a conductis Advocatis differant: legum tamen Romanarum non solum peritissimus, sed in omnibus itidem Juris subtilitatibus, tricis, & argutiolis erat Cicero versatissimus, quod ab illo Jurisprudèntiae & Francquerae suae ornamento, Antonio Schultingio, luculentissimè (35) demonstratum est. Non possum quin, hac occasione, unicum ex oratione pro *L. Murena*, adducam locum, ubi quorundam Jurisconsultorum scribendi ratio (quod de Medicis nonnullis aequè verum est)

(35) In Oratione de Jurisprudèntia M. T. Ciceronis.

falsè (36) perstringitur; quod mirifico scilicet inanum aut barbararum vocum involuero sua omnia ex industria obtegant: *quae dum erant occulta* (inquit nosler) *necessariò ab eis, qui ea tenuerunt, petebantur; postea verò perculgata, atque in verbis jaclata & excussa, inaccessissima prudentiae reperta sunt, fraudis autem & stultitiae plenissima.* Sed ut de Graecis in totum sileam, quod nullà seu a Juris seu a Medicinae ingenio, necessitate adacti ita Latine scribunt recentiores, satis superque testantur Celsus Medicus, & illi, quorum in *Pandectis* habemus fragmenta, doctiores Jurisconsulti. Ut obiter dicam, fragmenta, quotquot extant, *duodecim Tabularum* ad calcem librorum *de Legibus*, propter non leves rationes, suo loco dicendas, inferere operae pretium duxi.

XVII. ART. 7. VARIÆ alienius momenti *Lectiones* haecenus in lucem emissæ, cum plurium manuscriptorum codicum collationibus, a me ipso vel ab amicis factis, ad uniuscujusque paginae calcem adjicientur. Hic labor non invitè nec ignavè impendendus est, cum antiqui scriptores fuerint ab indoctis libranis miserum in modum lacinati, & in illa sæculorum barbarie, non omnes duntaxat factè lacerati, sed plerique etiam ad interitum perducti; adeo ut ullos ex tanto naufragio superesse, pro miraculo habendum sit.

At nugas istas, quibus librum & famam suam onerare gestiunt quidam editores, maximâ qua possit sedulitate evitabimus; quales sunt meri descriptoris lapsus, aut voces quae utroque modò aequè commodè scribuntur: utrùm (verbi gratiâ) *tanquam* vel *tamquam*, *unquam* vel *umquam*, *paenè* vel *pene*, *foelix* vel *felix*, *caeterùm* vel *ceterùm*, *imprimis* vel *inprimis*, cum talibus innumeris, legere debeamus. Nec similia nudè unquam proponuntur, sed criticis (si Diis placet) observationibus semper ad ostentationem comitata. Modi quinotiam loquendi, quibus promiscuè uti possumus, aut nunquam pro variis lectionibus aut simpliciter tantum allegari debent. An opus erat ut celeberrimus Jacobus Gronovius, qui alias non malè de Cicerone meritus est, notam, triginta versibus & charactere constantem minutissimo, (37) conderet? qua seriò discuteret, utrùm *ad confirmandum & confutandum* scribendum esset, an *ad confirmandum & ad confutandum*, praepositione nempe repetitâ: cum dicere satius fuisset, utrumque scribendi modum esse probum & aequaliter usurpatum; quod de *in*, & *ab*, & *e*, ac aliis perinde praepositionibus, intelligi debet. Aures hic non membranae consulendae. Quando ergo varia aliqua lectio eundem exprimet sensum, & puram etiam ab utraque parte latitatem, tunc vocem eam aut phrasin textui inseram quae ipsi auctori consuetior, vel fide manuscripto-

(37) Ad Cap. 13. l. 3. Rhet. ad Heren.

rum firmator: sic in Cicerone *duo excellentes ingenii adolescentes* malo, quam *duo excellentis ingenii adolescentes*, ut & *in ista barbaria* quam *in ista barbarie*. *Inscientia* verò & *Inscitia* ita promiscue utitur Orator, ut iolus periodi numerus utramlibet praeponderare faciat. Scire veim, quare Lambinus adverbium *quoque*, ex sua conjectura, adverbio *quidem*, manusciporum auctoritate firmato, praeposuerit in hoc (38) loco? *Vide, quae so, si omnis motus, omniaque quae certis temporibus ordinem suum conseruant, divina ducimus, ne tertianas quidem febres & quartanas divinas esse dicendum sit*; ubi *quidem*, si non idem prorsus ac *quoque* significat, magis eleganter & emphatice hic interservit. Tales itaque miterrimas conjecturas, & syllabarum captationes, in totum ex nostra editione eliminabimus. Operosam hanc provinciam miro studio excoluit Gulielmius. Sic *genium* in loco quodam sub finem (39) primi *de Legibus*, invitis codicibus, prae *ingenio* mallet; quasi *ingenium* illic non magis esset appositum. Quamvis enim idem plerumque significant, cum *Genius* tamen pro spiritu ab humana mente distincto saepe accipitur, non dubito quin Cicero, ubi de hominis sui ipsius & facultatum naturalium cognitione tractat (quod ibi facit) *ingenium* consulto scripserit. Paucis interjectis versibus, nullâ necessitate nec m-

(38) Ad Cap. 10. l. 3. de Nat. Deor.

(39) Ad Cap. 22. l. 1. de Leg.

nuscriptorum fide compulsus, *a natura subornatus* excudendum voluit *natura sua ornatus*; quod deformare potius quàm emendare est. Quàm multos locos sanos satis & castigatos sic jugularunt maleferiari Critici? ut ingenii sui acumen, & ne nihil ex se afferre aut effecisse videantur, ostendant. Quantum, per Deum immortalem! tinea, blatris, & carici debent nonnulli? qui vocibus appendendis, & dimetiendis literulis, non levem gloriam aucupantur; ac ea propter antiquos legunt auctores, ut mendas effendant aut faciant, non ut qualemcunque illinc utilitatem vel sibi vel aliis proferant. Hujus generis est quod Gruterus in locum sequentem (40) confert: *quantum intervallum tandem inter te atque illum interjectum putas?* Eleganter omnino dictum. Quid igitur corrigendum? *Tollas intervallum* (inquit) *tollas interjectum, nihil discesserit de auctoris sententia*: quasi Cicero tam Laconicâ usus esset scribendi ratione, ut non unico verbo, praeterquam quod sensui suo exprimendo absolutè necessarium esset, uteretur; cùm in sententiarum explendis numeris (soluta namque Oratio suos non minus quam constructa numeros habet) sit maxime sedulus. Copiosa profectò apud Ciceronem omnia, sed nihil supervacuum; quo verò copiosior, eo melior. Res, ut mea fert sententia, prorsus intoleranda est, conjectores hosce quid Auctorem scripserit vel decuit vel

(40) Ad c. 5. Orat. pro C. Rabirio.

oportuit, sibi definiendum arrogare; praesertim cum alicujus tantum mendosi codicis omissione suffulti sint. *Nec abducar* (inquit Quintus (+1) Cicero) *ut rear, aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare, aut eandem gentem in fulguribus errare.* Exclamat Gruterus, (+2) *Vix potui refrænare manum, quin ejicerem illud, ut rear, quod nullo apice compareret in Palatino primo aut secundo; & certè Latine loquetur Tullius, quamvis refecetur.* Sed non minus Latine loquetur si permaneat; nam ex earum phrasium numero est, quae tam adesse quam abesse, sermonis filo non interrupto, possunt: & cum in pluribus insit bonae notae codicibus, aptius erat indicasse in duobus illis nequaquam extare. Sed quid isti non audeant? Una ex Gronovii conjecturis minùs excusanda videtur. Super his Ciceronis (+3) verbis, *at enim qui Patriam potestate, hoc est Privatam quadam, Tribunitiam potestatem, hoc est Populi potestatem, infirmat, minuit is majestatem.* Gronovius, *non opinor quenquam, inquit, credidisse, aut crediturum sic ab Cicerone scribi potuisse.* Explicationes illas Patriae & Tribunitiae potestatis intelligit. Sed obliviscitur haec esse illius constitutionis subjecta exempla, quam Rhetores vocant *definitivam, qua vis vocabuli* (ut idem exponit ibidem Cicero) *definienda verbis est,*

(41) De Divinat. l. 1. c. 18.

(42) Ad hunc locum.

(43) De Inventione, lib. 2. c. 17.

ut si aliquis sic copiosius diceret: si per tuellio, quae conjuratio tantum & rebellio est contra hominem mortalem, angustissimae dictionis magistratum, res adeo flagitiosa censenda sit; quanto magis blasphemia, quae summi numinis rerum omnium conditoris, est degradatio quaedam & defaunatio? Voces *blasphemica* & *perduellio*, sine verbis hic adjectis definitivis, ab omnibus juxta intelliguntur; attamen hodierni concionatores sacri, non minus quam veteres Gentilium oratores, sic efficacius auditorum animos commovendos arbitrantur. Paucissima allego e pluribus exempla. Aliud est variarum lectionum genus a sanis editoribus praetereundum, quando aequè de transcriptoris inscitia, ac de ejusdem otcitatione, aut nimia festinatione, liquidò constat. Quomodo (inquit (44) Cicero) *aut mentientem, quem ψευδομερον vocant, dissolvas? aut quemadmodum sortiti resistas?* Gruterus annotavit, tertium Palatinum manuscriptum habere *autem non mentientem*, quartum *aut non mentientem*: quasi publico magni interesset scire, descriptores olim fuisse non minus imperitos, quam sunt hodie plerique Typographi, qui subjecti operis ne verbum saepe intelligunt; neque pauciora, sine correctorum recognitionibus, admitterent ubique sphalmata. Sic in vulgaribus editionibus *pertractarent* ineptè inseritur pro *retractarent* in hoc

(44) De Divinat. l. 2. c. 4.

(45) loco: *qui autem omnia quae ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent & tanquam religerent, sunt dicti religiosi e religendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.* Post Gothicam invectam barbariem librorum omnium cura & descriptio penes solos Monachos fuit, qui tam crassa laborarunt ignorantia, ut literae tantum non sint interuersioni datae. Quare ubi loca aliqua Graeca in Scriptore Latino occurrebant, (sicut in illo jam allegato) appingi solebant haec aut similia verba: GRAECUM EST, NON LEGITUR. Immo vacuum multoties relinquebatur spatium, cum Graecas prorsus ignorarent literarum formas. Modis milibus vitiabatur auctorum vera scriptura: ut, exempli gratia, quando vel dictitans non satis clare & distinctè pronuntiabat voces cognati soni, vel quando describens literas affinis figurae confundebat. Sic dictitans quandoque notariis suggestit, non quae in exemplari suo erant adscripta, sed quae ipse meditantundus cogitabat. Describens saepissime peccavit ob repetitiones in eodem versu: unde una voce aut sententia exarata, alteram omisit, putans se id jam descripsisse; cuius etiam & contrarium variantes non semel produxit lectiones. Idem de ἐρωτήσεσσι, sive de versibus similitur desinentibus, dictum esto: nam hinc omissiones multoties ortae sunt. Calligraphi denique pluribus controversiis ansam praebuerunt, dum nec deire vocem aut fen-

tentiam supervacua, nec interserere voluerunt vitiose praeteritam; ne scriptiois scilicet decor periret, aut paginae species deformaretur. At ne excurram, miror Coemannum, qui libris *de Oratore* emendatius edendis non ipernendam contulit operam, hisce descriptorum lapsibus (quavis ferè paginâ) locum inter variantes lectiones concessisse. *Nam me haec tua platanus* (inquit (46) Cicero) *admoruit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa cuius umbram secutus est Socrates.* Hic Coemannus indicat codicem Joanneum habere *ad pacandum*, Pithocanum & Memmianum, quod Gruterus notavit, *placandum*, alium *occupandum*, alium *oppacandum*; perperam certè & ineptè omnes. *Eloquentia* (addit Tullius in eodem capite) *Republicam dissipaverunt.* Hic iterum Coemannus post Gruterum ex Pithocano adducit *disparuerunt*, ac *disparaverunt* conjicit licentius (ut solet) & infelicissimè Gulielmus. Nihil idcirco hujus farinae in nostra Editione, nisi breviter aliquando indicatum, comparebit: neque tantum mihi ipsi unquam permittam, ut quenquam propter oppiparas haec delicias, vel notatas scrupulosius vel neglectas, supitem appellem, fungum, bardum, asinum, temerarium, impudentem, aut ineptum; ac multo minus ut nequam, mastigiam, scelestum, ferum & ferreum, sacrilegum, plagiarium, moechum, vel caprarum ma-

atum, talem nominem. At si scurrilitas exemplis probari posset, sique in rebus tantillis his ipsis vel peioribus utendum esset Epithetis, non ignoro quam celebribus etiamnum viventium nominibus factum tueri valerem. An artis ergo tam eximiae est, codices Manuscriptos evolvere, edacem pulverem excutere, maculas a vetustate vel librariis iniustas tollere, & variantes inter se conferre lectiones? ut regnum hinc chartaceum, in liberrima literarum republica sibi arrogare quidam & palam affectare debeant? Obliterata & olentia verba e tenebris diligenter eruunt, cessere forsitan non infeliciter correctiunculae: sed quam misella superbiendi causa? quamque exile eruditionis specimen, in apicibus verborum & interpunctionibus non mediocriter esse versatum? Non minimam itaque aliorum vel proprii temporis particulam, in famosis Criticorum rixis & contentionibus, otiosus profundam; rectè quippe sentientium rationes producere contentus, neque malam ullam neque bonam sum oberantium, nisi admodum raro, facturum mentionem. Ne meas unquam aut aliorum conjecturas, probis invitis manuscriptis, in Textum audaciùs inveham, sane quam diligentissimè cavebo. Hoc esse facinus non magis arrogans quam ridiculum censeo nec segnius vitandum quam aliorum, ut superius dixi, importunitas, qui mendosis codicibus omnia emendare volunt. Sed non minus ferè post Typographiam repertam invalescit quam antea, quando librarii quicquid proprio palato non satis sapie-

bat, pro lubitu immutare aut delere consueverant. Mirum quantâ licentiâ sibi in hac Sparta adornanda imperitissimi quique indulgebant, quasi futuris Criticis materiam suppeditaturi. Tunc etiam temporis exitit insulsa illa Divinatorum natio, quorum plerique, ut nunc, illotis manibus ad haec sacra accedebant, ac omnia ideo deturparunt, profanarunt, corruerunt. Quae non satis bene intellexerant vel aliis planè verbis, vel perperam adhibitis interpunctionibus, corrigere voluerunt. Omittebant aliquando quae superflua, addebant quae necessaria videbantur. Voces acquipollentes, vel quas tales esse crediderunt, originariis saepe substituebant; & eruditorum glossemata ex margine in Textum invehere, non solis in more fuit Criticis sacris. Quascunque ergo comperero, quave linguae Latinae, quave sententiarum respectu, variantes alicujus momenti lectiones, sedulus eas (uti dixeram) adnotabo; honestâ semper commemoratione omnium promerentium factâ, & suis unicuique inventis aut emendationibus (dummodo tanti sint) adjudicatis, utcunque ab illis alio quopiam pacto dissentiam, quod sine verborum contumelia facere possim. Universis itaque (ut recolligam) lapsibus & hallucinationibus librariorum praetermissis, frivolis & temerariis rejectis conjecturis, muliebribus convitiis & pedancis vitiligationibus evitatis, ac codicibus manu exaratis (unde varias hauserim lectiones) sine ullis annectis commentatiunculis indicatis; facillimè inferas, angustius istam partem in nostra
edi-

editione spatium occupaturam, etsi multò majorem forsàn quam in ulla alia variarum verarumque lectiõum copiam producèuri simes. Locus hic, ut paucula quaedam adjiciam, me admonet. Cum fuerint ex eruditis, qui, inter alias scribendi rationes, de *stilo Lapidario* non nihil tradiderint, miror nunos admodum extitisse, qui de *stilo Variolectionario* (ut sic dicam) pro rei dignitate commentarentur: nam ab omni alio sermonis genere immentum quantum discrepat! Sed voluntate pro ratione pierumque redditâ, certè merus Regius filius est. Concise (ut multi dudum obseruarunt) abruptè, verbulo, nutu, ex folio effatur Criticus. *Non Latinum* (inquit) *hoc, haud istud placet, verba illa asterisco vel obelo notanda, mutilus hic locus, id demum rectè: rescio haec, dulco, ejicio, jugulo; sic scribo, sic muto, sic distinguo, sic restituo, & mille similia. Nec sine causa.* Sicut enim inter histriones, qui Regias partes agunt, extra theatrum quoque ferociores aliis & tumidiores reperiuntur; ita Grammaticos, absolutum in pueros imperium exercere solitos, stilum hunc e quotidiana loquendi consuetudine usurpassè, non vero est absimile. Haec idonea fortassis ratio est, quare contradici sibi tam aegrè & impatienter ferant, ac, ob leuiusculam de lana caprina controversiam, non inimicitias solùm implacabiles aduersariis denuncient; sed, strictis semel & felle illitis calamis, omnia sibi, tanquam in vero bello, licere putent. Si claritati autem, quam imaginantur, & celebritati suae vel minimum

detractum iri olfaciunt, tunc contra hostium famam (bene quòd non contra vitam & fortunas possint) quibusvis arreptis armis immaniter grassantur; non justum enim est amplius bellum, sed furor, laniena, caedes, incendia, vastationes. Sic ipsi de meris quisquiliis tragicè loqui solent. Cum non sanguis tamen, sed atramentum sit in critico certamine profundendum, pauci admodum ex seculi nostri pugilibus ferulaceam istam majestatem vel laedere vel imminuere verentur.

XVIII. ART. 8. TAMETSI integras unius, aut plurium editorum, *Notas explicatorias* non mihi in consiliis sit subtexere; ad Graevii scilicet institutum, qui fuit recentiorum Criticorum facile praestantissimus: textus nihilominus non adeo nudus & incomitatus prodibit, ac in Victori, Gruteri, & Gronovii editionibus: omnibus enim locis hiulcis, difficilibus, ambiguis, vel meritò controversis, breves quidem sed locupletes adjungam Annotationes, auctoribus (uti jam dixi) ritè laudatis, quando aliena verba sunt vel observationes. Neque heic loci, non amplius quàm in illo Variantium lectionum capite, me morosorum hominum jurgiis & altercationibus admiscebo. *Asconius Pedianus* & *Anonymus Scholiastes*, a Gronovio primùm & Graevio suis editionibus inserti, proprium in nostra locum obtinebunt: atque hic etiam, inter *Notas explicatorias*, addetur Latina versio omnium Graecarum vocum & sententiarum, quae tam frequen-

quenter in Ciceronis operibus, maximè autem in *Epistolis ad Atticum*, occurrunt. Philosophorum denique neotericorum inventa (quae putantur) & sententias vel hypothèses, cum locis quibusdam nostri Philosophi, ex vetustioribus plerunque citatis, stricte passim conferam. Ablit tamen ut hinc inferam Ciceronem ab illis expilatum, aut alios antiquos auctores, quos ne legisse quidem ex iis videntur quamplurimi. Ut ad iptas jam redeamus Annotationes, primùm quæro, cur oram libri interioriorem rebus illis orerarem, quae multo dilucidius & magis enucleatè enarrata in ipso leguntur contextu? In Oratione *pro A. Cluentio*, verba haec (47) & sequentia nullà indigent commentatione. *Quid ergo? negasne illud iudicium esse corruptum? non nego; sed ab hoc corruptum non esse confirmo. A quo igitur est corruptum? opinor, primùm, si incertum esset* — & sic idoneis argumentis probare pergit, magis verosimile videri iudicium illud ab Oppianico quam a Cluentio corruptam. At Franciscus Sylvius haec addenda putavit. *Primùm, si incertum fuisset illud a fictione argumentum est. Si incertum fuisset quam sententiam Iudices laturi essent, verosimilius fuisset iudicium corruptum ab Oppianico, qui timuisset ne condemnaretur; quam à Cluentio, qui veritus esset ne Oppianicus absolveretur: sed quum nemini dubium fuerit, quin Oppianicum, duobus jam praesudiciis condemnatum, condemnaturi fuissent; certum esse*

debet ab Oppianico de causa diffidente, non a Cluentio bene omnino sperante, corruptum iudicium. Vera haec omnia; sed meliùs, clariùs, breviùs, in ipsa leguntur Oratione. Tales notationes quid aliud sunt, nisi supervacanea textus in margine iteratio? ubi tamen superfluum nihil, aut longè petitum inesse debuit. Sed quomodo aliter fieri poterat, si grande volumen omnino conficere statuit Sylvius, aut notulas ubique indiscriminatim congerere sui esse officii, ad aliorum instar, existimavit? Nonne utraque forsan ratione inductus, ad haec verba (48) *nemo est enim qui invidiae, sine vestro ac sine talium virorum praesidio, possit resistere,* addit in margine? *Invidia est mala gratia, & malevolentia ex improbo aliquo facinore, aut huiusmodi facinoris suspitione contracta, aut improbi alicujus hominis sermone excitata: quae tantum habet momenti, tantum virium ad opprimendam etiam innocentiam, ut eam viro forti metuendam esse Aristoteles, libro Ethicorum tertio, scribat.* Nihil hic fortassis sine Aristotelis auctoritate intelligeremus. At pudet horum. Talia (si voles) in Ethico aliquo tractatu appositè dici poterant, sed minimè gentium in hoc loco. Omnes ergo morales illi loci communes, qui maximam partem Annotationum in imperfecta Graevii editione absolvunt (ut & aliorum Criticorum, qui in istam congeriem non sunt admissi, centones) ex nostra proflus sine ulla gra-

tia aut exceptione ejicientur, cum de legentium captu liberalius multò sentiamus. Quam otiose idem Sylvius ad haec tritissima ejusdem Orationis verba, (49) *pro vestra humanitate*, dixit? *aliquando spargendae sunt laudes Judicium, ut magis fiant benevoli; idque breviter faciendum, nequa suspitio assentationis subrepat*; quasi Rhetoricae praecepta tradere, non Ciceronianos exolvere nodos teneretur. Ut Sylvium dimittam, non mihi unquam jactanter attribuam quae vel ab omnibus ferè, vel ab uno aliquo, ante me observata sunt. Benè quidem (ut solet) observavit Davisius, in nupera *Tusculanarum Disputationum* editione Cantabrigiensi, turpiter errasse Eustathium, qui Pherecydem Syrium Babylonium fuisse finxit; nec minùs hallucinatos esse Augustinum Episcopum Hipponensem & Joannem Tzetzen, qui non Syrum tantùm, sed & Assyrium eum fecerunt. At illud sibi minimè arrogare debuit, quod & ipse, ut alios nunc praeteream, in meis *ad Serenam Epistolis* dudum (50) correxi. *Pherecydes Syrius* (inquit (51) Cicero) *primùm dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos*. Ad hoc rectè animadvertit Davisius in vulgatis pravè *Syrum* legi, ac, post Auctores de Syro insula natali Pherecydis loco allatos, ovans exclamat, *ut dubium esse nequeat quin veram lectionem reduxerim*; quasi id non fecissent, quos aliàs nominabo, orbi literatorum

(49) Cap. 10.

(50) Ep. 2. n. 5. pag. 28.

(51) Tusc. Disput. lib. 1. c. 16.

univerſo notiſſimi Critici. Sed Gruterum hic non emendavit Gronovius. Haec e millibus pauca exempla, caque breviora, ad codicum aperturam excerptimus. An opus erat Hottomannum, ut plures non addam, Medae nomine in Oratione *pro lege* (52) *Manilia* proſolato, veneficae illius hiftoriam ex Ovidio fuſius recitare? aut cui bono fabulas & fictiones Poeticas in tali opere pueriliter inferere, niſi parùm cognita fit hiftoriola aliqua, aut fit alluſio forſan non ſatis clara? Sed abſque notis his Mythologicis, & Ciceronis, vel aliorum ſcriptorum, locis parallelis ſive geminis, qua ratione (uti dixi) magnum librum, qui magnum ſaepe numero malum eſt, fabricare poſſent notarum Architekti? Sic Manutius, ſic alii excreverunt. Tales non una in regione novimus, qui ſcitulè de libris ex mole judicare ſolent. *Quis ergo* (ut cum Rolando Mareſio (53) querar) *tot notas, tot obſervationes ferat? quouſque tot variis, ac ſaepe vanis lectionibus omnes librorum margines implebuntur? in his enim parcergis magna fit temporis jaçtura; quibus dum vacat juventus, & circa voces haeret, res plerumque (quod praecipuum eſt) non ſatis attendit: & aliquando e manibus excutiuntur ſcriptores ipſi, antequam plenè ſint perpenni & perlecti. Certè citius totum Ciceronem evolvero, quàm decimam partem Notarum & Commentariorum in eum ſcriptorum. Quid? ſi tot Critici, dum me-*

(52) Cap. 9.

(53) Lib. 1. ep. 17.

dicas manus adferunt, libros, quos sanatos volunt, pejus perdunt? Quapropter consimilibus undequaque corrogatis sententiis, quasque non rarò in alieno loco infulciunt, turgentes pulchre & intumentes efficiunt paginas. Si justae voluminis spissitudini aliquid deesse videtur, hoc in ceterum ritibus prolixè nimis & superstiosè enucleandis resarcire norunt. Hæcenus Marcus. Plures adhuc ineptissimos Notarum conflandarum modos commemorarem (ut illi communi ferè omnium, sese invicem scilicet ad nauseam usque compilandi & transferibendi, consuetudini non immorer) ne, dum specimen exhibeo, Satyram me in literatos confarcinatores perscribere opineris. Sufficiat igitur, quòd prolixis istis omnis generis praelectionibus ablegatis, notas idoneas, sed verbis quam paucissimis, locis ubique dubiis aut obsecurioribus me adhibiturum iteratà vice spondeam. Cùm res etiam exiget, *non liquere* ingenue fatebor. Sed ut caput antecedens cum bello Criticorum, ita hoc, quod prae manibus est, cum pace claudam: plausus illos intelligo persstrepentes, & effusissimas laudes, quas in se sui que similes, sine modo ullo aut pudore congerunt. Adblandiuntur sibi invicem & assentantur, ut paria nempe retrahant elogia, vel majora forsitan eliciant: nam illis sese encomiis, propter nugas suas eruditas magnificè exornant; quibus cellissimi Principes & supremi Imperatores, ob res praeclarè gestas, decorari solent. Sed, his non satis fastui ipsorum aut ambitioni facientibus, propria sibi

exco-

excogitant praeconia; unus namque Galliae sol est, alius Britanniae sydus, hic est Germaniae ocellus, ille Hollandiae phoenix, & quintus denique salus Musarum atque sal est, flos & elixir literarum. Quòd ornamenta, lumina, senatores sùnt, ac dictatores Reipublicae literariae, vulgaria haec omnia: Zoilus enim novâ luce literas illustrat, eas nunc solus excolit Bavius & labantes sustentat, in hisce unicus latè regnat Orbilius, & totum sibi devinxit orbem Maevius; talis enim *Marcus*, non *Manius*, uti debuit, hucusque appellatus est, & *Decimus* ille, non *Decius* erat dicendus. Clarissimi sunt omnes, summi viri, eruditissimi, praestantissimi; immò celeberrimi, etsi nihil unquam scripserint, nec ipsis noti sint vicinis. Sed Titulos hos abjectè passim conferendo vice suâ exorant, & tantùm non extorquent. Quamvis hujus generis delinimentis palpum aliis plerique obtrudunt, sibi tamen ex merito contingere nulli dubitant. Sed fricare sese mutuò & demulcere pergant, dum nos ad finem properamus.

XIX. ART. 9. PRAETER Indices quosdam peculiare, *Index rerum & verborum* erit multo quàm hactenus auctior, nec unica inde aberit vox Ciceroniana; quo pacto vicem praebiturus est Indicum, quos *in usum Delphini* vocant, & plures Indices quàm sit necesse, commodissimè antevertet. Caput hoc, ut longior sim, haudquaquam exigit. Hoc tantùm adjiciam (nobilissime vir) quòd ultra
 novas

novas cujuscunque generis emendandi potiores rationes, & opportunam supervacaneorum & nugatoriorum omnium expulsionem, omnibus insuper nervis contendam, ut quicquid in aliis quibusvis editionibus praestat & praeclucet, haec una complectatur. Sed quia in Indicem mentionem incidimus, non ab re erit datâ hac occasione admonere, Indicem locorum maxime insignium in libris apologeticis pro *Religione Christiana* e Cicerone esse conflandum, quod cum commendare haud leviter debet. Graecis quidem Patribus facem praeferebant Euhemerus, Oenomaus, & hujus generis scriptores, qui fabulosos illos, Physicos, & Politicos gentium ligneos & lapideos Deos, omnium ludibrio exponere, ac tot annorum secreta traducere, non sunt veriti nedum religioni habuerunt. Latinis autem Patribus Cypriano, Tertulliano, Minutio, Lactantio, aliisque in eadem acie versantibus, arma simul & sumtus solus ferme exhibuit Cicero, ut ex ipsis eorum operibus, & locis a Commentatoribus indigitatis facile perspicuum est. Et Tullius profectò prae cunctis mortalibus Superstitionis malleus dici poterat. Ne modum verò excedere in hac ei laude tribuenda videar, in testem advoco Arnobium omni exceptione majorem. *Adduci enim (54) primùm (inquit) hoc ut credamus non possumus, immortalem illam praestantissimamque Naturam divisam esse per sexus; & esse partem unam mares,*

(54) Lib. 3. adversus Gentes.

partem esse alteram foeminas; quem quidem locum plenè jamdudum homines pectoris vivi, tam Romanis literis explicavere, quàm Graecis; & ante omnes TULLIUS Romani disertissimus generis (nullam veritus Impietatis invidiam) ingenue, constanter, & liberè, quid super tali opinione sentiret pietate cum majore monstravit. A quo si res sumere judicii veritate conscriptas, non verborum luculentias, pergeretis, perorata esset haec causa; nec secundas, ut dicitur, actiones nobis ab infantibus postularet. Sed quid aucupia verborum, splendoremque sermonis, peti ab hoc dicam? cum sciam esse non paucos, qui aversentur & fugiant libros de hoc (55) ejus, nec in aurem velint admittere lectionem opinionum suarum praesumpta vincentem: cumque alios audiam mussitare indignantes, & dicere, oportere statui per senatum aboleantur ut haec scripta, quibus Christiana Religio comprobetur, & vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Quinimo, si fuditis exploratum vos dicere quicquam de Diis vestris, erroris convincite Ciceronem, temeraria & impia dictitare refellitote, redarguite, comprobate: nam intercipere scripta, & publicatam velle submergere lectionem; non est Deos defendere, sed veritatis testimonium timere. Proh hominum inconstantiam! quod hic mussitabant duntaxat & minabantur Ethnici, ipsi postea revera perfe-

(55) Libros scilicet de Natura Deorum, de Divinatione, & de Fato, qui sunt ejusdem contra superstitionem absoluti operis tres partes.

cerunt Christiani ; ut in argumento docebimus libri tertii *de Natura Deorum*. Ante *Indices* (quod paene oblitus eram) collocabitur integer de Cicerone articulus, iuis infertis locis Additionibus, ex *Bibliotheca Latina* viri antea laudati, stupendaeque eruditionis, Joannis Alberti Fabricii ; qui Editores quotquot haecenus fuerunt ac Commentatores, seu totius operis seu alicujus seorsum partis, summo candore, judicio, & industriâ recensuit. Idem praestitit non in reliquos modò antiquos scriptores Latinos, sed etiam in Graecos : & ejus certè *Bibliotheca Graeca* nullo non pretio digna estimabitur, dum ullus Literis manebit honos.

XX. SED hic te, pro humanitate tua, obtestor atque obsecro (HOHENDORFI) ut neminem ex amicis tuis, quales sunt omnes verè eruditi, tam immaniter errare sinas ; quasi Grammaticos nimis protervè, si non iniquè quidem, exagitare gaudeam ; & Criticos non increpare duntaxat, sed & vilipendere prorsus videar. Veteris aevi fastidio (inquiet forsàn aliquis) vel nostri inductus contentu, utriusque aspernatur monumenta Tolandus. Ego certè confiteor, nulla me neque praesentis, neque praeteriti temporis admirari vitia : sed quòd Grammaticos aut Criticos despiciam, id jure merito nego ; nec permittam ut ullus homo (quisquis sit) vel ipsi arti, vel iis qui eâ peritè utuntur, me plus unquam tribuat. Quis etenim, nisi Grammatices disciplinâ penitus imbutus, congrue, purè, aut eleganter eloqui possit,

possit, nedum origines linguarum & etymologias tradere? Quis, nisi arte Criticâ pollens, rectè vel propriè, res eligat, aut falsum a vero, sublime ab humili, genuina a spuris discernat? Quis ambigua aperiat, quis enodet perplexa? Quis denique, hisce destitutus adminiculis, APTE, DISTINCTE, ORNATE scribere valeat? quod artis princeps Cicero praecepit, quodque in symbolum mihi (bonis utinam avibus) selegi. Non Artis ergo, sed hominum adnoto defectus: nec omnium sanè, quod longè absit, sed illorum solummodo qui de rebus nihili sunt ineptè gloriosi & qui putamen pro nucleo rodunt; qui vanissimâ scientiae ostentatione tumefacti, in nugis tamen amant consenescere; qui litibus sese aliosque implicare gestiunt, nec facillimè tantùm in maledicta erumpunt, sed bajulorum & cerdonum convitia sibi invicem dicunt. Tales olim extitisse, dicaces vitilitigatores, ac etiamnum extare, quis sanus inficias iverit? Sed quis inde paucorum vitia toti ordini affricanda putet, aut omnibus indiscriminatim objiciat, quod in quosdam modò convenit? Hoc esset ejusdem te criminis rerum sistere quod in aliis redarguis, & turpiter in illis errare quae docere profiteris. Ceterùm non ista, quam reprehendimus, stili acrimonia, canina facundia, litigandi prurigo, & rerum minutarum amplificatio, ita Grammaticis propria sunt, ut in nullos ex aliis professionibus aequè cadant appositè: ex nullâ siquidem arte peculiariter haec profluunt, cùm inter omnium scientiarum

rum cultores reperiantur, qui nullum vel exiguum habeant iudicium; sed a natura & ingenio adveniunt hominum, qui bonos aut malos, rixosos aut pacificos in quovis negotio sese necessariò ostendunt. Philosophi non minùs aliquando desipiunt quam Philologi, nec rariùs Theologi animas hominum quàm Medici corpora perdunt, prave dictis & factis. An hinc ergo deridendi Theologi omnes, Medici, & Philosophi? vel an ipsa Philosophia, Medicina, & Theologia prohibendae penitus sunt & proscribendae? Quis talia dicere, quod nefas equidem cogitare, iustinuerit? Theologos tamen, exempli gratiâ, novimus, qui dicta quaeque & facta aliter sentientium in sequiorem partem trahant; qui nullum unquam, quem sibi constituunt adversarium, nisi depexum bene laceratumque dimittant, qui speciem aliquam suis officiis non paratioris sint addere, quam errata ullo pacto agnoscere tardiores; qui propter res levissimas, pias chimeras, & nugas (ut sic dicam) facerrimas, dissentientes omnes orco religiose tradant. Sed quid hoc ad ipsam Theologiam? Non soli ergo Grammatici in huiusmodi sordibus sese volutant; nec soli quotvis in arenam provocare, & ut quisquis emineat, gradu suo depellere nituntur: non soli Critici superciliose, immo regiè, decidere de omnibus sibi sumunt; nec soli tamam aliorum, & labores, calumniis onerare satagunt. Vides itaque, vel potiùs alii videant (cùm ingenium meum tibi probiùs notum sit) non obtrectandi me, sed

corrigendi studio abreptum, quorundam Grammaticorum naevos ad finem capituli decimi septimi, ut & decimi octavi, liberius annotasse; neminem verò, neque vivum neque mortuum, nomine suo compellasse, cum nemini vel inimicissimo succenscam. Non possum hercle non abjectè de quibusdam sentire, & simulator est qui aliud obtendit: Sed ut animus in ipsos non est exacerbatus, sic nec effrenis erit lingua. Errores eorum (cum opus fuerit) ingenuè patefaciam; iudicio suo aequis relicto lectoribus, qui posthabito, velimus nolimus, partium studio, suum cuique tribuent, quod & alii omnes seriùs ocyùs facturi sunt. Si Criticos, quorum est iudicium habere acre, solidum, insigne, vilipendendos objicerem, propria vineta imprudens caederem, cum Grammaticum in hac Ciceronis editione, & Criticum, ipse pro viribus agam. Duas interea hominum classes facilè animadvertas, illos scilicet qui artis Grammaticae Professoribus, vel eo ipso nomine veram humanitatem & solidam doctrinam denegent; & illos, e contrario, qui omnes, exceptis Criticis Professoribus, a literarum sacris tanquam profanos procul arcent. His videntur primi in alienam messem falcem suam immittere; & illis videntur postremi non res suas peragere. Injusti omnino utriusque. Quid in Joanne Georgio Graevio, dum viveret, magis praedicares & admirareris, stupendam ac tantum non infinitam doctrinam, vel modestiam insuper, candorem, aequanimitatem,

tatem, mores cultissimos simul & castissimos? Deus bone, quàm erat sui impertiens! qualis in vultu, in voce hilaritas! quàm amans Libertatis! quantus in sermone lepos, quanta in scriptura gravitas! Grammaticus tamen, Criticus, & Professor nulli secundus. Praestantissimus item vir, & nunquam sine honore nominandus, Ezechiel Spanhemius, nuperus serenissimi Regis Borussiae Legatus extraordinarius, quamvis aulicae vitae & politicae imprimis deditus, non minùs tamen in reconditissimis Criticae mysteriis initiatus & versatus est, quam ullus unquam Professor, ac a Professoribus ipsis laudes immensas retulit. At quàm longè aberant fastus, acrimonia, adfectatio, invidentia, maledicentia! Dies me deficeret, si plurimos viventes hoc ipso tempore & florentes recenseam, qui tametsi non literarum humaniorum sint Professores, nullis tamen in hisce studiis stipendium merentibus primas cedunt. Quot etiam Professores mihi hodie notissimi, & ad extremum usque habitum venerandi, qui moribus politioribus & omni genere urbanitatis, non minùs Academiis suas, quàm doctrinâ & iudicio, illustrent. Sed nemo e tam multis nomine citandus venit, ne vel gratiam foeda adulatione aucupari, vel reliquos (contra institutum meum) ipso silentio notare videar. At mores quorundam & ingenium coloribus tam vivis expressi, ut eos agnoscere non sit admodum difficile. Verum hoc fortasse. Non mihi tamen in animo fuit ullum seorsum in scenam producere, sed

mente simplicissimâ & verâ fide contra ipsa vitia contendere. Si in alicujus autem offensionem propterea incurri, in promptu est responsio, *Qui capit ille facit*. Alii quidam non tam timendi sunt, quam ratione quavis negligendi, *quorum mentes* (ut noster (56) loquitur) *angustae, humiles, pravae, oppletae tenebris ac sordibus*, in quibus per me sane ad lubitum jaceant invidi, invisî, ignavi, inglorii.

XXI. AD te jam me converto, (incline Baro) qui non meus duntaxat, sed & ipsarum Literarum es Patronus, ut finem nimirum huic sermoni aliquando faciam. Si pensum hoc suscepisset absolvendum ex tuis doctior aliquis, non magno modò me levaret onere, sed maximâ etiam liberaret invidia. Invisuros autem praevideo non unius ordinis homines. Praecipuè labores nostros Theonino rodent dente, qui alienae famae & industriae sunt aemulatores, osiores, detractores; & qui quicquid arduum aut generosum ab ullo conceptum & tentatum est, imminuere id & in contemtionem adducere totis nituntur viribus. Deinde sunt impatienter laturo nostros conatus, qui vel hoc solo nomine quòd nostri sint, eos vitio & culpae dabunt. His non satisfacimus forsân quia vivimus. Sed utrorumque malignitas non magis me morabitur, quam otiosorum severitas, qui maledicere potius quam

(56) Orat. post redit. in Senatu, c. 4.

nihil dicere in popinis & circulis amant. Reliqua pars hominum, quae major & melior est, sine amore, sine cupiditate, sine odio, sine invidia judicabit. Ut autem me totum liberrimè tibi patefaciam, nihil me incitatiùs impeliit ad hanc Ciceronis editionem perficiendam, quàm ut stilus, qui est dicendi opifex, plenissimè mihi limatus & efformatus evadat: is verò est meâ sententia stilus optimus, qui ad id quod decet, omni rerum varietate perpensâ, prudenter accommodatur; ut magna nempe graviter, ornatè grandia, mediocria temperatè, enucleatè minora dicantur, ac splendidè cum opus fuerit vel subtiliter. Sed quorsum, inques, hic de stilorum generibus discursus? Ut postquam Critica haec & salebrosa expeditè evasero, ad Historiam condendam, & res pulcherrimas scriptis decorandas, me accingam. *Quis nescit* (ut divinè, sicut omnia, (57) Tullius) *primam esse Historiae legem, nequid falsi dicere audeat, deinde nequid veri non audeat? nequa suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, nequa similitatis?* Sed studium hocce & lux quaedam veritatis nequaquam est sufficiens, cum Historia sit pariter testis temporum & magistra vitae. Oportet igitur ut rerum & temporum ordo distributè servetur; ut clarè dicta & tersè conveniant rebus, personis, & locis; ut causae factorum & eventus proferantur, non recenseantur minuta & inutilia, neque intermiscuantur digressiones importunae; ut non ficta denique pro factis, aut limus (ut dicitur) pro

(57) De Orat. l. 2. c. 15.

limpha venditentur, sicuti abundè videre est in Volusianis quibusdam chartis, quae non aliâ quàm Vulcani luce dignae sunt. Ita quidem se res habet, ut omne a me hætenus scriptum, aut denuo scribendum, velut in transcursu elaboratum velim censeas; huic enim, quicquid egerim, semper intentus sum operi, quo nomina illorum, quos ibi collaudo, in Honoris templo immortalitati consecrarem: quoque reliquos, patriae praesertim proditores, iniustos verissimis malefactorum notis, traderem etiam hominum memoriae, hoc est, ignominiae & infamiae sempiternae. Spes est itaque, ut post tot in Ciceronem lucubrationes impensas, Latine saltem, non duodecim Tabulas, loquar: quamvis non Ciceronianorum quorundam exemplo (de quibus in *Dissertatione Historico-Critica*) ita Romani eloquii pomocria coartare affectem, & intra tam angustos redigere cancellos, ut non ex Senecis, ex Plinio utroque, ex Tacito, ex Quintilianis, ex Suetonio, ex Frontino & Vegetio, ex Aulo Gellio, ex Panegyricis & Rhetoribus antiquis, ac ex aliis aeneae & ferreae aetatis auctoribus (qui actibus suis saepe meliores) vocabula desumam a sanioribus Grammaticis recepta. Orationem quasi reffellato opere, Graeca Latinis interspergendo (ut quibusdam usui venit) non solum non contexam; sed dum ea deserbuerit insuper expectabo, ne quid praecox, inconditum, aut inemendatum edam. Nobilissimum mihi constituo argumentum, rerum illam mutationem, & quasi orbem conversum Reipublicae, ab an-

no Aerae Christianae M. DC. LXXX. VIII. ad
 secundi hujus pro Europae libertate belli exi-
 tum, sive Pax futura sit stabilis & honesta, sive
 Bellum Pacis nomine callidè involutum. Cau-
 sa scribendi principalis est Jacobi Regis ob reg-
 num male administratum (attentatâ supra leges
 potestate, suppositoque regni haerede) abdicat-
 io & exauctoratio: causa verò finalis est, Re-
 giae successione in serenissimam familiam E-
 lectoralem Hanoveranam (propter avitam no-
 stram conservandam libertatem) legitimè tran-
 slatae confirmatio & stabilimentum. Hinc
 cum augustissimis Caesaribus, cum sacro Ro-
 mano Imperio, cum praepotentibus Batavo-
 rum ordinibus, cum aliis itidem Regibus & Re-
 bus publicis, pro aris & focis contra eundem
 Gallicum tyrannum dimicantibus, foedera non
 semel sancita, & armorum junctâ societas. In
 hoc Theatro utramque paginam factura est
 EUGENII gloria, cujus etsi rerum gestarum stu-
 dio sum incensus, satisfacere etiam MARLBURII
 laudum immortalitati mirabiliter cupio. Equi-
 dem dicam ex animo quod sentiam, & quod tibi
 saepe jam dixi; si mihi inimicus fuisset MIN-
 DELHEMI Princeps, tamen ei, cum tantas res
 pro publica Libertate contra perpetuum Bri-
 tanniae nostrae hostem gessisset, gereretque
 dum licuit quotidie, non amicus esse non pos-
 sem. *Obstupefcent posteri certe imperia, pro-*
vincias, Rhenum, Mosam, Danubium, pugnas
innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, monu-
menta, munera, triumphos ejus audientes &
legentes; in primis cum huic soli e nostrati-

bus non dubitarint foederati credere omnia, & cum unus inter tot annos repertus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Talem tantumque Heroa verbis ornandum Ciceronis puravi, ipsius utpote sequutus exemplum, qui profiteretur se, in *Commentario de Consulatu suo* inchoando, totum *Isocrati Μυροδμηριον*, atque omnes ejus discipulorum arculas, ac nonnihil etiam *Aristotelia pigmenta* (58) consumpsisse. Quis futurus est Anglus ille, qui centum abhinc annis non se popularem esse MARLBURII gloriabitur? ut nos Edoardum tertium & Henricum quintum, Monfortios & Talbotos, sine partium studio nunc jaetamus. O praeclarum de illo GUILIELMI Regis gloriosissimi testimonium! *Nemini* (inquit) *mortalium est sedatius cerebellum aut corculum concitatius*: consilium inveniens deliberatissimum simul ac fortissimum animum, metaphoris usus in nostra lingua multum usitatis. Nec ego dubito, quin seris nepotulis, de celebratissimo ejus nomine disquirentibus, respondeant parentes vel magistri, ut Cicero quondam de Trebonio: virum enim fuisse, *qui libertatem populi Anglicani unius amicitiae praeposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit*. Hinc ille lachrymae. Sed de eo justis praeconiis efferendo restat in ipso opere campus amplissimus: nec ulli mehercle alii de patria carissima, aut de communi foederatorum causa bene merito,

(58) Ad Att. l. 2. ep. 1.

laudando decrimus. Si vis ergo tandem scire ad quam normam exigenda est Historia nostra, cum privatis affectibus haudquaquam res metiri soleamus, illam nobis suppeditavit in libro primo *de Officiis*, tuus meusque Cicero. Omnino, (59) inquit, qui *Reipublicae praefuturi sunt*, duo *Platonis praecepta teneant*; unum, ut *utilitatem civium sic tueantur*, ut quaecunque agunt ad eam referant, *obliti commodorum suorum*: alterum, ut *totum corpus Reipublicae curent*, ne, dum partem aliquam tueantur, *reliquas deserant*. Ut enim tutela, sic procuratio *Reipublicae ad utilitatem eorum qui commissi sunt*, non ad eorum quibus *commissa est*, gerenda est. Qui autem *parti civium consulunt*, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, *Seditionem atque Discordiam*: quo evenit ut alii populares, alii studiosi optimi cujusque videntur, pauci universorum. Hinc apud Athenienses magna discordiae, in nostra Republica non solum seditiones, sed pestifera etiam bella civilia: quae graecis & fortis civis, & in Republica dignus principatu, fugiet atque oderit; tradetque se totum *Reipublicae*, neque opes aut potentiam consecrabitur, totamque eam sic tuebitur, ut omnibus consulat. Nec vero criminibus falsis in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit, omninoque ita justitiae honestatique adhaerescet, ut dum ea conservet quamvis graeciter offendat; mortemque op-

petat potius, quàm deferat illa quae dixi. Miserrima est omnino ambitio honorumque contentio, de qua praeclarè apud eundem est Platonem: similiter facere eos, qui inter se contenderent uter potius Rempublicam administraret, ac si nautae certarent quis eorum potissimùm gubernaret. Cynosuram meam simul aspicias, HOHENDORFI, & Dissertationis finem. Vale.

Dabam 4 Non. Sept. 1712



CON-



CONJECTURA VEROSIMILIS,
DE PRIMA
TYPOGRAPHIAE
INVENTIONE.

Viro nobilissimo, tam antiquâ profapiâ,
quàm multiplici doctrina spectabili,

HUGONI WROTTELEIO
ARMIGERO,

Hospicii Lincolnensis Socio Dignissimo,

S. P. D.

JOANNES TOLANDUS.



I minùs expectationi, tamen postulationi tuæ, quæ mihi pro imperio est, satis me hodie facturum confido. Locus itaque ad Artem Typographicam quo quomodo spectans, quem tibi dixi a me in CICERONE annotatum, sic se habet in capite

capite vicesimo (sicuti distinxerunt recentiores) libri secundi *de natura Deorum*; ubi BALBUS Stoicus, contra VELLEIUM Epicurcum, sequentibus argumentatur verbis. *Hic ego non mirer esse quemquam, qui sibi persuadeat, corpora quaedam solida atque individua vi & gravitate ferri; mundumque effici ornatissimum & pulcherrimum, ex eorum concursione fortuita? Hoc qui existimet fieri potuisse, non intelligo cur non idem putet, si innumerabiles unius & viginti Formae literarum (vel aureae, vel quales libet) aliquò conjiciantur; posse ex his in terram excussis Annales ENNII, ut deinceps legi possint, effici: quod, nescio, ane in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere Fortuna.* Huic argumento neque veri hilum, neque solidi, ab Epicureis reponi poterit: sed alia nunc res agitur.

CONFERAMUS igitur hanc Tullianam pericopen cum usitata Imprimendi ratione, rebus utrinque & verbis breviter expensis. Typi illi, quibus libri ab anno circiter 1445 excuduntur, metallici sunt & fusiles; ex mixtura nimirum plumbi, stanni, & ferri, vel acris constantes. Vulgò vocantur *Formae literarum*, ex hoc ipso CICERONIS loco captatâ proculdubio nominis occasione. Et quidni exinde (sicut ego quidem suspicor) res ipsa suggeri primùm potuisset vel JOANNI GUTTENBERGIO Argentoratensi, vel JOANNI FAUSTO Moguntino, vel LAURENTIO COSTERO Harlemensi; vel, ut uno verbo dicam,

dicam, cuivis alii viro sagaci, & experimenterum non incurioso? nam de primo Inventore nihil ego definio, nec litem istam meam facio. Sermo mihi tecum est de prima Idea, quae huic Inventori sese obtulit, quamque è CICERONE haustam perquam probabile arbitror. Multò pressius & clariùs ad rem Typographicam faciunt *innumerabiles* illae omnium Alphabeti *Literarum formae* metallicae, *quales aureae* sunt, vel adhuc cum CICERONE nostro *quales libet* (quasi ligneas insuper innumeret) quam locus ullus, qui ex antiquioribus citari possit, alias.

INTEREA tamen si non ab invicem separatae exhiberentur hae CICERONTIANAE Formulae metallicae, more planè hodierno; ego cum nonnullis, inter quos OSORIUS Lusitanus & JOVIUS Italus, potius credidissimè Typographiam per PAULUM Venetum, aut alium quemlibet, acceptam a Sinis: quorum tamen imprimendi ratio, ut sanè antiquissima, sic a nostra tota aliena est. Diversitas (inquam) haec, & illae *formae literarum innumerabiles*, me alio trahunt; adeo ut Sinarum Patroni re ipsa, quod validissimum est argumenti genus, confutari videantur. Si hujusmodi quidpiam ab iis acceperunt gentes occidentales, illud Chalcographia, non Typographia fuit.

IPSA denique phrasis *imprimendi literas* apud TULLIUM occurrit, in capite decimo tertio libri primi *de Divinatione*. Sed minimè

nimè timendum est, cum celeberrimo PETRO LESCALOPERIO, ne ex hujusmodi locis adolescentes sibi persuadeant, cognitam fuisse Romanis (1) Typographiam: cùm inde solummodò concludendum sit, uti egomet nunc concludo; nimirum, quod, si hujus inventi suggestio ab ullo antiquorum manaverit, ea CICERONE imprimis tribuenda videatur.

CETERUM, ne Sinas tam subito dimittam, facile potuissent in eorum imprimendi modum incidere Europaei, si nullus unquam (quod de nullo meliercle constat) cum in Europam advexisset. Ex usu quippe quotidiano idem aliquibus in mentem venire, non res erat usquequaque insuperabilis neque tam ardua: nam ab omni retrò tempore post litteras repertas, *ferro calorato* (ut cum (2) ISIDORO sic loquar) *notas pecoribus inurebant* eorum magistri, quod a (3) COLUMELLA *Charactere signari* vocatur; quae voces, *Notae* scilicet, *Characteres*, & *Signa*, in sermone Typographico jamdudum usurpantur. Longo ante COLUMELLAM & ISIDORUM intervallo, VIRGILIANI (4) Pastores

Continuòque notas & nomina gentis inurunt.

(1) In Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. Sect. 93.

(2) Origin. lib. 20. cap. ult.

(3) De re rustica, lib. 11. cap. 12.

(4) Georg. lib. 3. ver. 158.

Nomina verò, nisi per literas, signari, non video qua ratione fieri possit. Arator, apud eundem (5) VIRGILIUM,

*Aut pecori signum, aut numeros impressit
acervis :*

qui modus imprimendi ex anulis itidem signatoris additici potuisset ; quum, dicente (6) FESTO, *signare significet modò scribere, modò anulo signa imprimere, modò pecora signis notare.* Sed ut verum cum Scholasticis barbarè dicam, *a posse ad esse non valet consequentia ;* cuius effati tot extant Demonstrationes, quot sunt Inventiones novae.

VERUM enimverò non omnino a scopo nostro alienus est locus quidam, in PROCOPII *Historia Arcana*, insignis certè & memorabilis ; quem hic integrum, e Graeco in Latinum ab ALEMANNO versum, adducere libet. *Tempore deinde procedente* (inquit *αυξοδοτων* (7) scriptor) *magnam is [JUSTINUS] consequitur potentiam, praetorianis militibus praefectus ab ANASTASIO principe ; qui, ubi fato concessit, eâ fretus JUSTINUS praefecturâ cepessivit Imperium, senex jam licet capularis : &, quod Romanis antehac non evenit, adeo literarum expers, &, quod scribitur, Analpha-*

(5) *Ibid. lib. 1. ver. 263.*

(6) *In voce signo.*

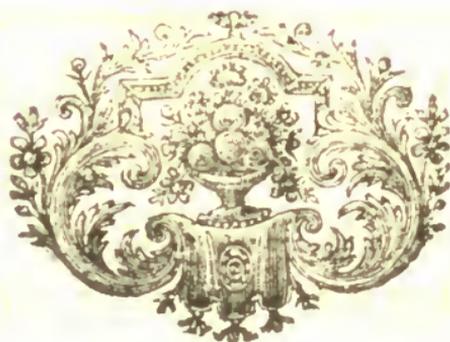
(7) *Pag. 28. Edit. Lugd.*

betus, ut cùm sui soleat nominis apices libellis indere Princeps, cùm quid imperat faciendum; ipse neque imperare, neque compos esse posset rerum gerendarum, sed PROCLUS, qui officio Quaestoris fungebatur, eique assidebat, omnia faceret pro arbitrio. Verùm, ut aliquod Imperatoris manus extaret argumentum, a magistratu, qui id muneris habet, excogitatum hoc est. Tabellae lignae perpolitae formam quatuor literarum, quae legi Latine possint, incidendam curant; eaque libello imposita, calamus (8) colore imbutus, quo scribere mos est Imperatoribus, huic principi tradebatur in manum: quam alii prehensantes ducebant, circumagebantque calamum per quatuor illas literarum formas, nempe singulas tabellae incisuras; atque ita demum, iis ab Imperatore literis reportatis, recedebant.

VIDEAS hîc quatuor literarum formas (nempe IVST colore aliquomodo) imbutas, vel regendo potiùs calamo idoneas: non impressas tamen chartae, neque chartam iis superinductam aut superimpositam. Quod si & idem hoc factum fingas, hodiernam nihilominus imprimendi ideam neque expressisset neque suggessisset. Id liquidò praestant, & ipsi quasi oculis subjiciunt (ut satis indicavi superius) CICERONIS formae literarum innume-

(8) Color iste non atramentum, sed purpuramentum fuit; sive Encausum Imperatorium ex murice factum vel cinnabari.

rabiles, metallicae, fusiles, mobiles; quod con-
 jicere me, non vero affirmare, semper
 quaesio memineris. At ne res per se clara
 nimiâ luce reddatur obscura, verbum super
 hoc argumento non addam amplius. Vale.





DE
GENERE, LOCO,
ET
TEMPORE MORTIS
JORDANI BRUNI
NOLANI.

VIRO ILLUSTRISSIMO
BARONI HOHENDORFIO,
S. P. D.
JOANNES TOLANDUS.



UAE de GASPARIS SCIOPPII ad
CONRADUM RITTERSHUSIUM, de
morte JORDANI BRUNI NOLA-
NI, *Epistola*, à me desideras (vir
illustrissime) sic se habent. Edita
primùm est in libro rarissimo,
cui titulus, *Macchiavellizatio, qua unitorum
animos dissociare nitentibus respondetur, in
gratiam Dn. Archiepiscopi castissimae vitae
Petri Pazman, succinctè excerpta. Sara-
gossae.*

gossae, excudebat Didacus Ibarra, civ. roc. XXI. cum licentia Officii SS. Inquisitionis. Liber revera alicubi in Germania excusus est; qua in sententia me confirmavit doctissimus Dominus DE LA CROZE, dum annis abhinc fermè tribus, in Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi, sermones de BRUNO confereremus. Ad eandem hanc Epistolam provocavit JOANNES HENRICUS URSINUS, citatus a NICODEMO in *Additionibus ad NICOLAI TOPPI Bibliothecam Neapolitanam*: unde summo opere miror de NOLANI mortis genere, si non de loco etiam & tempore, subdubitalse incomparabilem BAELIUM, in *DiCTIONarii critici ac historici* tomo primo, ubi de JORDANO BRUNO. SCIOPPII Epistola, denuo Jenae recensa est in Fasciculo quinto *Act. literar.* STRUVII, qui descriptum accepit exemplar à viro clarissimo GOTLOB CRANTZIO, apud Uratislavienses professore. Illam & nos, utrisque diligenter antea collatis, sic ritè legendam exhibemus.

CONRADO RITTERSHUSIO suo,

GASPAR SCIOPPIUS Fr.

Salutem.

QUAS ad nuperam tuam expostulatoriam epistolam rescripsi, non jam sanè dubito quin tibi sint redditae; quibus me tibi, de vulgato responso meo satis purgatum confido. Ut verò nunc etiam scriberem hodierna ipsa

dies me instigat, qua JORDANUS BRUNUS propter haeresin, vivus vidensque, publicè in Campo Florae, ante Theatrum Pompeii, est combustus. Existimo enim & hoc ad extremam impressae Epistolae meae partem, qua de Haereticorum poena egi, pertinere. Si enim nunc Romae esses, ex plerisque omnibus Italis audires *Lutheranum* esse combustum; & ita non mediocriter in opinione tua confirmareris, de saevitia nostra.

AT semel scire debes, mi RITTERSHUSI, Italos nostros inter Haereticos albâ linea non signare neque discernere novisse: sed quicquid est Haereticum, illud Lutheranum esse putant; in qua simplicitate ut Deus illos conservet precor, ne sciant unquam quid Haeresis alia ab aliis discrepet. Vereor enim, ne alioquin ista discernendi scientia nimis caro ipsis constet. Ut autem veritatem ipsam ex me accipias, narro tibi, idque ita esse fidem do testem, nullum prorsus Lutheranum aut Calvinianum, nisi relapsum, vel publicè scandalosum, ullo modo Romae periclitari, nedum ut morte puniatur. Haec sanctissimi Domini nostri mens est, ut omnibus Lutheranis Romam pateat liber comitatus, utque a Cardinalibus & Praeclatis Curiae nostrae, omnis generis benevolentiam & humanitatem experiantur. Atque utinam hic esses, RITTERSHUSI! scio fore ut rumores vulgares mendacii damnos. Fuit superiore mense Saxo quidam nobilis hic apud nos, qui annum ipsum domi BEZAE vixerat. Is
multis

multis Catholicis innotuit: ipse enim Cancellario Pontificis, Cardinali Sacco, qui eum humanissime excepit, & de Religione nihil prorsus cum eo cepit, nisi quod ceterum eum adhortatus est ad veritatem investigandam. De periculo jussit eum tale si non esse terrificissimum, dum ne quod publice scandalo praeberet: ac manifeste ostendemus deinde, cum ipso rumore de Artibus quibusdam in Praetorium Inquisitionis deducere perterritus illi inveniisset. At Angli illi non erant, quod vulgo ab Italis dicuntur, Lutherani, sed Puritani: & de sacrilega venerabilis sacramenti percussione, Anglis usitata, suspensi. Stricte loquar & ipse rumori vulgari crederem Brunum illum fuisse ob Lutheranismum comburam, nisi S. Inquisitionis Officio intervissem, dum sententia contra eum lata est: & sic scirem, quamnam illi Haeresin professus fuerit.

FUIT enim Brunus ille patria Nolanus, ex regno Neapolitano, professore Dominicanus: qui, cum jam annis abhinc octo decem de Transubstantiatione (rationi minime, ut CHRYSOSTOMUS tuus docet, repugnante) dubitare, imo eam prorsus negare, & statim virginitatem B. MARIAE (quam idem CHRYSOSTOMUS omnibus Cherubim & Seraphim puriorem ait) in dubium vocare coepisset, Genavam abiit. Biennium isthic commoratus, tandem quod Calvinismum per omnia non probaret, inde eiecitur Lugdunum, inde Tholosam, hinc Parisios devenit, ibique extraordina-

rium Professore[m] egit, cùm videret ordinarios cogi Missae sacro interesse. Postea Londinum profectus libellum isthic edidit *de Bestia triumphante*, hoc est, Papa, quem vestri honoris causâ Bestiam appellare solent. Inde Witebergam abiit, ibique publicè professus est biennium, ni fallor. Hinc Pragam delatus, librum edidit *de Immenso & Infinito*, itemque *de Innumerabilibus* (si titulorum sat rectè memini, nam libros ipsos Praga habui) & rursus alium *de Umbris & Ideis*; in quibus horrenda prorsusque absurdissima docet, v. g. Mundos esse innumerabiles; Animam de corpore in corpus, imo & alium in mundum migrare; unam animam bina corpora informare posse; Magiam esse rem bonam & licitam; Spiritum Sanctum esse nihil aliud nisi Animam Mundi, & hoc voluisse MOYSEN dum scribit eum fovisse aquas; Mundum esse ab aeterno; MOYSEN miracula sua per magiam operatum esse, in qua plus profecerat quam reliqui Aegyptii; cum leges suas confinxisset; sacras literas esse somnium; Diabolos salvatum iri; solos Hebraeos ab ADAMO & EVA originem ducere, reliquos ab iis duobus, quos Deus pridie fecerat; CHRISTUM non esse Deum, sed fuisse Magum insignem, & hominibus illusisse, ac propterea meritò suspensum (Italicè *impiccato* non crucifixum esse; Prophetas & Apostolos fuisse homines nequam, Magos, & plerosque suspensos. Denique infinitum foret omnia ejus portenta recensere, quae ipse & libris & vivâ voce asseruit. Uno verbo ut dicam,

quic;

quicquid unquam ab Ethnicorum Philosophis, vel a nostris antiquis & recentioribus Haereticis est assertum, id omne ipse propagavit.

P R A G A Brunsvigam & Helmstadium per-
venit, & ibi aliquamdiu professus dicitur. Inde Francofurtum, librum editurus, adiit: tandemque Venetiis in Inquisitionis manus pervenit, ubi, diu satis cum fuisset, Romam missus est, & saepius a S. Officio, quod vocant Inquisitionis, examinatus, & a summis Theologis convictus, modo quadraginta dies obiit, quibus deliberaret, modo promisit palinodiam, modo denuo suas nugas defendit, modò alias quadraginta dies impetravit. Sed tandem nihil egit aliud, nisi ut Pontificem & Inquisitionem deluderet. Tere igitur biennio postquam hic in Inquisitionem devenit, nuperà die nona Februarii, in supremi Inquisitoris Palatio, praesentibus illustrissimis Cardinalibus S. Officii Inquisitionis (qui & senio, & rerum utu, & Theologiae jamque scientiâ reliquis praestant) & consultoribus Theologis & seculari Magistratu, Urbis Governatore, fuit BRUNUS ille in locum Inquisitionis introductus, ibique, genibus flexis, sententiam contra se pronunciarî audiit. Ea autem fuit hujusmodi: narrata fuit ejus vita, studia & dogmata, & qualem Inquisitio diligentiam in convertendo illo, & fraterne monendo, adhibuerit, qualemque ille pertinaciam, & impietatem, ostenderit: inde eum degradarunt, ut dicimus, prorsusque excommunicarunt, & seculari Magistratui tra-

diderunt puniendum; rogantes, ut quàm clementissime, & sine sanguinis profusione, puniretur. Haec cum ita essent peracta, nihil ille respondit aliud, nisi minitabundus, *majorè forsan cum timore sententiam in me fertis, quàm ego accipiam.* Sic a licetoribus Gubernatoris in carcerem deductus, ibique eodiduo asservatus fuit, si vel nunc errores suos revocare vellet. Sed frustra. Hodie igitur ad rogam sive pyram deductus, cum salvatoris crucifixi imago ei jamjam morituro ostenderetur, terrore cum vultu aternatis reiecit: sicque ustulatus miserè periit, renunciaturus, credo, in reliquis illis, quos finxit Mundis, quoniam pacto homines blasphemii & impii a Romanis tractari soleant.

HIC itaque, mi RITTERSHUSI, modus est, quo contra homines, imò monstra hujus modi, procedi a nobis solet. Scire nunc ex te studeam, illic modus tibi probetur? an verò velis licere unicuique quidvis & credere & proferri? Equidem existimo te non posse cum non probare. Sed illud addendum fortè putabis: *Lutheranos talia non docere neque credere, ac proinde aliter tractandos esse.* Assentiamur ergo tibi, & nullum prorsus Lutheranium contumimus. Sed de ipso vestro LUTHERO aliam sortasse rationem iniremus. Quid enim dicis, RITTERSHUSI, si asseram & probare tibi possem, LUTHERUM non eadem quidem, quae BATUSUS, sed vel absurdiora magisque horrenda, non dico in *Convivialibus*,
sed

sed in iis quos vivus edidit libris, tanquam sententias, dogmata, & oracula, docuisse? Quid? tu hoc non credis? Mone quaeso, si nondum satis novisti eum, qui veritatem tot seculis sepultam nobis eruit; & faciam ipsa tibi loca, in quibus succum quinti illius Evangelii deprehendas, quamvis isthic anatomiam LUTHERI a PISTORIO habere possitis. Nunc si & LUTHERUS, BRUNUS est, quid de eo fieri debere censes? nimirum tardipedi Deo dandum, infelicibus usufruandum lignis. Quid illis postea, qui eum pro Evangelista, Propheta, tertio ELIA habent? Hoc tibi cogitandum potius relinquo. Tantum ut hoc mihi credas, Romanos non eâ severitate erga Haereticos experiri, qua creduntur; & qua debebant fortè erga illos, qui scientes volentes percunt. Sed de his satis. *Romæ 17. Februar. 1600.*

HUCUSQUE SCIOPPIUS. Alia quaedam ad RITTERSHUSIUM perscripta subsequuntur, sed quae nihil certè ad BRUNUM.

BRUNIANI supplicii hic habemus non auritum modo, sed magis adhuc credibilem testem, oculatum nempe, GASPAREM SCIOPPIUM; qui Inquisitoribus, dum BRUNUS interrogaretur, aderat; quique eundem postea in Campo Florae igni devorandum, ab urbis Praefacto traditum, viderat.

A JORDANI ergo morte nullae sunt vires Pyrrhonismo Historico accessurac. Hoc unum tamen inde descendum; nullius scilicet mortalium auctoritati, sine debitis allatis probationibus, confidendum, cum ipsissimus BAEIUS in errorem ducat. Eo ipso, inquit, magis magisque apparet incertitudo Historica; neque BAEIUS omni probatione destitutus videtur, cum scribat NICODEMUM, in *Additionibus* jam memoratis ad *Bibliothecam Neapolitanam*, affirmasse, non omnia, quae ab URSINO ex SCIOPPII Epistola allegantur, esse vera. At ibi de BRUNI morte non loquitur NICODEMUS, sed de variis sententiis ipsi ab Inquisitoribus & SCIOPPIO malâ fide imputatis; ac certo certius est, ista non esse vera omnia, neque verisimilia, quod & ex scriptis ejus clarissimè liquet, & ex ipsa quidem sententiarum repugnantia. Solenne hoc est Inquisitoribus, & nunquam non usurpatum, illos, quos perdere gestiunt, foedè priùs denigrare; ut plerisque animi & corporis vitiis contaminati, nullius misericordiâ, sed omnium potiùs aversatione, digni censeantur. Quo pacto enimvero Daemonum salutem (exempli gratiâ) propugnare posset BRUNUS, ut olim fecerat ORIGENES, si sacras literas pro somniis duxisset? aut, rejectis scripturis, quinam omnino de Diabolis, vel aeterna salute, sermo ipsi esset instituendus? Viderint haec S. Officii Patres. Certè per *Magiam* in scriptis suis nihil aliud unquam intellexit, praeter reconditiorem &

non

non vulgarem, quamvis maximè naturalem, sapientiam. Sic aeternam formarum materialium vicissitudinem, *Transmigrationem* quandoque appellat; quo sensu ista apud eum vox semper occurrit. Ex his de aliis eto Judicium.

SCIOPIUM verò mentem ejus non ubique assecutum esse, vel inde constat, quod libellum *de Bestia Triumphante* ad Papam referat; cum de Papa ibi nulla facta sit mentio, & Bestia haec sit multifaria Superstitio, quae credulis (ut vult) hominibus, omni loco & tempore, latè dominatur. Nec accuratius distinxit SCIOPIUS ea quae aliis personis, pro uniuscujusque propria sententia, vicissim attribuantur, ab iis quae ipse in medium adducit & tinetur BRUNUS; quod, ad Dialogorum leges, rei caput semper censeri debet.

NE quid tamen dissimulem, rerum Universalitatem ex sola credidit consistere materia, & stricto quidem sensu unam esse & infinitam; ac Globos idcirco sive Terras, vel Planetas potius & Mundos, in immenso aetheris expanse circa Soles suos, vel Stellas fixas, rotari indefinites & innumerabiles. Ex iis etiam non paucos, si non omnes, Lunis suis, seu (uti jam loquimur) Satellitibus, comitari asseruit. Quae de Anima mundi in libro Italico *de infinito, universo, & mundis*, aequivocè differit, cave ne cum Platoniorum sententia confundas: cum spiritum nullum a materiae
com-

compage distinctum intelligat, sed subtiliorem tantum ac mobiliorem materiae partem, mechanicè agentem; ut ex attenta patebit lectione istorum Dialogorum, in quibus luculenter profeculo & crudite doctrinam hanc *de mundorum pluralitate*, demonstrat. Veruntamen non is sum, ut FONTENELLUM hic, vel potius CARTESIUM, plagii incusem, etsi multorum suspitiones expertus sit posterior. De unitate autem rerum indivisibili, & infinita Universi extensione, videatur alter BRUNI libellus Italicus, *de causa, principio, & uno*; ubi omne, quod existit, prorsus esse materiale, contendit.

UT obiter dicam, diffusus valde, si non verbosus, ac nimium ingenio suo indulgens, in cunctis suis scriptis videtur. Mundos etiam suos (quod penè oblitus sum) haud aeternos, quoad praesentem formam & structuram, statuit, quod planè absurdum est: cum nihil medium dari possit inter praestantissimam quandam Intelligentiam, quae materiam omnem dirigat ac informet; & aeternam rerum omnium existentiam ac dispositionem, eo ipso modo quo jam nunc conspiciendae veniunt. Non Musca, nedum Mundus, casu effici potest; quod adversus quoscunque Epicureos, etsi mediocritatis meae conscius, in me demonstraturum suscipio. Nec res contra Platonicos difficilius confici poterit; nam uti quod nunquam incepit, nunquam est finem habiturum, sic omne quod
fac-

factum est infectum in confido: vel aeternus ergo est mundus & incorruptibilis, vel creatus aliquando & periturus.

SED hoc non agitur, ut Patris opiniones vel approbem vel recellam. Tempus, locum, & genus mortis ipsius extra omnem dubitationis arcem constitui; quod si tibi (lectissime vir) satis bene & breviter peractum contēbitur, tam gratum mihi id erit, quam quod gratissimum. *Attamen*, ut cum Cicero meo loquar, *quid tibi ego in Epistolis videor? nomine plebeio sermone egere tecum? sed Epistolis*, ut idem fabrianus, *quotidianis verbis texere solemus*. Quod reliquum est, percipio ut valeas; meque tibi, meaque omnia, vehementer commendo. *Dat. Amstelod. 1709.*





A N
A C C O U N T
O F

JORDANO BRUNO'S BOOK

*Of the infinite Universe and innumerable
Worlds: In five Dialogues:*

Written by himself in a Dedication of the
said Book to the Lord CASTELNAU, Am-
bassador from the French King to Queen
ELIZABETH.

*Translated from the Original Italian, printed in the
Year 1514.*

A Prefatory DEDICATION

*To the most illustrious Lord, MICHAEL
de CASTELNAU, Lord of Mauvissier,
Concreffault, and Fainville; Knight of the
Order of his most Christian Majesty, one of
the Members of his Privy Council, Captain
of fifty Men at Arms, and Ambassador
to the most serene Queen of England.*



IF I had held the plow, MOST IL-
LUSTRIOUS LORD, or fed a
flock, or cultivated a garden, or
mended old cloaths, none wou'd di-
stinguish, and few wou'd regard me; fewer
yet

yet wou'd reprehend me, and I might easily become agreeable to every be- But now for describing the field of Nature for being solicitous about the pasture of the Soul, for being curious about the improvement of the Understanding, and for showing some skill about the faculties of the Mind: one man, as if I had an eye to himself, does menace me; another, for being onely observ'd, does assault me; for coming near this man, he bites me; and, for laying hold of that other, he devours me. 'Tis not one who treats me in this manner, nor are they a few; they are many, and almost all.

IF you wou'd know whence this does proceed, MY LORD, the true reason is; that I am displeas'd with the bulk of mankind, I hate the vulgar rout, I despise the authority of the multitude, and am enamor'd of one particular Lady. 'Tis for her that I am free in servitude, content in pain, rich in necessity, and alive in death; and therefore 'tis likewise for her that I envy not those who are slaves in the midst of liberty, who suffer pain in their enjoyment of pleasure, who are poor tho' o'erflowing with riches, and dead when they are reputed to live: for in their body they have the chain that pinches them, in their mind the hell that overwhelms them, in their soul the error that makes them sick, and in their judgment the lethargy that kills them; having neither generosity to undertake,

nor

nor perseverance to succeed, no splendor to illustrate their works, nor learning to perpetuate their names. Hence it is, even from my passion for this beauty, that as being weary I draw not back my feet from the difficult road, nor, as being lazy, hang down my hands from the work that is before me: I turn not my shoulders, as grown desperate, to the enemy that contends with me; nor, as dazl'd, divert my eyes from the divine object.

IN the mean time, I know my self to be for the most part accounted a sophister, more desirous to appear subtil, than to be really solid; an ambitious fellow, that studies rather to set up a new and false sect, than to confirm the ancient and true doctrine; a deceiver, that aims at purchasing brightness to his own fame, by engaging others in the darkness of error; a restless spirit, that overturns the edifice of sound discipline, and makes himself a founder to some hutt of perversity. But, MY LORD, so may all the holy Deities deliver me from those that unjustly hate me, so may my own God be ever propitious to me, so may the Governors of this our globe show me their favor, so may the stars furnish me with such a seed for the field and with such a field for the seed; that the world may reap the useful and glorious fruit of my labor, by awakening the genius and opening the understanding of such as are depriv'd of light:
 so

ſo may all theſe things happen, I ſay, as it is moſt certain that I neither ſain nor pretend. If I err, I am far from thinking that I do ſo; and whether I ſpeak or write, I diſpute not for the mere love of victory (for I look upon all reputation and conqueſt to be hateful to God, to be moſt vile and diſhonorable, without Truth) but 'tis for the love of true WISDOM, and by the ſtudious admiration of this miſtreſs, that I fatigue, that I diſquiet, that I torment my ſelf.

THIS will be made evident by the demonſtrative arguments I offer, drawn from lively reaſons; as theſe are deriv'd from regulated ſenſe, which is inform'd by poſitive Ideas, that like ſo many ambaffadreſſes are ſent abroad from the ſubjects of nature: being obviouſ to thoſe that ſeek for them, clear to thoſe that conceive them, diſtinct to thoſe that conſider them, and certain to thoſe that comprehend them. But 'tis time that I preſent you, MY LORD, with my Contemplations about *the infinite Univerſe and innumerable Worlds.*

The Argument of the firſt Dialogue.

IN this Dialogue then you'll find, firſt, that the inconfancy of our Senſes ſhows they are not the principle of Certitude; which is onely acquir'd by a kind of compariſon, or by conſerring one ſenſible object, or one ſenſe with

with another: and so it is concluded that the same Truth may be in different subjects, as in the sensible object and in the understanding, as well as how this can be.

SECONDLY, you come to the beginning of the Demonstration for the infinity of the Universe, whereof the first argument alledg'd is; that those who by their imaginations wou'd set walls or bounds to it, are not able themselves to assign or fix the extremities of it.

THIRDLY, you'll perceive the absurdity of saying, that the World is finite, and that it is in it self: from which notion of *being in it self* (which agrees only to what is immense) is taken the second argument for the infinity of the Universe.

THE third argument is taken from so inconvenient and impossible an imagination, as to say, that the world is no where; whence it wou'd unavoidably follow, that it has no existence: for every thing whatsoever, be it corporeal or incorporeal, must be corporeally or incorporeally in some place.

THE fourth argument is taken from this demonstration, or very urgent objection propos'd by the Epicureans:

*Nimirum, si jam finitum constituatur
Omne quod est spatium, si quis procurrat
ad oras*

*Ultimus extremas, jaciaturque volatile telum;
Invalidis utrum contortum circibus ire
Quò fuerit missum maxis longæque volare,
An prohibere aliquid censis obstareque posse?
Nam sive est aliquid quod prohibet efficiat-
que,*

*Quò minus quò missum est veniat, finique
locet se,
Sive foras fertur, non est ea fini profecto.*

THE fifth argument is, that the Definition of Place given by ARISTOTLE (the superficies of the circumambient body) does not agree to the first, the greatest, and most common of all places; and that it cannot take in the next and immediate surface to the body contain'd, with other such slight observations that make Place to be a mathematical and not a physical thing: for between the superficies of the body containing, and the superficies of the body contain'd (which is mov'd within the same) there is always necessarily an intermediate space, which according to this Definition ought rather to be reckon'd the place; and if of this space we wou'd only take the superficies, we must then (as you shall see) in an infinite look for a finite place.

THE topic of the sixth argument is, that by making the World finite, a vacuum cannot be avoided, if that be void where there is nothing; tho we shall evince this void to be impossible.

THE seventh is, that as the Space where-in this World or Universe exists, wou'd be understood to be void, if the world had not been in it; so that space must needs be void, where this world is not. Had it not been for the World therefore, this space wou'd be indifferent from that, and the one has the same aptitude with the other; whence it will follow, that it has also the same actualness; since no aptitude is eternal without an actual occupation, and so it has the act eternally join'd to its passiveness, and is it self the very act; because actual and possible existence are not different in eternity.

THE eighth argument is, that none of the Senses excludes infinity, since we cannot deny it, merely because not comprehended by any of our senses; but rather assert it, because by it the senses are comprehended, and reason comes to their help to confirm it: nay, if we further consider, our senses do ever suppose infinity, since we always see one thing terminated by another thing; and that we never perceiv'd any thing by internal or external sense, that was not terminated by a thing,
either

either like it self, or by some other thing different from it self.

*Ante oculos etonim rem res finire videtur.
Aer dissepat colles, atque aera montes,
Terra mare, & contrà mare terras terminat
omnes
Omne quidem: verò nihil est quod finiat
extra,
Usque adeo passim patet ingens copia rebus,
Finibus exemptis in cunctas undique partes.*

EVEN by what we see then, we ought rather to infer infinity than otherwise; because nothing occurs in nature that is not terminated by another, and no one thing whatsoever is terminated by it self.

THE ninth argument is taken from hence, that infinite Space can be only deny'd in words, as those who are pertinacious use to do; considering that such parts of space where the world is not, and which are accounted nothing, cannot be conceived without an aptitude to contain, no less than that part which does actually contain.

THE tenth from hence, that if the existence of this our World be good or convenient, it is no less good or convenient that there be infinite others like it.

THE eleventh, that the goodness of this World is not possibly communicable to any other world, as my being is not communicable to this or that other man: the force of this argument you'll see in its place.

THE twelfth, that there is no reason or sense that supposes an individual, most simple, and complicating infinite, but may admit of a corporeal and explicated infinite.

THE thirteenth, that this Space which to us appears so great, is neither a part nor the whole with respect to infinity; nor can it be the subject of an infinite operation, to which what cannot be comprehended by our imbecillity is as a non-entity. And here an answer is given to a certain objection; for we say, that we do not assert infinity for the dignity of mere space, but for that of nature: since by whatever reason, this space or atmosphere of ours exists, by the same reason ought the space of every other globe to be, that can exist; and whose power is not actuated by ours, as the power of the being of ELPINUS, is not actuated by the actual being of FRACASTORIUS.

THE fourteenth argument is taken from this, that if infinite active power actuates a corporeal and dimensional being, this being must be necessarily infinite; otherwise you de-
dero-

derogate from the nature and dignity of that which can make, and of that which can be made.

THE fifteenth, that this Universe, conceiv'd in the vulgar sense, cannot be otherwise said to comprehend the perfection of all things, than as I comprehend the perfection of all my Members, and as every globe whatever is contain'd in it self; just as we say, that the man is rich, who wants nothing of what he has.

THE sixteenth, that the infinite efficient cause wou'd be absolutely defective, without an infinite effect; and yet that we cannot conceive this effect to be purely the cause it self: to which we add, that if yet it was or is so, nothing however is taken away of that which ought to be in the true effect; whence the Divines have coin'd such expressions as God's action *ad extra*, or his transient as well as his emanent acts, for thus the one becomes as infinite as the other.

THE seventeenth, that as by conceiving the infinity of the Universe the understanding rests fully satisfy'd; so by asserting the contrary, it is unavoidably plung'd into innumerable difficulties and inconveniencies: besides that in this place is occasionally repeated what was said in the second and third arguments.

THE eighteenth, that if the World be spherical, it is likewise figured and bounded; and consequently, that whatever space is beyond it (tho you may please to call it nothing) is no less figured, its concavity being necessarily join'd to the convexity of the world; for just where your nothing begins, there must needs be a concavity different from the convexitudinal superficies of this world.

THE nineteenth argument, is only some addition to what has been said in the second.

THE twentieth, is an occasional repetition of what is said in the tenth.

IN the second Part of this Dialogue, that which is already demonstrated by the passive power of the Universe, is likewise demonstrated by the active power of the efficient cause, and this by several arguments.

THE first is taken from hence, that the divine efficacy cannot stand idle; especially granting it any effects distinct from its proper substance (if indeed any thing can be distinct from it) and that it must be no less idle and invidious in producing a finite effect, than in producing none at all.

THE second argument is taken from humane practice, because by the contrary opinion

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on is abolish'd the reason of the goodness and greatness of God; whereas it is shown, that no inconvenience follows upon ours to any system of Laws or Divinity whatsoever.

THE third argument is convertible with the twelfth of the first part: and the difference is declar'd between the infinite whole, and what is wholly infinite.

THE fourth argument is, that omnipotence in making the World finite, is no less blameable for not being willing, than for not being able to make it otherwise; and also, for being an infinite agent upon a finite subject.

THE fifth enters into the particulars of this, and shows, that if God does not make the World infinite, he cannot make it so; and that if he has not power to make it infinite, he has not strength to preserve it infinitely: nay that if he is finite in one respect, he must be so in every respect; because in him every mode is a thing, and every particular mode and thing is the self same in him with every other mode or thing. The diversity consists in our different ways of conceiving him.

THE sixth argument is convertible with the tenth of the first part: and the cause is shown why Divines, not without expedient reason, maintain the contrary; with a word concerning the friendship that ought to be

cultivated between them and the truly learned Philosophers.

THE seventh argument proposes the distinction, between the oneness of the active power and the diversity of actions, giving the true solution of the same: besides, that infinite power acting intensively and extensively, is more profoundly consider'd, than has been ever hitherto done by the body of Divines.

THE eighth argument shows, that the motion of infinite Worlds is not from an external mover, but is intrinsically in themselves, and yet that there is an infinite mover too.

THE ninth shows, that infinite motion is intensively verify'd in each of these Worlds; to which may be added, that from the consideration of a moveable thing being at one and the same time put in motion, and yet moving of it self, it follows, that it may at one and the same time be in every point of the circle it describes about its own centre: but another time we shall resolve this difficulty, when we have leisure to give a more diffusive plan of our Doctrine.

The Argument of the second Dialogue.

THE same Subject is pursu'd in the second Dialogue, where; in the first place, four arguments are produc'd, whercof the
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first is, that all the Attributes of the Divinity are as any one of them. The second, that our Imagination cannot possibly be thought to extend beyond the Divine Activity. The third is taken from the indifference of the Divine Intellect and Action, and that infinite is not less understood than finite. The fourth is built upon this, that if corporeal quality (I mean that which is sensible to us) has an infinite active power, what we are to think of all the qualities that are in all the absolutely active and passive power of the universe.

THIS Dialogue shows, in the second place, that a corporeal thing cannot be terminated by an incorporeal thing, but either by a vacuum or a plenum; and that there is most certainly beyond our world a space that is no void, but mere matter, which is what is called the passive Power or Expanse, and wherein the neither envious nor idle Divine Power must needs exert itself by action. Here is expos'd the vanity of ARISTOTLE'S argument, drawn from the impossibility of dimensions.

IN the third place is shown, the difference between these expressions *the World* and *the Universe*; for whoever says the Universe is one and infinite, and that there are many Worlds, must necessarily distinguish between these two words.

IN the fourth place are alledg'd the contrary reasons, whereby the Universe has been judg'd to be finite; where ELPINUS repeats all the Arguments of ARISTOTLE, and PHILOTHEUS particularly examines them. Of these some are taken from the nature of simple bodies, some from the nature of compound bodies: and the vanity of six of ARISTOTLE'S arguments is demonstrated, which are urg'd by him from the definition of such motions as cannot be in infinity, and from such other propositions, as are without all foundation, and are but mere begging of the question. This may be clearly seen by our arguments, which more naturally show the reason of the differences and determinations of motion, and (as far as the place and occasion permits) explain the more real knowledge of the impulse of Gravity and Levity: for there we show that infinite body can neither be heavy nor light, and how it is, that finite body receives such differences, and also in what cases it does not. Then again the vanity of ARISTOTLE'S reasonings is made apparent, who, when he argues against them who hold the Universe to be infinite, supposes a centre and a circumference (the very thing deny'd him) and, whether the world be finite or infinite, will needs have the Earth to be in the midst of it. In fine, there's no reason great or small produced by this Philosopher to destroy the infinity of the World, either in his
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first book *de Coelo & Mundo*, or in his third book *de Physica auscultatione*, but is discuss'd much more than sufficiently.

The Argument of the third Dialogue.

IN the third Dialogue, first is deny'd that pitiful fancy of the figure of the Spheres, and the number or diversity of the Heavens; as it is on the contrary affirm'd, that the Heaven is but one, being the general space which contains infinite Worlds: yet we deny not but there may be an infinite number of Heavens, taking this word in another signification; for as this Earth has its heaven, which is that region of space wherein it moves and performs its course, so has every one of the other innumerable Worlds. Then is shown, what occasion'd the imagination of so many and so great moveable orbs, figurated so as to have two external surfaces and one internal concavity; with such other receipts and pills as cause nauſeousness and stupor, as well in those that prescribe, as in those that swallow them.

SECONDLY is shown, that the general motion, and that of the eccentrical orbs, and as many other motions as are or can be ascrib'd to the said firmament, are all chimerical; and that they are nothing else but the motion of the Earth upon its own centre thro' the ecliptick, together with four parti-
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cular differences or determinations of this same motion : whence it follows, that the proper motion of every star is taken from the difference which can be subjectively verify'd in the same, as it moves of itself in the spacious field of Ether. This consideration will convince us, that all the arguments for an infinite moveable and an infinite motion, are vain ; and purely founded on their ignorance of the motion of our globe.

THIRDLY, it is made plain, that every Star has its motion like this of our earth, and like those others whose vicinity makes us sensibly distinguish the particular differences of their local motions : but yet that the Suns, which are bodies wherein fire is predominant, move otherwise (that is upon their own centres) than the Earths, wherein water is predominant ; and thence also is manifested, whence the Light proceeds that is diffus'd by the stars, of which some have this light in themselves, and some have it onely by reflection from others.

FOURTHLY, is shown, how bodies the most distant from the Sun, can participate of heat equally with those that are nearest it : then is confuted the opinion attributed to EPICURUS, that one Sun was sufficient for the whole universe ; and the true difference is stated, between those Stars that twinkle, and those that do not.

FIFTHLY, is examin'd the opinion of CUSANUS about the matter and habitableness of the Worlds, and about the reason of light.

SIXTHLY, how that, tho' some of those bodies have light and heat of themselves, yet for all this the sun does not shine to the sun, as neither the earth nor the sea to themselves; but light always proceeds from the opposite star, as we sensibly see the brightness of the whole sea from some eminence or mountain, but being in this same sea or in a field, we see no more of it bright, than as far as the light of the opposite sun or moon reflects upon it within some very small dimension.

SEVENTHLY is expos'd the foolery of the Peripatetic *quinta essentia*, or fifth element, not changeable as the other four: and then 'tis demonstrat'd, that all sensible bodies whatsoever are of no other nature than those of this earth; nor consisting of any other principles or elements, and that they move no otherwise either in a straight line or in a circle. All the arguments throughout are accommodated to the meanest capacity, as FRACASTORIUS, a learned man, accommodates himself to the understanding of BUREHIUS, next to an idiot: and 'tis made evident beyond contradiction, that no change or accident happens here, but the same may be suppos'd to happen there, as there is nothing

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seen from hence there, but (if we consider aright) the same may be seen from thence here; and consequently that the vulgarly admir'd order and scale of nature, is onely a pleasing dream, or rather the jargon of old doating women.

EIGHTHLY, that however true may be the distinction of elements, yet that the vulgar order of elements is neither sensible nor intelligible: and, even according to ARISTOTLE himself, the four elements are equally parts or members of this Globe, if we do not rather make water predominant; whence the stars are properly call'd sometimes water and sometimes fire, as well by the true natural Philosophers, as by Prophets, Divines, and Poets, who in this point did neither vend fables nor metaphors, but left those other clumsy Sophisters to fabulize and grow children at their pleasure. Thus the Worlds are understood to be those heterogeneous bodies, those animals, those huge globes, wherein the earth is no more heavy than the other elements; and whereof all the parts and particles are mov'd, and change place and disposition, no otherwise than as the blood, humors, spirits, and insensible particles, which perpetually flow in and out in us, and in the other lesser animals. On this occasion a comparison is made of the Elements, whereby it is found that the Earth, by its impulse towards the center of its own bulk, is not heavier than

than any other simple body that's an ingredient in the composition of the same; and that the earth of itself is neither heavy nor light, neither ascends nor descends, but that it is water that causes the cohesion, density, spissitude, and gravity thereof.

NINTHLY, the famous order of the elements being thus exploded, next comes the true account of those sensible compound-ed bodies, which are, as so many animals or worlds, in this spacious field call'd Air, or sky, or commonly vacuum; wherein, I say, are all those worlds, which contain animals and inhabitants no less than ours, since they are neither inferior in aptitude or capacity, nor many other requisite qualities.

TENTHLY, after showing the manner of disputation us'd by those who are pertinaciously addicted to their opinions, and by those other ignorant sots of a deprav'd disposition, 'tis further declar'd how passionately they are for the most part wont to conclude their disputes; tho' there be others so circum-spect, that, without being in the least put out of countenance, they strive to make the auditors believe by a leer, a smile, a shrug, or a certain modest malignity, what they are never able to prove by reasons. With these petty artifices of courteous contempt, they would not onely cover their own ignorance, tho' open to all the world besides, but farther
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load their adversaries with it: for they come not to dispute in order either to find, or indeed to seek the Truth, but for obtaining the victory, and to appear more learned, or to be counted more strenuous champions of the contrary side; whence these and the like ought to be avoided by every man, that has not put on a good cuirasse of patience.

The Argument of the fourth Dialogue.

IN the following Dialogue, first, a short repetition is made of what has been said elsewhere, viz. how the Worlds are in number infinite, how each of them is mov'd, and is form'd. Secondly, the like transient repetition is made of the answers which, in the second Dialogue, were given to the arguments against the infinite extension or greatness of the Universe. Now, since the immense effect of immense activity and power has been prov'd by many reasons in the first Dialogue; and that, in the third Dialogue, is prov'd the infinite multitude of worlds: we do, in this fourth, resolve the numerous difficulties of ARISTOTLE against the same; tho' this expression *World* is taken in a different sense by ARISTOTLE, from what it is by DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and others. He therefore from natural and forc'd motion, and from the reasons he has invented for both these, would infer that one earth must necessarily move towards another, supposing there
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be more than one. In the resolution hereof, FIRST are laid foundations of no small importance, to discover the true principles of natural Philosophy.

SECONDLY, 'tis shown, that tho the surface of one earth had been contiguous to that of another, yet the parts of the one would never the more for that move towards the other; understanding this of the heterogeneous or compounded parts, but not of the atoms and simple corpuscles: and on this occasion, a larger explication is given of the nature of gravity and levity.

THIRDLY is examin'd, for what reason these great bodies are dispos'd by nature at such a distance, and not rather nearer one to another, that a passage (forsooth) might be had from the one to the other: and here a reason is given unto him who has a deep insight into things, that Worlds ought not to be plac'd as it were in the circumference of the Ether, or near to such a void space as is destitute of all power, vertue, or operation; since thus on one side they would be wholly and absolutely depriv'd of the means to have either life or light.

FOURTHLY, how local distance changes the nature of body, or when it does not change it: and how it is, that placing a stone equidistant from two earths, it would remain

still there; or from what cause it shou'd have a determination to move, rather towards one of these globes than the other.

FIFTHLY it is prov'd, how much ARISTOTLE is deceiv'd, when in bodies, tho ever so distant from one another, he places an impulse of gravity or levity from the one towards the other: and the cause is assign'd, whence proceeds what is call'd the desire of preserving their present being, how ignoble soever, in all things; this desire being the cause of what is likewise call'd appetite and aversion.

SIXTHLY, 'tis demonstrated, that direct motion, or motion in a straight line, neither is agreeable nor natural to the Earth or to the other principal bodies, but onely to the inconstituent parts or particles; which, if not too widely separated, tend to such bodies from all places the nearest way.

SEVENTHLY, an argument is drawn from Comets to prove, that it is not true that a heavy body, however remote, has an impulse or motion towards its principal or whole; this fancy not being built on true physical principles, but on the gratuitous suppositions of the Philosophy of ARISTOTLE, who forms and compounds the Comets of those parts we call the vapours and exhalations of the earth.

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EIGHTHLY, on occasion of another argument, (showing the Comets to be real Planets that have nothing to do with this earth) 'tis prov'd that simple bodies, which are of the same species in the other innumerable Worlds, are likewise mov'd every where after the same manner; and how a numeral makes a local diversity, how every part has its own centre, and has a relation to the common centre of its whole, which sort of centre is not however to be look'd for in the Universe.

NINTHLY is prov'd, that neither bodies nor their parts are determin'd to above or below, otherwise than as the place of their preservation is here or there.

TENTHLY, how motion is infinite, and what moveable it is that has an infinite tendency, and to innumerable compositions: yet 'tis prov'd, that, for all this, there follows not a gravity or levity with infinite velocity; that the motion of the proximate parts, so far as they keep their being, cannot be infinite; and that an impulse of the parts towards their Continent or Whole, can never exist but within the region of the same, or (as we say) in the sphere of its activity.

The Argument of the fifth Dialogue.

IN the beginning of the fifth Dialogue is introduc'd a person endow'd with a more happy genius, and who, tho bred up the contrary way, yet for being able to judge of what he heard and saw, can perceive the difference between the one and the other Philosophy, and consequently is easily convinc'd, and as easily corrects himself. Mention is made of them, to whom ARISTOTLE appears to be a miracle of nature ; whereas they, who have the poorest understanding, and comprehend him least, are they who magnify him most. Next are given reasons why we ought to have pity upon such, and to avoid disputing with them, since there is nothing to be gain'd with them but loss of time.

HERE ALBERTINUS, the new Interlocutor, brings twelve Objections, in which consists all the force of the doctrine contrary to the plurality and multitude of Worlds.

THE first objection is taken from hence, that without the World there is neither Place, nor Time, nor Vacuum, nor Body simple, nor compound.

THE second objection, is from the Oneness of the mover.

THE third, from the Places of moveable bodies.

THE fourth, from the distance of the Horizons from the Centre.

THE fifth, from the contiguity of more orbicular Worlds.

THE sixth, from the triangular Spaces they must cause by their contact.

THE seventh, from an actual infinite which is not in being, and from a determinate number not more reasonable than the other : from which objection we can equally, if not with more advantage, infer, that number therefore is not determinate, but infinite.

THE eighth objection is taken from the terminateness or finitude of natural things, and from their passive power which corresponds not to the Divine Efficacy and active Power : but here it is to be consider'd, how mighty inconveniently the first and most high Being is compar'd to a fidler, who has skill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle ; so that he is one that can do, but does not, because that thing which he can make cannot be made by him. This implies a more than manifest contradiction, which cannot but

be seen, except onely by those who see nothing.

THE ninth objection, is taken from moral goodness, which consists in society.

THE tenth is, that the contiguity of one world to another, wou'd mutually hinder their motions.

THE eleventh and last objection is, that if this world be complete and perfect, there is no reason it should join itself or be joined to any one or more such Worlds.

THESE are the Doubts, Difficulties, and Motives, about the solution whereof I have said enough in the following Dialogues, to expose the intimate and radicated errors of the common Philosophy, and to show the weight and worth of our own. Here you'll meet with the reasons why we shou'd not fear that any part of this Universe should fall or fly off, that the least particle shou'd be lost in empty space, or be truly annihilated. Here you'll perceive the reason of that vicissitude which may be observ'd in the constant change of all things, whereby it happens, that there is nothing so ill but may befall us or be prevented, nor any thing so good but may be lost or obtain'd by us; since in this infinite field the parts and modes do perpetually vary,

ry, tho' the substance and the whole do eternally persevere the same.

FROM this contemplation (if we do but rightly consider) it will follow, that we ought never to be dispirited by any strange accidents through excess of fear or pain, nor ever be elated by any prosperous event thro' excess of hope or pleasure; whence we have the way to true Morality, and, following it, we wou'd become the magnanimous despisers of what men of childi'sh thoughts do fondly esteem, and the wise judges of the history of nature which is written in our minds, and the strict executioners of those divine laws which are engraven in the center of our hearts. We wou'd know, that it is no harder thing to fly from hence up into Heaven, than to fly from heaven back again to the Earth, that ascending thither and descending hither are all one; that we are no more circumferential to the other Globes than they are to us, nor they more central to us than we are to them, and that none of 'em is more above the stars than we, as they are no less than we cover'd over or comprehended by the sky. Behold us therefore free from envying them! behold us deliver'd from the vain anxiety and foolish care of desiring to enjoy that good afar off, which in as great a degree we may possess so near hand, and even at home! Behold us freed from the terror that they should fall upon us, any more

than we shou'd hope that we might fall upon them; since every one as well as all of those globes are sustain'd by infinite Ether, in which this our animal freely runs, and keeps to his prescrib'd course, as the rest of the planets do to theirs.

DID we but consider and comprehend all this, oh! to what much further considerations and comprehensions should we be carry'd! as we might be sure to obtain that happiness by virtue of this science, which in other sciences is sought after in vain. This is that Philosophy which opens the senses, which satisfies the mind, which enlarges the understanding, and which leads man to the only true beatitude whereof he's capable according to his natural state and constitution; for it frees him from the sollicitous pursuit of pleasure, and from the anxious apprehensions of pain, making him enjoy the good things of the present hour, and not to fear more than he hopes from the future; since that same providence, or fate, or fortune, which causes the vicissitudes of our particular being, will not let us know more of the one, than we are ignorant of the other. At first sight indeed we are apt to be dubious and perplex: but when we more profoundly consider the essence and accidents of that matter into which we are mutable, we'll find that there is no death attending ours or the substance of any other thing; since nothing is substantially diminished, but
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only every thing changing form by its perpetual motion in this infinite space. And seeing every thing is subject to a good and most perfect efficient cause, we ought neither to believe nor hope otherwise, than that as every thing proceeds from what is good, so the whole must needs be good, in a good state, and to a good purpose : the contrary of which appears only to them who consider no more than is just before them, as the beauty of an edifice is not manifest to one that has seen only some small portion of the same, as a stone, the plastering, or part of a wall ; but is most charming to him that saw the whole, and had leisure to observe the symmetry of the parts.

WE fear not therefore that what is accumulated in this world, should by the malice of some wandring spirit, or by the wrath of some evil genius, be shook and scatter'd as it were into smoak or dust, out of this cupolo of the sky, and beyond the starry mantle of the firmament : nor that the nature of things can otherwise come to be annihilated in substance, than as it seems to our eyes, that the air contain'd in the concavity of a bubble is become nothing, when that bubble is burst ; because we know that in the world one thing ever succeeds another, there being no utmost bottom, whence, as by the hand of an artificer, things are irreparably struck into nothing. There are no ends, limits, margins,

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or walls, that keep back or substract any parcel of the infinite abundance of things. Thence it is, that the earth and sea are ever equally fertile, and thence the perpetual brightness of the sun; eternal fuel circulating to those devouring fires, and a supply of waters being eternally furnish'd to the evaporated seas, from the infinite and ever renewing magazine of matter: so that DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS, who asserted the infinity of things with their perpetual variableness and restoration, were so far more in the right, than he who endeavour'd to account for the eternally same appearance of the Universe, by making homogeneous particles of matter ever and numerically to succeed one another.

LOOK to it now, Gentlemen Astrologers, with your humble servants the natural Philosophers; and see to what use you can put your Circles that are describ'd by the imaginary nine moveable Spheres, in which you so imprison your brains, that you seem to me like so many parrots in their cages, hopping and dancing from one perch to another, yet always turning and winding within the same wires. But be it known unto you that so great an Emperor has not so narrow a palace, so miserable a throne, so low a tribunal, so scanty a court, so little and weak a representative; as that a fancy can bring it forth, a dream overlay it, madness repair it, a chimera murther it, a disaster lessen it, another accident encrease

encreate it, and a thought make it perfect again, being brought together by a blast, and made round by a force; 'tis, on the contrary, an immense portraiture, an admirable image, an exalted figure, a most high vestige, an infinite representation of an infinite original, and a spectacle befitting the excellency and eminence of him that can neither be imagin'd, nor conceiv'd, nor comprehended.

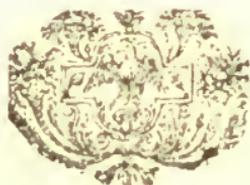
THUS the excellency of GOD is magnify'd, and the grandeur of his Empire made manifest; he's not glorify'd in one but in numberless Suns, not in one Earth or in one World, but in ten hundred thousand, in infinite Globes: so that this faculty of the intellect is not vain or arbitrary, that ever will and can add space to space, quantity to quantity, unity to unity, number to number. By this science we are loos'd from the chains of a most narrow dungeon, and set at liberty to rove in a most august empire; we are remov'd from conceited boundaries and poverty, to the innumerable riches of an infinite space, of so worthy a field, and of such beautiful worlds: this science does not (in a word) make a horizontal circle feign'd by the eye on earth, and imagin'd by the fancy in the spacious sky.

THERE are other worthy and honorable fruits that may be gather'd from these trees, other precious and desirable crops that may
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be reapt from those seeds I have sown ; which we shall not at this time specify, lest we importunately solicit the blind envy of our adversaries : but we leave 'em to be collected by the discretion of those who can judge and comprehend, and who of themselves will be easily capable to raise on the foundations we have laid the entire structure of our Philosophy. The particular members of it (if so it pleases those powers that govern and move us, and if the work we have begun comes not to be interrupted) we shall bring to the desired perfection : that what is sown in the Dialogues of *the Cause, Principle, and One*, and sprung up in these of *the infinite Universe and numberless Worlds*, may branch out, encrease, grow mature, be happily reapt, and as much as possible give content in other Dialogues ; while with the best corn that the soil we cultivate can produce (after winnowing it from fetches, darnel, weeds, and chaff) we fill the granaries of studious wits.

IN the mean time (tho I be certain he needs no recommendation to you) I shall not be wanting to do my part, by effectually recommending one to your LORDSHIP, whom you are not to entertain among your domestics as having need of him, but as a person having need of you for so many and so great purposes as you here see. Consider, that for having such numbers at hand bound to serve you, you are thereby nothing different from
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farmers, bankers, or merchants; but that for having a man deserving to be by you encourag'd, protect'd, and assist'd, you are in reality (what you have always shewn your self to be) like unto magnanimous Princes, Heroes, and Gods, who have ordain'd such as you for the defence of their friends. I put you in mind of what I know is superfluous to do, which is, that you can neither be so much esteem'd by the world, nor so acceptable to God, for being belov'd and favour'd by the greatest monarch on earth, as for loving, cherishing, and maintaining such as these; for there is nothing that your superiours in fortune can do for you, but you may do more for them by superiour virtue, which will last longer than the remembrance of their favors in your pictures or tapestries: but you can do that for others which may be written in the book of eternity, whether it be the volume which is seen on earth, or that other which is believ'd to be in heaven; in as much as whatever you receive from others is a testimony of their virtue, but whatever you do for them is an express sign and indication of your own. Farewell.





A
CATALOGUE
 OF
B O O K S

Mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his APOSTLES, and other eminent persons.

TO
 A PERSON OF QUALITY
 IN
 HOLLAND.



WHAT you say has been told you, SIR, by several Persons, is very true; that I have publish'd something relating to the CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, which has made no small noise here. And, as in all things it is as much my inclination as it is

is my duty to obey you, so I shall now, (without further delay) do my self the honour of imparting to you, according to your desire, both the occasion and the contents of that writing.

THE celebrated MILTON is no less known to you, SIR, than he's to all the curious out of England, by the penetration and solidity of his judgment, as well as by the laudable purity (I wish I could not say, and by the excessive sharpness) of his Latin stile; express'd in his *Defence of the People of England* against SALMASIUS, also in his *Letters of State*, in those to his *familiar Friends*, and in his *Defences for himself*. But these (if I am allow'd a competent Judge) are mean performances in comparison of his most excellent Epic Poem in our English tongue, entitul'd, *Paradise lost*: neither do we think ourselves to be at all partial to our Country, nor yet are we afraid to be thought very ill Critics; when in the plenty and choice of his words, in the propriety and elegance of his expressions, in the justness and sublimity of his thoughts, in the beauty of his episodes, and in the judicious disposition of his whole fable, we esteem him nothing inferior to HOMER or VIRGIL, to whom we only yield the precedence of Time, and the glory of Invention. MILTON has also in English prose publish'd so many valuable Pieces in Politics, Divinity, History, and concerning diverse other subjects,

jects, that we ever counted him one of our first-rate Authors ; and therefore justly deserving to have the *History of his Life* transmitted to posterity. This task, SIR, at the desire of several worthy persons, I willingly undertook : as having been no less conversant with his works (which kindled in me a love for his memory) than with many of his intimate friends and acquaintance ; who, besides other informations, readily presented me with what Manuscripts of his, or any way relating to him, they had in their hands. I can modestly affirm, that I gave satisfaction to his admirers, without being reputed partial by his enemies, not one of them pretending that I had in any thing misrepresented him.

THE Book however was not long abroad before it was attack'd on another score by Mr. BLACKHALL (then one of King WILLIAM'S Chaplains, and since made Bishop of Exeter by QUEEN ANNE) in a *Sermon* preach'd before the lower house of Parliament. For he was offended to the highest degree, that I had, in this *Life*, occasionally seconded those, who asserted the spuriousness of *Icon Basilike* (1), a Book that pass'd every where for the genuine production of King CHARLES the first ; and so made a very natural observation on this forgery in the following words :
 “ When I seriously consider how all this hap-

(1) Εικων βασιλικη

“ pen’d among our selves within the compass
 “ of forty years, in a time of great Learning
 “ and Politeneſs, when both parties ſo nar-
 “ rowly watch’d over one another’s actions,
 “ and what a great revolution in civil and
 “ religious affairs was partly occaſion’d by the
 “ credit of that Book, I ceaſe to wonder any
 “ longer how ſo many ſuppoſitious Pieces
 “ under the Name of CHRIST, his Apoſtles,
 “ and other great Perſons, ſhould be publiſh’d
 “ and approv’d in thoſe primitive times, when
 “ it was of ſo much importance to have ’em
 “ believ’d; when the cheats were too many
 “ on all ſides for them to reproach one ano-
 “ ther, which yet they often did; when com-
 “ merce was not near ſo general as now, and
 “ the whole earth entirely over-ſpread with
 “ the darkneſs of ſuperſtition. I doubt rather
 “ the ſpuriousneſs of ſeveral more ſuch Books
 “ is yet undiſcover’d, thro the remoteneſs of
 “ thoſe ages, the death of the perſons con-
 “ cern’d, and the decay of their Monuments,
 “ which might give us true information.

THO’ I ſaid, that a great many ſpurious
 Books were early father’d on CHRIST, his A-
 poſtles, and other great names, part whereof
 are ſtill acknowledg’d to be genuin, and the
 reſt to be forg’d; yet in neither of thoſe aſ-
 ſertions I could be juſtly ſuppos’d to mean the
 Books of the New Teſtament. However,
 Dr. BLACKHALL did, out of the twin-ſpirits
 of zeal and revenge, poſitively aſſure the

Members of that august Assembly (who were more clearfighted and equitable than to receive his accusation) that I had likewise as expressly call'd in doubt, the Books now receiv'd for Canonical by the whole Christian Church. *We may cease to wonder, said he, that he should have the boldness, without proof, and against proof, to deny the Authority of that Book, [the ICON BASILIKE] who is such an Infidel as to doubt, and is shameless and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Christian Country, publickly to affront our holy Religion, by declaring his doubt that several Pieces under the name of Christ and his Apostles (he must mean those now receiv'd by the whole Christian Church, for I know of no other) are supposititious; tho' thro' the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concern'd, and the decay of other Monuments which might give us true Information, the spuriousness thereof is yet undiscover'd.*

Dr. BLACKHALL, you see, affirms that I must intend the Books *now receiv'd by the whole Christian Church, for he knows of no other*: whereby he betray'd a most shameful ignorance of Ecclesiastical Antiquity. By the Books of whose *spuriousness* I said the world was not yet convinc'd, tho' in my private opinion I cou'd not think them genuine, I meant the suppos'd Writings of certain Apostolic men (as they call them) which are at this present, as well as in antient times,

read

read with extraordinary veneration. And they are the *Epistle of BARNABAS*, the *Pastor of HERMAS*, the *Epistle of POLYCARPUS to the Philippians*, the *first Epistle of CLEMENS Romanus to the Corinthians*, and the *seven Epistles of IGNATIUS*. They are generally receiv'd as Apostolical, tho not Canonical, in the Church of Rome, and also by most Protestants.

I did immediately publish a Defence of Milton's *Life*, which for that reason I entitled *Amyntor*, from a Greek word I need not explain to you. And to convince the world that I did not intend by those Pieces the Books of the New Testament, as well as to shew the rashness and uncharitableness of Dr. BLACKHALL's assertion, I inserted in it a large Catalogue of Books antiently ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and Contemporaries. This is the *Catalogue* you desire to see; and I send it you very much enlarg'd, and more compleat than any hitherto publish'd.

BUT such as it was in *Amyntor*, it met with a favourable reception among the learned abroad, and particularly with the no less learned than laborious Professor (2) FABRICIUS of Hamburg, who some years after publish'd himself a *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*.

(2) *Bibliotheca Graeca, Lib. iv. cap. 5. §. 15.*

And the most candid PFAFFIUS, Professor at Turinge, after mentioning Monsieur DAILLÉ, Father SIMON, Dr. ITTIGIUS, and Dr. GRABE, who wrote before me; with Dr. MILL, and Dr. FABRICIUS, who have written after me, calls it *a* (3) *remarkable Catalogue*.

AND now, Sir, I have acquainted you with the reasons which induc'd me to write my *Amyntor*, I shall by way of Conclusion, add a short but sufficient account of the Writings that it gave occasion to be publish'd. My principal Antagonists were four Divines: namely, the self-same Dr. BLACKHALL, Mr. CLARKE, since a Doctor of Divinity, Mr. NYE Rector of Little Hormead in Hartfordshire, and Mr. RICHARDSON, a Nonjuror, since that time deceas'd. For my not replying to them hitherto, nor to some others that have drawn their pens against me on the same score, has been equally free from the spirit of conceited arrogance or conscious ti-

(3) Quod vero eos attinet, qui vel planè supposititium censent esse Novum Testamentum, aut saltem maximam illius partem, quod veteres Haeretici magno numero arbitrati sunt, nova Evangelia, Acta, Literas, Apocalypses, aliosque libellos orbi Christiano obtrudentes, quorum (praeter summos viros Jo. Alb. Fabricium in Codice Apocrypho Novi Testamenti, Jo. Ernest. Grabium in Spicilegio Patrum, itemque Jo. Millium in Prolegomen. ad Novum Test. part. 2. & quos primùm nominare debebam, Jo. Dallaeum, Ric. Simonium, Tho. Ittigium aliosque) insignem dedit Catalogum Jo. Tolandus in Amyntore. Part 1. pag. 20—38. In *Dissert. Crit. Librorum Novi Testamenti Lectione rite investiganda*. Cap. 1. §. 2.

morouſneſs. There are Books, it's true, whoſe Authors underſtand ſo little of the ſubject in debate, and who rail ſo unmeaſurably againſt thoſe they cannot confute (among which I am far from reckoning the laſt three of the four I have juſt nam'd) that without being over proud, they deſerve no attention, much leſs a reply. Nor, generally ſpeaking, do ſuch Books meet with any readers, but thoſe whoſe judgment no body values. On the other hand, when a man is attack'd by ſeveral conſiderable Perſons one after another, I think not only in good manners he ought to give 'em the hearing without any interruption, till they have once done; but likewiſe to ſit ſtill in point of prudence, that he may not be oblig'd to eternal repetitions, or to write againſt every one of them ſeparately, to the great fatigue both of the Readers and himſelf. Moreover it frequently happens, that many Answerers confound themſelves by their mutual contradictions; the one commending and approving, what the other blames and condemns in an Author, which has been more than once my very caſe: beſides that the laſt Answerer ſeems to acknowledge in ſome ſort, as if the reſt had not ſucceeded in their efforts, ſince if they had, it muſt needs have been ſuperfluous for him to write after them. I ſhall not forget, on this occaſion, what thoſe two bright ornaments of all uſeful and polite Learning Monsieur BASNAGE and Monsieur LE CLERC have reply'd,

the one to Mr. RICHARDSON, the other to Mr. DODWELL, upon the account of the famous passage I quoted in *Amyntor* from this last Gentleman ; tho' without any reflection from either of those illustrious Foreners, against my Book or my Person. But the *Jesuits* of Trevoux have taken care not to be guilty of such an untheological fault, which proceeding therefore justly entitles them to a greater share in my remembrance.

I am with the profoundest respect and veneration,

S I R,

Your most faithful
and obedient Servant.

A

A CATALOGUE of Books mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his APOSTLES, and other eminent Persons; or of such Books as do immediately concern the same: some of which Pieces are still extant entire, most of which shall be markt in their places; tho the Fragments only of the greatest part remain, and but the bare Titles of others.

CHAPTER I.

Books reported to be written by JESUS himself, or that particularly concern him.

1.  HE Letter of JESUS in answer to that of ABGARUS King of Edessa. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13. NICEPHORUS says he wrote it with his own hand. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 7. You may also consult PROCOPIUS, CEDRENIUS, CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENETUS in Manipulo COMBEFISII, pag. 79, &c. Extant.

2. *THE Epistle of JESUS to PETER and PAUL.* *Augustin. contra Faust. l. 28. c. 13. Idem de Consensu Evangelist. l. 1. c. 9.* But the forger of this piece forgot, that PAUL was neither a Christian, nor an Apostle, till after the death of CHRIST.

3. *THE Parables and Sermons of CHRIST.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 39.*

4. A HYMN which CHRIST secretly taught his Disciples and Apostles. *Augustin. Epist. ad Ceretium Episcopum. Edit. Benedictin. 237.*

5. A BOOK of the Magic of CHRIST, or the Art whereby he wrought his Miracles: if it be not the same with the Epistle to PETER and PAUL? *Augustin. de Consensu Evangelist. l. 1. c. 9, 10.*

6. A BOOK of the Nativity of JESUS, of the holy Virgin his Mother, and her Midwife. *Gelasius in Decreto, apud Gratian. part. 1. distinct. 15. can. 3.* But I believe this to be the same with the Gospel of JAMES, whereof in its due order.

7. THERE was in the sixth Century a Letter handed about, and read from their Pulpits by some Bishops, as written by CHRIST, and dropt down from Heaven. *Aguirr. tom. 2. collect.*

collect. max. Concilior. Hispan. pag. 428. 'Tis extant, and serv'd for a model to those other barbarous *Epistles* of the same nature that were feign'd in later times, but with which therefore we have nothing to do.

8. A GREAT many *Sayings* attributed to CHRIST, but not recorded in the *New Testament*, are to be read in the *Fathers*, in some various readings of the *Gospels*, and particularly in the *Alcoran* (with other Mahometan Authors) who had them out of *the Gospel of BARNABAS*, and such-like pieces specify'd in this Catalogue.

CHAPTER II.

M A R Y.

1. **A**N *Epistle to IGNATIUS*, which is now extant among his Works. It is evident from BERNARD of Clairval and others, that there were formerly more than one such *Epistle*. We have likewise IGNATIUS's Answer.

2. ANOTHER *Epistle* to the inhabitants of Messina in Sicily, in the penning of which the Evangelist LUKE was the Virgin's secretary. MELCHIOR INCHOFER, a Jesuite, wrote a whole folio to prove this Letter (which is now extant) to be authentic: but when GABRIEL NAUDÉ alledg'd several

veral reasons to him in discourse, to show it was spurious; INCHOFER answer'd, that he knew all this as well as himself, and that he believ'd nothing of the matter, but that he publish'd the Book in obedience to his superiors: he might have added, and for an ample reward from the Magistrates of Messina. Thus, says the most judicious NAUDÉ in the *Naudeana, are Errors and Deceits spread in the world; and thus are simple Souls misled at all times.* By the way, the Cathedral of Messina is hence call'd *Madonna della Lettera*: and such another Letter was forg'd by the Florentines, to rival the Sicilians; or at least, that their City and Priests might profit as much by this fraud as did the others.

3. A BOOK *of the Nativity of the Virgin MARY* is still extant, and usually publish'd with JEROM'S works, as if it had been translated by him out of Hebrew. It is in some Copies (for they are very different) attributed to MATTHEW, and is quoted by GREGORY NYSSEN, AUGUSTINE, and other *Fathers*.

4. I FANCY this last Book may be the same with *the History and Traditions of MARY*, mention'd by EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres.* 29. n. 5. Also a certain SELEUCUS (or rather LEUCIUS) the most prodigious Book-forgery that ever was, made a *Nativity of MARY*, which

which may be this very work, tho not entirely as we now have it.

5. A BOOK about the Death of the Virgin MARY, is said by LAMBECIUS to lie unpublish'd in the Emperor's Library. *Bibliothec. Vindobon. tom. 4. pag. 131.* Such a Manuscript is to be found in some other Libraries.

6. WE shall not insist on the Book of MARY, concerning the Miracles of CHRIST, and the Ring of King SOLOMON. The very Title is more than sufficient.

7. THE *Book of the Virgin MARY and her Midwife*, rejected in the *Decree of GELASIUS*, is no doubt the same with the *Proto-evangelion* of JAMES: a most ridiculous Romance, of which more hereafter.

8. THE *greater and lesser Questions of MARY*. *Epiphan. Haeres. 26. n. 8.*

9. THE *Book of the Progeny of MARY*, if it be not rather the same with her *History and Traditions* above-mention'd? *Epiphan. Haeres. 26. n. 12.*



CHAPTER III.

PETER.

1. **T**HE Gospel of PETER. *Origen. tom. II. Comment. in Matt. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Idem, l. 6. c. 12. Hieronym. in Catalogo Script. Eccles. c. 1. Theodorit. Haeretic. fabul. l. 2. c. 2, &c.* 'Tis likewise mention'd in some Copies of the GELASIAN Decree: and was perhaps the *Gospel of the Nazarens*, of which hereafter.

2. THE *Acts of PETER*. *Origen. tom. 21. Comment. in Joan. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 7. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3. Hieronym. in Catal. Isidor. Pelusiot. l. 2. Epist. 99. Philastr. in Haeres. 87. & Gelas. in Decreto.*

3. THE *Revelation of PETER*, which (according to Zozomen, *Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19.*) was read once a year in some Churches of Palestine, the People devoutly fasting all that day. *Clem. Alex. non semel, & in Epitom. Theodot. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. etiam l. 6. c. 14. Hieronym. in Catal. c. 1. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 12. c. 34. & in Stichometriis.*

4. THE *Revelation of PETER*, whereof JACOBUS a Vitriaco speaks in his Epistle to Pope HONORIUS the third, was a different and more novel forgery.

5. THE

5. THE *Epistle of PETER to CLEMENS*, is still shown in the Ethiopic language by the Eastern Christians. *Tillemont. Hist. Eccles. tom. 1. part. 2. pag. 497.*

6. THE *Epistle of CLEMENS to JAMES* being publish'd at the head of the *Clementine Recognitions*, COTELERIUS has inserted another *Epistle of PETER to JAMES*, in *tom. 1. Patr. Apostolic. pag. 602.*

7. SOME think PETER alludes to some *Epistle* of his, now lost, in the 12th verse of the 5th chapter of his *first Epistle*. But the *Epistle*, which Pope STEPHEN the third sent in PETER's name to King PEPIN and his two sons, is nothing to our purpose, being so modern an Imposture.

8. THE *Doctrine of PETER*, if this be not some part of the *Recognitions*? *Origen. in Praefat. ad libros Principiorum. Gregor. Nazianz. Epist. 16. Elias Levita in Notis ad Nazianzeni Orationem ad Cives trepidantes.*

9. THE *Preaching of PETER*. *Origen. tom. 14. in Joan. Idem in Praefat. ad libros Principior. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1, 2, 6. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor libri de Baptismo inter opera Cypri.*

Cypriani. Hieronym. in Catal. Joan. Damascen. Parallel. l. 2. c. 16.

10. THE *Liturgy of PETER*, publish'd by LINDANUS at Antwerp, in the year 1588, and at Paris in the year 1595. There is a *Liturgy* likewise attributed to MARY, and one to CHRIST himself, tho we have not thought fit to insert them under their respective heads.

11. THE *Itinerary or Journeys of PETER* (mention'd by EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres. 30. n. 15.* and by ATHANASIUS, in *Synopsi Scripturar.*) I believe to be the same with the *Recognitions of CLEMENT* still extant, and consisting of ten books, where the pretended CLEMENS gives a very particular account of PETER'S voyages and performances. These *Periods*, or *Tours*, are recorded by ORIGEN, *Philocal. c. 23.* by JEROM, *contra Jovinian. l. 1.* and are rejected in the *Decree of GELASIUS.*

12. THE *Precepts of PETER and PAUL* come under another head.

13. THE *Judgment of PETER.* *Hieronym. in Catal. Item Ruffinus in expositione Symboli.* I wish we had it, for the title is pretty particular.

14. THE

14. THE *Disputation of PETER and AN-
PION.* Hieronym. in *Catal.* & ante eum
Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 38. Phot. in
Bibliothec. cod. 113. Honor. Augustodun. de
Script. Ecclesiast.

CHAPTER IV.

A N D R E W.

1. THE Gospel of ANDREW. *Gelas. in
Decreto, &c.* Apocryphal pieces of
ANDREW are mention'd by AUGUSTINE, *con-
tra Adversar. Legis & Prophet. l. 1. c. 20.*
and by Pope INNOCENT the first, in *Epist. 3.
ad Exuperium.*

2. THE *Acts of ANDREW.* *Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. l. 3. c. 25.* *Epiphan. Haeres. 42. n. 1.*
Item Haeres. 61. n. 1. & 63. n. 2. *Augustin.
contra Adversar. Leg. & Prophet. l. 1. c.
20.* *Philastr. Haeres. 87.* *Gelas. in Decreto,
& Turibius Asturicensis apud Paschasium
Quesnellum inter Epistolas Leonis magni,
pag. 459.*

CHAPTER V.

J A M E S.

1. THE Gospel of JAMES or his *Proto-
evangelion.* *Origen. in tom. II.
Comment. in Mat. Epiphan. Haeres. 30. n.*

23. *Eustath. Antiochen. Comment. in Hexaemer. Innocent. I. Epist. 3. Epiphanius Monachus in Notis Allatii ad Eustath.* ALLATIUS says, that GREGORY *Nyssen* has borrow'd a great many things out of this *Gospel*, without mentioning the name of JAMES. This book is now in Manuscript in the Imperial Library, as LAMBECIUS affirms, *Bibliothec. Vindobon. l. 5. pag. 130, 131.* NESSEL, his continuator, says that there are no fewer than five copies of it there. Father SIMON tells us, that he has seen two Greek Manuscript Copies of it in the French King's Library; *Nouvelles Observations, pag. 4.* It was printed by NEANDER; and also in the first volum of the *Orthodoxographs*, by GRYNEUS, who values it highly, as likewise does BIBLIANDER, both Protestants. But POSTELLUS, a Roman Catholic, who brought a Copy of it from the East, and first publish'd it with his own Translation, most extravagantly fancies it to be the basis and foundation of the whole Evangelical History, and the head or first part of MARK's *Gospel*. 'Tis for these reasons that I have been so particular about this book, which is sometimes ascrib'd to PETER: *Vide Hinkelmanni Praefat. ad Alcoranum.*

2. THE *Liturgy of JAMES* is printed in the second tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at Paris, in the year 1624.

3. WE mention'd before the book of JAMES concerning the death of the Virgin MARY: but there wanted not who believ'd JOHN, and not JAMES, to have been the Author of it.

CHAPTER VI.

J O H N.

1. **T**HE *Acts of JOHN*. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Haeres. 42. n. 1. Augustin. contra Adversar. Leg. & Prophet. l. 1. c. 20. Philastr. Haeres. 87. Turibii Scriptum inter Epistolas Leonis Magni apud Paschasium Quesnellum, pag. 459. Phot. Bibliothec. in cod. 229.*

2. ANOTHER *Gospel of JOHN*, different from that in our Canon. *Epiphan. Haeres. 30. n. 23.*

3. THE *Itinerary, or Voyages of JOHN*. *Athanas. in Append. ad Synops. Scripturar. Gelasius in Decreto.*

4. THE *Liturgy of JOHN*, was, together with several others, printed in Syriac at Rome. See Father SIMON in his *Supplement to LEO of Modena*.

5. WE spoke before of JOHN's book about the death of the Virgin MARY.

6. THERE is annex to this piece, in the 453^d Manuscript of the *Colbertine Library*, another book attributed to the same JOHN, and entitul'd, *the Memorial of JESUS CHRIST, and his descent from the Cross*: if it be not the same with a book we shall mention *cap. 17. art. 19.*

7. THE *Traditions of JOHN.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. ult.*

8. THE *Epistle of JOHN to the Hydropic*, is extant in PROCHORUS, who has likewise written his life. *Bibliothec. Patr. tom. 2. pag. 61. Edit. Lugd.* There is besides a *Life of JOHN* in the Armenian tongue, printed in the Armenian *Lectionary.*

9. A *Revelation of JOHN*, different from that in our present Canon, lies among the Manuscripts of the Imperial Library at Vienna, *number 121*: and 'tis mentioned by THEODOSIUS *Alexandrinus* in his Manuscript Commentary on *Dionysius of Thrace. Cod. Baroc. 57.*

10. THE silliest Imposture of all, is the *Revelation* pretended to be found in a mountain near Granada, in the year 1595; translated into modern Spanish (forsooth) and illustrated with a Commentary, by CECILIUS the Disciple of JAMES the elder, many hundred

dred years before the Spanish language had a being. See Dr. GEDDES's *Tracts*, vol. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

BARTHOLOMEW.

1. **T**HE Gospel of BARTHOLOMEW. *Hieronym. in Prolegomen. ad Comment. in Mat. Dionysius Areopag. de Mystica Theologia, c. 1. Gelasius in Decreto. Videantur etiam de Bartholomaeo Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 10. & Bedam ab initio Commentar. in Luc.*

CHAPTER VIII.

PHILIP.

1. **T**HE Gospel of PHILIP. *Epiphan. Haeres. 26. n. 13. Timotheus Presbyter, a Combesisio edit. in tom. 2. Auctuar. Leon- tius de sc̄ctis, lectione tertia, pag. 432.*

2. THE Acts of PHILIP. *Gelasius in Decreto: Item Anastasius Sinaita de tribus Quadragesimis, qui ea vocat tres periodos. Editus est Anastasius a Cotelerio, tom. 3. Monument. Eccles. Graec. pag. 428.*

CHAPTER IX.

T H O M A S.

1. **T**HE Gospel of THOMAS. *Iren. adversus Haeres. l. 1. c. 17. Origen. in homil. 1. ad Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Hieronym. in Praefat. ad Mat. Athanas. in Append. ad Synops. Scriptur. Augustin. contra Faust. l. 22. c. 79. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 4, 6. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Gelas. in Decreto. Beda, ac alii multi.*

2. THE Acts of THOMAS. *Epiphan. Haeres. 42. n. 1. Idem, Haeres. 61. n. 1. Augustin. contra Adimant. Idem, l. 1. de sermone Dei: ac contra Faust. l. 22. c. 79. Turib. Asturicens. Epist. toties citat. Sic Athanasius etiam ac Photius.*

3. THE Revelations of THOMAS. *Gelasius in Decreto.*

4. THE Itinerary of THOMAS. *Athanas. in Append. ad Synops. S. Scripturar. Gelas. in Decreto. Nicephorus in Stichometria.* This book is extant entire in the French King's Library, num^o. 1832 and 2394: as likewise in the Bodleian Library, *Cod. Baroc. 180.*

5. THE book of the Infancy of CHRIST, pretended to have been written by THOMAS
the

the Apostle, is not the same with the *Gospel* attributed to THOMAS, one of MANES's disciples. *Epiphan. Haeres. 34. n. 18. & Haeres. 51. n. 20. Gelas. in Decreto. Nicephor. in Stichometria.* LAMBECIUS says, that there is a Manuscript of this book in the Imperial Library. *Bibliothec. Vindobon. tom. 7. pag. 20.* Father SIMON (in his *Nouvelles Observations*) writes that there is a Greec Manuscript copy or two of it in the French King's Library. It was printed some years since in Latin and Arabic, with learned Notes by Mr. SYKE at Utrecht: and, after his coming to England, I lent him a Latin version of it on Parchment, which is very old; and which, had it timely come to his hands, might have sav'd him a great part of his labor. But what's become of it, since his unfortunate death, I know not; neither have I claim'd it, as having nothing to show my title. Several others have written of the Infancy of CHRIST.

CHAPTER X.

MATTHEW.

1. **T**HE foregoing book of *the Infancy* of CHRIST, has been ascrib'd to MATTHEW; as I have remark'd in another place.

2. THE *Liturgy* of MATTHEW. *Tom. 27. Bibliothec. Patr. Lugdun. Natal. Alex. in seculo*

seculo primo, Part. I. c. II. art. I. Gerard. Confess. Cathol. tom. I. & alii multi.

CHAPTER XI.

M A R K.

1. **T**HE *Liturgy of MARK.* *Joannes Bona de rebus Liturgicis, aliquae non pauci.*

2. BARONIUS is of opinion that MARK wrote *the Gospel of the Egyptians (ad annum Christi 44, num. 48.)* of which *Gospel* hereafter.

3. POSTELLUS (as we saw before) believ'd the *Protoevangelion*, attributed to JAMES, to have been the beginning of MARK's *Gospel.*

4. THERE'S an anonymous historian of the Evangelist MARK, and JOHN MARK of *the passion of BARNABAS*, of which in due place.

CHAPTER XII.

T H A D D E U S.

1. **T**HE *Gospel of THADDEUS.* *Gelasius in quibusdam Decreti exemplaribus.* He's call'd by EUSEBIUS, who makes him one
of

of the seventy Disciples, *an Evangelist of the Doctrine of CHRIST.* *Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.*

CHAPTER XIII.

MATTHIAS.

1. **T**HE Gospel of MATTHIAS. *Origen. homil. 1. in Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 28. Hieronym. in Prologomen. ad Commentar. in Mat. Ambros. in Commentar. ad Luc. Gelas. in Decreto. Beda, in 10 Commentar. in Luc.*

2. THE Traditions of MATTHIAS. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 2, 3, 7. Item, Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 29. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 15.*

3. THE Acts of MATTHIAS, are to be read in BOLLANDUS, among the Saints of the 24th of January.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAUL.

1. **T**HE Acts of PAUL. *Origen. de Princip. l. 1. c. 2. Idem, tom. 1. in Joan. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 29: ac in Stichometria a Cotelerio edita. PHILASTRIUS says, that in these, and such other Acts, besides many prodigies and miracles, dogs and*

other beasts were made to speak, and to have souls of the same nature with those of men. *Haeres.* 87.

2. THE *Acts of PAUL and THECLA.* *Tertul. de Bapt. c.* 17. *Hieronym. de script. Eccles. in Paulo & Luca. Augustin. contra Faust. l.* 30. *c.* 4. *Epiphani. Haeres.* 78. *n.* 16. *Gelas. in Decreto. Recentiores alii.* 'Tis extant, printed in the second volume of Dr. GRABE'S *Spicilegium.* I wonder much, how certain learned men cou'd be impos'd upon by this ridiculously fabulous Treatise; where a handsome young woman runs away from her Bridegroom (just ready to marry her) all over the world after PAUL, whose fellow-Apostle she becomes: and so she's actually call'd; all which circumstances gave no small scandal to many, as it is related in the book it self, which is stuf't from one end to the other with monstrous incoherencies and absurdities.

3. THE *Epistle of PAUL to the Laodiceans.* *Coloss.* 4. 12. *Tertul. adversus Marcion. l.* 5. *c.* 11, 17. *Hieronym. in Catal. c.* 5. *Epiphani. Haeres.* 42. *n.* 9: & *alibi.* *Philastr. Haeres.* 88. *Theodoret. Commentar. ad Coloss.* 4. 12. *tom.* 3. *Legantur etiam Theophylactus, Gregorius Magnus, & Concil. Nicen. II. act.* 6. *part.* 5.

4. A THIRD *Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians,* was forg'd in his own life time, as some deduce from 2 *Thef.* 2. 2.

5. SOME

5. SOME imagine that PAUL wrote a former *Epistle to the Ephesians*, from the third verse of the third chapter of his extant *Epistle*.

6. THERE wanted not, who, from an expression in POLYCARP, wou'd needs infer, that the Apostle of the Gentiles had written more than one *Epistle to the Philippians*.

7. A THIRD *Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, seems to be well grounded upon 1 Cor. 5. 9 : & 2 Cor. 13. 1.

8. ARCHBISHOP USHER, and Dr. JOHN GREGORY, have seen an Armenian Manuscript of Sir GILBERT NORTH'S, where there was an *Epistle of the Corinthians to PAUL*, with PAUL'S *answer* to the same: and both these *Epistles* are lately publish'd at Amsterdam, in the Armenian and Latin tongues, by Mr. DAVID WILKINS, now Doctor of Divinity, and Library-keeper at Lambeth.

9. KIRSTENIUS says, that several *Epistles of PAUL*, to us unknown, are extant in the Arabic language. *Praefat. ad Gram. Arab.*

10. THE *Epistles of PAUL to SENECA*, with those of *SENECA to PAUL*. These have been so far approv'd, that JEROME, on this account, places SENECA among the Christian writers,

writers, if not Saints: and they are defended as genuine by FABER *d'Estaples*, SIXTUS SENENSIS, ALPHONSUS SALMERON, and others. The ancient authorities for them are, *Hieronym. in Catal. c. 12. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l. 6. c. 10. Idem, in Epist. 153. Edit. Benedictin. scilicet ad Macedonium. Joan. Sarisburiens. in Polycrat. l. 8. c. 13.* If I may reckon this last among the ancients? The *Epistles* however are still extant.

11. THE *Revelation of PAUL.* *Epiphan. Haeres. 38. n. 2. Augustin. tract. 98. in Joan. Theophylact. in Schol. ad 2 Cor. 12. 4. Occumen. ad eundem locum. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 12. c. 34. Gelas. in Decreto.*

12. THERE is a *Revelation of PAUL* in Merton College Library at Oxford, *cod. 13. n. 2. 1. Art. fol. 776.* But this *Revelation* is not the same with the former, which ZOZOMEN (in the place cited out of him) says was highly esteem'd by the Monks.

13. THE *Visions of PAUL.* *Epiphan. Haeres. 40. n. 7.* This book was different from the *Revelation* mention'd Num. 11. but I believe it is the same that MARCUS Patriarch of Alexandria, in his second Question to BALSAMON, calls *the Visions of St. PAUL.* *Bonfid. Jur. Oriental. pag. 240. Marquard. Freher. in Jure Graeco-Romano, tom. 1. pag. 363.*

14. THIS last book may be likewise the same that's recorded by these authors from NICEPHORUS *Homologeta*, who joins it with I know not what *Brontologies*, *Selenodromies*, and *Calendologies*, much like our worst sort of Almanacks: where not onely the days of the month and the age of the moon are mark'd; but also thunder, rain, and other changes of the weather prognosticated. But why such observations, as the settings and risings of the stars, or the divisions of the months, so useful to husbandmen, seamen, and almost all others, should be condemned; I can assign no other reason, but that spirit of Superstition, which proceeded so far to abolish all theatrical representations, all musical performances, all joyful anniversary festivals (however regulated and innocent, and all other liberal entertainments, not practis'd by mechanics or beggars.

15. THE *Preaching of PAUL*. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 6. Laclant. l. 4. c. 21.* 'Tis likewise quoted by the anonymous author *de non iterando Baptismo*, inserted by RIGALTIVS in his observations upon Saint CYPRIAN.

16. SAINT PAUL'S *narrative concerning the charming of Vipers*, reveal'd to him by St. MICHAEL in a dream. LAMBECIUS says, that there is a Manuscript of this book in
the

the Imperial Library. *Biblioth. Vindobon.*
tom. 5. pag. 103.

17. THE *Anabaticon* of PAUL, wherein he relates what he saw, when he was caught up to the third Heavens: tho' in *2 Cor. 12. 4.* he calls them unspeakable words, and things unlawful or impossible to utter. *Epiphani. Haeres. 18. n. 38. Michael Glycas, Annal. part. 2. pag. 120.*

18. SOME wou'd infer from his own words, that PAUL wrote a *Gospel*. *In the day, says he, when God shall judge the secrets of men by Christ Jesus, according to my Gospel. Rom. 2. 16.* compar'd with *Gal. 1. 8, 2*; and *2 Tim. 9.*

19. THE *Precepts* of PETER and PAUL I shall mention lower, under the head of *General Pieces*: that is, such as go under the names of all, or more than one of the Apostles; or such as are directed in general, without the name of any author at all.

CHAPTER XV.

BARNABAS.

1. THE *Gospel* of BARNABAS. *Gelasius in Decreto. Indiculus Scripturar. apud Coteler. in Annotat. 1. ad Constitut. Apostolic. In Catal. libror. Apocryph. Baroccian. post*

post Damascenum de mensibus Macedonum.

This Gospel of BARNABAS is still Extant, but interpolated by the Mahometans. There's but one copy of it in Christendom, accidentally discover'd by me at Amsterdam in the year 1709, and now in the Library of his most serene Highness Prince EUGENE of Savoy. But a full account of it is to be had in a volume I have written on this very subject, entitul'd, NAZARENUS, or *Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*, &c. printed twice at London, in the year 1718.

2. THE *Epistle of BARNABAS.* *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 2, 5. Origen. contra Cels. l. 1. & de Princip. l. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5. Hieronym. in Catalogo, aliique.* But this is not the *Epistle* we have at this day, as these very citations demonstrate.

3. THE *Passion of BARNABAS* by JOHN MARK, is mention'd in *cap. 21.*

CHAPTER XVI.

JUDAS, EVE, SETH, ABRAHAM, ENOCH, &c.

1. THAT none of the Apostles might be thought unable to write a *Gospel*, we find one alledg'd by the Caianites (a sect of the Gnostics) under the name of JUDAS *Isca-*
riot;

riot; whom they highly extoll'd for his knowledge of the Truth above the rest of the Apostles, and that therefore he purposely betray'd CHRIST, to perfect the Mystery of our Redemption. *Iren. contra Haeres. l. 1. c. 35. Epiphan. Haeres. 38. n. 1, 2. Theodoret. Haeret. Fab. l. 1. c. 15.*

2. NOR shou'd we wonder at JUDAS'S being an Author, when we read of the prophetic *Gospel of EVE*, whom the Gnostics reckon'd a patroness of their opinions; and to have receiv'd extraordinary light and knowledge, in her conference with the Serpent. *Epiphan. Haeres. 26. n. 2, 3, 4, 5.* God, in that *Gospel*, said to her in a voice like Thunder, *I am thou, and thou art I; wherever thou art, there am I, being diffus'd among all things: and, whence soever you will, you gather me; but in gathering me, you gather yourself.* EVE, as we may see, was a great Spinolist.

3. THE Sethians, another sort of Gnostics (for the branches of this trunk were numberless) besides many writings attributed by them to SETH himself, whom they wou'd needs have to be CHRIST, did also shew an *Apocalypse* under the name of the Patriarch ABRAHAM: not to mention his learned pieces of Astrology, nor those they father'd upon others, nor yet the books of ADAM formerly believed by the Jews. *Epiphan. Haeres.*

Haeres. 26. n. 8. *Item Haeres.* 30. n. 16. *ac Haeres.* 39. n. 15. *Isidor. Pelusiot. l. 2. Epist.* 99.

4. THE *Prophecy of ENOCH*, which relates the Amours of the Sons of God with the Daughters of Men (or of ever-sprightly Angels and beautiful young Damsels) is a great part of it still extant; and was believ'd genuine by several of the *Fathers*, who alledge it in defence of the Christian Religion: as *Origen. contra Cels. l. 5. Idem de Princip. Tertul. de habitu muliebri, c. 3, &c.*

5. THE *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, the *Assumption of MOSES*, the *Testament of the same*, the *Prophecy of LAMECH*, the *Prayer of JOSEPH*, the *Book of ELDAD and MEDAD*, the *Psalms of King SOLOMON*, the *Anabaticon or Vision of ISAIAH*, the *Revelation of ELIAS*, the *Revelation of ZEPHANY*, the *Revelation of ZACHARY*, the *Revelation of EZRA*, and such others, of which an account may be seen in the *Codex Apocryphus veteris Testamenti* of FABRICIUS. But I forget that I am in this CATALOGUE reciting the spurious books of the Christians, and not of the Jews, who were very near as fertile and expert in forgeries. Nor ought we to be careless in distinguishing those Books, that were falsely father'd upon the Jews by the Christians, the better to bring them over (of which pious frauds the *Anabaticon of ISAIAH*,
with

with the *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, are manifest examples) from the Apocryphal books of the Jews themselves, some of which are very ancient.

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL PIECES.

1. **T**HE *Gospel of the twelve Apostles*. Origen. *homil. 1. in Luc.* Hieronym. *in Praefat. ad Mat.* Item, *contra Pelagian. l. 3.* Ambros. *Prooem. Comment. in Luc.* Theophylact. *Comment. in Luc. c. 1. ver. 1.* Beda *initio Comment. in Luc.* But this book is only general in the Title, and was, I believe, originally the same with

2. THE *Gospel of the Hebrews*. Ignat. *in Epist. ad Smyrnaeos, c. 3.* Papias *apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 39.* Clem. Alex. *Stromat. l. 1, 2, 5.* Origen. *tract. 8. in Mat.* Idem, *homil. 15. in Jerem. & in Comment. ad Joan. tom. 2.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27.* & *alibi.* Epiphan. *Haeres. 30. passim.* Hieronym. *in Catalogo & aliàs saepissimè.* Tit. Bostrenf. *Comment. in Luc.* This Gospel several have maintained (tho' erroneously) to be the Original of MATTHEW; as it is expressly the opinion of IRENEUS, *adversus Haeres. l. 3. c. 11.* and of EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres. 29. n. ult.*

3. I am persuaded it was the same which was commonly call'd *the Gospel of the Nazarens* or Ebionites, who were the Jewish or very first Christians; and therefore Dr. MILL, Dr. GRABE, and others, have declar'd their opinion, that it might be one of those mention'd by LUKE, and so written before our present *Gospels* by the eye and ear-witnesses of CHRIST.

4. THIS book was also call'd *the Gospel of the Syrians*. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 22.* *Hieronym. in Catal. & adversus Pelagian. l. 3. c. 1.* THEODORET (*Haeret. fab. l. 2. c. 2.*) positively attributes this *Gospel of the Nazarens* to PETER, as being the Apostle of the Circumcision: if his meaning be not rather, that the Nazarens made use of PETER'S GOSPEL, mention'd before, as well as of *the Gospel of the Hebrews*? And were they extant, 'tis possible they wou'd appear to be all but one and the same book. It admits of a doubt, whether JUSTIN MARTYR has quoted *the Gospel of the twelve Apostles* as authentic, in his *Dialogue with TRYPHON*.

5. THE *Gospel of the Egyptians*. *Clem. Roman. Epist. 2. ad Corinth. c. 12.* *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 3.* *Origen. homil. 1. in Luc.* *Epiphan. Haeres. 62. n. 2.* *Hieronym. in Prooem. Comment. super Mat. Tit. Bostrens. Comment. in Luc: & Theophylact. ad eun-*

dem Evangelistam. Dr. GRABE, and others, were of the mind, that this *Gospel of the Egyptians* (no less than that of *the Hebrews*) was written before LUKE's; and therefore older than those in our Canon. The Fragments of it are as enigmatical and obscure as those of the Philosopher HERACLITUS.

6. THE *Apostles Creed* I may fairly reckon among these Pieces. Of late years it begins to be call'd in question with more accuracy of Criticism, than before. Every one may have ample satisfaction in this matter by perusing *the History of the Creed*, by the no less learned, than modest and judicious, Sir PETER KING, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: as also by reading VOSSIUS (who wrote long before) *of the three Creeds*; and TENTZELIUS's *Exercitation* upon that of the Apostles. I have likewise written a *Dissertation* upon this Subject my self, which I lent to a Gentleman who dy'd without restoring it to me; and perhaps he lent it to some of his friends (for I have yet no account of it from his Executors) which will make me more difficult about my own, or other Manuscripts, for the future. In all these Pieces it is (among other things common to them all, and peculiar to each) clearly demonstrated, that the *Creed* was neither compos'd by the Apostles, nor all at once by any others; but that it grew to its present form by degrees, and upon various

rious occasions, there specify'd, especially in SIR PETER KING'S History.

7. THE *Doctrines and Constitution* (not Constitutions) of the Apostles. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. Athanas. in Synopsi S. Scripturar. Epiphan. Haeres. 45. n. 2, 5. Haeres. 70. n. 10, 14. Haeres. 75. n. 6. & Haeres. 80. n. 75. Idem in compendiaria fidei Expositione. Incertus de Aleatoribus inter Scripta Cypriani.

8. THERE are *Διδαχαι* and *Διδασκαλιαι*, or *Doctrines* and *Instructions*, as well as *Κερωματα* and *Παραδοσις*, or *Preachings* and *Traditions*, attributed both to every one almost of the Apostles singly, and also to their Companions and Successors. These Doctrines were usually bound with the other books of the *New Testament*, as appears by the *Stichometry* of NICEPHORUS, and by such other Indexes of the *Scriptures*. Yet it was not always pretended that they were original Pieces, but rather Collections of what the Companions and Successors of the Apostles either heard, or pretended to hear, from their own mouths. It is observ'd by the best Critics, that most, if not all of those Doctrines, are comprehended in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (of which book in the following Article) since the greatest part of the Fragments, or Remains, of the lost *Doctrines*, agree with the Contents of these same *Constitutions*.

9. WE need not produce our Authors either for the *Canons* or *Constitutions of the Apostles*, since they are almost unanimously admitted by the Greeks; and that so many learned Members, both of the Churches of England and of Rome, have written large volums to prove these (especially the *Canons*) if not genuine, yet of very great authority. We must however remark, that EPIPHANIUS in particular, quotes the *Constitution*, not the *Constitutions*, as Canonical; *Haeres. 45. n. 5*: and elsewhere, as you find him cited in article 7. of this Chapter. Indeed he uses the plural number in *Haeres. 80. n. 7*; where he reckons them divinely inspir'd: and proves from thence, that we should not cut our beards, nor let our hair grow long, this being a grave apostolic ordinance; tho not observ'd by Mr. WHISTON, the most declar'd advocate of these Constitutions. But there's demonstration, that the *Constitutions* quoted by EPIPHANIUS, are not the same with those we have at this day; being in certain things, as in the observation of Easter for one, quite contrary one to another. This CATALOGUE is not the place to examine, what the defenders of the *Canons* and *Constitutions* of the APOSTLES answer to the objection of their so late appearance in the world, and to some other exceptions against their genuineness or authority: for I must beg Mr. WHISTON'S pardon, whom I honor for his Learning and firmness

firmness of mind, if I think not so highly of 'em as he professes to do.

10. THE *Precepts of PETER and PAUL*, and, I suppose, of some other Apostles: for this seems as general, as their *Doctrines, Preachings, or Traditions*. This book lies in Manuscript in the Great Duke's Library in Florence, if we believe LUDOVICUS JACOBUS *a Sancto Carolo*, in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, l. 1. pag. 177. Perhaps it is the same (as I said) with *the Preaching of PETER and PAUL*: for they are so often confounded together, that I am apt to think they were not two books.

11. THE present Coptic Christians have a book of *Doctrines*, which they believe was compos'd by the twelve Apostles, with the special assistance of Saint PAUL, &c. *Ludolf. Comment. ad Hist. Aethiopic. pag. 334, 236.*

12. THE *Gospel of Perfection*. An admirable Title! for the very sake of which, I wish it were extant. But EPIPHANIUS, who saw it, says *it was the perfection of sorrow; for that the whole perfection of Death was contain'd in that off-spring of the Devil. Haeres. 26. n. 2.* I have given reasons elsewhere, how little we ought to rely on the judgment or veracity of this Father: and here I think it a fit place to observe, that Mr. SYKE, knowing nothing belike of this book, has

wrong translated it *the Perfect Gospel*; *fecit-que Dominus JESUS plurima in Aegypto miracula, quae neque in Evangelio Infantiae, neque in Evangelio perfectio, scripta reperiuntur.* pag. 71.

13. THE *Gospel of Truth*: A better Title still! tho IRENEUS, whose authority I value as little as that of EPIPHANIUS, affirms that it agreed in nothing with *the Gospels of the Apostles.* *Adversus Haeres. l. 3. c. 11.* This was likewise call'd the *Gospel of VALENTINE.* *Ibid.*

14. THE *Acts of all the Apostles*, written by themselves, principally receiv'd by the Ebionites. *Epiphan. Haeres. 30. n. 16. Theodoret. Haeret. fab. l. 3. c. 4. Varadatus in Epist. ad Leonem. Imp. in Concil. Labb. tom. 4. col. 978. Jo. Malala, Chronograph. l. 10.*

15. THE *Acts of the Apostles* by ABDIAS, the pretended first Bishop of Babylon, is a pretty modern imposture; and long preceded by *the Acts of the Apostles according to LEUCIUS*, whereof AUGUSTINE, *lib. de fide contra Manichaeos, cap. 38.*

16. THERE were *Acts* or *Journeys* of the Apostles extant in PHOTIUS's time, compos'd by one LEUCIUS CHARINUS, a fam'd impostor, of whom before. This book contain'd

tain'd the most childish and ridiculous things in the world: particularly, that there would be a Returrence of Cows and Horses, as well as of Men and Women. *In Biblioth. cod. 114.*

17. THE *Lots of the Apostles* are mention'd in the *Decree of GELASIUS*; and a book under this title is publish'd *inter Miscellanea Ecclesiastica Posthuma Petri Pithoei.*

18. THE *Praise, or Panegyric, of the Apostles*, is mention'd in the same *Decree of GELASIUS*; and, in some copies of it, *the Passions of the Apostles.*

19. THE *Memoire of the Apostles*, reckon'd a most blasphemous piece by *TURIBIUS Asturicensis*, in *Epist. ad Idacium & Cesonium, inter Epistolas Leonis Magni apud Paschasium Quesnellum. Item. Paul. Oros. in Commonitor. de erroribus Priscillianistarum & Origenistarum.*

20. THE *Itinerary of all the Apostles*, as well as of every one of 'em singly, was formerly extant, as more than once hinted.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Disciples and Companions of the Apostles.

OF the books ascrib'd to the Disciples and Companions of the APOSTLES, and which are still extant (for we have nam'd a sufficient number of extinct Pieces) some are thought genuin and of great authority at this time; every one was approv'd at some time, or by some party: and yet I am of opinion, that it is the easiest task in the world (next to that of showing the ignorance and superstition of the writers) to prove them all spurious, and fraudulently impos'd on the credulous. Those I principally mean, are, 1. The two Epistles of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians*, his *Recognitions*, *Decretals*, and all other pieces bearing his name. 2. All the *Epistles of* IGNATIUS, of what stamp or edition soever. 3. The *Epistle of* POLYCARPUS *to the Philippians*; not to insist on his other writings long since lost, of which yet I judge by what is preserv'd. 4. The *Acts of the Martyrdom of* IGNATIUS *and* POLYCARPUS. 5. The *Pastor of* HERMAS. 6. The *Epistle of* BARNABAS, together with his *Gospel*, of which before: And 7. The works of DIONYSIUS *the Areopagite*. Let us add to these, tho at no time near so much esteem'd,

8. The

8. The *Epistle of MARCELLUS* (PETER'S Disciple) to NEREUS and ACHILLEUS, and his treatise of the conflict of PETER and SIMON Magus: he has given a relation of the death of PETRONILLA, PETER'S daughter; and of the passion of FELICULA, both virgins.

9. The *Life of JOHN* by PROCHORUS (mention'd before) one of the seven Deacons, and cousin to Saint STEPHEN.

10. The *Petition of VERONICA to Herod*, on the behalf of CHRIST.

11. The *Passion of TIMOTHY* by POLYCRATES.

12. The *Passions of PETER and PAUL*, in two books by LINUS.

13. The *two Epistles of MARTIAL of Limousin*; and

14. The *Life of the same* by AURELIANUS.

15. The *History of the Apostolical conflict* by ABDIAS, mention'd before.

16. The *Passion of Saint ANDREW*, written by the Presbyters of Achaia.

17. The *Epistle of EUODIUS*, entitul'd, *the Light*.

18. The anonymous Historian of the Evangelist MARK, of whom above; as also, 19. of JOHN MARK of the passion of BARNABAS.

20. The *Acts of TITUS*, compos'd by ZENA St. PAUL'S companion.

21. The *Acts of CRATO*.

22. PHILALETHES EUSEBIANUS of the *Passions of CHRIST*; and

23. MELITO of the *virtues of the Apostles*: with a multitude of other *Acts, Martyrdoms, Passions, Legends, and Menologies*, which, because confessedly modern, are nothing to our purpose.

24. The *Revelation of STEPHEN*: 25. The *Altercation of JASON and PAPISCUS*; with, 26. The *Epistles of JOSEPH the Arima-*

Arimatheatan to the Britons, are absolutely lost; and, were they extant, wou'd probably appear to be as foolish and fabulous as the rest.

AS it can't be deny'd, but that NICODEMUS was an acquaintance of the Apostles; so this is the proper place to mention, 27. his *Gospel*. By several passages it seems to be an imposture of the fifth century: and there's a very comical account given in it, of the descent of CHRIST into hell; how the Devils barricado'd that infernal prison, with their other preparations to keep him out; in what manner the *Old Testament* Saints within knew of the approach of their deliverer, and what a terrible mutiny they rais'd against the Devils to betray the place to him; and finally how JESUS broke open those adamantine bars, the whole farce (for it is no other) being carry'd on in Scripture-phrase, and pretended to be reveal'd by CHARINUS and LENTHIUS, two of those that are said to have come out of their graves at the Resurrection of CHRIST. These names seem to be borrow'd from LEUCIUS CHARINUS, of whom more than once before.

I cannot forbear remembring in this place, from the affinity of the Subject, 28. the *Eternal Gospel*, which, about the middle of the thirteenth century, was forg'd and publish'd by the mendicant Fryers, as the perfecters
(forsooth)

(forsooth) of God's Economy. See concerning it MATTHEW PARIS, in the year 1257.

CHAPTER XIX.

*Heathen Books forg'd to propagate
Christianity.*

I HAVE taken notice, in the 5th Article of the 16th Chapter, of books that were publish'd under the names of remarkable Persons in the *Old Testament*, in favor of CHRIST and the Christian Religion. But as if neither by those, nor by others mention'd hitherto in this CATALOGUE, the Cause cou'd be sufficiently secur'd; they did also feign books, to serve the same purpose, under the names of the Heathens, some of which are as follows :

1. THE Works of TRISMEGISTUS, which, if not altogether forg'd by Christians, are so much interpolated by them, that there's no distinguishing the genuin from the spurious parts. They are extant in Greec, and in many Translations. But as for the Dialogue, entitul'd ASCLEPIUS, extant only in Latin, said to be the Translation of APULEIUS, 'tis plainly of heathen original, and contains many noble footsteps of the ancient Philosophy.

2. THE Books of ZOROASTER and HY-
STASPES. Tho the Greec of these is lost,
yet

yet Dr. HYDE, in his *History of the Religion of the antient Persians*, has publish'd to the world, that he had them in the ancient Persian language, in which they were originally written. But whether in their original purity, or interpolated, we know not; tho more probably the last, by reason of certain Prophecies concerning the MESSIAH, promis'd by the Doctor in his very title-page.

3. THE *Sibylline Oracles*, cited so frequently, and with such authority by the primitive Fathers, both Grec and Latin, that CELSUS takes occasion from thence to nickname the Christians *Sibyllists*. *Origen. contra Cels. l. 5.* They are extant, such as some Christians have made them: but the grossness of the Imposture has been abundantly expos'd by many able pens, tho several of late (among whom Mr. WHISTON) have endeavor'd to retrieve the credit of some of them; which they distinguish in a manner that exact Criticism will not bear, from those much more numerous, which they confess to be manifestly suppositions.

4. THE *Epistle of LENTULUS*, a Roman Senator, giving a description of the Person of CHRIST. It is extant, with several various Readings; and was formerly in high credit with the Quakers, who found that it exactly resembl'd JAMES NAILER.

5. THE *Letters of PONTIUS PILATE to TIBERIUS*, with *TIBERIUS's Answer*, and the *Speech of TIBERIUS to the Senate*, about receiving CHRIST among the Gods. These, with another book, call'd *the Acts of PILATE*, are all extant: but so full of Inconsistencies, Anachronisms, Fables, and Absurdities of all sorts; that it may well bear a dispute who were the most stupid, the forgers or the believers of these Pieces. Yet so great was their success, that the Heathens, in the reign of MAXIMIN, did oppose to them other *Acts of PILATE*, full of blasphemies against CHRIST: and MAXIMIN not only order'd them to be publish'd every where, but also to be learnt by boys at school. This we are told by EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles. l. 9. c. 5*; and by NICEPHORUS, *Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 26*. They were in all probability as false and fabulous, as the Christian ones; which last impos'd too much upon JUSTIN MARTYR and TERTULLIAN, or were by them deceitfully impos'd upon others. They both of 'em confidently refer to them: the first in his *first Apology*, and the second in his *Apologetic*. EUSEBIUS likewise speaks favorably of them in his *Chronicle*, and in his *Ecclesiastical History, l. 2. c. 2*; and EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres. 5. n. 1*.

6. THE *Epistles, Rescripts, or Orders of ADRIAN, ANTONINUS PIUS, and MARCUS AURELIUS*, in favor of the Christians (evidently con-

convicted of forgery by TANAQUIL FABER and others) are extant in JUSTIN MARTYR.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Gospels of VALENTINE, BASILIDES, MARCION, APPELLES, CERINTHUS, TATIAN, and others.

I DOUBT not but by this time the Reader thinks I am at the end of my CATALOGUE; but his curiosity must animate his patience a little longer: for altho it consists already of nineteen Chapters, there must still be this one more to make it complete.

IN the seventeenth Chapter we took notice of *the Gospel of VALENTINE*: and the other Gnostics, according to (1) EPIPHANIUS, had a numerous tribe of divine Books, among which *Jadalbaoth* was not in their eyes the least valuable. BASILIDES also wrote his own *Gospel*, as (2) ORIGEN, in concert with other writers, does assert. Yet by the phrase of BASILIDES'S *Gospel*, they meant perhaps his *Commentaries*: for, whether it were upon his own or upon some other, he wrote no fewer than twenty four books of *Commentaries on*

(1) Haeref. 26. n. 8.

(2) Prooem. in Luc. Item tractat. 26. in Mat.

the Gospel; together with his Prophets BARCABBAS and BARCOPH or PARCHOR.

I take *the Gospel of MARCION*, the *Gospel of APPELLES*, and those of some other reputed Heretics mention'd by the Fathers, to have been their Editions or Interpolations of other *Gospels*, rather than original compositions of their own.

NOR do I believe CERINTHUS had a peculiar *Gospel*, as EPIPHANIUS (3) doubtingly intimates; who is further at a loss whether MERINTHUS and he were two, or one and the same person: tho' tis a thousand to one, that MERINTHUS never existed. I doubt not for my part, but CERINTHUS and his companions us'd *the Gospel of the Hebrews*, as did likewise the Carpocratians: for both these were but subdivisions of the Nazarens or Ebonites, the Fathers loving to multiply Sects as well as *Gospels*; and dubbing every man the head of a party, who made any new discovery, or had any private opinion, tho' agreeing in all things else with his Church or Society. He has observ'd nothing, who has not observ'd this to be their temper and practice.

THE Encratites, another branch from the Nazaren stock, did, together with the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, make use also of TATIAN'S

(3) Hæres. 51.

Gospel; which was compil'd out of our four receiv'd *Gospels*, or out of some other four, by way of *Harmony*: that is, by variously omitting, adding, transposing, interposing, joining, and disjoining. From its four Elements (as we may say) TATIAN'S *Gospel* was call'd *Diateffaron*. EPIPHANIUS (who confounds every thing, *Gospels* and men) mistakes it (4) for the just nam'd *Gospel of the Hebrews*, as he took this latter for that of MATTHEW. So he says that the Ebionites or Nazarens, and CERINTHUS a great man among them, left out (5) of their *Gospel* the Genealogy of CHRIST; and yet, in the very same discourse, he affirms (6) that not only CERINTHUS, but likewise CARPOCRAS (another Ebionite of distinction) wou'd prove by this very Genealogy, that CHRIST was the Son of JOSEPH and MARY. But he was not the only person among the Orthodox, on whom TATIAN impos'd: for THEODORET assures us, that his *Gospel* deceiv'd a world of people; and that he had himself remov'd (7) above 200 of them out of Churches, placing others in their stead.

THE Manicheans had their *living Gospel*: and the followers of SIMON MAGUS (whom I ought to have nam'd first) had, besides other

(4) Haeref. 30. n. 13.

(5) Haeref. 28. n. 5. & Haeref. 30. n. 3, 13.

(6) Ibid. n. 13.

(7) Haeref. fabul. l. 1. c. 207.

Scriptures, *four Gospels* very different from ours.

THERE was in the second Century one LEUCIUS, often already named, that distinguish'd himself far above all the rest, in forging or falsifying such Books. He was a Priest, and had a great many Names besides that of LEUCIUS; as SELLEUCUS, LEONTIUS, LUCIANUS, LENTICIUS or LENTICIUS, and so on, some of which were probably but corruptions of his true name by Transcribers. He publish'd Books not only under the names of MATTHEW, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN; but likewise many under that of PAUL, whom he particularly affected. He made *Acts* and *Passions* of the Apostles, a *Nativity of the Virgin MARY*: and, in concert with one HIRSCHIUS another Priest, he falsify'd many *Gospels*; as JEROM witnesses in his *Preface to the Gospels*, and for which GELASIUS, in his *Decree*, calls him *the Disciple of the Devil*. You may also consult about him, among many others, AUGUSTINE in his book of *the Faith against the Manicheans*, as well as in the second book of *Transactions with FELIX* of the same sect, and PHOTIUS in the 114th book of his *Library*.

SIMON and CLEOBULUS made several books under the names of CHRIST and his Apostles,

as we learn from the 16th Chapter of the 6th book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

THE Helcefaites had a Book, which (as we are inform'd by (8) EUSEBIUS and by (9) THEODORET) they pretended was *fallen down from heaven*, just as the Turks speak of their *Alcoran*.

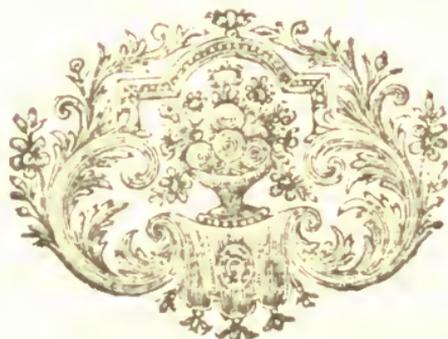
INNOCENT the first, in his 3^d *Letter to EXUPERIUS*, assures us, that the Philosophers NEXOCHARIDAS and LEONIDAS forg'd Books under the name of ANDREW and others.

BUT, to take one huge leap over the monstrous and infinite impostures down from the fourth Century to this day (excepting that only whereof I am going to speak) it is not yet 200 years since the Jesuit XAVIER impos'd for *Gospel* on his Persian Converts, a *History of CHRIST* of his own framing, very different in many things from the Books of the *New Testament*; and containing the grossest fables, innovations and superstitions, of Popery, as if expressly taught by CHRIST and his APOSTLES. After this book had been brought to Europe, it was translated into Latin, and the fraud expos'd to all the world by LUDOVICUS DE DIEU, a Professor at Leyden, incomparably skilful in the oriental

(8) Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 38.

(9) Haeret. fabul. l. 2. c. 7.

languages. To the same volume our Jesuit did join, out of profound respect to the Roman Pontif and Hierarchy, a most romantic *History of PETER*, Prince of the Church, and proto-parent of the Popes, with which extraordinary Piece I end this CATALOGUE.





THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
South Sea Scheme*.

Introduction.

N Act having past last Session of Parliament for vesting the Estates of all the Directors, without any distinction, in Trustees for the benefit of the South Sea Company; these Memoirs are made public to bring to light the dark contrivances of those men, who were the cause of all the misfortunes which attended the amazing execution of the Scheme, which cannot be extenuated, nor any other way excus'd. But 'tis hoped it may appear by this Discourse that the artifices of the Decenvirs, or at least of the principal of them, were so deeply laid, the measures for compassing their ends so cunningly taken, and the whole executed with that premeditated precipitancy and confusion (the surest method for preventing circumspection or examination) that it was
not

* This Piece is not Mr. Toland's, but it was found among his MSS, and is enlarged and corrected throughout with his own hand.

not possible for the well-meaning Directors to oppose the torrent so effectually, as to prevent the ill effects of those impositions, which were so magisterially put upon them. This will not appear improbable, far less incredible, if it be particularly considered, that whilst these things were transacting, the Decemvirs were the idols of the people; and, as the distributors of those fancy'd blessings they were shovring upon them, little less than ador'd. Every body remembers this so well, that there needs no further proof of it; no more than that the other Directors were look'd upon as cyphers, and men that had no share in the honor. Many therefore are inclined to believe, that since a distinction there was between the Directors, (which will appear undeniably by the sequel), if there had been a distinction likewise in censuring them, and that the Punishment had extended no farther than to the authors of the mischief, by making the plunder to be restored, and the unjust gains to be refunded; that if the old Estates, they had before the Scheme, had been left to the Directors who behaved themselves honestly: it had, it is humbly conceived, been neither disagreeable to the rules of justice, nor displeasing to the reasonable part of mankind; and perhaps had brought as much mony into the Company's coffers, at least with more certainty and speed, than this severity used against them all without distinction, is likely to do. What weight or justice there may be in this, will

appear from the following account of the whole; in which some will perhaps be surpriz'd, or perhaps angry, to find certain persons otherwise represented, than they conceiv'd, or else wish'd 'em to be: but the Author of it has taken a resolution from the beginning, not to gratify the passions or resentments of others, no more than his own; and to say neither less nor more, than he really believes to be Truth.

THE SECRET HISTORY, &c.

IN the beginning of the year 1719, the South-Sea Company undertook to take in, and add to their Stock, the Lottery of 1710: and altho' the whole was not subscribed, yet the design succeeded so far, as that the Company got 70000 l. and the Government about 200000 l. by the undertaking. This success gave thoughts of doing something of the like nature, the next Session of Parliament. But the progress of the Mississippi Company about that time having intoxicated, and turned the brains of most people, APPIUS's mind was thereby wonderfully affected, and from his natural inclination to Projects, so inflamed, that he could brook no longer the narrow thoughts he had entertained before, of engaging for one or two branches of the public Funds only; but carried on his views for taking in at once all the national Debts, the Bank and East India Company included: often saying, " That as Mr. LAW had taken his pattern from
" him,

“ him, and improved upon what was done
 “ here the year before in relation to the Lot-
 “ tery of 1710, he would now improve up-
 “ on what was done in France, and out-do
 “ Mr. LAW.” Unhappy Emulation! for any
 hook, artfully cover’d with such a tempting bait,
 was sure to be swallow’d. To put his concep-
 tions in a method of being understood, he con-
 sulted the Treasurer of the Company, and ano-
 ther person who was vulgarly reputed to have
 studied the black art, his near relation and bosom
 friend, and who was then chief Accountant to the
 Company. Nor was it absurdly imagin’d of the
 town, to take a man for a Negromancer, Conju-
 rer, or what you please more artful, who could
 bring his horses to eat gold, when they did
 not like hay; and from a grinder of Coffee
 so to order his affairs, that a noble Duke and
 a Marquis thought it an honor to support
 him under each arm, being cripp’d with the
 gout, and to help him into his coach with
 most profound respect. *O tempora! O mores!*
 With the help of the Treasurer and this same
 Mephostophilus, APPIUS form’d that famous
 Scheme, which has since proved so fatal, and
 brought so much uneasiness upon the Nation.
 He had no sooner got his Scheme ready, but
 he made application to the prime Minister,
 by means of a person who had free access to
 him: but whether his Lordship disliked the
 Projector or the Project, he would not see
 APPIUS, and referred him to the Chancellor
 of the Exchequer. This is certain fact. AP-

PIUS's high spirit could not well digest being thus treated, and said that his Scheme was of such importance that it ought to be communicated to none but the King himself or his prime Minister. However being unwilling to lose the fruits of his labour, and having some acquaintance with one of the Secretaries of State, who had been at the head of the Treasury, he went to his Lordship and shew'd him the Scheme: but meeting there with several objections, and a dislike of the whole in the main, APPIUS found himself under a necessity either of going to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or of laying aside all thoughts of his Project. Former occurrences not having left those two gentlemen cordial friends, he took with him the Treasurer, and Mr. H. one of the Directors who was much in the Chancellor's favour; and after several meetings having got over some difficulties, which were thrown in his way by another Society, that narrowly watched his steps, the Scheme was entertained, and opened to the House of Commons in the manner every body knows: three Millions being offered without the consent of the general Court, or the knowledge of the Court of Directors; a presumption perhaps not to be parallel'd in any past transaction, but perfectly of a piece with APPIUS's future conduct in the management of that important affair. The Bank having thought fit to interpose, and to bid more than the Chancellor had offered, APPIUS resolving

olving to stick at nothing to carry his point, got an order of Court to leave it to the Sub and Deputy Governors to offer what they should think fit; who having bid seven Millions and a half, the House of Commons accepted their Proposal.

THERE were not those wanting at that time amongst the Directors, and also amongst those in a higher station, who thought that undertaking too bold for any society; and that instead of a sum certain, it had been better and fairer to proceed in the same manner as the year before, viz. that the government should have a share of the profit which might accrue by the undertaking, as, suppose, two thirds or three fourths. By this method no gain of the Company, tho' ever so great, could have been invidious, since the public would have had the greatest share: the Government and the Company being united in interest, the Scheme in all events would have been supported: and persons of consequence, and experienced in affairs of a higher nature, would have been join'd in commission for the due executing of it. But this did not suit with the inclinations and views of some men, whose aim was to ingross to themselves the power of executing the Scheme, which they believed they had craft enough to compass, if it was left to the management of the Court of Directors. Therefore in due time they procured a Commission,

on, unknown to the other Directors, constituting the one and thirty of that Court to be Trustees and Managers for taking in the public Debts: which was, in effect, giving the sole power to six or seven of them; as they who know any thing about a Court of Directors, will readily own.

IN consequence of the Proposal made in the name of the Company, and accepted by the House of Commons, a Bill was ordered to be brought in; and APPIUS got a Committee appointed, as is usual for all Companies in such cases to do, *for taking care that the Bill should be conformable to the Proposal*: for this is precisely all that ever was or could be intended by *taking care of the Bill*, as it was commonly worded; and not that the Committee should use all ways and means, Bribery not excepted, to have it pass'd. In this sense the Court of Directors never understood it, and therefore the Committee proving too numerous for APPIUS, more being named than he intended; and there being some amongst them, whom he knew were not to be brought into his measures: he proposed, under pretence of secrecy, that it should be left to the Sub and Deputy-Governors to *take care of the Bill*, (viz. that the Bill, as has been said already, should be agreeable to the Proposal) with the advice of such of the Directors as they should think fit. This the Court of Directors unwarily came
into,

into, having an intire confidence in those two gentlemen, whose reputation was then clear and unblemish'd. But such an unadvised concession laid the foundation of all the future inroachments upon the Court of Directors themselves: for no sooner was this point gained, but APPIUS thinking it a fit opportunity to usurp a power for ever, which was only granted for a time, work'd upon the Sub and Deputy-Governors to extend this concession to the whole Scheme; and to constitute by their own authority, and without acquainting the Court of Directors with it, a Cabinet Council, as it may very justly be call'd, which should concert and direct all the affairs of the Company in relation to the Scheme. This Council was made up of the Sub and Deputy Governors, APPIUS, Mr. C Mr. G Mr. H and the Treasurer, who acted with them as Secretary. This last, upon his examination * on the 21st of January, which was the day he went away, own'd the truth of this, and acquainted the Secret Committee, that the Sub and Deputy-Governors, with the advice of such Directors as they should think fit, had the direction of the Scheme, and that those gentlemen they consulted with, were Sir J. B. Mr. C . . . Mr. G . . . and Mr. H . . . But besides this cabinet Council, APPIUS secured to his particular interest, Mr. H and Mr. S two of the Di-

* In p. 11. of the printed *Report*.

rectors of the Treasury, and the chief Accountant ; and at the head of these ten, who were all subservient to his designs, he governed afterwards according to his will and pleasure all the affairs of the Company.

NOT unlike to APPIUS (as was said before) and the Decemviri of old, who being appointed with a Dictatorial power for compiling and reducing into ten Tables, the Laws which were brought from Greece ; and having once got possession, attempted to make their power perpetual. Nay, they actually kept it, till by their unjust and violent proceedings, they had almost overturned the Commonwealth : and enraged the people to that degree, that they constrained APPIUS, the head of those Decemvirs, to kill himself in prison, and by his death an end was put to the tyranny.

THE first thing our APPIUS did, after he had settled his Decemvirate, was to take effectual care of securing the passing of the Bill (instead of seeing that the Bill was answerable to the Proposal) in order to which, the sale of the fictitious Stock was thought of, as the most effectual way to bring it about. But they are much mistaken, who think that the whole 574500 l. were distributed amongst Lords or Members of Parliament for that purpose. They may take it for granted, that APPIUS and his Colleagues took a good share of it for themselves,

selves, when they saw the price of Stock advance; and sold it afterwards at a proper time, which enabled them to pay the difference according to their engagements, without charging the Company with it. As they intended to conceal this transaction, and to keep it from the knowledge of all others as long as they could, they postponed laying before the Committee of Treasury the entry in the Cash Book, relating to the sale of that stock, till the beginning of June, which was full two months after it was done; so that they had time enough to encrease it at their pleasure.

BY this entry in the Cash Book it did not appear, to whom the stock was sold; neither did they deliver any account thereof to the Committee of Accounts, as is usual: for the Committee of Treasury has nothing to do with the examining of Accounts (which was unfortunately understood to be otherwise, by some Gentlemen in an eminent station) but are only to see that the Cash belonging to the Company be kept right, and that the money be duly paid, when they receive notice of what is to be paid from the Committee of Accounts. And this may be said to the honor of the Committee of Treasury, that, notwithstanding the many irregularities committed by the Treasurer, in matters which were not under their inspection, but were underhand ordered by APPIUS, or the Cabinet

binet Council: they yet had such a watchful eye over him, in what did properly relate to their businets, that there was no deficiency in the Cash during all that confused and hasty transaction.

THE very day that the Bill had the Royal Assent, APPIUS began to set his engines at work, in order to a mony Subscription. As this was a new thing, and had never been talk'd of before, he did not think proper to propose it abruptly; but the better to disguise his concerting matters in private, he appointed a meeting of the major part of the Directors, where it was long debated what was fit to be done for supporting the Price of the Stock, which was then falling, whether by artifice or naturally is not well known: and a Subscription being proposed at 300, several of those, who were not in the secret, express their fears of the success of it, especially at so much above the market-price. But when it came to the question, it was easily carried for such a Subscription, as had been agreed before-hand: for some of his Colleagues, the better to bring others into their opinion, said that they were already sure of good sums, and that their friends were fond of it at that rate; which could not have been said, if those friends had not been spoke to before the meeting. This Subscription, taken on the 14th of April, was intended by the Court of Directors for two Millions, and a
great

great deal of pains was taken to keep it to that sum: but the Cabinet Council found means to encrease it to 2250000*l.* and to keep that exceeding for themselves; which, one would think, should exclude others from their punishment in that respect, as it did in their guilt.

THIS succeeding so well, and the price advancing even beyond their expectations, about a fortnight after a Court was called unexpectedly, and APPIUS moved for another Subscription of one Million at 400, and to take it immediately. Several of the Directors, who were not apprized of the matter, begg'd for two or three days time, that they might speak to their friends; but all to no purpose. The Gentlemen of the Cabinet Council were ready, and had taken their measures; if the others were not so, they must be contented with a less sum: and accordingly each Director had, in this second Subscription, taken on the 29th of April, but 26000*l.* allowed for himself and friends, and his List ordered to be delivered to the Sub-Governor the next day. The remainder, being 246000*l.* was left to the Sub and Deputy-Governors, to dispose of at their pleasure. The greatnets of the sum left to those two Gentlemen was objected against, to which answer was made that they had a great many to oblige. Sometime after, the Sub-Governor declared to the Court, that they could not help taking in as far as 1200000*l.*
the

the demand was so great from all the parts of the town; which the Court readily enough acquiesced in, being sensible that it was so. But they were extremely surpris'd, when some days after, the price being considerably advanced, they heard it declared from the Chair, without any excuse, that the Subscription amounted to 1500000 l. This bold stroke occasioned a great deal of murmuring amongst the Directors. The Subscription Book was called for, to be laid upon the table for the Directors to peruse. But in vain; no Subscription Book, nor any List of the names of the Subscribers could ever be seen, till the Parliament called for it: and the well-meaning Directors were so little regarded, that they were refused to be admitted to see, if their own names or their friends, for whom they had subscribed, were in the Book. Many of those friends, eager at that time to know what they thought their good fortune, could with difficulty believe such Directors as strove to oblige them: nor were they ever satisfy'd, till the general Inquiry convinc'd them. This insulting and unheard of way of proceeding left no room to doubt, but that these last 300000 l. were kept for the benefit of the Decemviri, and shared amongst them, as the increased 250000 l. in the first Subscription had been: which was so grating upon the minds of the other Directors, that they were once very near resolving to rebel, as they used to express themselves. And in effect they would have
done

done it, had there been any other remedy but calling a General Court, and making there a formal complaint; which they feared would have been ill received at that time, considering the prevailing humour of the town in favour of APPRIS and his Colleagues in the conduct of the Scheme. Nor was such a fear vain or groundless: for the insatiable desire of getting, and the flattering prospect of doing so, with which APPRIS had bewitch'd people by false appearances, were so strong, that he who should dare to oppose him, or to expose his artifices, would have been generally decry'd as an envyer of his parts, an enemy to the Scheme, one that would never have the publick debts discharg'd, and an opposer of the measures of the Government, if not disaffected to it; and 'tis even doubtful, whether he could escape without ill treatment to his person, from more quarters than one. Let people but reflect a little upon the general madness of those days, and they may be safely appeal'd to for the truth of all this. However, the jealousy ran so high, that the Court of Directors came to a resolution to take no more money Subscriptions, and repeated this order three several times. This refractoriness in the Court putting APPRIS to a stand, he judg'd it best to let this humour cool; and therefore he propos'd no more to the Court for some time, nor was any Committee of Treasury held during any whole weeks. For besides the unsuccess about the

mony subscriptions, there were other causes of discontent amongst the Directors. The subscription of the long Annuities and other irredeemable Debts, had been taken in such a manner, and in so much haste, that it gave a general dissatisfaction; and most of the Directors were not able to prevent several of their friends, from being disoblig'd: another thing about which they can make their Appeal to equitable persons.

THE lending of the mony arising by the two mony subscriptions was very warmly contended against. Many in the Court declared their opinion, and insisted upon it, that this mony should be applied to pay off the Redeemables; and by dint of argument forc'd APPIUS to own, that there was a great deal of reason in what they said: but he answer'd, that he had already taken other measures, and was for following the humour of people, who were fond of the stock at any rate; and that there was no other way to please them, but by giving them stock for their Annuities. Nevertheless, considering this opposition, he thought it his best way to temporize, and to wait for a fitter time to put his further designs in execution: for having the Chair on his side, both in the Court of Directors and in the Committee of Treasury, he could hasten or delay bringing things to a determination, just as he pleas'd, and
 watch

watch opportunities when opposers were absent.

ANOTHER thing very much mortified the generality of the Directors; which was this. The Cabinet Council kept at first their meetings very private, skulking in some by-place or tavern in the night, and often shifting from one house to another; endeavouring to manage it so, that the Court of Directors should not suspect they acted in concert: and therefore in the debates they would sometimes oppose one another, the better to prevent their confederacy being discovered. But now being grown warm in the saddle, and the applause they met with abroad making them bold at home; they thought it beneath them to put any longer restraint upon their actions; and therefore kept their meetings at the Treasurer's house, on the same day and at the same hour, that the Court of Directors was appointed to meet, which was commonly at ten of the clock in the forenoon. There concerting their measures among themselves, and little regarding the attendance of the other Directors, who waited in the Court-room, they frequently made them stay till twelve or one, and sometimes till two or three a clock, before they came in to keep the court: and after the usual business was dispatch'd, as reading the minutes of the preceeding Courts and Committees, and that Gentlemen were sufficiently tired, then what they had agreed upon

was abruptly proposed, and must be immediately done in a hurry; which was perhaps one of their reasons for making them wait so long. At least it had such an effect. This was their constant way of managing, which made the other Directors almost distracted, and many of them ashamed of sitting amongst them, which they often told their friends.

APPIUS knew that the scene of action would be in the Treasury. But tho' he was sure of the Sub and Deputy-Governors and two more of that Committee; and that the Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, and all the Clerks were intirely at his devotion, as looking upon him to be the man who had the sole direction of the Scheme: yet being sensible, that there were some of that Committee, who would never approve his proceedings; he made it his main study to render them insignificant, and thus he contriv'd it. 'Tis the custom of that Company, that each standing Committee has always one of the Directors for its Chairman, and a certain day in the week is appointed for their meeting. This Chairman takes care to have the minutes entered, and to report the transactions of that Committee, of which he is Chairman, to the Court. The Sub and Deputy-Governors may attend any of these Committees, and take the Chair if they please, which they seldom do; but still the Chairman is the person, who accounts to the Court for the proceedings of his Committee. Now
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the Committee of Trade, no less than other Committees, was directed to be restricted before: but such a regular practice would have proved an obstacle to APPIUS's designs. Wherefore the following methods were contrived by him, to make all opposition, against whatever he intended to accomplish, ineffectual:

First, The Committee could not be summoned but by the Sub or Deputy-Governor's orders, who were namely and in a particular manner made Chairmen of that Committee: which was a manifest innovation.

Secondly, No business relating to the Scheme could be agreed upon or debated, unless both or one of them were present.

Thirdly, No day certain being fixed for meeting, as in this and other Committees before, they had it in their power to call a Committee on a sudden, or to forbear calling any Committee at all; when any thing had been done by private direction, which they had a mind to conceal, as it was the case in May and July, no Committee having been held during those two months.

Fourthly, When any thing of moment was to be done, care was taken that APPIUS and his Colleagues should be there to give their advice. And this was so constantly the

practice, that there never was any thing done relating to the Scheme by the Committee of Treasury, without the assistance (as it was called) of several of the Cabinet Council, who debated and voted as if they had been of that Committee; a thing never done in any other Committee, nor in this, before.

Fifthly, APPIUS contrived so much business for the office, that the Clerk seldom had time to attend the Committee; and the Treasurer generally took the minutes in haste, and upon loose sheets, which was done designedly: that the minutes might be altered according to APPIUS's directions, before they were entered in the Book; for as he was not one of that Committee, he must use stratagems to have things done there according to his own mind.

Sixthly, Altho' he had taken such effectual measures to render insignificant those of that Committee, who were not in his interest; yet he was so jealous of them, that nothing of moment was referred to the Committee of Treasury singly, in the usual manner: but to the Sub and Deputy-Governors by name, and to the Committee of Treasury; a language unknown before, and which seemed needless, since they were both of that Committee. But they had such answers in view, that they thought they could not do too much to secure it: and therefore they
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constantly referred every thing, that related to the Scheme, to the Sub and Deputy-Governors, with flatteries and encomiums surpassing all belief; to take off the very thoughts of their attempting to do any thing without their special approbation and consent. For it was APPIUS's master-piece of cunning, to place all the power in the hands of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, of whom the Court of Directors had a good opinion; and he knew that those two Gentlemen were so diffident of their own abilities, that they durst not undertake any thing, without the advice of the Cabinet Council.

HAVING in this manner secured himself against any opposition, that could be made in the Treasury to his designs; he went on boldly in his projected execution of the Scheme. 'Twas his avow'd Maxim, a thousand times repeated, *That the advancing by all means of the price of stock, was the only way to promote the good of the Company*; and he look'd upon those as enemies, who durst say they were of another opinion. After the two first money Subscriptions were taken in, as has been related, APPIUS made a motion to lend out the money that accrued by them: and tho' this motion was vigorously opposed, yet he carried his point for lending. But the Loan was limited to 500000*l.* at 250 per Cent. upon Stock, and no body to borrow above 5000*l.* This regulation was strictly observed by the Com-

mittee of Treasury. The 500000*l.* were lent to indifferent persons, according to that restriction, defeazances ordered to be taken of the Borrowers, and APPIUS desired to see that the defeazances should be proper and in due form. But considering with himself, that this plain and honest way of lending, would not do his business, he did underhand direct the Cashiers to lend more, and to such as were most likely to raise the Stock; which they obsequiously did, without observing any limitation or rule. What's yet more capital, this additional Loan was made, without the knowledge or privity of the Committee of Treasury; and was not entered in the Cash-Book, nor laid before the Committee, 'till a long time after it was done: and probably this was the reason, why no Committee of Treasury was held from the latter end of April, 'till the beginning of June. Some time after this, the Exchequer-Bills for one Million were issued. APPIUS ordered them immediately to be lent, and the Cashiers dispos'd of them in one day, to whom and in such manner as APPIUS directed; without consulting or so much as taking notice of the Committee of Treasury. But as he apprehended, that these Exchequer-Bills would be of great use in business, and return often into the hands of the Company, he got himself appointed one of the Trustees for circulating of them; to the end, that having the direction of these Bills in both places, he might the

the better influence the disposing of them to serve his particular purposes.

ABOUT this time the shutting of the Books for the midsummer Dividend being at hand, APRJUS made a motion in the Court of Directors for a dividend of 10 per Cent. in stock, and to issue warrants for this dividend. It must be owned that there was no great opposition to this motion, he coloured it with so many specious pretences: as, that the old Proprietors had run great hazards in this bold undertaking; that if it had not succeeded, they having engaged to pay seven millions and a half to the Government, would in a manner have been undone; and therefore since Providence had blessed with success, much beyond expectation, their good intentions for the public service, it was but reasonable, they should reap some fruits of it. These and the like arguments persuaded, and this fatal Dividend, which perhaps contributed more to intoxicate the minds of people, than any thing done besides, was agreed to. But the Directors, even those of the Cabinet-Council, were then strangers to the vile inducement which prompted APRJUS to give so large a dividend: for having it in his thoughts from the beginning, to make all the advantage for himself that he could by the Scheme; his Conjuror early after Christmas had by his direction given Premiums for this Midsummer dividend, by which they

would

would have got an immense sum, if the Court of Directors, in APPIUS's absence, when he was gone to Tunbridge, had not revoked their order for delivering these dividend warrants, and directed the dividend to be placed to every proprietor's account.

APPIUS, as has been said before, gave way to three several resolutions of the Court of Directors, against taking any more money Subscriptions; but having now rais'd by this great dividend the expectation of people for future ones, and thinking that the jealousy of the Directors against his proceedings was pretty well over, he could contain himself no longer: but of a sudden, when 'twas least expected, (about a week before the Books were shut, when the Treasury-Office was pestered with so much business, that they were afraid all would run to confusion, and the crowd for transferring and accepting so great, that there was no coming at the books without extream difficulty,) then APPIUS propos'd to the Sub-Governor, and some other Gentlemen who were with him, a third Subscription, and told him that he must call a Court for that purpose; at which proposal the Sub-Governor and the others being surprized, and saying, that they had told all their friends there would be no Subscriptions, he answered, that he had told the same thing that very morning at Garaway's Coffe-House, but that there must be one now. And reiterating his instances to the Sub-Governor for a Court,
he,

he, after some hesitation, consented to call one. Accordingly the next morning it was agreed to take a Subscription at 1000 for three millions, each Director to have for himself and friends 52000 l. to bring in his List the next day at noon, and to deliver it at the table to the Sub-Governor. To give a colour for leaving the remainder, which was near 1500000 l. at the disposal of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, it was resolved that no Member of either House of Parliament should be inserted in the Directors Lists, but that the Sub and Deputy-Governors should take care of them. 'Twas begged, and earnestly insisted upon by several of the Directors, to be allow'd some days to speak to their friends, and to make their Lists; but no time could be obtained. APPIUS and his Colleagues were prepared, and did not trouble themselves what difficulties they put upon the others.

THIS great Man was then in the Zenith of his Glory, by having got a Subscription at 1000: application was made to him from all quarters: young Ladies came to his levee to beg Subscriptions, and the pride of the Decemvirs ran so high at that time, that the best men in the land, could scarce be admitted to the speech of them. The Subscribers, even those who were in the Lists of the Secretaries of State, were not admitted for some days to pay their mony; altho' they were told that their names should be struck out of the Lists, if their mony was not then paid.

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The Directors who were not of the Cabinet, were as much at a loss as others: for the servants had orders not to let them see their own Lists, nor entered in the Books, so that they could not tell whether themselves and their friends were in or not; and to the very last they were denied admittance to the Subscription Books, and could never have a sight of them, 'till they were ordered to be laid before both Houses of Parliament. This made many of the Directors then (who did not in the least doubt of being distinguished from those of the Cabinet, in whose guilt they had no hand or share) not sorry to hear of an Inquiry; as hoping to see the pride of their task-masters abated, and their iniquities detected: tho' by the unhappy turn this affair took afterwards, and thro' their want of opportunity to justify their Innocence (in being heard either by themselves or their Council in either House) they have had too much cause since to lament the fatal consequences of this inquiry, wherein they have been equally involv'd with their oppressors. The Premiums on this Subscription advancing, secret orders were given to the Cashiers to enlarge it; and as the premiums rose, the sum did so too: so that at last they rais'd it to five millions, as the Sub-Governor declared to the Court of Directors and the General Court; and the Cashier charged himself with having receiv'd five millions, for the first payment of the third Subscription.

THE success of this subscription exceeding the hopes of the most sanguin, APPIUS, whose master-piece he and his admirers owned it was, thinking himself no longer bound to keep any measures, he ordered a Loan to be made of the money arising by this Subscription, and the Cashiers lent upwards of three millions in one day, without acquainting the Committee of Treasury with it, according to the custom already introduced: and to keep it the longer concealed from them, there was no Committee of Treasury summoned, during the whole month of July. But the well-meaning Gentlemen of that Committee being sensible, that their money was going in an unaccountable manner, and taking it very ill besides, that they were not so much as spoke to in transactions of this moment, which so nearly concerned them; they made perpetual complaints to the Court of Directors of the irregularity and confusion in the Treasury, and that they were afraid the Company would be great sufferers by it. To all these complaints APPIUS's constant answer was, *The more confusion the better; People must not know what they do, which will make them the more eager to come into our measures; The execution of the Scheme is our business; The Eyes of all Europe are upon us; Both houses of Parliament expect to have it done before their next meeting: and the loss of*

one

one million or two is nothing, to the speedy execution of the Scheme.

WHEN the Gentlemen of the Treasury saw that their complaints to the Court of Directors were not minded, they turned their thoughts another way, to endeavour all they could, to put a stop to this growing evil. They represented to their Chairman in what manner their mony was lavish'd, that the Cashiers lent it without bounds or measure; that the Cash was so low, that there was danger of being run a ground, which in an undertaking of so great importance, might prove fatal; and that it was a shame their servants should dispose of every thing as they pleased, without check or controul: therefore they proposed that no mony for the future should be paid by the Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, or any of the Clerks, without an express order in writing, and under the hand of at least three of the Committee of Treasury. These representations were frequently made to the Sub-Governor in the Committee, and were heard with a great deal of patience: for it was that Gentleman's own opinion, that the Cash of the Company ought never to be less than one million or 500000*l.* at the least; and he often complained that they kept him so bare, that he had not the command of one penny of mony. But as he was not his own master, and instead of depending upon his proper judgment, did in every respect

spect follow the dictates and resolutions of APPIUS and the Cabinet-Council, there was no retreats till it was too late; and he had not leave to consent to have this safe and honest method put in practice, as long as APPIUS kept any share of authority in the Court of Directors: but as soon as his power was ended by the turn of affairs, and the fall of stock, the Sub-Governor immediately consented to it, and nothing irregular was done in the Treasury-Office since.

APPIUS having got this great Subscription and Loan over, as he wish'd, and having also procured a resolution of the Court of Directors to deliver warrants for the Midsummer Dividend, he thought he had the world in a string, and might be indulged some weeks of recess from business. Accordingly he made preparations for a journey to Tunbridge. But before he went, he concerted matters with his select friends (for he and the Negromancer had a Cabal separate from the Cabinet-Council) for selling a good quantity of Stock. In what splendid equipage APPIUS went to the Wells, what respect was paid him there, with what haughtiness he behaved himself in that place, and how he and his family, when they spoke of the Scheme, called it *our Scheme*, is not the subject of this discourse. There were witnesses enough of their folly. But certain it is, that he wrote every Post to his Brokers, and no sooner was one parcel

parcel of stock disposed of, than he ordered another to be sold. In short, he and his Conjuror went so far, that the other Decemvirs began to perceive his Journey to Tunbridge was a blind, in order to deceive them, and the better to cover the projected sale of his own stock. For APPIUS having by this time sold a great deal, and fearing that one way or other it might come to light at the opening of the Books, resolved to be beforehand with his Colleagues, in case they should find fault with him for selling so much stock; and to that end he made loud complaints, that his sentiments were no longer followed: since the Court of Directors had in his absence revoked the order for delivering out the dividend warrants; and notwithstanding the insolent opposition made to it by the chief accomptant, they ordered the ten per Cent. dividend to be placed to every man's account, according to his proportion of stock; which cut off the hopes of the immense gain APPIUS and his Negromancer had in view, from the premiums they had given for the refusal of these dividend warrants.

SO great a quantity of stock had been sold by APPIUS and his separate cabal, to be delivered at the opening of the Books, that the time drawing near, and mony being scarce, they begun to be in pain, how these bargains should be complied with. APPIUS and his trusty Negromancer therefore set their wits at work, how to provide against this great
 evil,

evil, and to supply the buyers with money enough, to enable them to take the stock which they had sold them, and they contrived three ways to bring it about. The first was, to have a fourth money Subscription; in order to which APPIUS wrote from Tunbridge very pressing letters to the Sub-Governor for that Subscription. But that Gentleman having no inclination to any more Subscriptions, nor indeed any body else amongst the Directors, he did not readily obey APPIUS's commands; which as soon as he understood, he came to town on a Sunday in great rage, and appointed a meeting for the next day, where he used the Sub-Governor in a very rough manner: saying among other things, *that he did not know but it might cost him his life, to have left off drinking the waters so abruptly; and that he had rather have given 10000l. than to have come up to town, but that there was a necessity to take another Subscription immediately.* As the Sub-Governor never pretended to understand the Scheme, and so had all along too much depended upon APPIUS's skill in the management of this affair, or perhaps not thinking it proper at that juncture of time to break off entirely with him; he gave way to his sentiments, and called a Court, where it was agreed to take a fourth Subscription: not by way of Lists as the former, but that every body, who could come at the books, might subscribe what he pleas'd, not exceeding 500l. in one name. APPIUS,

knowing what quantity of stock he had sold, did not promote this Subscription with the same intent as the others, to get money by it, but in order to secure his prey : and he was now grown so barefaced in his proceedings, that altho he had obliged each Director by an order of Court, even those who were absent, to take 3000*l.* in this Subscription ; yet he delayed to subscribe himself for some days, and then would subscribe but 500*l.* When several of the Directors told him it was not fair, and that he broke his own rule ; he gave little heed to what they said, and stood to his resolution of subscribing but 500*l.* The world may be left to judge, how hard a case it is, that men who were used in this insolent and fraudulent manner by APPIUS, should nevertheless be censur'd in all respects, as much as himself ; and bear an equal odium, not only of what they oppos'd, but of that which, in some regards, made them greater sufferers than others.

THE money arising by this Subscription, he did not think fit to lend (he had an after-game for a Loan) but he proposed to employ it in buying of stock, to support the price, which began to sink. There's reason to believe, that this was the last thing concerted in the Cabinet Council. They knew APPIUS had dealt unfairly by them, and cut the grass under their feet ; but they did not now how otherwise to help themselves, but
by

by falling in with him, in assisting the buying of stock for the Company's account: for 'tis apparent that most of them took that opportunity to put off a good deal of their own stock, by the hands of the Cashier. And this was APPIUS and his Negromancer's second contrivance to supply the town with mony.

THEIR third was so bold an attempt, that it can hardly be believed, tho' nothing be more true. Thus it was. Tho' the two ways mentioned before had supplied their buyers with a good deal, APPIUS and his Cabal had sold such quantities of stock, that more mony was still wanting to take it all up. He therefore tryed the Cabinet Council, whether they would come into his measures of a new way of lending, which he proposed to them; but he found them so averse, that he lost all hopes of bringing them into it: and after many hard words had passed between them upon that account, he left them, and went up stairs into his Negromancer's room, where having acquainted his select friends (none of whom were Directors) with his ill success, they resolved that the Treasurer should give his promissory Notes to deliver the Company's Bonds as soon as they could be got ready, and to lend them for a certain time; and APPIUS took upon him to see it executed. This he did, unknown to the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor,

Committee of Treasury, or any other of the Directors. The Treasurer, tho' fore against his will, to do every body justice (for he thought it was pushing the thing too far) obeyed his commands, so great was still his authority; and issued out the last Monday in August about 1200000*l.* of these promissory Notes by way of Loan, before any of the Directors came to Town. He was going on in this new way of lending, when the Sub-Governor and some of the Committee of Treasury coming into the office, found all the rooms crouded with people, who came to borrow; at which being extremely surprized, as knowing nothing of this Loan, they look'd at one another with amazement: and asking the Treasurer how this came about, he told them, that APPIUS would be the ruin of all, and that he did not know where this would stop; for that he had given orders to lend to all those, who should come without any limits. The Sub-Governor immediately put a stop to it, being no longer able to bear APPIUS's assuming temper; and fearing with all that this Loan, should it be suffered to go on, would cause immediate destruction.

THIS extravagant step of APPIUS, and Stock beginning to fall, put an end to the rule and authority of that presumptuous man; who, in his ridiculous brags of the usefulness and great success of his Scheme, used to say, "that in any other nation but this, they would
" have

“ have given him a reward of 500000 l. for the
 “ service he had done to his country.” But as
 he had no hopes to have such a sum given
 him, he thought he might take all opportu-
 nities to reward himself. Nor was this the
 first time that he over-rated his services, and
 conceived a high opinion of his own merits ;
 for when this Corporation was first settled,
 he claimed no less a reward than the profits of
 the Transfers during life, for having had a
 hand in drawing the Bill for its establishment.

THE last Scene of this memorable trans-
 action comes now under consideration : and
 oh that a veil could be drawn over it, and the
 memory of such a senseless resolution obliterated !
 as that of voting a Dividend of no less
 than 50 l. per Cent. for no less than 12 years.
 The very words are childish and ridiculous.
 It cannot be believed that any one of the
 Directors thought it a judicious action : but the
 gaming part of the town being very fond of
 such a large Dividend for a number of years,
 the Court of Directors imprudently came
 into it, merely out of complaisance, and to
 keep up the Stock, till more solid measures
 could be taken. It must be owned without
 any subterfuge or evasion, that this was a
 great inadvertency and error of judgment in
 so many men : for the calculations laid before
 them, to induce them to come into this reso-
 lution were as absurd as the declaration it self.
 Those Inducements have been afterwards laid

before the Parliament, and therefore need not to be inserted here. But 'tis very apparent on the other hand, that they had no sinister end or selfish design in this silly vote, whatever construction has been put upon it to the contrary. And of this there needs no clearer proof, than that none of the Directors made any advantage of it, by disposing of Stock either then, or for a considerable time after, except APPIUS alone; who not content to have got an immense sum of money, by selling a vast quantity at high rates, had the cruelty to follow the Stock, still selling till he brought it down to 200. But the generality of the Directors were so infatuated with a high opinion of the Stock, that several of them bought of APPIUS; and the Court of Directors had amongst them, at the close of their unhappy management, above 200000 l. stock more than they used to have before the Scheme: another sure indication of their fair dealing, as well as of their prevention in favour of the Stock; and that many within doors, as well as without, were caught by the juggles and artifices of this cunning Projector. This is an ingenuous account of that matter, which is not so criminal as many have represented or imagin'd it: unless an easy compliance for the obtaining of a good end to the public, or an error and mistake of judgement, be unpardonable crimes. Of such faults the honestest men in the world may be guilty, and have often been so.

THAT

THAT the thread of the Story might not be broken, the Writer has not us'd to write any Books but in his own Study, having thought it necessary to postpone giving an account of some material occurrences in the sequel of this grand affair, takes an opportunity to relate them here. The way, and manner of taking the two Subscriptions of the public Funds, was intirely left by the Court of Directors to APPIUS, or rather assum'd by him, who, as has been observ'd before, form'd and methodized it his own way, which gave little satisfaction; by reason of his introducing too much uncertainty, hurry, and confusion, which he did undoubtedly to serve his own ends: but he left the other Directors under great perplexities how to prevent obliging those persons, who applied to them; and who could not believe, that it was so little in their power to serve their friends. But this is nothing in comparison of another point: for when it came to be consider'd, what should be allowed to the subscribers of the public Debts, there were long debates in the Court of Directors; especially relating to the Redeemables, whether they should have their option to take back their Subscriptions or stand to them, as was given to the Irredeemables, and to determine, what should be allowed them. There was much variety of opinions concerning this last particular, which finally centred in APPIUS's inclination of giving them

Stock at 800. But the option was still very much insisted upon in their behalf, several of the Court inclining to give it to them; but these were at last over-ruled, by APPIUS's stiff adhering to the other side of the question, so that it was carried against the option. This violent step, has not been one of the least causes of the sufferings of the unhappy Directors: for about sixteen thousand people, who were concerned in those funds, and were so unjustly dealt with, raised a clamour that could not be stifled, and which involved their best friends and fellow-sufferers of the Court of Directors, in one common ruin with those very men, who had acted the most strenuously against them.

A N O T H E R piece of injustice, which gave much discontent to the Public, and occasioned a great deal of heart-burning against the Directors, was the keeping so long from the proprietors of the public funds, the Stock, to which they were intitled by the Subscriptions. The Directors were not unsensible of the clamours abroad, necessarily proceeding from these unreasonable delays: and they were satisfied, that the proportion of stock, due to each subscriber, might be entered to his account in fewer weeks, than the months which the juggler took for doing of it. Orders were therefore almost every Court-day sent to the chief Accomptant, to dispatch that work; and when he was free from the gout, he was sent for into the Court, where

where it was recommended to him in the most earnest manner. But all the uneasiness and pressing instances of the Court of Directors about this matter, were to little purpose. The Conjuror knew that he was supported by one, who had the conduct of the Scheme: and as they had laid their projects for selling a great deal of their own stock at a proper time, they thought it their interest to lock up as much stock of that of others, as they could; to prevent its coming to market, when they should be ready for selling theirs. Thus were the innocent (I may say silly) Directors railed at, for the vile practices of two men: tho' it must be confess'd, that those, who were in power, should have exercised it more effectually in a case so necessary, and of the practicableness whereof they were so much convinced; but whilst a man has authority in a society, 'tis the hardest matter in the world to carry any thing against him, if he will determinately oppose it. All bodies politic, and particularly mercantile Companies, may be safely appeal'd to for the truth of this observation.

AS APPIUS had laid the foundation of his projects in confusion, that he might the better fish in troubled waters; so he had the malice to propose another mony-subscription, at a time, when the affairs of the Company were most incumbred. He took the specious pretence of confining it to the proprietors of the stock, and that for their particular advantage (who had

had not hitherto been distinguish'd from others) every one of them should have the liberty of subscribing 20 per Cent. in proportion to what stock he had, if he thought fit. The Court of Directors represented to him the impracticableness of such a Subscription, by reason that the subscribers of the Redeemable and Irredeemable Debts had not their proportion of stock ascertained, and entered to their account : and that it was unknown, who were the proprietors of the two last money-subscriptions, till receipts were delivered out. But APPIUS affirm'd, that he should find out ways to make it practicable ; and would needs have this Subscription agreed to, publish'd, and laid before the general Court, who applauded the project, and much more the contriver of it. Notwithstanding all this, APPIUS finding it afterwards impracticable to execute, he desisted ; and consented to have the general Court acquainted, that the Directors having better considered of it, they did not think it for the interest of the Company to proceed in that subscription at present. 'Tis no wonder that a man, who durst so palpably abuse a whole general Court, consisting of hundreds of proprietors, some of 'em of great power and quality, should be able to mislead or overrule a Court of Directors, wherein he likewise had some advice and intelligence.

ONE thing was most remarkable in this astonishing transaction of the S. S. S. APPIUS
did

did never permit any body to make a motion in relation to it, but himself, during his five months reign; nor any minute, relating thereto, to be entered in the Court-Book, but what he dictated. He visibly affected a prophetic stile, delivering his words with an emphasis and extraordinary vehemence: and used to put himself into a commanding posture, rebuking those that durst in the least oppose any thing he said, and endeavouring to convince, as if what he spoke was by impulse, uttering these and such like expressions. *God's will, don't be dismayed: you must act with firmness, with resolution, with courage. I tell you, 'tis not a common matter you have before you. The greatest thing in the world is referred to you. All the monarchs of Europe will center amongst you. All the nations of the earth will bring you tribute.* But when the tide turn'd, when stock began to fall, and consequently, that his power was at an end, then this poor man (fortunate) was but one in thirty one, as he was wont to expect it himself. And indeed it was hardly life for him to walk the streets, or even to come into the Court of Directors room: where he was daily reproached, reviled, and abused, for all the villanies he had contriv'd and committed, and the many impositions he had put upon them. In effect, he was two or three times soundly caned by some of the Directors, in the height of their passion.

TO set the substance of what has been hitherto said in a nearer view, the better to make it understood, leave is begg'd, to make a short Recapitulation, whereby the innocent and the guilty may be easily discern'd.

THE contriving of the Scheme has been thought to be the original sin, from whence derived all the calamities that ensued. But herein the Directors were innocent: the authors of it were APPIUS, the Treasurer, and the Negromancer.

THE disposing of the fictitious stock, which raised so much clamour, was the work of the Cabinet Council: the rest of the Directors were intirely ignorant of it.

THE giving premiums for the Midsummer dividend, was deemed a wicked contrivance. APPIUS and the Negromancer were the only persons concern'd in that base design.

THE unaccountable way of taking the mony-subscriptions, and the increasing of the sums agreed upon by the Court of Directors, has been justly censured. This was concerted by the Cabinet Council, exclusive of the other Directors.

AS for the deficiency in the two last mony-subscriptions, the Treasurer took it wholly upon

upon himself; and it did not appear that any of the Directors, or their particular friends, had any money returned to them. But as 'tis certain, that if the price of stock had kept up, there would have been no deficiency; so 'tis probable that most of this sum, which prov'd afterwards deficient, was kept under the Treasurer's thumb for the benefit of the Decemvirs: for 'tis not likely that he return'd it all, to those whom he favor'd or fear'd.

THE Loans, which, as they were managed, occasioned so much loss to the Company, were chiefly push'd on by APPIUS: he influenced the Cabinet Council to take the Loans out of the direction of the Committee of Treasury, and to put them intirely into the hands of the Cashiers. He first sent money to the Sword-blade to lend money upon subscriptions, and when he heard they did not lend enough to his mind, he took both the money and subscriptions out of their hands; and extorted an order of the Committee of Treasury, by bringing a sufficient number of the Cabinet Council to out-vote them, for lending it at his own rate upon the subscriptions.

IT was against the unanimous opinion of the Court of Directors, that APPIUS ordered a Loan to be made at 4 per Cent. And it was the same APPIUS, that directed the Loan of
the

the Exchequer-Bills, and of the great sum of money arising by the third Subscription.

LASTLY, contrary to the sentiments of the Cabinet Council and unknown to any others of the Directors, APPIUS obliged the Treasurer to issue, by way of Loan, his promissory Notes to deliver the Company's Bonds. And on all occasions he freely declared his opinion, without mincing the matter, that he was not for disposing of the Company's money to traders and such other fair dealers; but to those who frequented the Alley, and to Ladies and young Gentlemen, who came from the other end of the town, with a spirit of gaming: for such, according to him, were the most likely to advance the price of stock. To make it the more easy to them, he defeated the resolution of the Court of Directors and Committee of Treasury, for taking defeazances.

THE delays about placing the stock to account, proceeding from the redeemable and irredeemable Debts, was the sole contrivance of APPIUS and the chief Accomptant; and against the intention of all the other Directors.

THE buying of stock for the Company's account in order to support it, was contrived by APPIUS and the Cabinet Council; and it does not appear, that the Treasurer sold any
any

any stock for any of the Directors, except those of that Council.

AS to the large Dividend for a number of years, none of the Directors were in their inclination for it, but came into it to please the town; which is own'd to have been an injudicious, tho a well-meaning step: and nothing can better demonstrate this, than that APPIUS was the only man amongst them, who made advantage of that odd declaration by selling of stock.

ONE thing more may be truly said, which perhaps is not known to many. It is this; that one of the Directors lost near 200000 l. by this fatal undertaking: and amongst the rest, including S..... and G.... there was about the sum of 803000 l. got.





THE
 S C H E M E,
 OR
 PRACTICAL MODEL,
 OF A
 NATIONAL BANK;

To be commenc'd and erected by political Art alone, going, not upon visionary Calculations, or private, mercenary, and temporary Views: but upon such stated Rules and easy methods, truly natural, public, and perpetual, as cannot fail effecting it; yet without any stock in Cash, Subscriptions of money, or collateral Security in Lands.

Written by a Gentleman, who died in the
 Year 1708.

TO
 THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ***.

MY LORD,



Have had for a good while past lying by me, a manuscript Treatise little in bulk but big with matter. The Author, who was a very able master, gave me his Manuscript a little before his death. I trust your LORDSHIP with
 it,

it, but will not communicate it to any other person without a valuable consideration: for as they who are for setting up a Bank in Ireland propose their own as well as the public advantage; so I see no reason why I should not be suitably gratified, whether they may think fit to follow my whole plan (which I judge the only practicable one in that Kingdom, and the only honest and secure one in any other) or that they may only take proper hints, and accommodate such parts of it as they please to their own project.

I am

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble Servant.

THE
S C H E M E,
OF A
NATIONAL BANK.

SECTION I.



National Bank is extremely different from all private Banks, such (for example) as is that in London; which, tho' having the name of *England* tack'd to it, is built nevertheless on narrow foundations, acted by personal views, and so fram'd as naturally to create suspicion: for both the keeping and the disposal of the Cash is intrusted in the same hands under a private management, without any inspection, check, or controul from the supreme authority. Such a method can never be safe nor extensive: and the frequent Runs on the *Bank of England*, not to speak of other inconveniences to which it is perpetually subject, is a plain proof of its insufficiency. I have therefore, after no less study than experience in business of this nature, form'd a
brief

brief and clear Scheme of a truly *National Bank*; containing the means and methods whereby the same may be usher'd into the world, approv'd, and established: and this not only for the accommodation of Merchants, as the *Bank of Amsterdam*; but likewise of all persons whatever, without any danger either to the Government or People. Yet I shall readily acknowledge, that there is nothing solid in what I have thus advanc'd in general, unless it undeniably appears in particular,

I. THAT as a *National Bank*, it is not only a great convenience, but also in other respects a great benefit to the people; so that there is nothing in nature or art more easy, than to establish such a Bank, the Government being willing.

II. THAT this Bank may be commenc'd and set on foot (to the no small amazement, or rather disappointment of mercenary projectors and stock-jobbers) without either any stock in Cash, Subscriptions of money, or collateral Security in Lands.

III. THAT it shall notwithstanding be under a perpetual progression, without any stagnancy or decay; whereby it may be capable of attaining to immense credit, on real not imaginary foundations.

IV. THAT it may be so constituted, as that every man shall at first sight perceive his security and advantage in it; and immediately trust it, without the least hesitation or doubt.

V. THAT such a Bank can never be precarious, or subject to any accident capable to destroy its credit, were all the money'd men in the Kingdom in combination against it.

VI. THAT it shall always be able to make prompt Payment at sight, and to answer the Capital at any time on demand: a thing ambiguous or deficient in all other Banks, one only excepted.

VII. THAT it shall neither give nor receive Interest, for money paid in or issu'd out (Loans to the Government excepted) and yet the profit of the Bank will be very considerable and great.

VIII. THAT should the Proprietors, upon any sudden fright or consternation, draw out all their Cash in Bank, this could not destroy or impair the credit of it; but that, like a living and inexhaustible spring, it would flow out again; and flourish as before.

IX. THAT this Bank shall be proof against all the artful tricks, and little cunning of Stock-jobbers: the bane of Credit and common Honesty.

X. THAT, without any sinister devices to raise credit (which in the end is to ruin it) this Bank may more easily accommodate the Government with ten or twelve hundred thousand pounds at low interest, than the Bank of England with one hundred thousand pounds, upon any fund or funds settl'd for that purpose: and this without transgressing the stated rules of the Bank, or any impeachment to the managers thereof.

XI. THAT such a Bank will not only be of great service to the Nobility and Gentry, as will specially appear in the Plan of it; but must likewise defeat the corruptions and abuses of Stewards and Bailiffs, prevent many disputes in Law, keep the country from being su'd for Robberies, with several other particulars equally honorable and beneficial.

XII. THAT all this may be accomplish'd with small charge to the Government and Nation, and manag'd without a Governor or Court of Directors: and yet be under so exact a method and discipline, as to leave no umbrage for any indirect or unfair dealings in

the administration of the Bank, either as to the whole or any part of the same.

NOW, supposing the Plan, from which these effects result, to be no chimera, but as easy to practise as to conceive; then the great and happy consequences, which must needs attend so useful and excellent an establishment, will be obvious and plain to the meanest capacities: as, in general, the raising and advancing of the Kingdom to a degree of Plenty, Wealth, and Power, far superior to all preceding ages; and thereby rendring the subjects much more ready and capable to serve the Crown, upon any pressing or great emergency, not with airy riches but real effects. And indeed it is infinitely more reputable, as it is also more safe, for a Prince to be serv'd by all his people; than by any one party among them.

SECTION II.

TO begin then with laying the foundation of this noble Fabrick, the first and chief corner stone must be a clear and adequate idea of something, that is already no less facil in practice, than in credit universal; and yet will not in all nor in most respects be the same with the Bank we propose, which exceeds it on several accounts, but particularly as to security and accommodation.

NOW,

NOW, by this previous idea or first principle, the knowlege whereof is as agreeable as it is necessary, is meant the *Bank of Amsterdam*; which open'd its books with bare walls, without any Cash at all, and consequently had not its rise and origine from Subscriptions of mony: but rather from a prudent and honest appointment of State, which, as we are going to see, naturally resulted into a Bank; foreseen, tho not given out by the sagacious Inventors.

The Commencement of it was in the following manner.

I. A certain place or office was assign'd in a convenient part of the City, for the common receipt and payment of mony. 'Tis now in their famous Stadthouse, which owes much of its splendor to the credit of this institution.

II. THE Government order'd that all receipts and payments, exceeding three hundred Guilders (which make about thirty pounds Sterling) shou'd be there made: whereupon Books were provided, and Clerks daily attended at stated hours, to make due entry of all such receipts and payments.

III. THESE Books became an authentic record of all proceedings betwixt Parties of this
 F f 4 kind,

kind, to the preventing of many uncertainties, wranglings, and suits at law; whereby their people were preserv'd in a free and uninterrupted intercourse of Trade and Commerce, both at home and abroad.

IV. THE Government further injoin'd, that all Bills of Exchange whatsoever, as well inland as foreign, shou'd be paid into this office, for the greater security of all parties in their mutual dealings: as likewise to prevent disappointments, frequently happening in payment of mony intrusted in private hands, subject to many and great contingencies, either by absence or death, by insolvency or other evil practices.

V. IN the next place, the Magistrates and City were by Law made responsible, for the safe custody of all monies committed to their charge: and these were secured against all fraudulent and corrupt practices, from those employ'd by them; not only by sufficient sureties, but also by penal Laws rendring their wilful misbehavior capital.

HERE mark the consequences. The Merchants and Traders, to avoid the necessary trouble attending this affair, (as the frequent carrying of mony to and from the said office, which took up much of their time) chose rather to lodge the same in that place, where it was in the Office-Book plac'd to the Proprietor's

tor's folio or account ; and so from time to time transferr'd by direction to the account of diverse persons, who likewise found it as safe and convenient to continue it where it was. Thus, for example, the sum of one hundred pounds was often pass'd over from one man's account to another a hundred times ; and consequently supply'd the place of ten thousand pounds, every one finding it more easy, convenient, and safe, to continue his Cash where it was, than to have it in his own keeping. In this manner was this office naturally and insensibly converted into a Bank.

SECTION III.

HAVING hitherto briefly, and as it were speculatively (tho' 'tis really a historical account) exhibited the materials, or rather the foundation and main pillars, that support and constitute this celebrated Bank ; I shall go on to the practical part, or present management of it ; both as I have summ'd up the same from my own long experience, and as I have collected it out of the Books of those, who have written on this Subject in their own country, where I have some time liv'd.

THIS Bank, as I said, is a general Cash-keeper, for which the City is responsible ; and where any persons may put in their Cash, and draw it out at their pleasure : every one
paying

paying ten Guilders at the opening of his account, and afterwards a Penny for each party or parcel that he draws out. This way is very expeditious and convenient for Negotiants, who pay and receive their debts by Bills; their mony being surer than in their own Coffers, and above all hazards, because the City is their Security.

FOR this very reason it is, that the Bank mony, or Bank-bill, is always better than running Cash; the difference being (1) now of about six per Cent. which is call'd the *Agio* of the Bank.

SUCH as have mony to put into Bank, may do it of one of these three things. 1. Ordinary species. 2. Ducatons at three florins a piece. 3. Bars of Gold and Silver at their highest rate. If they have a mind to draw their Ducatons back in six months after, they shall have them again, paying about fifteen pence per each hundred pounds Sterling for keeping: and if their mony is in ordinary species, the Cash-keeper gives a receipt according to the value in Bank; or else they must seek upon Change some Negotiant that wants running Cash, and who will write them the parcel they want, somewhat cheaper than the Cash-keeper.

(1) In 1707.

HE that, having Mony in Bank, has a mind to pay some parcel of it, must carry his Note himself; or pass a Letter of Attorney before the Book-keeper of the Bank, to him of whom he pretends to make use, or else the Party will not be written.

Thus the Note is to be :

1124. *Messieurs the Commissioners of
the Bank will pay to N. N.
the Sum of five hundred Gil- } G.
ders : at Amsterdam, the } 500
day of 1707. }
L. L.*

The folio 1124, at the head of the Note, is the folio of the Ledger, where the account of the party is.

THE Notes are receiv'd in the Bank every day that it is open, from seven till eleven in the morning : and if one that has a Note be necessitated to carry it that very day, he may go in the afternoon; for, on paying sixpence, he'll be receiv'd.

THERE is no Party receiv'd in Bank under three hundred florins, without paying sixpence, unless it be for the East and West-India Companies.

HE that has written a sum in Bank, cannot transfer it but two days after his account is open'd: and he must go to the Bank to inquire if his account be written, or he forfeits three per Cent, for what he writes.

WHEN you go to inquire if your Party is written, you must go before eight: from eight to nine you must pay two pence, and from nine to three in the afternoon you pay six pence.

THE Book-keeper sends every morning to those that desire it, a Note of the parties carry'd to their account the day before: and this intelligence, very serviceable to great dealers, is regularly perform'd for about fifty shillings a year.

IF you write to any man more than you have in Bank, you forfeit three per Cent. of what you have written.

THE Commissioners of the Bank balance their Accounts twice a year, viz. in January and in July. Such as have their accounts open, are oblig'd to go in Person, or to send their Letter of Attorney, to declare what they pretend to be their due: and if it agrees with the Bank, they are told in what folio their balance is transferr'd; but if what they pretend does not agree with the Book of the Bank, they

they are oblig'd to furnish an account of parcels, that the Commissioners may find the error.

Nota bene, That if you do not go in January and in July to adjust your Accounts, you forfeit twenty florins.

S E C T I O N IV.

TH O the Bank of Amsterdam has deservedly the pre-eminence of the rest, there are several other Banks settled in most of the cities and chief towns of that country, for the peculiar service of the people inhabiting each Province: and there are Cantores besides, where the public mony collected in each Province, is lodg'd; and appropriated for the payment of such mony, Principal and Interest, as is lent to the State. For this the Treasurer gives his bond, and pays off the Interest from time to time, as the same grows due; half-yearly if demanded, and without the least delay, or any other order than his own: the same being enter'd in his book, and endors'd on the Bond; where he only inserts the month and year, which is all he has to vouch for what he pays. This whole matter the Treasurers perform with the greatest ease and address imaginable, no man being oblig'd to any attendance, or to come twice, observing the limited times of the Office.

SUCH as have credit in the said Cantores, may have Bills to receive their mony at Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, or any other part of the Country : but 'tis certain that for all this, those Cantores are subject to disrepute and discredit, arising from the imperfection of their frame ; while the *Bank of Amsterdam* is inviolable, and permanent as the City wherein it stands.

THE Rules we have mention'd to be observ'd for the orderly keeping of accounts, may be very proper for such as inhabit together in the same City or narrow district ; but in those countries where the people live scatter'd, and great towns are remote, there the persons concern'd cannot so easily keep to the days and hours usual at Amsterdam : and therefore the Market-days are the fittest times to appoint for such purposes, because the people will of course resort to the respective Market-towns on those days, whether to buy and sell, or to transact their other mutual affairs.

THE foregoing Rules, so far as they can be made practicable in other nations, being the only real materials, whereby to lay the foundation of a *National Bank*, it is necessary that the same be observ'd in each of the Cities and considerable Towns incorporate of any Country, where a Bank is to be establish'd ; and in such distances of place, and distinction of towns,

towns, as that be judg'd most conducive to the end propos'd: for nothing is to be in our System so precarious as the Cantores in Holland, tho' we design all things shall be as expeditious, manifest, and exact.

THIS will inevitably erect so many Banks, subservient to each other, and subordinate (tho' not subject) to that of the same nature in the Capital: this will be a banking really *national*, which can only be nominally said of that call'd the *Bank of England*: and, what is more, all this may be accomplish'd in any of these great nations, as well as in little Holland, without any such collateral security as Lands, or such other things made over in trust. Finally, the matter of such a Bank depends so wholly on the frame, and the model of it is so order'd and constituted; that it can never be in the power of the few that manage, having interest, to discredit or hurt it: nor be the interest of the many, having power (as the Government and People) to disturb or destroy it. Indeed the security of all things consists not in the materials, but in the form: and if the form or tree of Government be good, the fruit thereof will likewise be good.

ALL these things being premis'd, let's now come to the practical Model of such a Bank in this Kingdom of England, and which may serve as well for Scotland or Ireland.

SECTION V.

OUR labor in this part will be the shorter, in that it will be like the Conclusion of a Demonstration; where all the axioms, definitions, postulates, propositions, and other members of the premises, are clear and undeniable. The difference of ours from the Dutch Banks, will be perceiv'd at first sight wherever it occurs, and the accommodation of each to the other no less perspicuous.

TO begin therefore, there are already establish'd Chambers in each City and incorporate Town of this Kingdom, with a general Cashier or Treasurer, commonly call'd the Chamberlain of the place; annually chosen, and intrusted by the people, with the receipts and issues of their public Income: but under the whole care, inspection, and direction of the Magistrates, viz. the Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the Corporation; or by whatever other name the chief Magistrate may be call'd, as Soverain, Portreeve, Bailiff, or any other of the like import, which I understand also of the Chamberlain. This Cashier can issue no money without their order, which he carefully keeps to vouch his accounts, when the same are audited and brought to balance; which is commonly done once a year, and ought in good economy to be twice. Being chosen by the
the

the People to his great Trust, they are (as in law and equity they ought to be) made answerable for his Mal-administration; and they take care that the Security given be sufficient to solve or indemnify them. Wherefore these are the places most proper for the design'd purpose of erecting Banks: and thus the clock is made to our hands, while there remains but to hang on the weights, and then the wheels will be set in motion.

I. IT should therefore be ordain'd by Parliament, that the Chambers of the respective Cities, and those incorporate Towns judg'd most convenient, be the common places allow'd by Law, for the general receipts and payments of mony.

II. THAT the receipts and payment of all sums above twenty pounds be there made; the expedition, safety, ease of mind, good husbandry, and other advantages arising from which regulations, will abundantly appear in the next Section after this.

III. THAT all monies due upon bonds, obligatory bills, or bills of Exchange whether inland or foreign, be paid into these Chambers; and that the respective Chamberlains be the General Cashiers, Receivers, or Treasurers, intrusted with the custody of all Cash from time to time paid in: but left

free to the sole disposal of every proprietor, to carry off, or to place to his proper folio or account, or to transfer to the account of any other.

IV. THAT for this purpose Books be provided, and Clerks (under good security) be appointed to attend daily at stated hours; to take and keep an exact Account and authentick Register of all transfers, receipts, and payments.

V. THAT the Mayor or chief Magistrate, and such two or more of the senior Aldermen for the time being (as shall be directed by Parliament) be the Commissioners, intrusted with the inspection and care of the Bank; who are to have each of them a key to the Cash-room, under the restrictions in such cases ordinarily provided, and to be always present at the opening and shutting in of the Bank.

VI. THAT the People and Magistracy of the place, annually chusing their said Chamberlain to this important Charge, be answerable by Law for his faithful discharge of the same, and consequently be Guarantees for the Bank. This is no more a hardship on the Corporation, than formerly on the Counties; which were responsible to the Crown in the Exchequer, for the Sheriffs intrusted with

with the general receipts of the several Counties, when they were annually chosen by the People: which method is therefore the more recommendable, in that it is most agreeable to the ancient custom and constitution of our English Government; as such security provided in the Cities and incorporated Towns, will give these Banks so great a credit and reputation, that no room for any scruple or suspicion can be left in the minds of the People.

VII. LASTLY, that for the greater security of all persons, depositing their money in these Banks, the management thereof be under the strictest Discipline, corroborated by Parliament with suitable penal Laws, rendering all corrupt and fraudulent practices equally punishable with crimes of the highest nature, as in cases of Treason and Felony without Clergy.

AFTER what has been so minutely related in the management of the *Bank of Amsterdam* (whose model is copy'd by all the inferior Banks, tho' to their misfortune not by the Cantores) there is no need of particularizing the manner of entring, transferring, drawing out, remitting, and the like; nor yet of specifying the respective fees, mulcts, or other emoluments and perquisites, accruing

ing on diverse occasions to the Bank: since all such things *mutatis mutandis*, and regard had to the different circumstances of time or customs of countries, will be easily collected, adjusted, and settled, by those who are capable to form and go on with this Undertaking; which, next to God's providence, is the highest blessing that can ever happen to any trading or opulent nation.

SECTION VI.

IN this whole affair as there is nothing hard of conception, so every thing is easy in practice; and nothing wanting, but inclination and authority to effect' it. Custom, back'd by other prejudices, will at first oppose such an Institution, no less than the interest that is sure to be made against it, by such as have only views of their own; tho, by the way, a vastly greater number of persons will be employ'd by this Bank, than possibly can be by any Joint-stock or mercantile Bank in the world. Nor ought it to be forgot, that nevertheless many offices are thereby sav'd to the Crown, and much vexation to the People: not to speak distinctly of a thousand advantages to the King and People, which every man of penetration will readily discover before-

beforehand, and which daily occurrences will suggest to the dullest.

IT is not the least of these advantages, that the publick Taxes, and other Duties gather'd in the several Counties, may by the Collectors be paid into these Banks, whence they will be easily remov'd into the Exchequer: for which reason the Banks are very proper to be appointed his Majesty's General Receivers in every County; which will prove exceeding beneficial, in preventing Losses both to the Sovereign and the Subject.

THE Nobility also and the Gentry, lodging their Cash and Rents in these places, may receive the same in any part of his Majesty's dominions, allowing the usual premium for the Exchange: and indeed under this settlement those Rents will naturally fall into the Banks, and must in the whole amount to many thousands of pounds for their support.

THIS is plain, that these Remittances will be made without any hazard, because no Bills of Exchange are by the Rules of the Bank to be granted in any place, unless the Money be first paid in: so that this may be done to great profit, without the use of any man's Cash, whereby the Capital Stock may be al-

ways kept whole and entire; and, were it ten millions, ready to answer on demand.

IT will be objected, that part of the Stock will sometimes be necessarily drawn out; and I answer this objection by granting it, but with a due explication: for tho, by the mutual returns of Money, some part of the Stock may be drawn out of one place; yet the same being made good in another, is within call and in the nation still, as much as Cash remov'd out of one room into another, is in the same house.

WHEREFORE this Bank can have no occasion to borrow, nor must it lend upon any pretence whatsoever. Nevertheless, the Crown may be supply'd at any time, on borrowing Clauses and settled Funds, by the Proprietors writing off in the respective Banks in each County (due notice being previously given in the Gazette) upon such encouragement as the Parliament shall allow: and which will as easily be answer'd, when the said Taxes are gather'd and brought in; and all this without any transgression or impeachment, either of the management or the managers.

THIS provision alone ought to recommend the present Undertaking, preferably to
all

all others, both to the King and to the People: for as the King is sure to get as much money as the Parliament allows, without those delays and deficiencies which too often happen; so the People will be able more equally to improve their money on such publick securities; whereas this opportunity is now confin'd almost to the Citizens of London and Parliament-men, and even among them commonly to such only, as will buy or earn favor.

IT were needless to talk of the Remittances of Cloathiers, Grasers, or any other kind of dealers: since he, who is not able to make such conclusions to himself; does but sell his labor, in reading any part of this Scheme at all.

SECTION VII.

THUS, in as few words and propositions as could well be used, is the frame and practice of a truly *National Bank* made so plain and intelligible: that whatever else, not express'd, shall be deem'd useful or necessary; may with small application, by persons vers'd in affairs of

this nature, be fully deduc'd and properly apply'd.

AND whereas it may be objected, that the *Bank of England* is not only establish'd by Act of Parliament, but likewise by the same Law to have no rival, (the Parliament having declar'd their resolution to establish no other Bank, or Undertaking in the nature of a Bank, during the continuance of it) I answer first, that this regards England only, and but for a limited time: secondly, that our intended Bank may be set up, when, by the expiration of the set time, the imperfection or mismanagement of the *Bank of England* shall make people long for a better: and I answer thirdly, that, if people were wise, they need not stay half so long.

THE reason is obvious: for the propos'd *National Bank* is of a quite different nature from the *Bank of England*, as well in the end as the means; and therefore will not interfere or rival it, either in point of Power or Profit. Now these being the two essentials intended by the Clause of enacting no other Bank, and the essentials not being hurt by the propos'd Undertaking; it is humbly conceiv'd to be most evident, that the Parliament may justly establish such a *National Bank*: for the intention of the Law, and of those

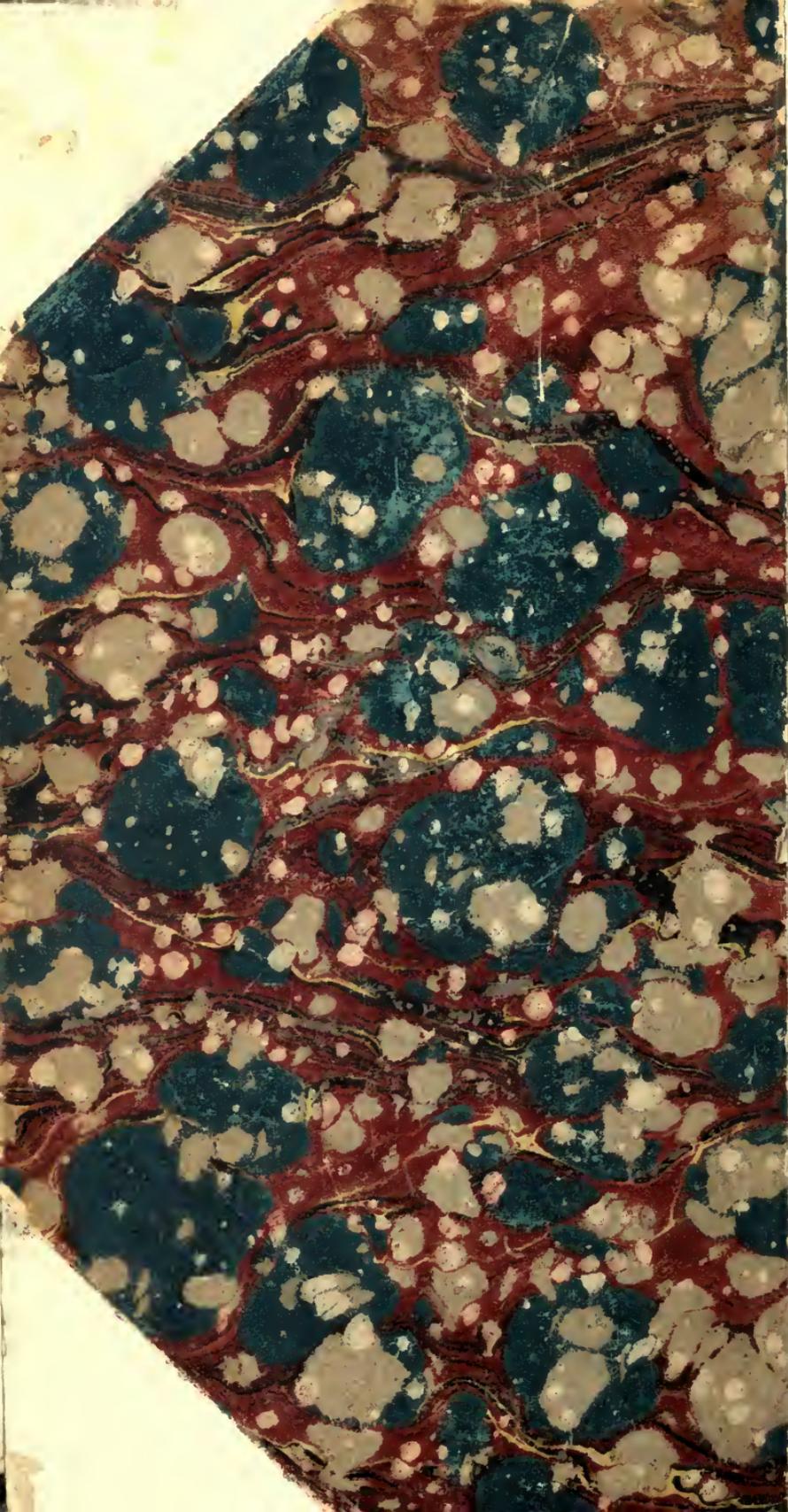
those in whose favor it was made, being satisfy'd; the letter of it neither can nor ought to hinder the Legislative Power, from encouraging by their sanction such an Establishment as the present, should it be found to be for the common good of the realm.

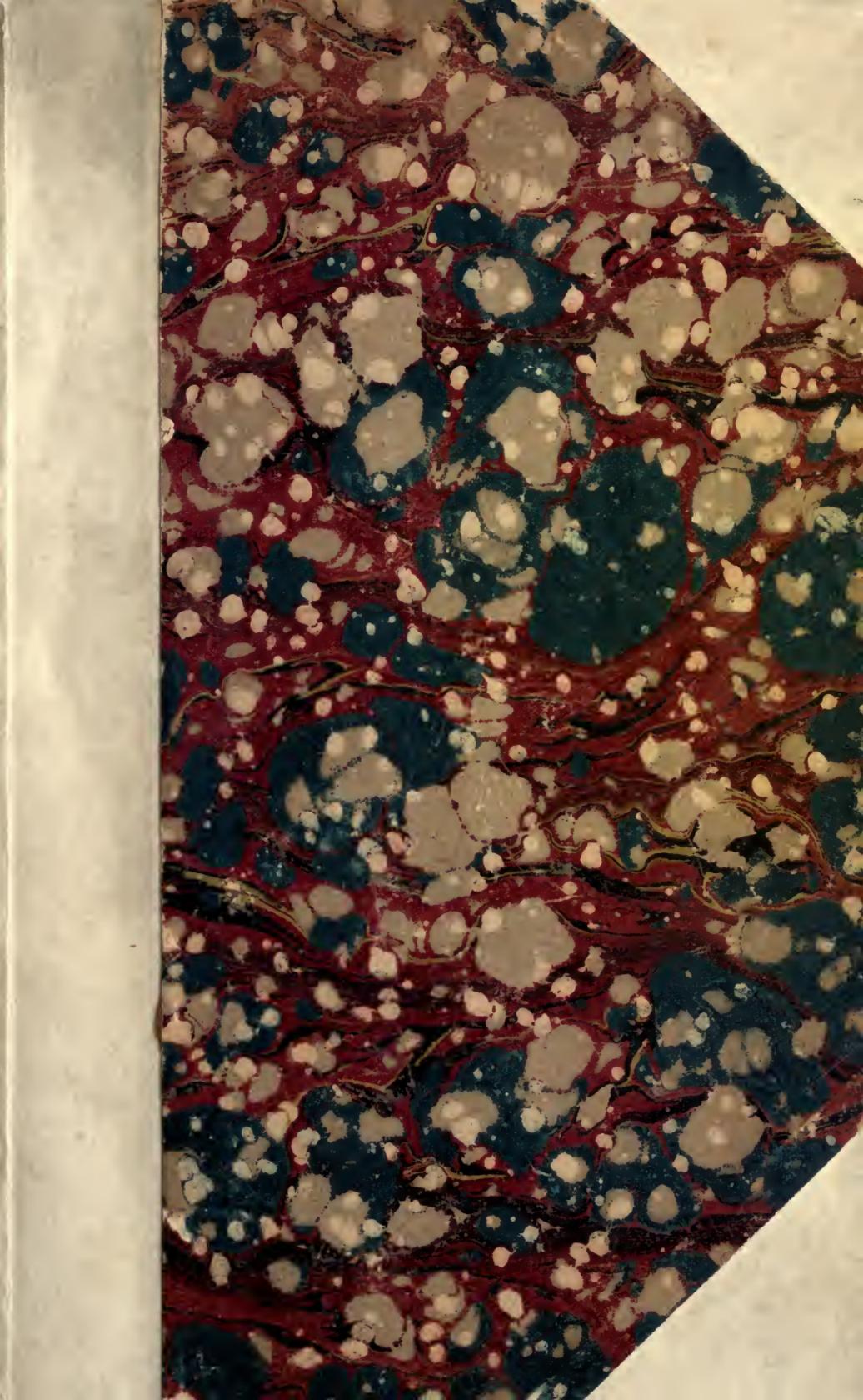
TO make good my assertion, that the end is no more the same, than the means, in the *Bank of England* and this Undertaking, it must be observ'd: that one grand difference between the propos'd *National Bank* and the *Bank of England*, is (as was laid down at the beginning) that the *Bank of England* has both the custody and the disposal of other men's Cash; whereas the propos'd *National Bank* is to have only the custody, but not the disposal, which will make the Proprietors always safe and easy. Another no less essential difference is, that the *National Bank* is neither to borrow nor to lend any money, but is to subsist only by the advantages resulting from returns, transfers, and the like: for these will be sufficient to support its honour and safety, without engaging in any secret indirect negotiations or mysterious Politicks; which, however tempting they may be, are always dangerous, and may at last prove fatal (as it has frequently happen'd in other respects) both to the *Bank of England* itself, and to all concern'd with it. Wherefore if the Law
pro-

provides, that neither of the Banks shall break in upon the other in these essentials; then their several Powers and Profits can never interfere, which is a full answer to the whole force of the Objection.

The End of the First Volume.









Relig.

A
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PIECES
OF

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WITH

Some MEMOIRS *of his* LIFE *and*
WRITINGS.

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A

LETTER

CONCERNING THE

ROMAN EDUCATION.



WHEN I last had the happiness, Sir, to be in your company, you may remember that we spent most of the afternoon about ancient and modern Learning, which still continues to be a very fashionable subject (1) both in Books and Conversation. Yet, with all just regard to the famous advocates of either side, the Question, in my opinion, ought not so much to have been, *who succeeded best in the several faculties*, (tho I wou'd not have this excluded) *as which kind of Learning excells, and is of greatest use to mankind that of the old Grecs and the Romans, or that of the late Schoolmen and the present time?* Not that I wou'd make an odious comparison

(1) In 1703.

between us and the Schoolmen, over whom we have got many considerable advantages : but, I'm sure, the further we still proceed to quit their language, and matter, and method, the nearer we must needs approach to those of the Greeks and the Romans. Nor can I imagin that any men will so far oppose matter of fact, or expose their own judgment, as to deny that all the perfections of the Moderns beyond the Schoolmen have been revealed to them by the Ghosts of the Antients, that is, by following their rules, reading their works, imitating their method, and copying their stile, which last holds as true in prose as in verse.

THIS ought not at all to be 'wonder'd at, as if the Antients had been a different race or species of men from us, or that Greece and Italy did formerly breath out more improving exhalations than at present, as some of the Heathens fancy'd their Oracles were given rather in one place than another by an inspiring vapor out of that particular spot. You may be certain, Sir, that I am disturb'd with no such fancy : the Antients and we are equal in our race and make, in the structure of our brains and our natural capacities : 'tis government and education that makes all the difference ; liberty of speech, and the rewarding of merit. The rules of reason and good sense are eternal, the same in all ages and countries, and wherever equally cultivated.

tivated they most certainly produce the like effect. But where men are restrain'd in their genius, debarr'd all freedom from such and such subjects, or branded and incapacitated for being of this or that opinion; there 'tis impossible there should be any impartial search after truth, or any real improvement of the understanding, any useful or new discoveries, and consequently such times and places must come infinitely short of others that had an unlimited liberty, and all due encouragement. Can it be expected, for example, that the like extent of knowlege, the like mutual exercise of wits, or the like increase of discoveries should obtain in those countries where one sort of Philosophers alone are allow'd, and even those oblig'd to speak the language of their Priests, as in other countries where all Philosophies were publicly taught, and where all Religions were equally tolerated, and no opinion of any kind discountenanced, nor any men branded, but those who subverted the Government, or deprav'd men's Morals? and therefore it's no wonder why new Rome should come so short of the old, or why the present Greeks should be Barbarians, whereas their ancestors held all the world to be such except themselves. The difference is now as plain between England and Spain; which shows that time is not concern'd, and that liberty civil and religious is the cause of our knowlege, as their tyranny and inquisition is that of their ignorance.

As for the several sorts of learning, some being common to the Antients and the Moderns, and some being peculiar to the one and to the other, I'll say nothing to you at present on so copious an argument. But *I was always persuaded, that, as to the persons who made a profession of learning, and as to the manner of teaching it to others, the Antients made a much better choice than the Moderns, and ought incontestably to have the preference.* Their learned men were not the meanest of the people bred to letters, or rather to various cants for a livelyhood; uncommon words and terms being as far from arts and knowledge as pedantry is from learning, or affectation and foppery from civility and good manners: but all the dignities and degrees of the sacred Priesthood itself, as well as the great posts in the Law, and all the offices in the State, were possess'd by men of distinguish'd birth and fortune, and whose education was every way suitable. Among the Moderns, on the contrary, the noble and the rich quit the use of Letters as well as of arms to the meaner sort, thinking their knowledge should be carry'd about by their servants like their cloaths, tho' with this difference, that they will not use the one as they wear the other; whereby they render themselves obnoxious to be blindly led by their inferiors in opinions, as they shamefully put their possessions in their power whenever they are tempted to become the masters. This in our time has made the Arts
of

of peace and war hateful and contemptible, whereas being formerly plac'd in better hands and far nobler purposes, they were neither mercenary nor oppressive, but exceeding honorable and beneficial. They were not in the first place cloister'd up from society ; nor under the whips and fines, the scanty dyet and barren lectures of speculative men, accustomed to a retir'd and sedentary way of living : for such persons are commonly strangers to the world, which (with the want of practising mankind by the advantage of travelling) makes 'em imperious and austere, vehemently addicted to dispute, impatient of contradiction, noisy and passionate in conversation, and, what's worst of all, more concern'd to prepossess the understandings of their Schollars with those particular doctrines which make for the profit and credit of their own profession, than to fit them for business, to give 'em gentele accomplishments, and to advance 'em in the liberal Arts and Sciences. But the Roman youth, after they came out of their nurses and pedagogue's hands, were plac'd under the inspection of Companions rather than Masters, men of universal learning, generous breeding, well vers'd in public proceedings and in the common affairs of life, their examples being as instructive at least as their precepts. Forein languages they taught their disciples by conversation, and to be Critics in those as well as in their own by Grammar. You must not fancy, Sir, that these were like

the present Governors (as they call 'em) who in great men's houses are but the next sort of serving men after the Chaplain, and when they travel abroad are only the Stewards of their young Master's cash, and consequently such slovenly pedants as to afford perpetual matter of laughter to their disciples, being neither capable to introduce these nor themselves to the audience of Princes, to the diversion of Courts, or into any creditable company.

BUT among the Romans, before the ruin of the Commonwealth, they invited Philosophers from Greece by ample rewards, or prevail'd on able persons at home to undertake this province; besides very reputable conditions, they treated 'em always with the respect that became men of learning and knowlege, whose behaviour and politeness their children were as carefully to imitate as to obey their directions in all parts of their conduct. They did not fill their heads with narrow, pedantic, and useles notions, nor did they captivate their tender minds to blind authority, or implicitly swear 'em to particular opinions; much less did they torment their memories with any wretched, unintelligible jargon: but cultivating their reason, and leaving their judgments free, they taught them to discourse handsomly in private, to speak eloquently in public, to write perspicuously, elegantly, and correctly; but, above all things, to understand the Customs, Laws, and Religion of their Country. The
knowlege

knowlege of Mankind (a mighty art) they communicated to 'em by comparing antient History with the daily observations they made on strangers, their own acquaintance, and fellow-citizens. By reading the customs and constitutions of other places, they show'd 'em what in their own was blameable or praiseworthy, what requir'd to be amend-ed, added, or abolisht. They inspir'd them with an ardent passion for Liberty, a true love and respect for strict Laws, with an equal abhorrence of Tyranny and Anarchy: persuading 'em to prefer death to slavery, and readily to expose their lives and estates in defence (not of any form indifferently) but of a Government which protected their persons, preserv'd their property, encourag'd industry, rewarded merit, and left their sentiments free. Such a government it was that they call'd their Country, and for this they thought it most honourable to dy, whether it were fixt in temperate climates and happy fields, or among barren rocks and sands, under the coldest or most foggy air. For wherever they enjoy'd liberty, there they thought themselves at home; and indeed a fondness for any spot of earth from the mere consideration of being born there, is not only a false notion of our Country, but, in my opinion, as childish a prejudice as that of some old Men, who order their dead bodies to be carry'd many hundreds of miles to be laid with their deceast Progenitors, their Wives, or other Relations.

THE ROMAN

THE Roman youth were taught manly and martial exercises. By public games and prizes, as horse-racing, coursing in chariots, wrestling, running, fencing, and the like, they were inur'd to bear fatigues, and bred to all heroic Virtues, which are very consistent with the easy, affable, and obliging carriage which they learnt at the same time, and from the same men. This made the Commanders in those days as famous for their learning as their valor, the same persons governing and obeying by turns, without any difference between the Soldier and the States-man, the Orator or the General. To this is owing not only their surprizing actions, noble resolutions, and powerful harangues; but in particular their admirable stratagems of warr (proceeding from a perfect knowlege of human nature, acquired by History and Philosophy and which can never be practis'd by such as had no other education besides handling a musquet or trailing a pike, treading perpetually in the common road of their appointed exercise, and who are only preferr'd to their posts with respect to their seniority, just like the Fellows of a College. The favour of a Soverain can make any man a General, but not endow him with the least tincture of these arts; nor are they to be learnt in all the breeding of a Courtier. Soft soothing speeches will never pass for orations, no more than cunning little tricks for stratagems; and the managing of a ball

ball is as different from the marshalling of an army, as dancing is from fighting.

FROM want of considering the mixt capacity of the great men among the Romans, or rather for not understanding their manner of Education, which equally fitted them for the Forum and the Camp; even most of the learned of our time look on the Orations they read in their historians as never spoken, which is a great and unpardonable mistake. A militia of free citizens is no less a commonwealth or politic body than the Senat and Assemblies they have left at home, and in which the next year they'll take their places, when others have their turn of going into the field. In the Roman armies they voted on many occasions by their centuries in the camp, as well as about civil affairs in the city; and therefore the use of reason and persuasion was as necessary in the one place as the other; not that I affirm these Speeches were constantly deliver'd in the very words of the historians (which yet they often were) but only to that purpose: for it wou'd be too voluminous to insert them always at length, when the sense of them can be abridg'd into a narrow compass, which we see done by the best writers of our time in harangues, decrees, proclamations, and other public pieces which we very well know to be genuine. And, that I may say no more on this subject, the Historians, who, after this example, had stufft their works
with

with false Harangues, did not escape the censure of the Antients, and the like authors little consider what they do among the Moderns : but in composing a Romance such a practice is of a piece with the rest, and certainly allowable, being then an imitation of nature in a free country, and not in danger of imposing in any country on the readers.

THE Education of the Romans is likewise the reason why their youth enter'd so early on action, conversing with men from their cradles, and not boys with boys, as among us, till we arrive at manhood, when at length we begin to think of learning the duties of society ; but old age does generally overtake us before we can half conn our lesson. The sons of the Nobility or Patricians were admitted after a certain age to hear the debates of the Senat, as the best and only School, where they cou'd learn how far extended the liberty of the people, and what were the true bounds to the power of the Magistrate ; how to imitate betimes the best masters in the art of persuasion, to observe the orders, rules, and methods of proceeding ; and to know what behaviour was becoming towards their subjects, enemies, auxiliaries, and allies, as well as to form a right notion of all the several interests and parties in the Commonwealth. The sons of the inferior Gentry and Commons, those of the Equestrian and Plebeian Orders, modestly stood for the same ends by
the

the door ; and, such was the power of their virtuous Education and Discipline, that you scarce ever meet with any instances of their blabbing again in company what was propos'd or resolv'd in those august Assemblies, but on the contrary, very many commendations of their silence and discretion, tho, were any of 'em basely inclin'd, they might flatter themselves with no discovery from the multitude of their companions.

I cannot speak here, Sir, as I wou'd, of the Patrons which the Roman youth propos'd for their imitation amongst the most noted men of the Republic, observing all their words and actions, accompanying 'em to the Forum and the Senat, taking notes from their public speeches or pleadings, attending 'em home to their houses, and paying to 'em the same reverence and gratitude as to their own parents. After the same manner they put themselves Voluntiers under the bravest Generals, to learn the art of war, not avoiding, but rather chusing the most dangerous expeditions, and they were actually oblig'd to make a certain number of campaigns, before they were capable of any Office whatsoever in the Government ; but all these particulars require a larger consideration than is consistent with the bounds of this Letter.

I am, Sir, &c.

DIREC



DIRECTIONS

*For breeding of Children by their Mothers
and Nurses, in two LETTERS,
written above two thousand years ago.*

Introduction to the Letters.



IN my Letter concerning *the Roman Education* I said nothing relating to Mothers or Nurses, as not falling naturally within my province. I remember Mr. LOCKE has been censur'd more than once by some of our Pedants for takeing the Women's business (forsooth) out of their hands, and for being too conversant in the nursery. But the impotent declamations of those odd creatures shou'd never have deterr'd me, if that true lover of mankind had not exhausted the subject in his most useful *Treatise of Education*: besides that this part is not so arbitrary and subject to variation, as what may be reckon'd the genteel or fashionable Learning of different Countries; the right methods of breeding Children by their Mothers or Nurses being the same (however various the practice) in all times and places. Yet,
to

to gratify for once these squeamish Hyper-Critics, as well as to exhibit in a small compass what is deliver'd by Mr. LOCKE in too many words (the grand fault of his book) I shall give 'em this very part of Education from the hands they think most proper; since the following Letters were written by two Ladies, of whom I think it fitting here to give some short account.

THEANO was the dearly beloved wife of PYTHAGORAS, who, tho' not the first wise man, yet the first man that ever bore the title of a Philosopher. She was as learned as fair: and, after her husband's death, manag'd the Pythagoric School, with her sons TELAUGES and MNESARCHUS. 'Tis no wonder therefore that this Sect shou'd be so illustrious from its very foundation for female Disciples, which were so numerous, that PHILOCHORUS of Athens fill'd a whole volum with 'em: but nevertheless it rais'd the wonder of Mr. MENAGE, that of all sects Women shou'd be fond of the Pythagoric sect, which recommended and enjoy'd silence so much. This piece of raillery is as insipid, as it is vulgar. THEANO, as I said, was the first and most celebrated among the Pythagorean Ladies. She was afterwards call'd the Daughter of the Pythagorean Philosophy, which made some other mistake her for the daughter of PYTHAGORAS himself. We have a remarkable instance, how far Philosophy had cur'd

cur'd her of the Superstition and vulgar errors of her country, where, among other such silly observations, people believ'd themselves polluted by touching dead bodies, and that even man and wife must perform certain rites of purification after conjugal careffes. Now THEANO being askt by some body, within what space of time a woman might be counted pure, after the embraces of a man? She answer'd, *After her own husband immediately; after another man, never.* This THEANO then wrote the second of the following Letters, and I need say little more of MUIA (who wrote the first, the subject requiring this order) but that she was the worthy offspring of THEANO and PYTHAGORAS. It was questionless an effect of her education, no less than of her natural disposition, that, while a maid, she appear'd in all public assemblies at the head of the young Ladies; and that, when a wife, she continu'd at the head of the marry'd Women. She was so much admir'd for her prudent management, that her townsmen, the Crotonians, converted her house into a temple of CERES; and was so remarkable for her elegant learning, that the avenue to this house was stil'd the MUSÆUM: a glorious example for Ladies to imitate in both respects. To be short, these Letters are choice monuments of antiquity, and perfect in their kind, both with respect to the epistolary stile, and likewise as to accuracy of thought.

LETTER I.

CONTAINING

*Directions for the Choice and Conduct of
a Nurse.*

MUIA To PHYLLIS
Health.



OW you are become a Mother of Children, I give you the following advices.

CHUSE a Nurse every way fit for the purpose, but particularly a neat and modest Woman, one that is not addicted to Wine or too much Sleep: for such a Woman is agreed by every body, to be the best qualifi'd for bringing up Children without any servil examples; provided always that her Milk be kindly, and that she wholly refrain from her Husband for the time. For great stress is to be laid on these matters; since the choice of a Nurse, and her manner of tending us, is of most evident and essential concern in the course of our whole lives. A good Nurse will do every thing that she ought in its due season, not giving

giving the breast, pap, or any other nourishment to the Child at random, and as often as he craves; but with a peculiar discretion, for this highly conduces to the infant's health: and if she will not suffer him to sleep whensoever he pleases, but when she judges him to want his natural rest, this likewise will not a little confirm his health. Let not the Nurse be a passionate Woman, nor a stammerer in her speech; neither let her be indifferent when or what she eats, but be discreet and sober in her meals. Let her further, if you can possibly compass it, be a (1) Grec and not a Barbarian. The best time to lay the Child to sleep, is, after he has sufficiently fill'd himself with Milk: for rest is not only most grateful to Children, but the digestion of such food is also most easy.

If any thing else besides Milk must be given him, let it be of the simplest sort. But Wine ought to be wholly deny'd him, as being naturally too strong and hot: or if he must have any, let it be very rarely, and such as

(1) This caution, as that about stammering a little before, is given to prevent Children (who are continually imitating every thing they see or hear) not only from acquiring any vicious habit in their manners, but even in their speech: As *CICERO* likewise says, that it is a matter of great concern who they be whom any one hears every day at home, or with whom he must converse from a child; how our Fathers, how our Masters, and how our very Mothers express themselves. In Bruto.

comes

comes nearest the consistence of Milk that may be. His body must not be too often wash'd: for the less frequent, and the more carefully prepar'd his baths are, the better. If he be sent abroad to nurse, let it be in a temperate air, neither too hot nor too cold; as the situation of the house must not be too bleak, nor too close. Let not the water us'd about him be over-hard or over-soft; as his very swadling-bands, and what other cloaths he wears, must be of a middle sort between coarse and fine, yet ever justly fitted to his body: for nature does in all these things require a certain simplicity and economy, but no niceness or magnificence.

I have thought it not unuseful to write these things to you at present, in hopes of a happy nursery, perform'd as before prescrib'd: but, God assisting, we shall likewise in due time give such proper directions as we can for the Education of the Child.



B

LETTER

LETTER II.

CONTAINING

*Directions for a Mother how to manage
her Children.*

THE ANO To EUBULA
Health.



I am inform'd that you bring up your Children after a very nice and fond kind of manner. Now, it is the duty of a good Mother, not to cocker up her Children in Pleasure, but to accustom them to Modesty and Prudence. Take heed therefore, that you play not the part rather of one that flatters, than of one that loves them; for Pleasure being made, as it were, the foster-brother of Children, such a companion renders them intemperate and incorrigible. And what is it, pray, that can be afterwards more agreeable to Children, than the Pleasures to which they are us'd from the beginning? Wherefore care must be taken, my friend, that the Education of Children become not their Perversion: for 'tis a perversion of nature when their minds are abandon'd to Pleasure, and their bodies

to

to Voluptuousness ; thus avoiding labour in the last, and growing spiritless in the first. But Children ought to be timely inur'd to pains-taking and hardships, that, when afterwards they must in good earnest suffer pains or undergo fatigues, they may not turn the slaves of their passions (over-rating Pleasure, and dreading Labour) but that, scorning such poor prejudices, they may prefer Honour and Virtue to all things whatsoever, and continue stedfast in the pursuit of the same. By consequence then, their Feeding is not to be too sumptuous or plentiful, nor their Pleasures too many or exquisite, nor their Pastimes too frequent or long : neither may they speak whatever comes uppermost, nor always be themselves the chusers of what they shall do.

I am further inform'd that you are terribly frightn'd when your Child cries, and that you are at much pains to coax him again into smiles ; tho' he shou'd even beat his Nurse, or tell your self that you laugh impertinently : nay, that you make provision of cooling things for him in summer, and of warming implements in winter, with many other delicacies which poor folk's Children never experience, but are brought up at a much easier and cheaper rate ; nor are they for all that of a slower growth, and for the most part they enjoy a much better health. But you, on the contrary, educate your Children as if they were the posterity of SARDANAPALUS,

enervating the natural vigor of Men by effeminate Pleasures. What think you will become of that Child, who, if he may not eat when he lists, strait falls a crying; or, if he may eat, must have sweet and relishing things? who faints away, if the weather be hot; and shivers all over, if it be cold? who, if any body chides him, will contend again? who, if not serv'd at command, grows melancholy? and falls into a morose humour, if delay'd his meals? who shamefully indulges himself in laziness, and whose behaviour is infamously soft and indolent? Know then for certain, my friend, that such as begin their lives in such dissolute sloath, seldom fail of becoming other men's servants in riper age. Do your endeavour therefore to pluck up those Pleasures in your Children by the roots, practise upon them the hardy and not the delicate method of Breeding, let them learn to bear hunger and thirst, with heat and cold, and to behave themselves civilly, not only to their superiors, but also to their equals: since thus they will acquire a certain ingenuous and manly carriage, both when they are seriously employ'd in affairs, and when they relax their minds by necessary diversions. For believe me, friend, labours to Children are in the nature of preparatories towards the attaining of perfect Virtue, and which having sufficiently imbib'd, they afterwards receive the tincture of Virtue itself with much greater facility. Take care then, my friend, that,

as ill-cultivated vines bear none or bad fruit, so the tender rearing of your Children may not produce the mischief of much vanity and disgrace.

C O N C L U S I O N .

CERTAIN Critics may think both these Letters spurious, if they will; as they pronounce all the Grecian Epistles to be such without distinction: but in the mean time I defy 'em to prove these Letters to be so in particular, or (which is our main point at present) to write a couple of better or as good Letters upon the same subjects themselves. The instructions are never the worse, come they from THEANO and MUIA, or from any Sophist or Grammarian that personated those excellent Ladies. But indeed the four Letters are evidently spurious, which LEO ALLATIUS has publish'd under the name of our THEANO, in his *Notes on the Life of PYTHAGORAS*. Besides their being written in the Attic, whereas these are in the Doric dialect (generally affected by the Pythagoreans) PLATO's mention'd in the last of 'em, and his dialogue with PARMENIDES, contrary to all Chronology. There were other Women, and some not unlearned, call'd by the name of THEANO; so that there may be no mistake in the name, tho' a very gross one in the person.

I must not forget to remark, that, according to the noble simplicity reigning in the

most ancient writings, the second person is always express'd in our two Letters by *thou* and *thee*: and so I shou'd have translated, were it not that Custom (the only disposer of Languages) has made *you* to signifie in English the second person no less in the singular than in the plural number, just as in Latin *se* signifies the third person in both numbers.

I shall here add two Letters which in my opinion are little inferior to the former. One from MELISSA to CLEARETA, and the other from THEANO to NICOSTRATA, concerning the behaviour of married women.

MELISSA To CLEARETA
Health.



YOU appear to me to abound of your self in all good qualities: for the earnest desire you express to hear something concerning the decent behaviour of Women, gives fair hopes that you purpose to grow old in a course of Virtue. Now, it behoves a prudent and free-born Woman, who is join'd to one Man according to the laws, to adorn herself modestly, not magnificently. Let her dress be clean, and neat, and convenient; but neither splendid nor superfluous: for transparent or gorgeous attire, and those garments interwoven
with

with purple and gold, are to be rejected, and wholly left to Mistresses, as instruments whereby to allure and retain the more customers. But the ornament of a Woman, whose business is to please one Man, does not consist in modes but in manners: since 'tis the honour of a free-born Woman to study to please her own husband only, and not every one else that looks upon her. Instead of Paint then, bear a blush on your face, as a sign of modesty. Prefer probity, and neatness, and frugality, before gold and precious stones: for a Woman of truly virtuous inclinations must not place all her beautifying skill in adjusting her cloaths, but in the management of her house, and in complaisance towards her husband, the best means to procure his favour. Indeed the Will of a husband should be an unwritten law to a good wife, whereby to govern all her actions; as she ought to think that obedience is the fairest and amplest dowry she can bring with her: for more trust is to be put in the beauties and riches of the mind, than in those of the face or of a fortune; since malice or sickness may destroy these last, whereas the first continues stedfast and useful till death.

Farewell.

THEANO To NICOSTRATA
Health.

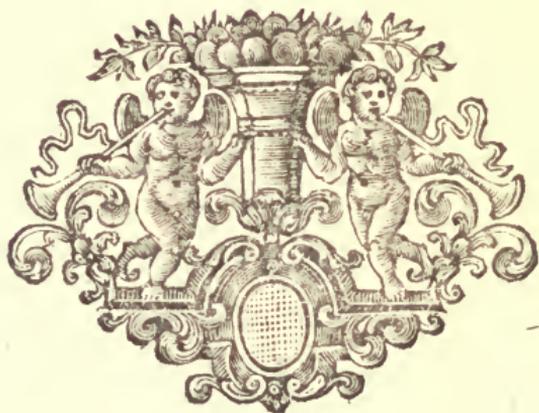


have heard of your husband's extravagance, that he keeps a Mistress, and that you are jealous of him. But, my friend, I know a great many other men, that labour under the same distemper: for they are caught (it seems) by those women, and held fast, and depriv'd of their understanding. In the mean while you are tormented both night and day, you abandon your self to grief, and are ever contriving something or other against him. But do so no more, my friend: for the virtues of a wife lies not in watching her husband's actions, but in complaisance to his will, and this very complaisance obliges you to bear with his madness. He keeps company with a Mistress for his pleasure, and with a Wife for his convenience: but it is convenient not to mix evils with evils, nor to heap one folly upon another. Some faults there be, my friend, which are irritated the more by reproof, and which pass'd over in silence are the sooner cur'd, as fire not blown is observ'd to go out of itself: and therefore if he designs to conceal his conduct from your knowledge, but that you are resolv'd to expose by chiding his weakness,

weakness, then he'll transgress openly, and without ceremony; place not then your friendship in the caresses, but in the merit of your husband; for in this lies the pleasure of Society. Persuade your self, that he goes to his mistress instigated by lust, but that he comes to you as a companion for life; that he loves you out of judgment, but her only out of passion. But this last is of short duration, as being soon satiated: 'tis suddenly begun, and as suddenly ended. Thus a man, that is not altogether profligate, will spend but little time with a Mistress: for what can be sillier than that inclination, in gratifying which a man procures his own damage? Moreover, he will at leisure reflect upon the shipwreck he makes of his fortune and of his fame: for no wise man will continue voluntarily in any fault to his own hurt. Being therefore call'd upon by the rights he owes you of marriage, and considering with regret how his fortunes are impair'd, he'll thoroughly know thee at last, and, not able to bear the disgraceful remorse of his crime, he'll quickly reform. Do not you however, my friend, be provok'd to lead a life answerable to that of a Mistress; but distinguish your self by obedience to your husband, by care about your family, by officiousness to your acquaintance, and by natural affection to your children. Nor ought you even to be jealous of the woman herself: for 'tis only commendable to have an emulation with virtuous women. Shew your self (on the contrary) at all times

times prepar'd for a reconciliation : for, my friend, noble qualities procure us the good will of our very enemies, and esteem is the effect of probity alone. Being only thus reprov'd by you, he'll grow the more ashamed, and be the sooner desirous of a reconciliation. Nay, he'll love you the more ardently, becoming conscious of his injustice towards you, as well as acknowledging the unblamableness of your life, and having receiv'd such a proof of your affection for him : for, as the end of bodily afflictions is pleasant, so the differences of Friends render their reconciliation the more agreeable. Be likewise pleas'd to make a parallel of the worst that may happen every way. When he's sick, you become sick too of course with grief ; if he suffers in his reputation, the world will make you likewise suffer ; if he acts against his interest, your interest as join'd to his, cannot escape unhurt : from all which you may learn this lesson, that in punishing him you punish your self. If, on the other hand, you get a divorce, and marry another man ; yet, in case he be guilty of the like practices, you must still marry another : for widowhood is not tolerable to young women. But you'll live alone, as if you were not join'd to any man ; you'll neglect your family, and ruin your husband : and I say, that you'll reap for your pains the plague of a miserable life. But you'll be reveng'd on his Mistress. She'll observe and avoid you ; or, if it comes to blows, a shameless woman will
be

be found a stout fighter. But 'tis a satisfaction to scold with one's husband continually : and what will you get by that ? for wranglings and contentions do not put an end to irregularity, but proportionably encrease the misunderstanding. What next then ? you'll attempt something against his person. By no means, my friend, Tragedy teaches us to master jealousy by those several representations, in which Medea perpetrates her cruelties. But as hands must be refrain'd from sore eyes, so do you get rid of this evil by taking no notice of it : for in being patient, you'll the sooner extinguish his passion.





THE
FABULOUS DEATH
OF
ATILIUS REGULUS:

OR,

A DISSERTATION *proving the receiv'd History of the tragical Death of MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS the Roman Consul, to be a Fable.*

SIR,



THE second time I had the honour to wait upon you at your Lodgings, I found you reading CASAUBON'S POLYBIUS, which occasion'd us to discourse a while of History, and particularly about that of this Author. Among several important observations you were pleas'd to make, I could never afterwards forget the question you propos'd to me about the tragical Death of ATILIUS REGULUS, *Why* (1) POLYBIUS

(1) Lib. 1.

makes

makes no mention thereof, when he is so diffusive in the circumstances of his defeat and captivity? I was not ashamed to confess then that I had no solid answer to give; for as, like the rest of mankind, I come to the knowledge of things successively and occasionally: so I had no opportunity before that time to enquire into this matter. Nor, perhaps, without that difficulty, should I have ever understood so much of it as I persuade my self now I do. All true judges of Learning are sensible, how beneficial good Conversation is to the attaining of it. And I do now experience it, since your undesigned hints have afforded me matter enough, without any studied digressions, for an extemporary and just Dissertation.

A Note of PALMERIUS upon (2) APPIAN directed me to a considerable Fragment of the 24th book of DIODORUS SICULUS, which has plainly convinc'd me, that the commonly receiv'd account of the death of ATILIUS is nothing else but a female tattle, and a Roman fable. And that you may not call in question the authority of my Fragment, which I do not know if ever you saw, I'll give you the history of it in a few words.

THE Emperor CONSTANTINUS, surnamed *Porphyrogennetus*, the son of LEO, and grand-

(2) *De bello Punico.*

son of BASILIUS, having, contrary to the common genius of Princes, a more than ordinary inclination to Literature; was at the pains, whilst yet a minor, to dispose under several heads, common-place-wise, whatever he was most desirous to understand: and made large collections out of all the Authors treating of them, that came to his hands. His labours of this kind amounted to no less than 106 Volumes, whereof only three are hitherto found and publish'd; the first by FULVIUS URSINUS, the second by DAVID HOESCHELIUS, both very learned men, and the third (which is ours) purchas'd at a vast price in Cyprus by the learned FABRICIUS PEIRESCIUS, and publish'd at Paris by the immortal ornament and promoter of Greek Erudition, VALESIIUS, in the year 1631.

As for the genuineness of the Fragment we can't doubt of it; for our Emperor in his Collections is exact even to a nicety. The many passages he has out of the extant Works of POLYBIUS, DIODORUS, JOSEPHUS and others, agree generally in terms with the copies we read every day, which leaves us no pretence of questioning the rest, and excludes all other proof as superfluous.

AND for DIODORUS, he is universally own'd to be one of the best and most disinterested Writers among the Ancients. He's none of those who only copy or contract a bulky
volume

volume or two, nor of such as obtrude precarious relations and conjectural inferences for matter of fact upon posterity. He's very unlike them who go no farther than their closets for materials, and he betrays no where the least partiality or mercenary end. He travell'd over a great part of Europe and Asia. He saw the most celebrated places mentioned in his works, and got authentick Memoirs concerning them upon the spot. He purposely liv'd a considerable while at Rome, then the Epitome of the Universe, where he could not miss of all necessary helps towards carrying on his great and useful design. Besides, he spent thirty years complete in making, for the ease and benefit of others, this curious Collection out of the most valuable Authors; and very fitly entituled it *The historical Library*. These particulars we learn from his own Preface. PLINY, after due commendations, calls it in the Proem of his natural History *The historical Libraries*. So it is cited in the plural by JUSTIN MARTYR, and EUSEBIUS, who likewise (3) says *That DIODORUS collected into one work the whole historical Library*. We need not wonder then if this industrious Author has preserv'd several matters not to be easily or indeed at all met with elsewhere; which serves but to make us more sensible of our loss in the best part of his labours.

(3) *Preparat. Evangelic. lib. 1.*

I should now give you the Fragment with the Observations I made upon it. But to render the Discourse more natural and therefore more evident, I shall first relate the history of ATILIUS, after which I'll offer my exceptions, then shew the reasons of my dissent, and lastly subjoin the whole Fragment with the addition of another.

I. After the two potent and emulous Republicks of Rome and Carthage had a long time with various success contended for the sovereignty of Spain, and the dominion of Scicily, Sardinia, and other Isles of the Mediterranean; the Romans at length perceiving that their attempts were likely to prove frustraneous, without more marine force and experience, (for the Carthaginians were undoubted masters at sea) fitted out a great fleet of hatched vessels such as they never had before, and excellently well mann'd. They soon found by their success and recovering state, of what advantage good ships and stout seamen were like to be; which made them augment their forces that way more and more, as (4) POLYBIUS copiously describes. Thus, flush'd with some late victories, and much relying upon their naval army, consisting of 140000 fighting men, they look'd no longer so low as Scicily; but resolv'd to transfer the war into the enemies own country, swallow-

(4) Lib. 1.

ing in their hopes no meaner an acquisition than Carthage it self. In pursuance of this design MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS and LUCIUS MANLIUS made a descent into Africa, after having beaten the Carthaginians at sea who endeavour'd to hinder their landing: The Punic commanders were ASDURUBAL, AMILCAR and BOSTAR, of which two last more hereafter. The Romans took in a short time several strong places, and, MANLIUS with part of the army and the prisoners returning to Italy, ATILIUS was left with the sole power of prosecuting the war; who, as fast as he could sit down before them, took from the Carthaginians (5) 200 towns, wasting the country to the very suburbs of their capital city, which made him brag, that he had seal'd the gate of Carthage, that none might escape. The poor Carthaginians were under a terrible consternation upon this stupendious progress of the enemies arms, and would readily conclude a peace upon any reasonable terms. But the (6) haughty ATILIUS, not knowing how to use his good fortune, propos'd such hard conditions as differ'd little from absolute slavery, which put the Africans to despair. But happily about this time arriv'd some Grecian mercenaries under XANTHIPPIUS an expert and courageous Lacedemonian, who by the consent of the commanders themselves, to whose ill conduct the people attributed the Roman vic-

(5) *Appian. de bello Punico.*

(6) *See pag. 18, &c.*

tories, was set over all the forces, and shortly after totally routed the Romans, and took ATILIUS who became AMILCAR's prisoner. As soon as this defeat was known in Rome, they fitted out another fleet under the Consuls ÆMILIUS and FULVIUS, who at the Hermæan Promontory attack'd that of the Carthaginians and took all their ships being 114 with all the men on board 'em, and by consequence the (7) Generals AMILCAR and BOSTAR. So ASDRUBAL alone was left to manage the war by land. Upon this last victory the Carthaginians sent their Ambassadors to Rome to treat of the peace, and ATILIUS their prisoner with 'em, upon oath to return if he could not persuade the Senate to grant their demands. But he instead of this dissuaded them, and return'd with the Ambassadors, prepar'd to suffer for the good of his country whatever punishment the offended Carthaginians should inflict. (8) CICERO with some others affirms that they cut his eyelids, and thrust him into a dungeon, where they constantly kept him awake in a certain machine till he dy'd. Others with (9) APPIAN say he was put into a barrel stuck every where full of sharp nails. (10) FLORUS has him crucify'd; and all tortur'd to death. This story has not only been thus transmitted to posterity by most of the Historians that

(7) *We hear no further of 'em in this War.*

(8) *Offic. lib. 3.*

(9) *De bello Punico.*

(10) *Lib. 8.*

wrote of the Roman affairs, but also still continues to be a celebrated example, in most authors as well as familiar discourses, of fortitude, and greatness of mind.

II. BUT preserving the highest veneration for the memory of this noble General's heroick actions, especially the love he bore to his country, I'll make bold to give a very different account of his end, which, from the reasons you shall hear by and by, I think was after this manner. After he did contrary to the instances of all his friends, so gloriously return to Carthage, the Romans having got into their hands AMILCAR and BOSTAR at the Hermæan fight (as abovesaid) to comfort his wife they committed them (11) with other prisoners of the best quality to her custody, to exchange them for her husband, or detain them till he was let at liberty. In the mean time ATILIUS dyes either of some infirmity according to the course of nature, or more probably being a high spirited and proud man, he broke his heart for the sudden and unusual disgrace he fell under. But let this be as it will, I only maintain his death was not violent. ATILIUS's children, you may easily imagine, were extremely troubled at their father's death in captivity and a foreign land. But his wife was in despair, refusing all consolation. She could not bear

(11) Zonaras.

the fight of a Carthaginian, and out of excess of anger and grief, attributed the death of her husband to the negligence of his keepers. She therefore commanded her sons to use the captives as ill, which injunction they cruelly executed, as you'll see in the Fragment. And tho' AMILCAR did frequently implore this enraged woman's compassion, yet relentless to all his prayers, and the protestations he made of the great care he took of her husband whilst he was his prisoner; she continu'd to torment him till the matter was discover'd to the Senate, who were, for this dishonour done to the Roman name, highly incens'd against the mother and children. But she to excuse herself, and to avoid the imputation of cruelty among her neighbours and acquaintance, told them that fable of her husband's lamentable death, which was quickly spread over the town by those women especially who came to comfort her; and who, 'tis likely, made this pretended tragedy the chief theme of their discourse at every gossiping. Thus it obtain'd credit first among the women and vulgar; then it afforded the subject of a Tragedy to the Stage, where it receiv'd all the advantage of fiction, that is allowable to Poets or Politicians; and at last out of hatred to the Carthaginian name, it was commonly inserted by Historians in their relations of that Punick War, and so handed down to us.

III. My reasons for what I have here asserted are,

I. First, POLYBIUS's silence : for no Historian had better opportunities to know those things than he. He was SCIPIO the younger's own tutor, and his companion too in his expeditions. He was particularly present at the destruction of Carthage by this great person ; and there is such a connection between this latter and the former Punick Wars, that a man so familiar with the General, so learned and curious as to write the history of both, with much sincerity and no less accuracy, could not be ignorant of so remarkable a circumstance, as the fate of ATILIUS must needs be, if such a thing there were. Besides, (12) he assures us himself, that he has gone over all the particulars of ATILIUS's story, that those who read it may thereby learn to become better men, according to the vulgar saying, *Happy is he who learns by the misfortunes of others*. Now, I refer it to the judgment of every unbiass'd and thinking person, whether if POLYBIUS had this good intention towards mankind, as we have no reason to doubt it, he would omit this common account of our Consul's death, if it had been true ? Or whether he can be suppos'd to forget what he design'd so punctually to relate, when in matters of little importance, where

(12) *Lib. 1.*

his word is no way engag'd, he's sometimes tediously circumstantial ?

2. MY second reason is the partiality of the first Historians, who treated of that Punick War, to wit, FABIVS and PHILINUS, *who*, says (13) POLYBIUS, *related not the truth to us with that sincerity they ought.* PHILINUS assures his reader that the Carthaginians manag'd all matters with unparallel'd wisdom, justice, and courage, and the Romans quite contrary. But FABIVS, as zealous for the credit of his countrey, gives PHILINUS the lye, and as much extolls the equity, prudence, and valour of the Romans, as he enlarges upon the cruelty, folly, and cowardise of the Carthaginians. POLYBIUS having occasion in another (14) place to correct one of FABIVS's voluntary mistakes about that war, has those fine words, which, one would think, were calculated for our times. *But why have I mention'd FABIVS, says he, and his history? not that I believe his narrative so like the truth as to gain belief from some. For what he writes in this place is so contrary to reason, that tho' I were silent, the readers will easily perceive the man's insincerity, which plainly enough discovers itself. But this I write to admonish those, into whose hands his history may come, that they judge not as the*

(13) Lib. 1.

(14) Lib. 3.

title of the book promises, but according to the nature of the things themselves. For there are some who rather consider him that speaks than what he says; and because they know the author liv'd in those times and was a Roman Senator, they forthwith receive whatever he delivers as most deserving of credit. But for my own part, as I would not have this author's veracity slightly call'd in question, so neither would I establish it in such a manner as to pin the reader's faith upon it; but rather that every one should chuse those things his judgment inclines him to believe. Thus far our Author.

Now, let this same FABIUS, or who else you please, be the first writer of this story, the next Roman author that mention'd it did probably copy him, as all the rest might one another without much enquiring into the original of the thing, which all the quotations in the world can render no truer than the first relation. I say not this as if I thought 'em always partial or fabulous. I acknowledge they were not so barren of truly brave and vertuous instances in their citizens to be fond of a fantastick Hero. But in matters of this nature which are establish'd by popular tradition, wherein religion or the honour of a nation are concern'd, and the belief whereof can have no ill consequences, 'tis not always safe, nor perhaps will it be thought so necessary to insist too nicely upon truth.

Modern as well as ancient Histories furnish us with numerous examples to this purpose. The brevity I design permits me not to improve on my behalf the different accounts, that the authors give us of REGULUS's torments. The last of 'em is sufficient to punish the blackest crime, and it was impossible for one to suffer 'em all, being not only too many, but contrary to each other. There is something more than mistaking a word, or exaggerating Rhetorick in this variety. Vulgar Romance, which is made or embelish'd at pleasure in all ages, and taking things upon trust, are the softest expressions I can bestow upon it.

3. MY third reason is positive, and built upon the Fragment in which I chiefly consider three passages.

1. First, ATILIUS's own wife (as you'll observe) has nothing to lay to the charge of her illustrious captives the Carthaginian Generals but a bare suspicion that her husband dy'd for want of being well look'd after, or as she expresses it, through (15) neglect. And do you think if there had been any thing in the famous Legend, but she would make them bloody reproaches upon this head?

2. Secondly, AMILCAR with tears protests that he in particular took all possible care of her husband whilst his prisoner; nor would

he fail to excuse others or lay the blame on the state where it should be, if there had been occasion for it. And tho' he sees he can by no means mollifie this merciless woman, and looks upon himself as a lost man ; yet he still calls God to witness his innocency, and, that for the thanks his care of their father deserv'd of ATILIUS's children, complains he's most ungratefully repaid with exquisite torments.

3. Thirdly, the indignation of the Magistrates against the ATILII upon the discovery of their barbarity, and their imputing all the fault to their mother ; with the speedy care they took to burn the dead according to custom, and carefully to cherish the living. Now, 'tis presum'd, the Senate would not express this high resentment if ATILIUS had perish'd thro' violence or neglect. And had we the rest of this 24th Book of DIODORUS, we should, questionless, hear the fact excus'd to the Carthaginians, or, at least, their complaints. But that, I fear, is irrecoverable with the rest of LIVY, POLYBIUS, TACITUS, APPIAN, MARCELLIN, and many others, (to speak nothing of entire authors) unless more of CONSTANTINE's collections be discover'd in Greece, where, 'tis probable, they may be all still with much better Books.

THESE (as they clearly appear in the Fragment) seem to me reasons sufficient to convince

vince all ingenuous persons, that the tragical story of the Death of REGULUS is partly invented, partly mistaken, and altogether a fable. I could add several other cogent arguments from the politicks and manners of the Carthaginians, with their dangerous state at that juncture, to give so grievous a provocation to the Romans; but that I look upon more proofs as needless, when the matter of fact is already made so evident.

IV. Now finally, to illustrate the whole, and confirm our Dissertation, I subjoin the version of the *Fragment* itself, which is as faithful as you could make it elegant.

A Fragment of the 24th Book of DIODORUS SICULUS in the collection and edition mention'd above.

“ BUT the mother of the (16) young men
 “ bearing heavily the death of her husband,
 “ which she attributed to neglect and care-
 “ lessness, commanded her sons to use the
 “ captives as ill as they could. First then,
 “ they were shut into a small room so nar-
 “ row that for want of place they were forc'd
 “ to conglobate their bodies, and lye round
 “ as beasts are wont to do. And then being
 “ deny'd food for five days, BOSTAR out of
 “ anguish of spirit, and hunger together, ex-

(16) *The Atilii.*

“ pir'd.

“pir’d. But AMILCAR being endu’d with a
“singular greatness of mind, altho’ destitute
“of all hope, yet kept himself up as well as
“he could, and did frequently beg compassi-
“on from the woman with tears, telling her
“what great care he had taken of her hus-
“band. Yet he was so far from inclining
“her to any sense of humanity, that the
“cruel woman did shut up BOSTAR’s carcass
“with him five days longer, affording him
“in the mean time food enough to preserve
“life in him, to make him sensible of his
“calamity and torment. But AMILCAR seeing
“now all hopes of mercy cut off from his
“entreaties calls JUPITER *the protector of*
“*strangers*, and all the powers that regard
“human affairs to witness; loudly exclaim-
“ing that for the thanks due to him he was
“rewarded with most cruel torments. Now
“whether by the compassion of the Gods,
“or some good luck that brought him unex-
“pected assistance, he dy’d not by these tor-
“tures: for when he was in the utmost peril
“of his life, what by the noisome stench of
“BOSTAR’s body, and what by the other
“streights he was under, some of his ser-
“vants coming to know of it told the thing
“to certain foreigners. These, highly mov’d
“at the indignity of such wickedness, spec-
“dily discover’d the whole matter to the
“Tribune of the people. And because the
“fact appear’d extremly barbarous, the Ma-
“gistrates summon’d the ATILII before them,
“ who

“ who narrowly escap'd capital punishment
 “ for having infamously branded the Roman
 “ name with this mark of cruelty. More-
 “ over, the Magistrates threatn'd them se-
 “ verely if they did not hereafter take spe-
 “ cial care of the captives. But they laying
 “ all the blame of the matter upon their
 “ mother, burnt the body of BOSTAR and sent
 “ his ashes to his country; and, delivering
 “ AMILCAR from his former misery, they
 “ brought him by degrees to his usual strength
 “ again.

SIR, you may remember I accus'd ATILIUS
 of mixing some Pride with his many extraor-
 dinary Virtues; and dissuading the Peace at
 Rome, with his return to Carthage, are still
 sufficient to magnifie his name without the
 addition of a fable. This I did not there-
 fore to lessen his character, which I deserved-
 ly admire; for there's some base alloy in the
 finest gold: but I have great reason to collect
 so much from some Authors, and am put out
 of all doubt by another judicious Fragment
 of the same Book of DIODORUS, and out of
 the same collection, wherereof I give you
 this indifferent Translation.

The second Fragment.

“ I hold it the duty of a Historian (says our
 “ Author) diligently to set down and mark
 “ the manners and inclinations of the Com-
 “ manders

“ manders on both sides. For as by blaming
“ the ill conduct of any, others may avoid
“ committing the like faults; so on the other
“ hand, the commendation of what is right-
“ ly perform'd enflames the mind to pursue
“ Virtue. Now who would not justly re-
“ prehend the impudence and arrogance of
“ ATILIUS REGULUS, who, not able to bear
“ his good fortune, as if it had been some hea-
“ vy burthen, both depriv'd himself of great
“ praise, and cast his country into mighty
“ dangers? For when he had it in his power, be-
“ sides procuring the glory of much clemency
“ and humanity, to conclude a peace very glo-
“ rious and advantageous to the Romans, but
“ base and dishonourable to the Carthaginians;
“ he set light by all these considerations, and
“ proudly insulting over the misfortunes of
“ the distressed, impos'd such hard conditions
“ as mov'd the indignation of the Gods, and
“ forc'd the vanquish'd to act most valiantly.
“ Thus through the miscarriages of this one
“ man, there happen'd such a sudden change
“ of affairs, that the Carthaginians, who, by
“ reason of their late defeat, had despair'd of
“ any safety, now having unlook'd for sup-
“ plies, quite routed the enemies forces: and
“ the Romans, who, before were reputed to
“ excell all the world in land fights, were so
“ discomfited and shatter'd as not to dare
“ after this to venture a land battle with their
“ enemies. Whereupon this war became more
“ tedious than any of the precedent, and was
“ con-

“ converted into a naval one, in which in-
 “ numerable ships of the Romans and their
 “ allies, and above 100000 men perish'd over
 “ and above what fell by land. Besides, it
 “ cost such vast sums of money as were thought
 “ sufficient to entertain as great fleets tho'
 “ the war should last fifteen years. Now the
 “ Author of these evils bore a large share of
 “ them; for he obscur'd his former glory
 “ with much greater infamy and dishonour:
 “ and by his infelicity became a warning to
 “ others not to be puffed up by success. What
 “ is most to be noted, having cut off from
 “ himself that favour and compassion which
 “ is usually bestow'd upon the afflicted, he
 “ was forc'd to bear their reproaches and sub-
 “ mit to their power, whose calamities he in-
 “ sulted over a little before.

THUS, Sir, without favour or affection,
 (you may be sure) I have confuted this old
 tradition; and remov'd all the cruelty from
 Africa, where it lay so long, into Italy whose
 title to it I find much better. There are many
 other histories as little question'd as ever this
 was, which, we are very certain, have not a
 quarter so much ground nor probability to
 recommend 'em for truth. And yet many
 in the world place all their learning and some-
 thing more in the bare belief of such childish
 and old-wives fables. Truly we shall not en-
 vy them this sublime knowledge, nor the re-
 fin'd speculations it affords them. Nay, with

our consent they may not only value themselves upon it, but laugh at our ignorance too, like PARSONS the Jesuit, who pleasantly, because seriously, affirms in his answer to COOKE, that *one Papist of mean learning is more wise and knowing than an hundred Hereticks together.* For the Heretick, says he, is only guided by his own sense and reason, but the Papist follows the learning and wisdom of his whole Church consisting of an infinite number of great men, and so makes their learning and wisdom his own. I wonder he might not as well conclude, that the poorest Papist is more learned than a million of Protestants, or than all the Popes themselves, from these notable premisses. But such is the admirable reasoning of our implicit-faith-men in every thing! They differ only about their subjects whilst they perfectly agree in their disquisitions. But this is so evident and you so perspicacious, that I need insist upon it no longer: and therefore shall only add that with all imaginable affection, I am,

Sir,

You most humble Servant.

OXON, *Aug. the 6th,*

1694.

SOME



SOME LETTERS OF PLINY

Translated into English.

To Mr. * * *

SIR,



send you some Letters of PLINY, as a specimen of the Translation I am making of the whole; and desire your judgment on this Essay.

I make no doubt but you will agree with me, that for what they call a happy turn, delicacy of expression, and speaking only to the business in hand, no modern comes near our PLINY, no more than in the variety of his subjects, such as intrigues of state, points of literature and history, questions in natural philosophy, rural pleasures, the concerns of his friend, and some trifles which he renders important. The short Notes I shall add at the
foot

foot of every page will justify my Translation, which I endeavour to make as concise as his Latin, not comparable indeed with that of CICERO, but nothing behind him in sense or matter. I conclude as he does in one of his Letters, that I give you this account, SIR, because our mutual friendship requires you shou'd not only be made acquainted with all my words and actions, but even with my designs.

Farewell.

Epsom Sept. 10.

1712.

TO SEPTIMIUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 1.

YOU have frequently exhorted me, that, if I had written any Letters with more accuracy than others, I wou'd collect and publish them. I have made such a collection, yet without observing any order of time (for I was not writing a history) but just as they happen'd to come each to hand. It now remains, that neither you repent of your advice, nor I of my compliance: which if we do not, will occasion me to look out for these Letters I have thrown aside as useless, and not to suppress those I may write hereafter.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS RUFUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

HOW fares Comum, my delight and yours? that country seat so exceeding lovely? that gallery, where 'tis always spring? that most shady grove of plane-trees, that canal, so green and clear as a diamond? the lake hard by, which seems design'd for a reservoir to supply it? those firm and yet easy walks? that bath which never wants the sun in his round? those large dining rooms for company, and those lesser withdrawing rooms for a few friends? how goes it with the drinking rooms? how with those bedchambers for night, and those antichambers for day? Do these possess and share you by turns? or are you hinder'd (as you were wont) with frequent excursions abroad, by an over-earnest desire of encreasing your estate? If these possess you, then are you easy and happy: but if they do not, you are only one of many that admire 'em. Why do you not rather (for it is high time) commit those low and sordid cares to others, and apply your self to books in that quiet and plentiful retreat? let this be your business and leisure, your labour and recreation: let studies employ your thoughts by day, and be the subject of your dreams by night. Invent and finish something, that may be perpetually yours: for the rest of your possessions will, after your death, successively fall

fall to the share of many owners; but if this once begins, it can never cease to be yours. I know how great a soul, and how fine a genius I exhort. Do you only endeavour to have as good an opinion of your self, as others must needs entertain of you, if once you are conscious of your own worth.

Farewell.

TO CORNELIUS TACITUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 6.

YOU'll laugh, and you may laugh as long as you please. I, that same PLINY whom you know so well, have caught three wild boars, and extraordinary fine ones. Who, you your self? say you. Yes, I my self: but I sat by the toils, not so as entirely to quit my ease and quiet; for I had lying by me, not a hunting-pole and a lance, but a pocket-book and a pencil. I meditated something and noted it down, that, if I went home with empty hands, yet I might bring with me full pages. You'll see no reason to despise this manner of studying. 'Tis wonderful, how the mind is roused by the exercise and motion of the body. The woods and the solitude all around you, and that very silence which is requisite in hunting, are great enticements to thinking. Whenever therefore you go a hunting hereafter, you may upon my authority carry with you a pocket-book and a pencil, as well as a pouch and a bottle.

You'll find that MINERVA does no less wander upon the mountains, than DIANA.

TO MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

Lib. 1. Ep. 9.

'T IS a wonderful thing how reasonably we act or at least seem to act, in the city upon particular days; but not so every day, nor many days together. For if you ask any one, *what have you been doing to day?* and that he answers, *I was to congratulate with a friend for his son's arriving to man's estate, I was present at a contract or a wedding, one call'd me to be a witness to his will, another to assist him in a law-suit, another to have my advice in some other matter:* these things will just then seem necessary offices; but, if consider'd as done every day, they must appear to be pure losing of time, and you'll be convinc'd of it much more when you retire into the country. For then I call to mind, how many days I have spent in most trivial affairs; which reflection I especially have, when, in my Laurentin villa, I read any thing, or write, or even take care of my body, the prop and support of the mind. There I hear nothing of which I wou'd chuse to be ignorant, nor speak any thing I wish unsaid again. No body detracts from me at another man's table by malicious discourses, and I find fault with no body but only with my self, when I can't write to my mind. I

am perplex'd with no fears, I am not disquieted with any reports: I speak only with my self and my books. O upright and sincere life! O sweet and honourable leisure! preferable (I had almost said) to any business whatsoever! O sea! O shore! you true and private studying-place! how many things you dictate to me? how many things you occasion me to invent? Do you therefore, as soon as ever you can, leave that noise, those vain prattles, with all the pains you are at to so little purpose, and betake your self to study or recreation: since 'tis better (as our friend ATILIUS has no less learnedly than facetiously said) for a man to be idle than to be busy in doing nothing. Farewell.

TO FABIVS JUSTVS.

Lib. I. Ep. II.

TIS a great while since you have sent me any Letters. I have nothing (say you) to write. Why then write this very same, that you have nothing to write; or at least that with which our fore-fathers us'd to begin, *if you are in health 'tis well, I am likewise in health.* This will be enough for me, for 'tis all in all. You'll think I am jesting, but I desire it of you very seriously. Let me know then what you are a doing, of which I cannot be ignorant without the greatest uneasiness. Farewell,

TO AVITUS.

Lib. 2. Ep. 6.

IT wou'd be both tedious, and to little purpose; to give you a particular account, how I (that am not wont to be every man's guest) shou'd happen to sup with a certain person, who in his own opinion is liberal and yet frugal, but to me appears to be at the same time both sordid and prodigal: for he order'd the richest dishes to be set before himself and a few friends, but the least and the cheapest before the rest of the company. He likewise order'd his wine, which was in very small bottles, to be distributed into three sorts; not to give us the liberty of chusing, but that we might not have the power of refusing: since one sort was for himself and us, another for his lower friends (for he has his friends by tires) and a third for theirs and our gentlemen. He that sat next me took notice of this management, and ask'd me whether I approv'd it. By no means, said I. Pray then, reply'd he, what method do you follow? Why, I order the same things to be serv'd to all that are at the table: for I invite people to a meal, but not to a reproach; and I equalize those in all things, whom I admit to my bed or my board. What, your Gentlemen too? Certainly: for then I look upon 'em as my companions, and not as my dependants. O, but this is expensive. Not

at all. How can that be? The reason is, because my gentlemen don't drink the same wine as I, but I the same as they: and truly if you be not very extravagant, 'twill be no great burthen to share with others what you use your self. 'Tis Luxury therefore that must be moderated, and kept under as it were, if you wou'd save charges; which is much better done by your own temperance, than by the disgrace of others. But to what tends all this? E'en that the boundless luxury of some people may not, under the notion of frugality, impose on so hopeful a young Gentleman as your self: and my affection for you requires of me, when any thing of this nature happens, to precaution you by such an example what you ought to avoid. Remember therefore, that nothing is more to be avoided than this new fellowship between luxury and sordidness; which, as they are most pitiful things disjoin'd and asunder, so they are much more contemptible when united.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS.

Lib. 2. Ep. 8.

DO you study? or go a fishing? or ride a hunting? or do all these together? since our Larius gives you an opportunity for 'em all: for this lake affords plenty of fish, the woods that surround it game, and that most profound retreat study. But whether

You follow 'em all or any one thing, I cannot say, I envy you: nevertheless 'tis a torment to me that I cannot likewise enjoy those things, for which I long with as much ardor as feverish persons do for wine, or baths, or fountains. Shall I never be able to break, if I cannot dissolve, these intolerable bonds? I think I never shall. For fresh businessses throng on the back of the old, before these are quite finish'd: and the weight of my affairs is increas'd upon me every day, like an addition of so many cords and chains.

Farewell.

*The beginning of PLINY'S Letter to
GALLUS, describing his Country
House near Laurentum.*

Lib. 2. Ep. 17.

YOU admire why the Laurentin (or Laurens, if you'll have it so) shou'd so extremely delight me. But you'll cease your wonder, when you know the agreeableness of this Country House, the conveniencies of the place, and the extent of the shore on which it is situated. Its distance from the city is but seventeen miles; so that after having done all your business, you may arrive there before it be late or the sun is down. You come to it by more ways than one, for the way of Laurentum and that of Ostia lead
hither;

hither ; but after travelling fourteen miles you quit the Laurentin, and after eleven the Ostian road. Leaving the one and the other you fall into a way that is somewhat sandy, pretty deep and tedious for carriages, but to people on horseback easy and short. The prospect is vary'd from place to place, for by the woods you meet, the road is sometimes straighten'd, and sometimes again it grows extraordinary large across most spacious meadows. You meet many flocks of sheep, with great herds of cows and horses, which after winter thrive well and grow mighty sleek by the grass of the downs, and the kindly warmth of the spring. My Villa is large enough for all conveniencies, yet not costly to maintain. There is, in the first place, an entry which is plain indeed, but not slovenly : &c.

Here follows the description of the house, gardens, enclosures, &c.

The conclusion of the same Letter.

ARE you now convinc'd that for good reasons I cultivate, inhabit, and love this retirement? which, you must needs be too much addicted to the city, unless you desire to see ; and I wish you may desire it, that to so great and many ornaments of our little house may be added the highest commendation from the honour of your company.

Farewell.

TO

TO CALVISIUS.

Lib. 3. Ep. 1.

I don't remember that ever I past my time more pleasantly, than when I was lately with SPURINNA: insomuch, I assure you, that, if it be my lot to grow an old man, there's none, whom in old age I wou'd sooner imitate: for nothing is more methodical than that kind of life, and I am as much delighted with the orderly life of men, of old men especially, as with the constant course of the stars. Indeed, hurry and confusion are not wholly unbecoming young men, but all things still and regular are expected of the old, in whom pains taking is of the latest, and ambition is scandalous. The rule I am going to tell you, is most constantly observ'd by SPURINNA, and these little things (little, if they were not daily practis'd) are reduc'd by him into a certain order and rotation as it were. In the morning he sits for some time on his couch, at six a-clock he calls for his shoes, he walks three miles, and exercises his mind no less than his body. If he has any friends with him, they are entertain'd with excellent discourses, but if not, some book is read; and this sometimes when he has the company of his friends, provided they don't dislike it. Then he sits down a while, and so comes the book again, or a

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discourse

discourse that excells any book. Soon after he mounts his chariot, and takes in his wife of exemplary virtue, or some of his friends, as very lately my self. O how amiable, how sweet is that privacy! How much of antiquity will you learn there! Of what actions, of what men will you hear! What precepts will you be taught! tho' he prescribes this temperament to his own modesty, as never to seem to dictate. After he has thus rode seven miles, he walks another mile, and sits down again, or betakes him to his closet and his pen: for he writes, and that in both languages, Lyrics especially with a great deal of art. They are wonderful soft, wonderful sweet, wonderful facetious: and their graces are augmented by the probity of the writer. When he's warn'd of the hour for the bagnio (which in winter is eleven a-clock, and one in summer) if it be not windy weather, he walks naked in the sun. Then he plays long and vehemently at tennis, for by this kind of exercise, he likewise makes war upon old age. After he has wash'd he sits down to table, but does not eat immediately: and in the mean time hears something read with a distinct and soft voice. His friends may all this while freely do the same things, or whatever else they like better. At last comes in supper, no less neat than frugal, serv'd up in old and upright plate. He likewise uses Corinthian ware, with which he's pleas'd but not bewitch'd. The intervals of
supper

supper are frequently fill'd up by the performances of Comedians, that pleasure itself may be season'd with wit. Even in summer this takes up a good part of the night, but is tiresome to no body, the entertainment being continu'd with a world of agreeableness. Hence it is, that now after his seven and seventieth year, he has the perfect use of his eyes and ears; hence it is, that his body is brisk and active, and that he has nothing of old age but experience. For this kind of life I pray, and act it already in my thoughts; being resolv'd to begin it chearfully in good earnest, as soon as my years may warrant me to sing a retreat. In the mean time I am fatigu'd with a thousand labours, of which the same SPURINNA is both my comfort and example: for he likewise, as long as it was dishonourable to do otherwise, perform'd the usual duties, fill'd diverse magistracies, govern'd provinces, and earn'd his present leisure by a great deal of pains. I therefore prescribe to my self the self-same course and the self-same end; and give you an assurance of this even now under my hand, that if you perceive me to go longer on in business, you may plead this very letter of mine as a law against me, and command me to be quiet, as soon as I can avoid the imputation of laziness.

Farewell.

. T O

TO CATILIUS.

Lib. 3. Ep. 12.

I Shall come to supper to you : but I bargain now before hand, that it be short, that it be frugal, that it abound only in Socratic discourses, and that even of these there be no excess. There are likewise certain duties belonging to the night, wherein CATO himself cou'd not be found employ'd without blame, whom yet CAIUS CÆSAR so reproaches as to commend him : for he represents certain, who met him blushing, when upon uncovering his head, they discover'd he was drunk ; and then adds he, *you would think that CATO had surpris'd them, and not they CATO.* Could more authority be attributed to CATO, than that even drunk he appear'd so venerable ? But let the time of our supper be limited, as well as the preparation and the expence : for we are not those, whom our very enemies cannot censure without praising us at the same time.

Farewell.

TO LICINIUS.

Lib. 4. Ep. 30.

I Have brought you, as a present out of my country, a question very worthy of your
your

your profound erudition. A spring rises in a hill, it runs thro' rocks, is receiv'd in a basin made by hands, and, interrupted there a while, it falls into the Larian lake. The nature of this Fountain is admirable. It increases and decreases thrice a day at certain floods and ebbs. This is plainly seen, and the experiment is try'd with extraordinary delight. You seat your self near it and eat there; nay, and drink too out of the fountain, for 'tis extream cold. In the mean while it does at certain and proportionable spaces of time fall or swell. You lay your ring, or any thing else, on the dry sand, the water comes towards it by degrees, and covers it; at last the ring begins to appear again, and is by little and little quite left by the water. If you stay long enough, you may observe the same thing a second and a third time. May there be any hidden breath, that sometimes opens the mouth and jaws of the fountain, and sometimes closes them again, according as by inspiration it rushes in, or by expiration 'tis forc'd out? as we see to happen in bottles, and in other vessels of that sort, which have not an open and ready passage: for they likewise, tho' inclin'd and held downwards, do by certain delays of the obstructing air (express'd in frequent gulpes) stop what's to be pour'd out of them. Or is the fountain of the same nature with the ocean? and by whatever cause this last is driven to the shores and swallow'd back

back again, so this small water is sunk or rais'd. Or as rivers, running into the sea, are by contrary winds and tides forc'd back towards their source, so is there any thing that at certain times may drive back the stream of this fountain? Or are the latent veins of such a certain capacity, that while they are collecting the quantity they lost, the stream grows less and slower, but quicker and greater when the veins are full again? Or is there, I know not what occult and imperceptible libration, which when it is light, raises and forces the spring; and when it is depress'd, stops and choaks it? Do you search the causes of so great a wonder, for you are able: 'tis enough for me, if I have clearly enough express'd the matter of fact. Farewell.

*The Beginning of PLINY'S Letter to
APOLLINARIS, describing his Tuscan
Villa.*

Lib. 5. Ep. 6.

I Was pleas'd with your care and uneasiness, when, having understood that I design'd to go this summer to my Tuscan Country House, you persuaded me not to do it, as thinking the place unwholesome. Indeed, the coast of Tuscany along the shore is foggy and infectious, but this place is far distant from the sea, and stands just at the foot of
the

the Apennin, which is the healthiest of mountains. And that you may be rid of all fear on my behalf, take this account concerning the temperature of the climate, the situation of the country, and the agreeableness of the Villa, which must needs be very pleasing for you to hear, and me to relate. The air in winter is cold and sharp, neither will it bear or produce myrtles, olives, or such other plants as thrive by a perpetual warmth : but it agrees with bay-trees, and sometimes produces very green ones, but none decay oftener than they do about the city. The summer is wonderfully temperate ; and the air is always in some kind of agitation, but which occasions breezes more frequently than winds. This is the season that you meet with many old people, and that the youth see their grandfathers and great grandfathers. You may hear the old stories and discourses of our ancestors, and, when you come hither you'll think your self born in the former age. The prospect of this country is extraordinary fine. Imagin to your self a certain vast amphitheater, and such as nature alone is able to form : then a large and spacious plain incompast with hills, and the tops of those hills cover'd with lofty groves and antient trees, which supply continual hunting, and of diverse sorts. The sides of the hills are stock'd with coppice woods, among which are mellow and clayish hillocks (for you can scarce find a stone, tho' you purposely look for

for

for one) which in fruitfulness are not inferior to any fields on the plains, and yield a plentiful crop, later indeed, but not less full or ripe. Below these the whole declivity is cover'd with vineyards, which give the same uniform prospect on every side; and shrubs grow in abundance about the extremities, like a sort of fringe. Next come fields and meadows. The fields are such as can be only broken by huge oxen and strong plows, this most stiff earth turning up into such vast clods as require nine breakings before they are tam'd. The meadows are bespangl'd and enamel'd with flowers, producing clover and other herbs, which are soft and tender as if they were always young: for they are all water'd with never-drying streams. Nevertheless, where the greatest quantity of water is to be found, there is no marsh; because, being steep land, whatever moisture it cannot soak, glides down into the Tyber. This river, which is navigable, runs thro' the middle of the country, and carries all our productions to the city, tho' only in winter and the spring: for it grows low in summer, and leaves in its dry bed, the name of a great river, which it reassumes in autumn. You'll be greatly charm'd if you behold the situation of this country from the top of the hill: for you'll not imagin to see land, but some piece that is painted with the most exquisite delicacy. With this variety, with this disposition, the eyes are refresh'd wherever they turn.

My Villa which stands towards the foot of the hill enjoys as fair a prospect as if it were on the top : it rises so easily and by such slow degrees, that you find yourself got up without perceiving that you mounted. The Apennin is behind, but a good way off. In the most still and fairest days there come breezes from thence ; yet neither piercing nor impetuous, but spent and out of breath by the distance itself. The greatest part of the house looks towards the south, &c.

A Court, Shade, and Wilderness, in the same Description and Letter.

Before this lovely front of the house, there is answerable to the whole extent of it a very spacious Court, wherein horses are to be manag'd, and may even run races in a circular course. It is open in the middle; which at one view wholly discovers it to those that are coming into it. It is planted round with plane-trees, and these are so cover'd with ivy, that their lower parts are green with its leaves, as the tops are with their own. The ivy creeps up from the trunks to the branches, and by passing over from one tree to another, links 'em all together. The distances between them are fill'd up with box, and they are lin'd quite along behind with a hedge of bay, which joins its shade to that of the plane-trees. This court

court extending in a right line, is terminated in a semicircle, and changes its landſchape, being at the end ſurrounded and cover'd with cypreſs, occaſioning there a cloſer, more dark and gloomy ſhade; tho' the open round ſpots of this wilderneſs (which are very many) receive the cleareſt light, which makes roſes thrive here, and ſo the coolneſs of the ſhade is temper'd with the grateful warmth of the ſun. All theſe numerous and various windings are at laſt reduc'd to a ſtraight line, and not in this plot alone, for there are ſeveral others ſeparated by allies, on either ſide beſet with box or roſemary. Here you have green parterres, and there compartments of box, which are cut into a thouſand figures, ſometimes into letters denoting the name of the owner, and ſometimes that of the gardiner. Among theſe there mount by turns pyramids of yew and the ſhapes of trees loaden with fruit. But in ſo regular a piece of art there ſtill appears a ſtudy'd negligence, with a ſort of imitation of nature and the country, the middle ſpace being adorn'd with dwarf plane-trees; beſides which, there is ſtore of ſoft and creeping acanthus, then ſeveral more figures, and a greater number of names.

TO ANTONINUS.

Lib. 5. Ep. 10.

THERE'S nothing makes me more sensible how good your Verses are, than when I strive to make the like: for as painters can never reach the perfection of a fair and faultless face; so I lagg, and fall short of your original. I therefore so much the rather exhort you to produce a great many more, which all may passionately endeavour, but none, or very few, be able to imitate.

Farewell.

TO MACRUS.

Lib. 5. Ep. 18.

TIS well with me, because 'tis well with you. You have your wife with you, and you have your son. You receive delight from the sea, from the springs, from the green trees, from the fields, and from a most pleasant country-house: for indeed I cannot doubt, but that house is most pleasant, which was the retirement of that man, who was more, before he was made most happy. Here in Tuscany, I both hunt and study, which I do sometimes by turns, and sometimes both together: yet to this hour am

I NOE

I not able to decide, whether it be more difficult to take any thing or to write,

Farewell.

TO MAURICUS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 14.

YOU press me to come to your Formian Villa ; and I shall go, on condition that you put yourself to no sort of inconvenience, which is making the like bargain for my self, against your coming to me : for 'tis neither the sea nor the shore, but you, and ease, and liberty, that I would enjoy. Otherwise it were more eligible to stay in the city. We must do every thing according to our own or other folks humour : and this on my word is the nature of my stomach, that it can bear nothing but what's plain and unmix'd.

Farewell.

TO NEPOS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 19.

DO you know that the price of lands is risen, especially, near this city? The cause of this surprizing rise, which is the subject of much discourse, did at the last meeting of the Senate, occasion several most excellent speeches, importing, That *the candidates at elections should neither treat,*

nor make presents, nor lay out any money. The two first of these abuses were not less excessively than openly practis'd; and the third, notwithstanding the care us'd to conceal it, was a thing taken for granted. Now our friend HOMULUS, having diligently improv'd this unanimous agreement of the Senate, mov'd for a resolution, that the Consuls should be order'd to acquaint the Prince with the desires of them all, and to pray him, that according to his usual vigilance, he would correct this, as he had other disorders. The Emperor assented, for he put a stop to those base and infamous expences of the candidates, by a law against canvassing, and oblig'd them to qualify themselves by laying out on land, a third part of their estates; esteeming it a very shameful thing, as indeed it was, that such as are desirous of this honour, should live in Rome and Italy, not as their country, but as a lodging, or like travellers in an inn. The candidates hereupon, outbid one another every where, and buy up whatever they are inform'd is to be sold; insomuch, that many now part with their lands, who did not think of doing it before. If you are weary therefore of your farms in Italy, this is certainly your time of putting them off to advantage, as well as of buying in the provinces, while the candidates are selling there to purchase here.

Farewell.

TO MACRUS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 24.

WHAT a world of difference there is, by whom any thing is perform'd : for the same actions are either extoll'd too high, or prest down too low, by the same or the obscurity of the authors of them. I was sailing upon our Larian lake here, when an old friend of mine shew'd me a villa on the shore, and the very room hanging over the water. Out of that place (says he) did a woman of our borough precipitate herself together with her husband. I inquir'd the cause. Her husband (continues he) stunk with certain ulcers, which from a long disease he had contracted about the privy parts of his body. His wife, than whom none cou'd better judge of that matter, beg'd him to let her inspect the part affected to see if curable; she saw, she despair'd, she exhorted him to dye; and became herself the companion of his death, nay, and was the guide, the example, and the necessary cause of it : for she bound herself with her husband, and so tumbl'd into the lake. I, that am of the same town, never heard of this fact till very lately : not because it is less than the most famous deed of Arria, but because the woman herself is less.

Farewell.

T O F E R O X.

Lib. 7. Ep. 13.

THE same letter informs me, that you study, and that you do not study. I speak riddles — Yes for certain, till I tell you more distinctly what I mean. For it denies that you study, yet is so polite, that none but one who studies cou'd write it; or else happy are you above all mortals if amidst sloth and idleness you can finish such pieces.

Farewell.

T O F A L C O.

Lib. 7. Ep. 22.

WHEN you know who and what my friend is, you'll wonder the less, that I so earnestly prest you to confer upon him the Tribuneship. But now, after you have promis'd me, I am at liberty to tell you his name, and to give you his character. 'Tis CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS, who, whether you regard his rank or his accomplishments, is the ornament of my country. Being nobly born, he abounds in riches, but loves books as if he were born poor. He is a most upright judge, a most indefatigable advocate, and a most faithful friend. When you are better acquainted with the man, who is equal to all honours, to
all

all titles (for I'll say no more of the modestest person in the world) you'll be persuaded 'tis you yourself that have receiv'd the obligation.
Farewell.

T O R U F U S.

Lib. 7. Ep. 25.

O How much does the modesty of learned men, or their love of quiet lessen or obscure their fame! But we, when about to speak any thing in publick or to rehearse, fear only those who have made their studies known: whereas they who hold their tongue perform thus much farther, in that they admire a noble work by their very silence. What I write, I write from experience. TERENTIUS JUNIOR, having most honourably acquitted himself in the horse service, and in the administration of the Province of Narbon, retir'd to his own estate in the country; and preferr'd a most profound tranquillity to the employments that were ready to be heap'd on him. Having invited me to his house, I consider'd him as an understanding head of a family, or as a diligent farmer, being ready to discourse him on those subjects, wherein I thought him most conversant; and I begun so to do, when he by a most learned speech recall'd me to my studies. How accurate every thing! How excellent his Latin! How pure his Greek! For he's so much master of both,

both, that you wou'd always think he excell'd in that language he's actually speaking. How much has he read? How much does he remember? You would swear the man liv'd at Athens, and not in a country seat. But what need of more words? He has increas'd my sollicitude, and makes me stand no less in fear of those retir'd men, who may be reckon'd a sort of farmers, than of those whom I know to be the most learned. I advise you to the same caution: for as in camps, so in letters, you'll find, if you carefully enquire after them, a great many under a rustic habit, who are arm'd at all points, and begirt with a most piercing wit.

Farewell.

T O M A X I M U S .

Lib. 7. Ep. 26.

I Was lately convinc'd by the indisposition of a friend, that we are best when we are sick: for what sick person is disturb'd with avarice or lust? He pursues no amours, he covets no honours, he neglects riches, and, let him leave but ever so little behind him, he has enough. Then he believes there are Gods, and remembers himself to be a man. He envies no body, he admires no body, he despises no body, neither is he curious to hear or is pleas'd even with scandal. His thoughts are wholly set on baths and fountains.

tains. The top of his cares, the top of his wishes is, that, after escaping his distemper, he may become sleek and plump: which is to say, that he resolves to lead an innocent and happy life for the future. What the Philosophers therefore endeavour to teach in many words, nay in many volumes, I can thus briefly prescribe to you and myself; that when we are well, we continue to be such, as we profess our selves resolv'd to be, when we are sick.

Farewell.

TO ROMANUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 8.

HAVE you at any time seen the well of CLITUMNUS? If you have not yet (and I believe not, since otherwise you had told me of it) see it now, as I have done of late, tho' it repents me I was too backward. There rises a gentle hill, shaded with a grove of antient cypress-trees. At the bottom of this hill breaks out the Fountain, issuing by several springs, some greater and some less, and bubbling up makes a basin, which spreading wide appears so clear and transparent, that you may count the chips that are thrown in, and the pebbles that shine at the bottom. From thence the water is protruded not by any declivity of the place, but by its own quantity and weight. This fountain more-
over

Over (that immediately becomes a large river capable of boats, which coming upwards, it forces down again and keeps back) is so impetuous, that tho' it runs on plain ground, it bears along, without the help of oars, whatever is to follow its course. But you can difficultly get against its stream with all the help of oars and poles to boot. Both effects are pleasant enough to those who are on the water for play and pastime, exchanging labour for ease, or ease for labour, just as they change their course. The banks are cover'd with abundance of ash and poplar-trees, which the pellucid river, as if they were drown'd therein, adds by reflection to the number of the green ones above. The coldness of the water may compare with snow, nor is it inferior in colour. Hard by is an antient Temple, held in great veneration. CLITUMNUS himself stands clad in a Pretexta. The lots there shew him to be a present and a prophetic Deity. Several chappels are scatter'd around it, and as many images of the God. Each has its peculiar devotion, with its peculiar name, and some likewise their peculiar wells: for besides the greatest, which is as it were the father of the rest, there are others less, divided in their sources, but united in the river, which is passable by a bridge. This bridge is the bounds of what's sacred and what's profane. 'Tis lawful above it only to sail, but below it, people may also swim. The Hifpellates, on whom AUGUSTUS bestow'd this place,

place, do afford both bathing and lodging for your money. Nor are there wanting country seats, which following the pleasantness of the river, stand on the brink of it. In a word, there's nothing that will not afford you some delight: for you'll study likewise, and read various things by various persons, written on every pillar, on all the walls, to celebrate this Fountain and its God. Most of 'em you'll commend, but some you'll despise; tho' so great is your humanity, that you'll laugh at nothing.

Farewell.

TO URSUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 9.

'TIS a great while since I have taken a book, since I have taken a pen into my hand. 'Tis a great while since I knew what is ease, what repose, what that slothful indeed but delightful thing, to do nothing, to be nothing: so much am I render'd incapable, either to retire or to study by the many affairs of my friends! For no studies are so valuable, as to make us abandon the duty we owe our friends, and which those very studies command us most religiously to observe.

Farewell.

TO MAXIMUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 19.

IN Letters consist both my joy and my comfort : for there's nothing so joyful which by these is not made more joyful, nor any thing so sad, which by these is not made less sad. Having therefore been out of order by the sickness of my wife, the danger of many in my family, and even the death of some ; I have my refuge to books, as the only easers of my grief, they teaching me to understand adversity better, and to bear it more patiently. Now you know it is my way to examine by the judgment of my friends, and particularly by yours, whatever I am about to publish to the world. Do you therefore, if ever, be attentive in correcting the Book you'll receive by this letter ; because I fear, left by occasion of my sadness, I have not been attentive enough my self. I cou'd indeed so far master my grief as to be able to write ; but yet not so far as to do it with an easy and chearful mind ; for as satisfaction from studies, so studies proceed from mirth.

Farewell.

T O G A L L U S.

Lib. 8. Ep. 20.

TH E same things, to know which we begin long journies, and cross the seas, we neglect nearer hand and under our eyes : whether it be that nature has so fram'd us, as to be incurious of what's at home, and covetous of what's remote; or that the desire of every thing grows so much the fainter, as the means of obtaining them become easier; or, finally, that we put off to another time our design of seeing, what's in our power to see as often as we please. Whatever be the cause, there are very many things in our own city, and about it, which we never saw with our eyes, nor ever heard with our ears; yet were the same in Greece, in Egypt, in Asia, or in any other land fruitful of wonders, and valuing it self upon them, we should have heard, and read, and seen them e'er now. Thus I have lately both heard and seen my self, what before I neither heard nor saw. My grandfather in law requested of me, that I would take a turn to visit his farms near Ameria. As I was walking over these, they shew'd me a Lake at the foot of a hill, going by the name of Vadimon, and told me certain incredible things of it at the same time. I went strait to it. The lake is as round as a wheel lying on the ground, equal on all sides,

no creek, no bay; but every thing proportioned, even, and as if they had been hollowed and scoopt out by the hand of an artist. The colour of the water is lighter than blue, and deeper than green; the smell of it is sulphurous, the taste medicinal, and the virtue of it is to consolidate fractures. It occupies but a small space, yet large enough to feel the force of the winds, and to have its surges swell'd by the same. There is no boat upon it (for it is sacred) but certain grassy Islands all floating in it, all defended with reeds and rushes, and such other things as grow in fertile marshes, or at the extremities of this very lake. Each of these islands has its proper figure and motion. The margins of all are bare, because that being frequently struck against the shore, or one another, they reciprocally wear and are worn. They are all equally high, and equally light; for their roots fall slanting into the water, after the manner of a keel. This figure may be observed on all sides, they being sunk and suspended in the same water. Sometimes they are join'd and coupl'd together, and resemble the continent: at other times they are separated by opposite gusts of wind; and not seldom floating singly, when the water's in a gentle motion. The smaller often lye by the sides of the greater, as lighters do by ships; and the greater and the less are often in such a motion, as if they strove together,

or ran a race. Being driven back again into the same place from whence they set out, they enlarge the ground; and sometimes on this side, and sometimes on that, they lessen or increase the lake, and then only leave the compass of it entire when they keep in the middle. 'Tis well known, that cattle following the grass, are wont to get upon those islands, mistaking them for the utmost bank, without perceiving the ground to be moveable till they are separated from the shore, and then grow afraid of the water all around them, as if they were ship'd and transported; but soon getting out, as the wind happens to drive them, they no more perceive, when they come ashore, than when they went aboard. The same lake discharges it self into a river, which, after being visible a little while to the eye, is swallowed into a cave, and runs deep underground, and whatever's received by it before this descent, it preserves and brings out again at the other issue. I have written these things to you, as supposing them not less unknown nor less agreeable to you, than they were to my self; for nothing more delights you as well as me, than the works of nature.

Farewell.

TO GEMINUS.

Lib. 8. Ep. 22.

HAVE you not observ'd such, as being slaves to all manner of lusts, are yet so angry with the vices of others, as if they envy'd them; and most grievously punish such as they most diligently imitate: when nothing is more becoming even those than lenity, who stand in need of no body's clemency. And indeed I look upon that man as the best and most faultless, who pardons others as if he always err'd; but yet so abstains from errors, as if he wou'd never pardon. Let us therefore hold this as a maxim both at home and abroad, as well as in every condition of life, that we be implacable towards ourselves; but easily reconcil'd, even to those who cannot forgive any but themselves: and let us fix in our memory what THRASEA the mildest, and for this very reason, the greatest of men, was frequently wont to say, *who hates vices, hates men*. You'll be curious perhaps to know, what mov'd me to write this. A certain person of late — But we'll discourse of this more to the purpose when we meet; tho' now that I think better of it, not then neither: for I am afraid, lest telling that which I blame others for practising, censuring, reporting, should be repugnant to the virtue I so earnestly inculcate. Who therefore, or what-

Whatsoever he be, let him be forgot in silence: since to make him remarkable, might shew some example; but not to make him so, shews much more humanity.

Farewell.

TO AUGURINUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 8.

IF now I begin to praise you after being prais'd by you, I am afraid lest I should be thought not so much to speak my own judgment, as to return you thanks. But tho' I should be thought so to do, I esteem all your writings nevertheless to be very fine, and those to be the finest that treat of us. This proceeds from one and the same cause: for you write best when you write of your friends, and I read as best of all what concerns myself.

Farewell.

TO TACITUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 14.

YOU neither applaud yourself, nor do I write more out of respect, than as the subject itself requires. Whether posterity will have any regard for us, I know not, but certainly we deserve it should have some: I will not say for our wit (since that were

arrogant) but for our study, diligence, and even our desire to please posterity. Let us only persist in the course we have begun, for tho' it has advanc'd but few to glory and fame, yet it has deliver'd a great many from forgetfulness and silence.

TO LATERANUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 27.

I Have often before, but especially of late, perceiv'd how great is the power, how great the dignity, how great the majesty, nay, how great is the divinity of History. A certain person was publicly rehearsing a book full of truth, and reserved part of it for another day. Hereupon the friends of somebody came begging and praying him, not to proceed with his rehearsal: so much asham'd are they of hearing what they did, who had no shame in doing what they blush to hear. The author however granted their request, for he had not given his word to read the rest. But the book, like the deed itself, does still remain, as it will for the future, and be read in all ages, so much the more because not straight publish'd: for men grow impatient to discover those things, that are kept back from their knowledge.

Farewell.

TO

TO RUSTICUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 29.

AS it is more eligible to do any one thing in perfection, than many things indifferently; so it is to do many things indifferently, if you cannot do any one in perfection. This consideration has induc'd me to make a tryal of my abilities in various kinds of studies, having not confidence enough to confine myself to any in particular: and therefore when you read this or that thing of mine, you'll so pardon every one, as not being the only one. Shall the number of pieces be an excuse in the other arts, and the condition of studies continue more severe, where it is more difficult to succeed? But what do I talk of pardon, as if I were on the sudden grown ungrateful? For if you receive these last performances with the same courtesy that you did those I sent before, I may rather expect praise than pardon; tho' I for my part am well content with the latter.

Farewell.

TO GEMINUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 30.

YOU do very often in person, as now by letter, praise your friend NONIUS to

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me,

me, for being liberal to some people : and I likewise praise him, provided it be not to them only. For I will have him, that is truly liberal, give to his country, to his kindred, to his wife's relations, to his friends, but I mean to his poor friends ; not as they, who chiefly present those, that are most able to present again. I look upon such not to give away their own, but by their gifts (cover'd over with hooks and birdlime) to catch the goods of others. They are much of the same disposition, who take away from one what they give to another, and so court the fame of liberality by avarice. But the first thing to be done towards this, is to be content with one's own ; as the next is, to become a sort of confederate by turns with him, who maintains and cherishes such as you know are truly in want. All which if NONIUS does, he's without doubt to be commended ; if only any one of 'em, he's less indeed, but still to be commended : so rare a thing is even an example of imperfect liberality ! All men are seiz'd with such a vehement desire of having, that they may seem rather to be possess'd than to possess.

Farewell.

TO TITIANUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 32.

WHAT are you doing? What are you about to do? I lead a most pleasant, that

that is, a most idle life. For this reason I would willingly read, but not write, long letters; the one as being idle, the other as being indolent: for nothing's more slothful than your indolent, or more curious than your idle folks.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 33.

I Have happen'd upon a true subject, but very like a fiction, and worthy of that most luxuriant, most profound, and truly poetical genius of yours. You must understand that I happen'd upon it, as sitting at supper one and another were relating diverse wonderfull things. Great is the sincerity of the relator: tho' I may ask, what is sincerity to a Poet? Yet the relator is such as you would not scruple to credit, were you even writing a history. In Africa is the colony of Hippo, near the sea, and nearer to the town is a navigable lake, out of which there runs a gut like a river, which, as the tide happens to ebb or flow, is by turns carry'd off to the sea or restor'd back to the lake. Those of all years are busy'd in this place, as they delight in fishing, or sailing, or swimming: but especially the boys, who are allur'd hither by play or idleness. To swim in the deepest water is among these matter of glory and cou-

rage; and he's victor who leaves farthest behind him both the shore and his fellow swimmers. In this contention a certain boy, bolder than the rest, swam far beyond them; a Dolphin meets him, now gets before him, now follows him, next wheels round him, lastly gets under him, slides him off, comes under him again, and carries him all trembling first towards the sea, then presently turns towards the shore, and restores him to the land and to his companions. The fame of this thing spreads thro' the colony: all run together, and look upon the boy himself as a miracle; they ask him questions, they hear him answer, they report all again. Next day they flock to the shore, they look towards the sea, or any thing that's like the sea. The boys fall to swimming, he among the rest, but with more caution. The dolphin comes again at his usual time, and approaches the boy. He flies with the others. The dolphin, as if he were inviting and calling him back, frisks above water, dives again, and dexterously performs diverse wheelings and turnings. The like he did the second day, and the third, and several other days, till the shame of fearing seiz'd upon those men bred to the sea: they come near him therefore, they play to him, and they call upon him; at last they likewise touch him, and handle him, he tamely suffering it all the while. This experiment encreases their boldness. The boy especially, who made the first tryal, swims towards the
dolphin

dolphin as he was swimming, he leaps upon his back, is carry'd and return'd, believes himself to be known and belov'd by him, and loves the creature on his part, neither of them fearing nor being fear'd. The boldness of the one and the tameness of the other encreases, while the other boys swim on the right and the left, encouraging and directing them. There accompany'd him (which is likewise a wonder) another dolphin, as if he were a spectator and comrade: for he neither did nor suffer'd any thing like the other; but came and departed with him, as the boys did with the other boy. It looks incredible (yet is as true as the rest) that this dolphin, the play-fellow and carrier of the boys, us'd to be drawn upon the shore, and, growing dry upon the sands in the heat of the day, to be rowl'd back again into the sea. 'Tis also well known, that OCTAVIUS AVITUS, the Legate of the Proconsul, did, out of superstition, as he was thus lying on the shore, pour a certain ointment upon him, frightn'd by the novelty and smell of which he fled into the deep; nor was he seen till after many days he appear'd languid and sorrowful, yet soon recovering his strength, he repeated his former tricks and services. The magistrates flock'd from all quarters to behold the sight, by whose coming and stay this small republick was burthen'd with new expences: and last of all the place itself lost its former quiet and privacy. They agreed therefore to make away secretly
with

with the cause of this confluence. With what compassion, with what exuberance will you bewail, adorn, and elevate these particulars! tho' you are under no necessity of feigning or adding, since it will be sufficient if the things that are true be no way diminish'd.

Farewell.

TO SATURNINUS.

Lib. 9. Ep. 38.

I Must commend our friend RUFUS, not because you intreated me so to do, but because he most highly deserves it: for I have read over his Book, perfect in all respects; tho' the love I bear him made it so much the more agreeable. I judg'd however as I read: for they are not the only Critics who read to find fault.

Farewell,





A NEW
DESCRIPTION
OF
EPSOM,
WITH THE
HUMOURS and POLITICKS
of the Place:
IN A LETTER TO
EUDOXIA.

*Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter & situs agri:
Continui montes, nisi dissocientur opacâ
Valle; sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat sol,
Lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.*

Hor. Epist. 16. lib. 1.

MADAM,



INCE the place in which I pass
the summer was thought fit, on a
certain occasion you remember, to
be compared with my mistress, who
makes it summer wherever she is; you desire,
that

that as I shew'd you the picture of the one, I would likewise send you a description of the other, and as like the original as may be. The right you have to every thing that is mine, makes this request a command; and therefore without any further difficulty or apology (ceremonies inconsistent with rural simplicity) be pleas'd to receive it as taken from the life at one sitting. But the performance is not so easy, especially in the manner, as is the promise of a thing. I am not ignorant, that you think correctness and elegance of stile as necessary to set off the plainest truth, as neatness of dress and politeness of manners are to recommend the most beautiful woman: a flatteringly negligence, or a tawdry affectation, being no less disgusting in the one than in the other. Yet as there are several sorts of beauties, each having their peculiar charms, it is just so with writing. You know (without being one of those they call Virtuoso-Ladies) that there's the low and the sublime, the epistolary, the historical, the oratorical stile, with many other such differences. And in this Letter I fancy you'll easily agree, the stile ought to be a little luxuriant, like the subject it self. Nay you have enjoin'd me as a task, to be rather turgid than simple in a piece of serious amusement, where, you say, I ought to shew my self more a Poet than a Historian, yet still keeping close to the truth of the latter. Besides, that even unerring nature puts on her gayest apparel in

May,

May, and teaches us her children, by the example of the trees, of the plants, of the birds, and of every object that presents it self to our senses, to delight in the same innocent variety; particularly in prospects, landscapes, and the descriptions of extraordinary places, such as I am now going to do my self the honour of sending you.

EPSOM (1), a village in the county of Surrey, much frequented for its most healthy Air and excellent mineral Waters, is distant about fourteen Italian miles from London-bridge, and twelve from Fox-hall. It is deliciously situated in a warm even bottom, antiently call'd Flower-dale, between the finest Downs in the world on one side (taking their name from the village of Bansted seated on their very ridge) and certain clay-hills on the other side, which are variously checquer'd with
woods

(1) The old Saxon name of this place was EBBESHEIM, which is to say *Ebba's home* or Palace, so called from EBBBA, a Queen of this country: as afterwards EBBISHAM and EB'S-HAM, the corrupt pronunciation of this last word occasioning the present name of EPSOM. Surrey, and Suffex, with part of Hampshire, made up the Kingdom of the South Saxons, founded by the valiant ELLA, next after that of Kent, and continued in his posterity to ETHELWOLF, the first Christian King, whose Queen was EBBBA, of whom THOMAS RUDBORNE, who wrote in the time of HENRY III. thus speaks in his *Manuscript Chronicle* in the COTTON Library (Nero A. 17.) *Regina vero nomine Ebbe in sua, id est Wiccianorum provincia, fuerat baptizata. Erat autem GUSTRIDI filia, fratris RUHERI, qui ambo cum suo populo Christiani fuerunt.* Guilford was the summer residence of the South Saxon Kings.

woods and groves of oak, ash, elm, and beech, with both the poplars, the intoxicating yew, and the florid white-beam. The wyche-tree, the withy, the horn-beam, the bird-feeding quicken-tree, and the correcting birch, are not wanting. I need not mention the numberless copses of hazel, thorn, holly, maple, and other trees and shrubs of dwarfish growth, that agreeably diversify all this country: nor that, for the most part, they are amorously claspt in the twining embraces of ivy and honey-suckles. The Downs, being cover'd with grass finer than Persian carpets, and perfum'd with wild thyme and juniper, run thirty miles in length, tho' under different appellations, from Croydon to Farnham: and for sheep-walks, riding, hunting, racing, shooting, with games of most sorts for exercise of the body or recreation of the mind, and a perpetual chain of villages within a mile of each other beneath, they are no where else to be parallel'd. The form of this our village, as seen from thence, is exactly semicircular; beginning with a Church, and ending with a Palace: or, lest our stile here shou'd offend you, MADAM, it has a Palace for its head, and a Church for its tail. Mr. WHISTLER's far-conspicuous grove makes, as it were, a beautiful knot in the middle: as the road from thence to Wood-cote-green, may be call'd Midway-street. EPSOM never misses of the eastern or western Sun, and is about a mile in length; the arca, within
the

the bending of the bow or half-moon, being a spacious plain of corn-fields, sown with every grain, and opening full to the downs. To these ever-green mountains of chalk you may out of every house insensibly ascend, without as much as a hedge to obstruct the air or the passage. Indeed the risings are many times so easy, that you find your self got to the top, without perceiving that you were mounting. From the circumference of the semicircle there branch out two or three pleasant lanes, being the extremities of the roads which lead to the town, from the slow declivities of the neighbouring hills. These are prefer'd to the principal street by such as are lovers of silence and retirement; and are known by the names of Clay-hill, Newinn-lane, and Woodcote-green, in which last place your humble servant has his hermitage. There are other alleys and outlets of meaner note. Among them I don't reckon the avenue leading up the hill to Durdans, the Palace I just now mention'd; nor yet Hudson's-lane, which I remember for the sake of Epfom-court, that antient Saxon (2) seat (long since converted into a farm) the mother and
original

(2) In old writings its likewise call'd Ebbysham-place; now only a great name, and nothing more to be seen, but an oblong square area rais'd higher than the other ground, on the south-east of the house. Abundance of wrought stone, of Roman bricks and tiles are often dug up about the farm: and some of the fields do yet preserve the name of a Park.

original of our subject. Now, all these by-places are so separated from each other by fields, meadows, hedge-rows, plantations, orchards and the like, that they seem to be so many distinct little villages, uniting into one considerable town at the large street, in the middle of which stands the watch-house. As I wish to see this last a more stately edifice; so I long to have the whole space about it, from the new-Parade down to the Spread-eagle, neatly pitch'd: considering that flint-stones are so near, so plentiful, and so cheap.

Several persons, who have chosen this sweet place of EPSOM for their constant abode, are distinguish'd from the rest by their habitations, as they are either by their birth or fortunes. As Sir JOHN WARD'S house on Clay-hill, Sir EDWARD NORTHEY'S on Woodcote-green, and Mr. ROTH'S in New-inn-lane, whose canal on the top of a hill, with the soft walks on both sides, and the green mounts at each end, are very delightful. But among several other such houses, I shall make particular mention only of two. The first of these is Durdans, twice already mention'd; tho' the place is so well known, that I need not say any thing to set off the grove, or the house, or the situation. But it were to be wished, that the right honourable the Lord GUILFORD, owner, would on the eminence (which bounds his noble avenue from the downs) erect a stone Pillar inscrib'd TO HEALTH AND LIBERTY,

as the air is the most pure in that place, and unconfined, that can be. This pillar, after the manner of the antients, will also serve for a point of view according to the modern way: and will be no less beneficial to the town, nor less obliging to the company that frequent it, than ornamental to Durdans. Round the basis should be a seat of the same stone for the Ladies, who own they have for some time left off their laudable old custom of walking on the downs: not out of laziness or love to gaming, as they are scandalously aspers'd; but, as they themselves more truly affirm, from the want of a resting place on this charming spot, by them call'd Mount Amoret. Nor seems indeed this spot to be of common earth, but rather magic ground; for the persons who have not walk'd three evenings and three mornings (at the least) upon Mount Amoret, must not promise themselves any good from the air of Epsom: neither husbands, if they are maids; nor, if batchelors, wives. The same is as true of the mount in Ashted Park, yet with this difference; that if there you take your rounds either on horseback, or in a coach, then both the virtue of the place, and the merit of all your actions, will prove without any effect. The gladiator, in the middle of it, kindly warns you of the danger. Not the high-tufted trees nor the short-bitten lawns, not the gloomy coverts nor the lightsome glades, not the open prospects of APOLLO,

nor the retired walks of DIANA can avail you any thing, if you survey 'em not all on foot.

The other house in Epsom that requires a special mention, is Mount Difton, so nam'd from the owner, and from the round hillock near adjoining, which, rising gently on all sides in a conic figure, terminates on the summit in a circle, which is a hundred foot diameter, and divided into four equal quarters. The round and cross walks of this circle are turf'd, and those triangular quarters planted with trees; which, after they are grown to their full height, will make a stately landmark over all this country. But tho' nothing seems more pleasing to the eye, than the near prospect of the town, or the distant prospect quite around, yet you mount still higher nine and twenty steps into an arbour or pavilion, on the top of an oak, that grows in the very edge of the circle, and whence your view is every way proportionably enlarg'd. Up to this circle there comes a double walk, divided by a range of trees from the best garden, yet of very easy ascent, three hundred and fifty five foot, which I call the north walk: and at the other end, there comes up to it likewise from the reservoir the south walk, three hundred and seventy foot; in both which the slopes seem wonderfully natural, yet artfully contrived. At the foot of the mount is a cross walk, from north-east to south-west, two hundred and ten foot, open at each end thro' handsom grills; and from
the

the court before the house there goes a walk from north-west to south-east, five hundred and fifty five foot, including the breadth of the court. Behind the house is a magnificent double Terrass, the middle of each being gravel, and turf on the sides, (which may be adorn'd with ever-green dwarfs) three hundred foot long; and the semi-circular slope, with proper squares, in the middle of this terrass, is eighty foot broad: to which you ascend out of the garden ten steps, being five steps to each terrass, and then ten steps more from the upper terrass into the house; all these steps, as well as those in the fore-court, being of excellent Portland stone. From the terrass, which I have said is three hundred foot long, there is continued in a straight line over the side of the mount, directly towards the downs, a walk finely turf'd, as are all the rest (except one private sand walk, and one gravel-walk) six hundred and fifty foot. And it must be acknowledg'd that Mr. ACKRES, in laying out this hill, wherein nature was the chief guide that he followed, has done justice to his art: nor is it to be doubted, but his genius will still appear with greater advantage in the garden as soon as he goes about it; there being not a more beautiful or convenient piece of ground for such a use any where. Let others judge as they please of the house and the conveniences about it, I shall confine my self to the peculiar objects of my own delight, which will add not a little to the pleasures of this place.

But remembering, MADAM, that I am to describe a village, and not a single house, I must needs say, that even the Houses of the very townsmen are every where mighty neat, built most of 'em after the newest manner, and extremely convenient, being purposely contrived for the entertainment of strangers, and therefore beautify'd by the owners to the utmost of their ability, to which the ruins of Nonfuch-palace have not a little contributed. The fronts are adorn'd throughout with rows of elm or lime-trees, in many places artificially wreathed into verdant Porticos, cut into variety of figures, and close enough wrought to defend those, who sit under such hospitable shades, from the injuries of the sun and the rain. Here sometimes breakfast and supper are taken, as at other times a chearful glass and a pipe: for these vegetable canopies, in the very heat of the day, yield a grateful and refreshing coolness, by the fanning breezes they collect from the delicate air of the downs. The finest of 'em all is that which shades the pav'd terrass in the centre of the town, extended quite along before the chief tavern and coffee-house. By the conversation of those, who walk there, you wou'd fancy your self to be this minute on the Exchange, and the next minute at St. James's; one while in an East-India factory or a West-India plantation, and another while with the army in Flanders or on board the fleet in the ocean. Nor is there any profes-

sion,

sion, trade, or calling, that you can miss of here, either for your instruction or for your diversion. Fronting this our Forum (as I may well call it) there is another of these shades, lately wrought over a pav'd walk of considerable length, which I just now call'd the New Parade. Behind the houses are handson tho' not large Gardens, generally furnish'd with pretty walks, and planted with variety of fallads and fruit-trees; which in several of 'em are all left free for the Lodgers. Such as neglect their gardens, find their error in the emptincis of their rooms, as I wish they ever may. Thus when you are on the top of the downs, 'tis one of the loveliest prospects imaginable, to view in the (3) vale below such an agreeable mixture of trees and buildings, that a stranger is at a loss to know (as it has been observ'd of my beloved city Leyden in Holland) whether it be a town in a wood, or a wood in a town.

One thing is wanting, and happy is the situation that wants no more! For in this place, (notwithstanding the medicinal Waters, and sufficient of sweeter for domestic use) are not to be heard the precipitant murmurs of impetuous cascades; there are no purling streams in our groves to temper

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(3) This valley of Flower-Dale divides Walton and Hedley, and ends about a mile below Epsom, butting upon a hill on the other side Ewell river.

the shrill notes of the warbling choristers, whose never-ceasing concerts exceed BONONCINI and CORELLI: the woods are not frequented by the unhappy, that they may listen to the soft whispers of some gentle rivulet to beguile and mitigate their cares; the vallies are not divided by the curling waves, and sporting whirl-pools of rapid rivers; neither are the flowry meads reviv'd by gliding meanders, cool bubbling springs, or stagnant lakes. I leave you to guess, whether in these periods I design'd to show how well read I am in bombast-romance, or rather to refresh the heated imagination, by exhibiting the various images under which water naturally delights us in the country. Ewell, an antient market-town within an easy mile, has a most plentiful spring, the head of a crystal brook; capable, were it here, to furnish a thousand ornaments and conveniences. And I am perswaded from physical reasons, that the digging a trench of a reasonable depth, for a quarter of a mile (along the rivulet over Epsom-court-meadows) from the now-uncertain springs in Church-street, would quickly produce a stream, that in three quarters of a mile farther should fall in with the other, and give it the more dignify'd name of Epsom-river. But this present defect (for I augurate an approaching remedy) is amply recompens'd by every thing besides.

The two rival Bowling-greens are not to be forgot, on which all the company by turns,
after

after diverting themselves in the morning according to their different fancies, make a gallant appearance every evening (especially on Saturdays and Mondays) musick playing most of the day, and dancing sometimes crowning the night: as every new comer is awaken'd out of his sleep the first morning, by the same music, which goes to welcome them to Epsom. The Ladies, to show their innate inclination to variety, are constantly tripping from one green to the other; and the Men are not more sure to follow 'em, than glad of the occasion, to excuse their own no less propensity to change.

Here the British beauties, like so many animated stars, shine in their brightest lustre; not half so much by their precious jewels and costly apparel, as by the more pointed glories of their eyes. Here every old man wishes himself young again, and the heart of every youth is captivated at once and divided between a thousand deserving charms. A fairer circle was never seen at Baiæ or Cumæ of old, nor of late at Carels-bad or Aix-la-chapelle, than is to be admir'd on both the Greens and in both the Long-rooms on a public day. If the German baths outnumber us in Princesses, we outshine 'em in Nymphs and Goddeses, to whom their Princes wou'd be proud to pay adoration. But not to dissemble any thing, bountiful nature has likewise provided us with other faces and shapes, I may add, with another set of dress, speech, and behavior (not

to mention ages) ordain'd to quench the cruel flames, or to damp the inordinate desires, which the young, the handsome, and the accomplish'd, might undefignedly kindle: so necessary is an antidote to love, where the disease is so catching and so fatal!

In the raffish shops are lost more hearts than guineas, tho' CUPID be no where so liberal as in England. And the greatest order, that in such cases can be expected (however to me it be a rout) is preserv'd at the gaming-tables of every kind; where it is very diverting for a stander by to observe the different humors and passions of both sexes, which discover themselves with less art and reserve at play, than on any other occasion. There you'll see a sparkish young fellow of twenty five, sitting right over a blooming beauty of eighteen, but so intent on gain and the dice, that he never exchanges a word or a look with her: while a little lower you may smile at an old hunk, that loves his mony as well as any in the city, yet losing it as fast as he plays, by having his eyes wholly off his cards, and fixt on a green girl of thirteen, that cares as little for any man there, as he does for his wife at home. The rude, the sullen, the noisy, and the affected, the peevish, the covetous, the litigious, and the sharpening, the proud, the prodigal, the impatient, and the impertinent, become visible foils to the well-bred, prudent, modest, and good humour'd, in the eyes of all impartial beholders. Our Doc-
tors,

tors, instead of prescribing the waters for the vapors or the spleen, order their patients to be assiduous at all public meetings; knowing that (if they be not themselves of the number) they'll find abundant occasion to laugh at bankrupt fortune-hunters, crazy or superannuated beaux, marry'd coquets, intriguing prudes, richly drest waiting maids, and complimenting footmen. But being convinc'd, MADAM, that you dislike a malicious insinuation, as much as you approve an instructive hint, I abstain from all particular characters; sparing even those, who spare none but themselves.

From this account it is plain we are not quite in Heaven here, tho' we may justly be said to be in Paradise: a place cohabited by innocence and guilt, by folly and fraud, from the beginning. The judicious EUDOKA will naturally conclude, that such a concourse of all ranks of people, must needs fill the shops with most sorts of useful and substantial wares, as well as with finer goods, fancies, and toys. The Taverns, the Inns, and the Coffee-houses answer the resort of the place. And I must do our coffee-houses the justice to affirm, that for social virtue they are equal'd by few, and exceeded by none, tho' I wish they may be imitated by all. A Tory does not stare and leer when a Whig comes in, nor a Whig look sour and whisper at the sight of a Tory. These distinctions are laid by with the winter suit at London, and a gayer easier habit worn in the country:
even

even foreigners have no reason to complain of being ill receiv'd in this part of the Island.

Religion, that was design'd to calm, does not ruffle mens tempers by irreligious wranglings: nor does our moderation appear by rude invectives against persons we do not know, no more than our charity does consist in fixing odious characters on such as unwillingly dissent from us. But, if at any time we must needs deal in extremes, then we prefer the quiet good-natur'd Hypocrite to the implacable turbulent Zealot of any kind. In plain terms, we are not so fond of any set of notions, as to think 'em more important than the peace of society. Curst be those Priests and Politicians (as they are sure to fall sooner or later a victim to good sense) who so industriously propagate discord and inhumanity in Britain! while in Holland (for example) tho' they differ, as all men must unavoidably do, in their sentiments of many things in Religion, and that they have opposite interests in the state; yet this is so far from exasperating, that it renders them more remarkably civil, as the certainest means to gain on each others persuasion, or at least on their good opinion. They are not brand-ed there for their Creeds, nor their Faith ridiculously sollicit-ed with promises of favor or preferment; which wou'd be an infallible method to bring all persons void of honor or conscience to make an open profession of their national religion, and then (what's worst
of

of all) to cover their insincerity with the furious pretext of zeal. Private advantage (believe me) but not the fear of God or the love of man, is the adequate, the true, the only source both of Hypocrisy and Persecution: for a real persuasion is as far from needing any such interested baits, as an aversion to mens persons for the sake of their opinions is from being a mark of judgment or grace. Neither ecclesiastical savageness, nor political enthusiasm, follow these our best allies from the coffee-house to the tavern, nor from the exchange to their own tables, no, nor even to church itself: and the man, of what color or profession soever, wou'd be counted no less unmannerly than strangely assuming, that shou'd prescribe to another what company he ought to keep. His own after that wou'd be no longer coveted, nor indeed easily admitted. And I doubt not but some such magisterial sawciness of old, was the original of a present wise custom, which makes it scandalous for a sort of men (I will not name out of respect) to be seen in taverns or coffee-houses. This makes all people easy. No dictators, no informers. The Dutch (in a word) are so intermix'd and intermarry'd, that you can never guess at their sect or party by public conversation; and, to do it, you must follow a man to his chapel or to his closet: for all promiscuous discourses on these subjects, are manag'd with the same cheerfulness and indifference, that they do any other topics.

pics. If we must needs emulate the Dutch, for heaven sake let's do it in these laudable respects, and not foolishly damn 'em for being more industrious than our selves. In the mean time, let the wise and well-meaning, the able and honest of all denominations, heartily join together to carry on the public cause, and mutually bear with one another's incurable differences or infirmities, becoming in this last respect perfect *Interpendants*. Let free-born Britons be the common designation for the future; and no distinction be known among us, but only of such as are for civil liberty, toleration, and the protestant succession, and of such others as are for absolute slavery, persecution, and a popish pretender.

A just indignation at our senseless quarrels has extorted this censure, like some episode in a Poem. But (that I may not digress too far, tho' in a place where you may ramble long enough without fearing to lose your way) I am pretty sure I shall be forgiven this transport for Unity by our Governor himself. So we usually call, MADAM, a Gentleman of our society here, that for good humor, good breeding, and good living, is esteem'd by all those who possess or understand these qualities. He's a profest enemy to all party-disputes, he's the arbiter of all differences; and in promoting the interest of this town, which he has frequented for many years, 'tis plain that he looks upon virtue as its own reward. His choice of the place is

of a piece with his judgment in every thing : for as England is the plentifullest country on earth, so no part of it is supply'd with more diversity of the best provisions, both from within itself and from the adjacent villages, than Epsom. The nearness of London does in like manner afford it all the exotic preparatives and allurements to luxury, whenever any is dispos'd to make a sumptuous banquet, or to give a genteel collation. You wou'd think yourself in some enchanted camp, to see the peasants ride to every house with the choicest fruits, herbs, roots, and flowers, with all sorts of tame and wild fowl, with the rarest fish and venison, and with every kind of butcher's meat, among which Bansted-down mutton is the most relishing dainty.

Thus to see the fresh and artless damsels of the plain, either accompany'd by their amorous swains or aged parents, striking their bargains with the nice court and city Ladies, who, like Queens in a Tragedy, display all their finery on benches before their doors (where they hourly censure, and are censur'd) and to observe, how the handsomest of each degree equally admire, envy, and cozen one another, is to me one of the chief amusements of the place. The Ladies who are too lazy or too stately, but especially those that sit up late at play, have their provisions brought to their bed-side, where they conclude the bargain ; and then (perhaps after a dish of Chocolate) take t'other nap, till what
they

they have thus bought is got ready for dinner. Yet these rounds of the Haglers (which I would have by no means abolish'd, and which may be call'd a travelling market) are not incompatible with a daily fix'd Market in the middle of the town, not only as a farther entertainment for the Ladies, who love occasions of coming together, no less than the men, but likewise because a greater choice of every thing may be had there, and at all hours, than possibly can be at their doors: nor would it be more advantageous to the meaner sort for cheapness, than convenient for the neighbouring Gentry on many accounts.

The new fair during the Easter holy-days, and that on the twenty fourth of July, are as yet of little moment, tho' capable in time to be highly improv'd. Even VENUS had a mole; and gossipping is the greatest objection I have ever heard made to E R- S O M. But besides that this is common to it, with all places of narrow compass, especially places of public resort: so, next to not deserving any censure at all, the best remedy is, not to mind the unavoidable chat of idle people, who are generally sufferers in the end. But what fence is there any where against ignorance and prejudice? When I have known at Hampstead some house-keepers so silly, as to let their rooms stand empty, rather than to fill them with Jews: tho' these people are known to give as good rates as any other whatsoever, and that they are as

ready to promote all the diversions of the place. Yet, tho' ignorance and prejudice, as I said, do thrive amain every where in the world; so wise men will ever be easy in spite of both.

So much for the Town. Nor is my pleasure diminish'd by excursions out of it: for no where has nature indulg'd her self in grateful variety, more than in this canton. The old Wells at half a mile's distance, which formerly us'd to be the meeting place in the forenoon, are not at present so much in vogue; the waters, they say, being found as good within the village, and all diversions in greater perfection. The view from the fertile Common in which they lye, is, as from every elevation hereabouts, wonderfully delightful; especially so distinct a prospect of London at so great a distance. But the fortuitous cure of a leprous shepherd (an origin attributed to these in common with other such Wells) appears even hence to be fabulous, that they have never since had the like effect: tho' otherwise these aluminous waters are experienc'd to be very beneficial in gently cleansing the (4) body, in cooling the head, and purifying the blood; the salt, that is chymically made of 'em, being famous over all Europe. Yet the cold Bath, lately erected on the bottom of this pretended miracle, meets with as little encouragement, as the old story it self does with belief; it not being the fashion in this, as in some other countries, to have all salutiferous

Waters

(4) *Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo. Hor. Epist. 16. lib. 1.*

waters under the inspection of the parson, or the protection of a saint. The hunting of a Pig there every monday morning, when the only knack consists in catching and holding him up by the tail, is infinitely more becoming the boys that perform it, than the spectators that employ 'em. As for a cold Bath, Ewell would by much be the properest place; since, by reason of the spring, the water may not only be chang'd for every new comer, but a basin be likewise made adapted for swimming, which on such occasions was the practice of the antients.

But to shift our scenes: from the Ring on the most eminent part of the Downs, where I have often counted above sixty coaches on a Sunday evening, and whence the painter must take his view when he represents Epsom, you may distinctly see nine or ten counties in whole or in part. Besides the imperial city of London, very many considerable towns, and an infinite number of country-seats, you also see the two Royal Palaces of Windsor and Hampton-Court. Within a mile and a half is the place, and only the place, where that other splendid Palace of Nonfuch (5) lately stood: a fit subject of reflection for those, who are inclined to moralize on the frailty, uncertainty, and vicissitude of all things. You may from thence, further perceive with your glass, the ruins
of

(5) A great part of it stood in my own time, and I have spoken with those that saw it entire.

of the most antient Palace of Eltham in Kent, and that of Oatlands in this same county of Surry; where was likewise the Saxon Royal seat of Croydon, the modern one of Richmond, the royal manor of Wokeing, with several more of this rank, which shews the good taste of our former Kings. But not to quit our Downs for any court, the great number of Gentlemen and Ladies, that take the air every evening and morning on horseback, and that range either singly or in separate companies over every hill and dale, is a most entertaining object. You can never miss of it on the fine grounds of the new orbicular Race, which may well be term'd a rural Cirque. The four-mile course over the Warrenhouse to Carfalton, a village abounding in delicious springs as much as we want 'em, seldom likewise fails to afford me this pleasure: having all the way in my eye (like some cynosure) the tufted trees of the old Roman fortification (6) Burrough, properly situated to crown the downs, and once in my opinion reigning over all the groves. I except not that of Durdans famous for love, nor even Ashsted-mount the mansion of the graces. Sutton and Cheam, tho' not too low, are yet in

VOL. II.

H

winter

(6) I am not the first that made BURGH a Roman fortress; for, in the posthumous edition of Dr. GALE's *Annotations on ANTONINE'S Itinerary*, it will be found there were Roman Garrisons, not only at Burrough (call'd by the Saxons Burgh from the old fort) but likewise at Ben'sbury by Wimbledon, at Gatton, and such other advantageous posts near the city NOVIOMAGUM or Woodcote-warren.

winter too (7) dirty; as Walton and Hedley are both too windy, too (8) woody, and therefore in summer too close.

This I insert for your information, noblest CHERUSCUS, to whom I'm confident EUDOKA will communicate this Letter; since you have wisely resolv'd (as you do every thing) to purchase a summer retreat, cost what it will, somewhere in this neighbourhood. But whether you gently step over my favorite Meadows, planted on all sides quite to (9) Woodcot-seat, in whose long grove I ofteneft converse with my self: or that you walk further on to Ashted-house and Park, the sweetest spot of ground in our British world: or ride still further to the enchanting prospect of Box-hill, that temple of nature, no where else to be equal'd for affording so surprizing and magnificent an idea both of heaven and earth: whether you lose yourself in the aged yew-groves of Mickle-ham, as the river Mole does hide itself in the (10) Swallows beneath, or that you had rather try your
patience

(7) The dirtiness of Cheam is not the fault of the place, which is naturally dry, but proceeds from the negligence of the inhabitants; from which imputation, I wish Epsom it self were wholly free.

(8) This objection is not like to continue long, since so many woods have been fell'd and grubb'd up of late, that the country is rather in danger of being left too bare: tho' the raising of wood for timber, or fuel, or shelter, or ornament, be the easiest thing in the world; and that we are no less bound to make this provision for posterity, than our Ancestors have done it for us.

(9) It belongs to the right honourable the Lord BALTIMORE.

(10) See the description of Box-hill.

patience in angling for trouts about Leather-head: whether you go to some cricket-match and other prizes of contending villagers, or chuse to breath your horse at a (11) Race, and to follow a pack of hounds in the proper season: whether, I say, you delight in any or every one of these, EPSOM is the place you must like before all (12) others.

I that love the country entirely, and to partake in some measure of most diversions (except gaming) have fixt my residence here; where I continue the whole summer, and whither I withdraw frequently in winter. Nor are these I now nam'd my only inducements: for as I prefer Retirement to Solitude, and so wou'd have it in my power to be alone or in company at pleasure, I cou'd be no where better fitted besides; every body meeting his acquaintance on the Bowling-greens, in the Coffee-houses, in the Long-rooms, or on the Downs; and few visiting others at their houses unless particularly invited, or where friendship has made all things common. 'Tis otherwise among themselves with chance-lodgers, who come purely for diversion. In two or three hours time I can be at London, whenever I will, at my ease; and, if I have no business in town, I can receive all the public news as well, and almost as soon, at EPSOM: se-

H 2

veral

(11) Banstead-downs are very famous for horse-matches, as there is not a properer place in the world for this sport,

(12) Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet, *Hor. Od. 6. lib. 2.*

veral stage-coaches going and returning every day, with town and country waggons more than once a week; not to mention the ordinary post, that arrives every morning, Sundays excepted. Thus I remove at pleasure, as I grow weary of the country or the town, as I avoid a crowd, or seek (13) company.

Here then, EUDOKA, let me have Books and Bread enough without dependance, a bottle of Hermitage and a plate of Olives for a select friend; with an early rose to present a young Lady, as an emblem of discretion no less than of beauty: and I ingloriously resign (from that minute) my share of all titles and preferments to such as are in love with hurry, pay court to envy, or divert themselves with care; to such as are content to square their lives by the smiles or frowns of others, and who are resolv'd to live poor that they may die rich. Let some therefore hide their aking scars under laurels, or raise estates to their children by ruining their clients, or squander the gettings of their fathers in corrupting elections against their country; while others kill whom they can't cure, or preach what they don't believe: but grant me, ye powers, luxurious tranquillity!

You

(13) Hæc mihi non procul urbe sita est, nec proflus ad urbem;
 Ne patiar turbas, utque bonis potiar:
 Et quoties mutare locum fastidia coguat,
 Transeo; & alternis rure vel urbe fruor.

You have here, MADAM, the description that you demanded of EPSOM, and my reasons for liking the place. But the main attractive is still unsaid. I have other Mistresses that charm me in the neighbourhood, beside those which may be gain'd with some address and pains in a town so well stock'd with beauties. I make no question, but you'll presently think, I mean the lonely Shepherdesses on the wide downs, or the plain farmers daughters as they go to hay-making, to harvest, a nutting, a milking, or perhaps to turn in or out their harmless cattle: amours that Gods and Heroes have not disdain'd. This, I repeat it, will be your first thought, which wou'd be uncivil in me to contradict. But I know your next reflection will be, that I allude to the nine Muses, which meet me in every lawn and every grove, in every shady bower and solitary glade. MINERVA is to be met on our downs as well as (14) DIANA: and if ever I go a hunting, 'tis always (as a learned Roman has recorded of himself) with a pocket-book and a pencil, that if I happen to take nothing, I may yet bring something (15) home. Nor is this all. To us lovers of the country, the lowing of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the piping of shepherds

H 3

herds

(14) Experieris non Dianam magis montibus quàm Minervam inerrare. *Plin. lib. 1. epist. 6.*

(15) Venor aliquando: sed non sine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. *Idem lib. 9. Epist. 36.*



T H E
P R I M I T I V E
C O N S T I T U T I O N
O F T H E
C H R I S T I A N C H U R C H,

With an Account of the principal Controversies about Church-Government, which at present divide the Christian World.

C H A P. I.

The Occasion and Argument of the Work.

I.  INCE Religion, SIR, no longer signifies an institution that informs the mind, and rectifies the manners, but is become the distinguishing name of Sect and Party; happy is that man who is not so rigidly narrow, sour, uneasy, and censorious, as his Religion wou'd make him, if it be in a suffering

suffering condition ; nor so intolerably insolent, vexatious, oppressing, and destructive, as if it has the countenance of authority. The one of these hates the man who excludes him from publick trust, he severely observes his failings, and watches an opportunity to shake off his yoke : the other will engross to himself all preferments, he unmercifully punishes the exposèr of his actions, and keeps him down the more to prevent his revenge. Mutual exasperations must necessarily follow ; then Persecutions, Depopulations, Tumults, and Wars. This makes it of the greatest consequence therefore to any good Government, that the principal members of it be rightly inform'd, and have due notions, not only of what's true in speculation, but likewise of what's useful in practice, or beneficial to the society. And if they begin with the last, they may be sure to discover the first : for nothing that serves to lessen the quiet, peace, union, and happiness of men, can be true Religion ; since one of its main ends (and perhaps the chiefest in this world) is to retain 'em the more effectually in their several duties.

II. BUT what disposes me more readily than my duty it self, SIR, to write on this subject for your satisfaction, is, that I cannot remember to have ever met with a certain Gentleman (whom I need not name or describe to you, and who has more opportunities than I to be about your person) but he
presently

presently magnify'd the Church, rail'd against Schismatics, or exprest his abhorrence of Hereticks. Nor, to do him justice, is he singular in this; for most other men talk with admiration of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Order of Priesthood, without which they believe that no Religion or community can subsist. That this opinion has long and largely reign'd, I acknowledge; tho', to speak freely, I do not for all that think the Clergy to be the Church, nor, where they differ from other men, to be any part of the Christian Religion. I do not admit the Church it self to be a Society under a certain form of Government and Officers; or that there is in the world at present, and that there has continu'd for 1704 years past, any constant System of Doctrine and Discipline maintain'd by such a Society, deserving the title of the Catholick Church, to which all particular Churches ought to conform or submit, and with which all private persons are oblig'd to hold communion. Much less do I believe that there was instituted in the Church a peculiar Order of Priests (tho' Christian Priests I do allow) no Priests, I say, whose office it is to instruct the People alone, and successively to appoint those of their own function, whether by the hands of one presiding Bishop, or of several equal Presbyters, Pastors, Ministers, or Priests of any degree or denomination. And least of all will I grant, that either Princes or Priests may justly damnify any person in his reputation,

reputation, property, liberty, or life, on the account of his religious Profession ; nor lay him under any incapacities for not conforming to the national manner of Worship, provided he neither professes nor practises any thing repugnant to human Society, or the civil Government where he lives.

III. THESE are not the means instituted by CHRIST and his Apostles, nor directed by true prudence to support the dignity and power of Religion : neither is it difficult for any man, not partial or negligent, to find out those means ; nor impossible to put them in execution, when discover'd. There is a vast difference between the Doctrine of CHRIST, and the methods appointed to propagate or to preserve it. Now this is the very case : for it is not out of a regard to his ordination, degree or function (of all which in their places) that a Priest is reckon'd a Christian ; but only as he believes the Doctrines, and practises the Duties taught by JESUS CHRIST ; which is common to him with all other persons ; or otherwise none but a Priest cou'd be properly said to be of any Religion. Yet since it became more advantageous to be a servant to the Church than one of its members, and more honourable to be a Priest than a mere Christian ; Religion, by which they get no more than others, has been generally neglected by the Clergy ; and Discipline, wherein consists all their power and profit, is made almost

most the sole argument of their preaching and disputes. Discipline, and not Religion, occasion'd the Schism of the East and West. Hence arose the first and principal contests betwixt the Papist and the Protestants: from the same cause proceeded the impositions of the English Hierarchy upon the Dissenters from it; nor are the latter divided into Presbyterians and Independents on any other score. In a word, much the greatest part of the inhuman barbarities, controversies, and divisions of Christians, with nine parts in ten of the religious volumes they have written, owe their being to the opposite factions of Priests, and to their various forms of Church-Government.

IV. THUS while the Clergy are contending for their own superiority and advantage, the Laity (as if they were afraid to suffer for their neutrality) warmly take sides in a quarrel wherein they are not in the least concern'd: only that the great point in debate is commonly about the likeliest means of making themselves slaves, without their perceiving it; or how to keep 'em in subjection, shou'd they grow weary of their chains. This is self-evident in the dispute about Occasional Conformity, which divides our Nation at present, and is like to give us more disturbance in time to come. Yet 'tis Discipline and not Religion, not Christianity but the Church, that is the occasion of those unnatural heats, scandalous libels, bitter

bitter inveſtives, foul aſperſions, malicious reports, and irreconcilable factions, which from thence have taken their riſe, or that make it a new pretence to cover antient animoſities. The worſt part of the Epiſcopal Clergy endeavour moſt ſtrenuouſly to bring all the grift to their own mills ; and the moſt ignorant among the Diſſenting Miniſters ſtruggle as ſtoutly to keep back thoſe by whoſe cuſtom they get their livelihood : while the honeſt men on all ſides make large allowances and conceſſions, without being violent or uncharitable in any thing .The honour and authority of both is nearly concern'd in the number of their adherents. Ambitious Stateſmen ſtimulate and encourage the one, or protect and uphold the other (how indifferent ſoever they may be to the merits of the cauſe) as it contributes to ſerve their own private purpoſes, or to gratify the aims of the Prince. And all this while the People, who are the very play-thing and foot-ball of theſe cunning gameſters, are with much addreſs made to believe, that their good and happineſs is the grand matter in queſtion ; each party pretending to be zealouſly eſpouſing their intereſts, or, to be ſure, the People wou'd not be ſuch fools as to eſpouſe theirs. Nevertheleſs, which ever ſide they defend or oppoſe, which ever faction they deſert or embrace, they are neither more nor leſs Chriſtians than they were before : they learn no new ſpiritual Doctrinẽ, nor no new moral du-

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bitter invectives, foul aspersions, malicious reports, and irreconcilable factions, which from thence have taken their rise, or that make it a new pretence to cover antient animosities. The worst part of the Episcopal Clergy endeavour most strenuously to bring all the grist to their own mills ; and the most ignorant among the Dissenting Ministers struggle as stoutly to keep back those by whose custom they get their livelihood : while the honest men on all sides make large allowances and concessions, without being violent or uncharitable in any thing .The honour and authority of both is nearly concern'd in the number of their adherents. Ambitious Statesmen stimulate and encourage the one, or protect and uphold the other (how indifferent soever they may be to the merits of the cause) as it contributes to serve their own private purposes, or to gratify the aims of the Prince. And all this while the People, who are the very play-thing and foot-ball of these cunning gamesters, are with much address made to believe, that their good and happiness is the grand matter in question ; each party pretending to be zealously espousing their interests, or, to be sure, the People wou'd not be such fools as to espouse theirs. Nevertheless, which ever side they defend or oppose, which ever faction they desert or embrace, they are neither more nor less Christians than they were before : they learn no new spiritual Doctrine, nor no new moral du-

ty ; and consequently they become neither wiser nor better men.

V. WITH all this, SIR, be pleas'd to do justice to those that deserve it, when you are so prone to be merciful to offenders : for you are not to imagine that every man goes upon one or other of these false bottoms ; and that those very persons who defend the truth among us, are only in the right by accident. There are those in the Court, in the Senate, of the Church, of the Law, and in the Camp, in the capital City, and in all parts of the country, who are not the servile flatterers, nor implicit followers of other mens Opinions ; who seek neither profit nor applause, nor authority nor revenge : but who oppose all arbitrary impositions on the Understanding or Consciences of men, from a generous affection to their own species, out of a right knowledge of human nature, and for advancing the flourishing state of the commonwealth. Not (as many do, who yet are not the worst rank of men) for temporary ends and politick accommodations, but from a deep and just sense of impartial, full, divine, and eternal liberty. These are the persons to whom the nation is indebted for wealth and tranquillity at home, for power and reputation abroad : whereas the first would soon be ruin'd, and the second be sooner lost, might those of narrow affections, bigotted notions, of sordid or ambitious inclinations, manage

affairs,

affairs, and overbear the rest. These are the men, who having receiv'd their light and knowledg from reasonable arguments, are not for converting others by dint of blows; who leave all parties their free choice, without being unsettled or indifferent in their own Faith; and who, tho' they act themselves on true Principles, are often oblig'd to work on the prepossessions of their neighbours, to procure a majority in favour of truth. May they receive the excellent and unspeakable rewards of Virtue! may their names and actions be faithfully transmitted to posterity! and may their worthy examples be emulously follow'd by those of the present and the future time, by this nation, and by all the regions of the earth!

VI. BUT all other sorts of men are so transported by their passions, or so intent on their particular views and designs, that they are deaf to whatever can be said to 'em on this subject. Interest never considers right or wrong, but power and advantage. And let a man offer the clearest demonstrations, his pains will be thrown away on such as are guided more by prejudice or custom, than by reason and convenience. But since I write to one who professes a greater love for truth, than fondness for any Church or form in the world; who declares he'll never think himself too old nor too great to learn; and that he'll neither be asham'd nor afraid to change, whenever he

meets with sufficient motives: I shall therefore with all imaginable plainness deliver my own sentiments, which I have not adopted out of singularity, since I have not sought renown by publishing them under my name; nor yet out of interest, since they are not the opinions to which rewards or preferments are annexed; and least of all from education, since there's no place nor society wherein they are publickly taught. But I have, by a free enquiry and diligent application, learnt them from the dictates of right reason, from my own observations on the best governments in the world, and from the original Constitution of Christianity.

VII. AS I call all things by their proper names, so I endeavour to restore Words to their genuine significations, and to rescue them from sophistry, ambiguity, and obscurity. Many, without designing any fraud, impose on others by the expressions they use in an undetermin'd sense, and are by the same confusion alike deceiv'd in their turn. To employ terms sometimes one way, and sometimes another, pretending all the while to mean but one thing, is a dishonest artifice, a sophism in logick, and whereof the author must probably be ever conscious to himself. But to define your words, and to assign the idea you defend or oppose, is not only the fairest dealing, but also the safest; and, between unfeign'd enquirers after truth, 'tis the most certain

certain way to shorten controversies, as well as for men to differ without breach of charity, without indecent language, or mutual difesteem. Where I agree with others, I think not my self the less in the wrong merely for that, nor the more in the right where I disagree with them ; neither theirs nor my bare opinion being of any weight against truth. And as no party wou'd be thought to maintain all my notions, because they may like some of 'em ; so I wou'd not be denominated from any party for approving them in certain things, whereas I may disapprove them in more. It is no small artifice to give nicknames in Religion, and to bestow an odious or a creditable title, according to the words in present fashion : for what's the bugbear of one age is the honour of another ; nay, what was twenty years ago the blackest crime, is now in many cases the brightest merit : and the only thing to which most are constant, is, that if a man's not found within the pale of some certain Sect, he's look'd upon by all as an outlying deer, which it's lawful for every one to kill. But notwithstanding my foreknowledge of this matter, yet, as I shall not ambitiously assume the name of any party, neither shall I be concern'd what name they'll please to impose upon me, so long as I know my self to be a hearty well-wisher to mankind, a sincere lover of my country, and your no less faithful than dutiful Servant. Do me this justice, SIR, and proceed.

Of the Christian Religion.

I. **W**HEN JESUS CHRIST, the most resplendent sun of sanctity, justice, and knowledge, begun to disperse those thick clouds of ignorance which from the Jews and Gentiles had much obscur'd the perfect truth, he engag'd his principal followers in the noble task of rescuing men from the tyranny of custom, fraud, and force: and (instead of superstitious practices, introduc'd by the foolish, and improv'd by the crafty; instead of unintelligible theories, calculated as much for the authority of some, as for the subjection of others) he fixt the true notion of one God, and declar'd how he becomes propitious to rebellious man; he taught repentance and remission of sins; he injoin'd faith in himself as the MESSIAS and deliverer; he brought life and immortality to light, and settl'd morality upon its just and natural foundation.

II. HIS Disciples, with a zeal becoming the last commands of their divine master (who suffer'd an ignominious death for the glorious cause of truth, and for the salvation of mankind) perform'd their part with almost equal danger and success. These extraordinary persons were from their several provinces call'd some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers; and

and some by more of these names, as they were at certain times differently imploy'd, according to the several dialects of the places where they preach'd, or as synonymous terms in the same language and country. They were ty'd to no certain place nor constant residence, having generously undertaken, to the utmost of their power, to diffuse the Christian Doctrin among all nations of the earth, and to provide effectual means for the preservation of it wheresoever they planted it; tho' to the hazard of their own lives, and ready to seal the truth of it with their blood. When it came immediately out of their hands, it was no less plain and pure than useful and necessary; and, as being the concern of every man, it was equally understood by every body, as it was in reality promiscuously offer'd to all sorts and degrees of men. CHRIST did not institute one Religion for the learned, and another for the vulgar. It is recorded on the contrary, that (1) *the common People heard him gladly*, that (2) *he preach'd the Gospel to the Poor*; and he was not only follow'd by divers of the female sex, but also among the converts of PAUL are reckon'd (3) *of the honourable Women not a few*. This supposes that having a good disposition, they easily comprehended the evidence of the Christian Doctrin, which therefore they imbrac'd and

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prefer'd

(1) *Mat. xii. 37.*(2) *Mat. xi. 5.*(3) *Acts xvii. 12.*

prefer'd to their own native but less edifying Religions.

III. AND certainly one of the most distinguishing advantages of true Christianity is this, that neither poverty, nor want of letters, nor the hurry of particular callings, can hinder any person from acquiring it, without which it cou'd not be properly a perfect Religion: but rather on the same foot with the ceremonial worship of the Jews, with the secret mysteries of the Heathens, and with the abstruse doctrines of the Philosophers; whereas it supplies the imperfections of the first, prevents the imposture of the second, and excludes the difficulties of the third. Not the borrow'd terms or positions of antient perplexing sophisters, not the barbarous jargon and idle distinctions of later scholastick wranglers, neither the precarious hypotheses and nice subtilties of conceited doctors, nor the pretended inspirations and ridiculous visions of extravagant enthusiasts, were then erected into Articles of Faith. Truth was not then made the sport of chance, and tumultuously decided by the votes of factions; nor any thing deliver'd for truth, but what visibly tended to make men either the wiser or the better. Curious questions about the Person of CHRIST were not substituted by his Apostles to his Doctrines; the circumstantials were not made the fundamentals, nor the history of Christianity transform'd into the essence

fence of the same. That idolatry, those fables, this pomp and pageantry, were not so early father'd upon himself, which then he was known actually to abolish and destroy. Nor cou'd he be then represented as the favourer of tyranny, or the founder of a more formal, superstitious, and imposing Priesthood than the Levitical, when he expressly declar'd all his true followers (4) to be *Kings and Priests*, that is, the disposers of their own liberty and the ministers of their own sacrifices, as being voluntary members of society, and the worshippers of God in spirit and truth.

IV. AND here, as a most tractable learner, I wou'd address my self to those that are more knowing, desiring information in this point ; namely, to what purpose any thing can serve, which does not render us either wiser or better men than we were before? For what produces neither of these effects, cannot be comprehended, and therefore in that respect is wholly useless ; since what we don't understand cannot make us the wiser, and if we are not the wiser, how can we be the better? But if this be granted (as I can yet perceive no reason why it shou'd not) then I wou'd again be inform'd why nations, provinces, families, friends, and acquaintance shou'd be disturb'd, why all union shou'd be dissolv'd, affections divided, laws subverted, or governments unhing'd,

about such things as no mortal can either conceive to himself or explain to others? as the Judgments and Decrees of God; the manner of his Subsistence, of his will, or understanding; the immediate State of departed Souls; the Resurrection of the same numerical body; with other subjects which are thought more easy, but which are not better known. Yet hence in great part proceed the inhuman divisions of Christians, tho' this be not the only nor the greatest cause: whereas nothing can be wiser, plainer, truer, and consequently more divine, than what CHRIST and his Apostles have propos'd about the means of reconciling God to sinners; of purifying the mind, and rectifying the manners; of illuminating the understanding, guiding the conscience, and directing particular duties; of confirming the hopes of recompence to the good, and denouncing the dread of punishment to the bad; of propagating mutual love, forbearance, and peace among all mankind; of cementing, maintaining, and supporting civil society.

V. THE whole Christian Religion was successively and occasionally committed to writing by certain of the Apostles, Evangelists, and other Disciples; and it summarily consists in the belief and observation of the truths that were taught by its founder JESUS CHRIST. This, and this only, entitles men to the name of Christians; not the prescriptions of time or succession, not the fancy'd prerogatives of any

any places or persons. Whoever therefore receives the doctrines, and practises the commands of the Gospel, is a true Christian, however he came by his Religion; whether under the discipline of masters, or by his own private industry and study. Nor can there be assign'd any good reason in the world, why a man may not learn his duty, settle his belief, and form the conduct of his life, by reading the volume entitl'd the NEW TESTAMENT, which contains the originals of the Christian Religion; as another may regulate his persuasion and manners, by reading the Dialogues of PLATO, which contain the speculations and morals of that Philosopher. To say that to be a Platonist is an indifferent thing, but not so of a Christian, is one of those unwary expressions by which people know not what they mean themselves. For if Platonism be truth, none ought to be indifferent to it, unless where the matter of it is indifferent in itself; nor even in such a case can any body be indifferent to a truth that is made evident to him, unless we cou'd believe or disbelieve as we please, which is a thing in no man's power to do, whatever he may think fit to say. And if Platonism be false (as certainly in many things it is) then no person ought to be indifferent about embracing a system which he ought most carefully to examin, lest he be mistaken in his reasons, and consequently misled in his actions. But if it be meant that none shou'd be com-

pell'd either to disbelieve or to profess Platonism, or any other Sect of Philosophy, the same is as true of Christianity; the preaching of the Gospel, and the conviction of conscience, being the only just and ordinary means to propagate it. The speculative Doctrines of it are offer'd to the light of internal persuasion, and the moral Precepts of it are left to the care of external laws.

VI. I am not ignorant that, on the contrary, Christians are pretended to be members of a form'd Society, into which they are admitted by peculiar Rites, which must be only perform'd by special Officers divinely commission'd to that end, and to whose Government all the members are to be in constant subjection; as they are to be justly censur'd or expell'd, if they do not conform to the laws by which those officers claim their authority. That this has been for more than a thousand years past, as it is at present, the sense of most (tho' not of all) Christian Societies or Churches, however they may differ among themselves as to the nature or extent of their Power, Ordination, or Function, I do most freely confess; as, on the other hand, I think I have good grounds to affirm it not to have been so from the beginning, not to be the true intention of the writings of the New Testament, nor to be the most reasonable sense that can be put upon them, and much less to follow from
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thence by any evidence or necessity. This is what I shall now endeavor to shew, and is the Argument of the following Chapters, wherein the proofs of it are to be sought, and not here in the Introduction, as I myself shall take no such positive assertions for an answer from others.

VII. BUT before I begin this task, I think it not wide from my purpose to shew, how much nobler and more generous ideas some of (those they call) the antient Fathers had of Christianity; conceptions, I say, much more worthy and just than many of them, who, in our times, are not a little proud to stile themselves their sons. But let it be always remember'd that I am none of those froward and undutiful children, such as they have all been without exception, that comply with the will of their fathers only when it suits with their own, but that roundly disobey and reject it when it thwarts or contradicts their favorite notions, which is the constant practice of every party. And that this is no more than the naked truth, I desire that Church, nay, or that one man in the world to be nam'd, who agrees with every thing in all the Fathers, or in any one Father whatsoever. What I am therefore going to alledge, is left to impartial consideration, not from the authority of the persons, but from the reason of the things themselves, compar'd with the testimony of the Scriptures:

tures : for matters are come at present to that pass in the world, that I expect no thanks, but rather ill-will for what I have said in commendation of the Christian Religion ; especially from those (whoever they be) that have chang'd it into an art of gain, and a system of contention. Thus in the first preaching of it, such as glory'd in being the only true Church did most strenuously oppose its progress, and the Priests were of all others its fiercest enemies. Nor ought this to be reputed a wonder, since there is no such satyr in nature against Priest-craft as the Gospel of CHRIST ; which so exasperated the corrupt Priests of his time, that after growing weary of their captious disputes, malicious calumnies, invidious insinuations, opprobrious language, scurrilous reflections, false representations, and cruel persecutions, (the common and perpetual arts of the interested patrons of error) they never rested till they brought him at last to the scandalous death of the cross.

VIII. BUT not to digress : *Those who live according to Reason* (says (5) JUSTIN MARTYR) *are Christians, tho' they be reputed Atheists. Such among the Greeks were SOCRATES, and HERACLITUS, and all like to them : and such among the Barbarians were ABRAHAM, and ANANIAS, and AZARIAS, and MISAEL, and ELIAS, and many others, whose*
names

(5) *Apol. II. Edit. Par. p. 83.*

names and actions, because we think it tedious, we shall not at present rehearse. How much more charitable is this opinion, than that of almost all Christians at this time and for several ages past! who condemn SOCRATES, with all the pious, virtuous, just, heroick, and excellent persons among the antients, to eternal torments, notwithstanding their good works (which are gravely term'd splendid sins) because they did not believe what was never reveal'd nor propos'd to them, and therefore never requir'd nor made a part of their duty. If we do not agree with our Author that SOCRATES, and such others, were properly Christians, yet if we believe (as we cannot but do) that JESUS CHRIST taught a reasonable Doctrine, it seems to be safer for us to follow those latitudinarian notions of JUSTIN, than the more narrow, rigid, and damnable decrees of others; since they are things, and not names, that determine worth, and that truth is the same, whether it be partly or wholly discover'd: besides that the obligations under the Gospel and the Law of Nature differing but as from less to more, there might in some sense, according to the measure of their knowledge, be found true Christians in the world, (and the holy Patriarchs we take to be such) before (6) *the fulness of grace and truth* was reveal'd by CHRIST, from whom all that now offer a reasonable worship, bear the denomination of Christians.

IX. AFTER

(6) *Joh. i. 14.*

IX. *AFTER* SOCRATES (says (7) the same JUSTIN) had diligently endeavour'd by sound Reason to make these things appear, and to draw men away from the Dæmons, or false Gods, those very Dæmons by the means of men delighting in wickedness (the Sophists concern'd for their glory, and the Priests for their offerings) so order'd matters, that he was put to death for an Atheist and irreligious person, giving out that he introduc'd new Deities. And they serve us after the same manner; for these things were not only confuted from Reason among the Greeks by SOCRATES, but also among the Barbarians by Reason it self transform'd or become a Man, and call'd JESUS CHRIST; by whom we being persuaded, maintain that the Dæmons who do these things, are not only not good, but also evil and impious; such whose best actions do not equal those of virtuous men: wherefore we likewise are nicknam'd Atheists. And we acknowledge, that in respect of those pretended Divinities we are Atheists, but not so of the most true God, the father of justice, and temperance, and all other virtues, without any mixture of evil. 'Tis observable here how strangely men are misrepresented to the world by a prevailing faction, and made to hold those very things which they labour'd to destroy. SOCRATES, who intended to subvert the Doctrine of Dæmons, must himself have

(7) *Ibid.* p. 56.

have a familiar Dæmon; and while he establish'd the *Dæmonium* or true God, 'tis presently converted into a Dæmon or false God. This was likewise in divers respects the very case of JESUS CHRIST, on whom those things have been spuriously charg'd, that he really design'd to overthrow. We may further perceive how liberally the epithet of Atheist has been thrown in all ages on men void of Superstition, by the Priests and by the rabble; tho' the Christians, who were so much and so unjustly charg'd with this crime at the beginning, ought even for that very reason to be more reserv'd in imputing it to others, were they not likewise further restrain'd by the charity they are enjoin'd, and by which they are ever to think the best of every thing. And indeed there appears to be as much cause in this age for some body to make an Apology for learned men from being Atheists, as NAUDÆUS did in the last age from being Magicians; for this was the blackning cry of that time.

X. JUSTIN in other places speaks to the same purpose; and CLEMENS of Alexandria comes not behind him, when he says, as from the mouth of the Apostle PETER, that (8) *God gave us a New Testament, or manner of worshipping him, those of the Jews and the Greeks being antiquated. But we that worship him of late, adds he, in a third way, are Christians: for PETER clearly shews,*

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(8) *Stromat. lib. 6. Edit. Par. p. 636.*

in my opinion, that one and the same God was known by the Greeks after the manner of the Heathens, by the Jews in their own Jewish way, but of late by us in a spiritual manner. A little after he affirms, that what the Prophets were to the Jews, the same were the Philosophers to the Heathens ; God raising up among the Greeks the most approv'd persons, and distinguishing them from the vulgar, according as they were capable to receive his favour, that they might serve for Prophets to their countrymen in their own language. And lastly, he says, that as the Preaching of the Gospel is now come in its due time ; so in their season were the Law and the Prophets given to the Jews, and Philosophy to the Greeks.

XI. SOME other Fathers were of these comprehensive sentiments, among whom I do reckon LACTANTIUS. Tho' the best part of his *Divine Institutions* (for so he calls his Books) be childish declamation against the Philosophers, and pitiful plagiarism from CICERO ; yet one thing he has advanc'd (9) in the sixth Book, which creates me no small wonder, considering the temper of the man : for he asserts that tho' no particular person or party has taught the whole truth, yet that it is easy to shew that all the truth is divided among the several Sects of Philosophers. Now, adds he a little further, *if there were any*

(9) *Edit. Oxon. p. 621, &c.*

any person that wou'd collect together and digest into one body the Truth which lies scatter'd among each of these, and diffus'd throughout their Sects, certainly this man wou'd not disagree with us. Then he says, that none can perform this without the aid of Revelation; but that *if any shou'd happen by chance to do it, he wou'd discover a most assur'd Philosophy: and that tho' he cou'd not defend these things by divine testimonies, yet that truth wou'd recommend it self by its proper lustre.* An admirable Apologist, shall I rather say a betrayer of Christianity? In the first place, by all Truth he must only mean all practical and moral virtues; since the Philosophers knew nothing of the revelations or miracles either of the Jews, or of the Christians. Secondly, I deny to LACTANTIUS, that, unless assisted by Revelation, none can collect all those truths which are scatter'd among the Philosophers. Is this a proper argument from a Father for the necessity of Revelation? Or has he not forgot and contradicted himself in other places? For there's no reason why the person who discover'd two truths, might not add a third to 'em, to that a fourth, to this a fifth, and so on. Now if any one of the Philosophers had written or invented ten or twenty of these truths (as several have done more) it is much easier for another to digest into one volume what they have all prepar'd to his hand, and left him only the labour of collecting: nor is this a

matter that seems to require any other help, besides books, judgment, application, and time. If it shou'd be objected that it was never yet done, this is more than can be warrantably affirm'd, without knowing all that ever has been done: tho', were it so, it follows by no means from thence, that it shall never be perform'd, since every thing has its time of beginning; and it were extreme folly to argue that nothing shall be hereafter, which has no existence at present: which reasoning, had it been true yesterday, this Discourse had not been written to day.

XII. BUT leaving LACTANTIUS to the correction of those, who can be angry with the Fathers when they advance what does not relish their own palats; I shall conclude with the idea which MINUTIUS FELIX has given of Christianity, in his better Defence of it against the Heathen CÆCILIOUS. *Do you think, says he, (10) that we conceal what we adore, because we have no Temples or Altars? For what image can I frame of God, when if you rightly consider, man himself is his image? What Temple shall I build for him, when the whole Universe, which he has made, is not able to contain him? And when I, that am but a man, can command a larger habitation, shall I confine the Power of the divine Majesty within one small Shrine? Shou'd we not rather dedicate a Temple to him in our minds,*
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(10) In Octavio. Edit. Lug. Bat. p. 313.

and consecrate an Altar for him in our hearts? Shall I offer those things in Victims and Sacrifices to the Lord, which he has created for my use, scornfully throwing back his gifts to himself again? This were Ingratitude, when the most pleasing Sacrifices to him are a good disposition, a pure mind, and a sincere conscience. Whoever therefore keeps himself innocent, he prays to the Lord; he that loves justice, does offer him Sacrifice: whoever abstains from fraud, procures the favour of God; and he that delivers any out of distress, makes him an agreeable offering. These are our Sacrifices, this is our divine Service: so that whoever is the honestest man among us, him we also count the most religious. According to this model, the Christian Worship does not consist (it seems) in stately Edifices, sumptuous Altars, numerous Attendants, gorgeous Habits, exquisite Musick, or a curiously contriv'd, expensive, and ceremonious service, supported by ample revenues and possessions. Were the Religion of MINUTIUS believ'd or observ'd, there had been no Disputes about these or the like temporal matters; no charge of impious sacrilege on the one hand, nor profane idolatry on the other; no reviling accusations of superstition or fanaticism, of pageantry or clownishness: neither wou'd any room be left for the boasted and affected mediums of order, decency, and reverence, between these two extremes. A man's behaviour, and not the cant of a party, not the particular garbs

or customs of any place, but the goodness and sincerity of his actions, wou'd be the real test of his Religion.

C H A P. III.

Of the Church, and the Distinctions thereof.

I. **B**UT the Christian Religion is not the point in question, 'tis the Christian Church. The Church, the true Church, the pure Church, the Orthodox, the Catholick Church, are in every body's mouth; and therefore one wou'd think they must needs very well understand what they mean by the Church: tho', in reality, they have no fix'd idea to this word, nor any signification in which they all agree; and that particular notion, to which they are most inclin'd, I mean of a form'd Society with proper rites, officers, laws, and government, does no where occur in the New Testament, and is both unreasonable and impossible in it self. The original word, which we translate Church, is *Ecclesia*, and denotes in the Greek laws and writers, any Assembly of men call'd together, as by a publick cryer, to hear an oration; answerable to the Latin word *Concio* for the same thing, from *concieo*, to summon or bring together. And hence it came to signify numbers of men, that assemble of themselves at
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known and stated times, such as the meetings of towns and corporations, as the *Ecclēsia* of Athens, of Lacedemon, and other Republicks.

II. ECCLESIA therefore in it self is but any publick Assembly in general, whether about civil, or religious, or other affairs whatsoever; and whose rules are either none, or few, or many, or various, according to the nature of the things to be debated, or the different customs of several times and places. Thus it is generally us'd in the New Testament. But accuracy of Language not being the business of the penmen of that volume, *Ecclesia* does likewise occur there (11) for a tumultuous rabble got together by chance, without any warrant from authority, nor knowing why they came themselves. And in the same place, that is, in the nineteenth Chapter (12) of the Acts of the Apostles, a lawful Assembly, or *Ecclesia*, is oppos'd to it. The Christians therefore call'd their own Assemblies for worship or instruction by this name, not for any peculiar worth or energy, but because it was then the common word for Assemblies or Congregations. It really signifies the same thing with the Jewish Synagogue, which is a synonymous term: but the first Christians being reputed a Sect of

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(11) *Act.* xix. 32.(12) *V.* 39.

the Jews, they rather chose to borrow the Language of the Heathens, lest they should be thought to symbolize with the former, or still to continue such. Thus Meetings are now oppos'd to Churches in England, which, after all, are but two words for the same thing; namely, a place of assembling on a religious account. Yet the first Christians were not so superstitiously nice in the distinction of words, as their modern followers: for the Apostle JAMES calls (13) the meeting of Christians a *Synagogue*, tho' the wary Translators have render'd it Assembly; and the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expresses (14) the assembling of Christians by the word *Synagogein*.

III. IN short, any Meeting or Society of Christians is promiscuously call'd *Ecclesia* in the New Testament, let them come together about any business whatsoever. Thus it is put for those in the same family, as the Church (15) in the house of PRISCILLA and AQUILA, that (16) in the house of NYMPHAS, and that (17) in the house of PHILEMON. So it occurs for the Christian Meetings of particular cities, and for the Christians of whole nations and provinces; as *the Churches*, that
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(13) *Ch. ii. 2.*(14) *Ch. x. 25.*(15) *Rom. xvi. 3, 5.*(16) *Col. iv. 15.*(17) *Philem. 2.*

is, the Christians of Rome, Corinth, Laodicea, *the Churches* (18) of Asia, the *Churches* of the Gentiles, and the like, which are expressions frequently us'd in PAUL's Epistles. From the proper signification of a Meeting at a certain time and place, the first Christians made *Ecclesia* likewise to signify all those of their persuasion, wherever dispers'd in the world, as being united in their minds or Religion; but without any respect to the gathering together of their bodies into any definite place, or under any certain rules and oeconomy: as PAUL exhorts the Ephesian Husbands (19) to love their Wives, *as CHRIST loves his Church*; and in such other general passages where it signifies all Christians, both they who teach, and they who are taught. In other passages it signifies the People as distinct from their instructors: so PAUL in the Acts of the Apostles exhorts (20) the Elders of Ephesus *to feed the Church*; and in his first Epistle to TIMOTHY, speaking of the qualifications of an Elder, he says, (21) *that if he knows not how to rule his own House, he cannot take care of the Church of God.*

IV. BUT for the Pastors to signify the Church as distinct from the People, there's no shadow for such a meaning of the word in the whole New Testament. The only place al-

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(18) 1 Cor. xvi. 4. Rom. xvi. 19.

(19) Eph. v. 25.

(20) Chap. xx. 28.

(21) Ch. iii. 5.

ledg'd to this purpose, is the celebrated *Dic Ecclesie* in MATTHEW's Gospel, (22) where CHRIST directs, that if any man has a controversy with his brother, and that the other will neither make it up by an amicable composition, nor yet by the conviction of witnesses, then he's to tell the matter to the Church; *but if he neglects to hear the Church*, says CHRIST, *let him be to thee as a Heathen and a Publican.* Here it is most obvious to all disinterested lovers of truth, that this passage concerns a civil injury, where, the offending brother refusing to give private satisfaction, the difference was to be compounded by the Congregation, to whom the offended brother was to refer it; which CHRIST most wisely order'd 'em to do, to save both the expences and further enmity of a law-suit. And truly if the Clergy wou'd claim any thing from hence, it must be the utter discharging of other Judges, and the bringing of all civil causes under their own cognizance and jurisdiction. Now that I have given the true signification of this passage, I desire these three Questions to be consider'd: Why the Clergy shou'd be meant here, when no other text does favour such an interpretation, and that *Ecclesia* is so often put for the Laity, as Christians are corruptly distinguish'd? Whether any ordinary and external Tribunal of Christian Bishops, or other Churchmen, can be prov'd

prov'd to have existed then in the world? And why *tell it to the Church* shou'd not be here understood of the whole Congregation, as well as PAUL means the whole Congregation, when, in the first Epistle to TIMOTHY, (23) he says, *Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses: them that sin rebuke before all, that others may also fear?* The places are exactly parallel, and need no further explication.

V. FROM all this it clearly follows, that those who receive the Doctrine of CHRIST are Christians, that their assemblies are Churches; and if they will call their persuasion or fellow-believers the Church, or by a common figure give that name to the House or Place of their meeting (as we say the Chancery, the Court, the Exchange) there is no harm in all this, provided that in their speech and writing they carefully distinguish those significations; and that they let us always know which of them they mean, that there may be no equivocation or confusion. But the abuse of this word has occasion'd a world of extravagant notions and distinctions, neither warranted by Scripture nor Reason. The Clergy call themselves the Church, by which they mean a certain body, polity, or government; and tho' you shou'd never so strictly conform your self to the Doctrine of CHRIST,

yet if you oppose the Clergy, you are said to oppose the Church, which makes their blind admirers imagine that you oppose Christianity. The Discipline and Ceremonies of a particular Sect are often call'd the Church; and if you neglect or dislike these, you are strait made an enemy to Religion; for which you may be sure to suffer in your person or reputation, and generally in both. Sometimes a favourite - doctrine, as Passive Obedience to the arbitrary will of Princes, the Divine Right of Episcopacy or Presbytery, the Immersion of adult persons in Baptism, or some other particular opinion, is made the principal Distinction of a Church. Then a Doubt is propos'd, Whether by the Church be meant an assembly of Men and Angels? Whether the Patriarchs and holy men of the Old Testament, were not a part of CHRIST'S Church? Whether Children be real members of the Church, and how? Whether the whole Church can ever err, or totally perish? And whether the Pastors and the Sheep be not in a certain sense two Churches, whereof the first is the representative of the last? But I have already remov'd the imaginary foundation of this representative Church of the Clergy, and under the next head of *Synods and Councils*, I shall demonstrate that there can be no such Representation; where I shall likewise examine the distinction of particular Churches and the universal.

VI. NEXT the Church is divided into visible and invisible, which, if it be meant of a real and seeming persuasion, quadrates as well to all other Opinions or Societies, where the external profession is more diffusive than the internal sincerity : and if it be meant of the publick exercise of Religion, in opposition to a time when none in the world does or dares openly acknowledge it, then it's possible that at such a time there may be no person of that Religion ; or there's a plain demonstration, that this Religion is not a Society consisting of members under such a Government as they commonly call the Church. Another distinction of the Church is into militant on earth, and triumphant in heaven, to which the Romanists add the laborant in purgatory. And truly this last may be found as soon in the New Testament, as the representative Church of the Clergy, which may very properly be call'd militant, considering the fines, imprisonments, banishments, executions, ravages, devastations, wars and massacres it has so frequently occasion'd ; and still continues to practise wherever it has the power, for it seldom wants the will. But 'tis by a wonderful figure of speech that the Martyrs are stil'd the triumphant Church, for being worsted by their enemies ; and 'tis by a modesty no less singular, that others decline those triumphs till they cannot help it.

VII. THE Catholick Church is an unscriptural expression, and signifies all Christians, or nothing. It cannot mean any particular set of Opinions, for there is none wherein all Christians are agreed; much less do they all submit to any one kind of Government, tho' the Pope has fairly aim'd at a universal Monarchy under this Catholick pretence. And to say, that it denotes the Orthodox believers, is neither grammar nor sense: for, in the first place, there may be errors spread over all Christian Societies; and then among that great variety of Churches, which manifestly differ in discipline, rites, and doctrine, every one of them is Orthodox to it self. So that if Catholick signifies Orthodox, God knows how many Catholick Churches we shall have. At least, if there be but one, it will be the true labour in vain to find it among so many pretenders, if you take their own words for it; and let them e'en decide it as they please, for names and titles are but empty things in comparison of truth. Tho' the real notion of the Church be thus loose and unfix'd among the admirers of it, as you'll better perceive in the following Chapter: yet they talk of nothing more commonly or positively than the extraordinary Prerogatives of the Catholick Church; by which they do not mean (or in the plainest case they speak very mysteriously) the Privileges of individual Christians, but the fancy'd excellencies

lencies of an abstracted, and therefore an imaginary idea made up of no particular ideas; like all those charms, graces, and beauties, which the valiant DON QUIXOT ador'd in his belov'd DULCINEA, tho' he never set eyes upon her; and that indeed there was no such creature in being out of his own giddy brain.

C H A P. IV.

Of Synods and Councils.

I. **T**H O' the vulgar notion of a Church does no where appear in the New Testament, yet so early are people accusom'd to fix that idea to the word, that, whenever they read there of particular Churches (as when PAUL, in (24) the first Epistle to the Corinthians, mentions *the Churches of God*, the divisions (25) in the Church of Corinth, and says, in (26) another place, that *the care of all the Churches* lies on his shoulders) they do not simply conceive the Societies of Christians in those places united in the same persuasion, but likewise as under a particular form and discipline of divine and unalterable Institution; as now the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, or the Lutheran Churches, are consider'd by their several professors. On the

(24) *Ch. xi. 16.*(25) *1 Cor. xi. 18.*(26) *2 Cor. xi. 28.*

the other hand, when they meet with the word Church intended in a general sense of all Christians, because they agree in the same Faith, as, in his first Epistle to TIMOTHY, PAUL says, That (27) *the Church of the living God is the pillar and ground of the truth*; then they imagine I know not, and indeed they know not, what universal Church, to whose Decisions all the particular Churches are to stand, by the power whereof they are to be govern'd, and in which they are all united, and made members of the same Society.

II. BUT I have already shewn that the word *Ecclesia* signifies no representative Church of the Clergy. I deny not but that in certain districts, as parishes, towns, provinces, and a whole nation, a select number of persons may meet by authority in a Christian Government; or by voluntary confederation in other countries, to agree upon the circumstances of time and place in their worship, or any other thing relating to their well-being and convenience. On such an occasion, when a numerous Society cannot without confusion meet together in one place, the light of nature has taught 'em to devolve the care of their transactions on a sufficient number, to whom they commit a fiduciary power, and of which their Pastors may or may not be, so as *all things be perform'd decently*
and

and in good Order, as PAUL directs in the first Epistle (28) to the Corinthians. Matters of this nature (as what habits of distinction any shall wear among 'em, what fasts they shall appoint, what festivals they shall observe, or what other regulations they shall think necessary) may be alter'd or abolish'd as urgent causes shall appear; and they can oblige no other persons or assemblies in the world, further than as the wisdom of the thing may induce 'em to follow a good example.

III. BUT as to points of Doctrine and persuasion, decreeing Articles of Faith, or determining Controversies about such (which is the proper business of the Churches in question) no body can be another's representative or believe for him, no more than be sav'd or damn'd for him; every person being to stand or fall by his own conviction, having his proper judgment of discretion to determine for himself according to the light of his conscience. This is the voice of CHRIST; this is what we are frequently told in the New Testament. There we are often commanded to examine the Scriptures, not by delegates, but with our own eyes. And PAUL, in his second Epistle to TIMOTHY, assures us that (29) *the Scriptures are able to make*

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(28) Ch. xiv. 40.

(29) Ch. iii. 15.

us wise unto salvation, through the faith that is in CHRIST JESUS; which is to say, that in the Scriptures we may learn the Faith of CHRIST, by which salvation is to be had.

IV. AS for them who sit in those Synods or representative Churches, they must be sent by the Clergy, or by the Laity, or by both. If by the Clergy, they represent only them; and if by the Laity only, so likewise of them. But if they be sent by, or in the name of both, surely he that sends may sit there as well as he that is sent: or if none are qualify'd to sit but such as are elected, they cannot determine but what their Principals approve. It wou'd be very hard and absurd, if the sent might exclude the senders. In the Assembly of the Christians at Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts (30) of the Apostles, to enquire whether their brethren of the Gentiles were oblig'd to the Observation of the Jewish Circumcision and Ceremonies (because Christianity was an improvement on the Law of MOSES) and where it was determin'd to leave the Gentiles to their former liberty, yet without expressly exempting the Jews; nay and PAUL did some time after (31) circumcise TIMOTHY, tho' his father was a Gentile, to please the Jews, because his mother was of their nation: I say, in this Assembly all sorts
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(30) *Ch.* xv. 15 — 29.

(31) *Act.* xvi. 3.

of persons equally debated and concluded, not only (32) *the Apostles and Elders*, but likewise *the whole Church* or Congregation; and indeed it was but delivering their opinion, to which they did not say that others were bound, but only wou'd do well (33) to conform.

V. MORE OVER, if these Synods be to decide the Controversies that may arise among Christians, and that they sincerely design to search for the truth without prejudice, and to act according to impartial justice; then those of all sides ought to sit there with equal freedom and power, Greeks, Armenians, Protestants, Papists, Socinians, Arians, Quakers, and all other Sects, since none may decide for others; and that for one Party to determine in their own favour, is to be Judges in their own case. But custom against equity makes void the law. However, supposing that all Sects and persons were freely admitted to session and suffrage; yet it follows not that their final Judgment must be necessarily the truth, unless it be prov'd that truth must be necessarily of the stronger side; whereas it has not been less frequently, and (perhaps as matters go in the world) it is most commonly found on the weaker side.

VI. 'TIS but too manifest that most of the antient Synods did not weigh reasons, but

(32) *Act. xv. 22.*

(33) *Ibid. v. 29.*

number voices. And to say that we ought to presume they always acted honestly, is to say nothing; unless it cou'd be prov'd that every body will always do his duty, that men will constantly perform what they profess, and execute the trust repos'd in them without being misled by ignorance, passion, interest, favor, or fear. Now just the contrary of all this appears in the antient Synods, as with very little labor may be prov'd from Ecclesiastical History. They generally came together to try their strength, and the smaller number seldom or never acquiesc'd in the Decisions of the greater; which made the breach wider than before, exasperated the parties, and, instead of healing Controversies, they occasion'd new heresies, schisms, libels, recriminations, tumults, and bloody murders. To gain their purposes of mastery or revenge, they have servilely flatter'd the higher powers, who had the means not only of corrupting them by gratifying their vanity and ambition; but also of getting always a majority of their own creatures sent there, and to condemn or approve what they pleas'd. Thus was the Council of Nice against ARIUS, and that of Ariminum for him; with a world of other examples. And really it is almost an argument against the reasonableness or integrity of human nature, to observe the perpetual jangling, clashing, and opposition of those Councils, one rejecting what the other establish'd, and others sub-

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scribing to neither; whence they proceeded to anathematize and damn one another without mercy, not seldom for mere trifles: and according as they were favour'd at Court, putting the Emperors and other Princes on persecutions, banishments, confiscations, and proscriptions; which inevitably produc'd a retaliation from those of the other side, whenever they got an opportunity. Hence new Edicts, new Decrees, new Canons, new Articles of Faith; and all their resolutions as positively and peremptorily ratify'd as if God himself had directed their proceedings, which they most blasphemously asserted, considering their passions, partiality, and infinite contradictions. Their elections were unfair and mostly seditious, their debates were manag'd without temper, their conclusions were form'd without reasons; and they never answer'd their end, nor ever procur'd any union but by force and severity. In so much that the History of ancient Synods is a lively representation of the ignorance, pride, and corruption of the Clergy of those times, from which vices the Laity were not free, and their failings were augmented by the contagious example of their guides and governors.

VII. BUT as men are always the same unless amended by free Laws and a generous Education, and that from the like causes the like effects will certainly follow; so if we consider the canvass elections, fierce debates,

unseemly noise and rude behaviour, contradictory protestations, hasty and undigested Canons of some of our own Convocations, with the other Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Europe, we may perceive what virulence and factions reign in them, what tools they are made of by Princes and parties for and against one another; and how much more they seem concern'd for temporal Power and Dominion, for indifferent Rites and Ceremonies, or for avenging private piques, and indulging personal resentments, than for the true Faith, Reformation of Manners, or universal Peace, Toleration, and Charity. Tho' their practice is a proof that the Holy Ghost does not always preside in their meetings, yet I grant that they decree *what seems good to themselves*; wherefore if I look on what they determine as their own belief, 'tis more perhaps than I am strictly bound, but I shall never own it as the rule of my Faith. Happy, thrice happy had it been for Christianity, if there never had been any Synods or Councils to impose their arbitrary Dictates for Articles of Religion! This made GREGORY NAZIANZEN, and our late Archbishop TILLOTSON, with other excellent persons living and dead, mortally to hate such Assemblies, and to own that no good ever came of them. A bold and ungrateful, yet a noble truth! But to conclude my deduction that Synods are not the Church, I challenge that one Synod to be instanc'd, whether diocesan, provincial,

vincial, national, or œcumenical, to which all Christians submit, or which is in all things acknowledg'd by all parties, and which has not decreed many things held by the greatest number of Christians to be false and erroneous.

VIII. TAKING the Church therefore in what sense you please, either for any promiscuous Assembly of Christians united for religious worship and instruction, or for a separate body of the Clergy for teaching and governing; yet the Church is as much as ever to seek under the notion of a form'd Society, which is to serve for a standing and universal rule. The Members, in the first place, of all Churches are individual persons subject to prejudice, weakness, and error. Secondly, no particular Church has any promise or privilege that it shall not err for the future, no more than such as have done so before. And, Thirdly, if all particular Churches may err, so may likewise the universal and œcumenical Councils, since they consist only of the Delegates sent from these, and differ but in number; nor does their coming together in general take away what they were in particular, but rather makes their error the greater. The variety of their own Creeds is a sufficient Argument against them. Experience shews that they are not less obnoxious to corruptions of persuasion and practice than other assemblies. And they are the principal pa-

rents of all the errors in Religion, which the people without them, or without some of the particular Clergymen whereof they were compos'd, wou'd never have thought of or imagin'd; besides that no general Council properly so call'd has ever existed. It is a mere chimera; not only because Deputies never did nor cou'd come to represent all concern'd, but likewise because all parties were never admitted.

IX. A Universal Church or Society, cemented by Letters of Communion, is as fantastical; since the particular Churches, whereof the Universal must consist, disagree in the most essential Articles of Faith, of Discipline, and Worship. The interests of civil Governments are so various, and places (where there may be good Christians) are sometimes so situated, as to make such a correspondence impracticable: and thousands of private Christians every where submit to the authority of no particular Churches. When those Letters were most in fashion, there was as little union, and as great impositions as ever: so that if the Bishops of Italy differ'd from those of Africa, and both from those of Asia, and Greece; or part of the Bishops of Italy oppos'd the Bishop of Rome, and the Bishop of Carthage accus'd the Bishop of Egypt (for the like cases not seldom happen'd) how cou'd any man discern from the Episcopal Character or Authority which of these were the true Church?

Church? or if he was to examine the Controversy not by dignities, places, or numbers, but by the touchstone of Reason and the Bible, this is making every person his own judge, and granting all we desire. Or if none of these expressions be forcible enough, I desire to know what are the Terms of Communion on which a man is to be receiv'd in all particular Churches, as a member of the Catholick Church? Is it not undeniable in fact, that there are no fix'd terms, in agreeing to which you'll be admitted to Communion in all Christian Churches? And as universals are made up of particulars, I wou'd likewise be inform'd where those particular Churches are, or that one single Church, with which the others are to conform as their exemplar? And if that Church can use any arguments to convince the rest that it self is the true Church of CHRIST, different from such arguments as any private man can shew that he is a true Christian (whether he lives in a Christian Society, or with his Bible in a wilderness) I wou'd be glad to find 'em specify'd? Thus the dispute wou'd soon be ended. But if this cannot be done, I see not the use or necessity of such a Church.

X. AS for one man to be the infallible judge of Controversies, it is not only experimentally repugnant to human nature, and plainly unwarranted from Scripture; but that very Church which maintains this strange

paradox has not determin'd whether the Pope be above a General Council or subject to it, that is, which of them is the Church; whether they are both together the supreme Authority, or whether he can only utter oracles when he sits on his tripod; and this same chair, no less wonderful than the cap of *FORTUNATUS*, is to this day a Controversy undecided, what it is, or where. Nor is it conceivable to any that considers his own words, how a man that can err by himself, and a Council that can err by it self, shou'd both in conjunction become infallible. Or if reason were not to judge in the case, yet the numberless oppositions of Councils in the most fundamental points of Christianity, and the no fewer reversions of Papal Decrees by their successors, not to insist on the dubious titles and mutual excommunications of the Antipopes which divided Christendom, is an unanswerable demonstration against their pretences.

XI. LASTLY, be the Church which of all these you will, it cannot possibly be a standing Rule, since none of them is in constant being, and some of'em wanting to the world for many score years: so that no controversy can be decided in the interval of the deaths of Popes, or the sittings of Councils, or during the intermitted correspondence of Bishops; there's no recourse to be had for resolutions of doubts to any tribunal of universal

verfal Authority. Thousands therefore of private Chrifians may die in their fcruples or in their errors ; nay whole focieties may be deftroy'd before they can have the means of decifion. Nor has any perfon a right all that while to pronounce another to be a Heretick, Schifmatick, or Apoftate, if he's to depend on fuch an external authority, and not on the facred Scriptures alone, interpreted by his own Reason and Judgment. I conclude then, that people fpeak very uncorrectly, or rather know not their own meaning, but precipitantly follow an habitual form of fpeech, when they fay that fuch or fuch a thing is the determination of the Church, and that they fubmit to the Authority of the Church in all ages : phrafes I have fometimes heard in the mouths of the Englifh Diffenters, generally from thofe of the eftablifh'd Church, and always from Papifts.

C H A P V.

Of the Marks of the True Church.

I. **T**HE Chrifian Religion, and figuratively the fincere Profefors of it wherever difperft, but no form'd Society af-fuming to it felf the name of the Church, I grant to be (34) *the pillar and fupport of the*
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Truth;

(34) 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Truth; and I think I have also briefly made out, that there is no such Church or society in the world, to be deduc'd from the word *Ecclesia*, nor from Synods, Councils, Popes, or Episcopal Letters of Communion. Or if such a Church or society there were, I presume that none will be so unreasonable as to deny that it has certain Marks, whereby it may be known and distinguish'd from false or corrupt Churches, and from those that are Heretical or Schismatical, to speak in their own consecrated language. Without these it wou'd be perfectly the same thing, whether there was any such Church or not; and of this the sticklers for a political associated Church are so sensible, that Marks of one kind or another they have all assign'd. I shall examine them in order, omitting none that ever came to my knowledge: for if I miss the right Church, it is not for want of learning her peculiar properties, which so many pretend to teach. But in general this must be agreed, that the Marks ought to be better and easier known than the object they distinguish, and likewise be different from it in the whole or in part; else they can be no right tokens, nor possibly serve to shew the difference of one thing from another.

II. NOW the signs which the bulk of Protestants ascribe to the true Church, are the preaching of pure Doctrine, the due administration of the Sacraments, and exact

Discipline. I hope this is only a dispute of words, proceeding from want of accuracy in some of the first Reformers, who being in their old Systems accustom'd to treat apart of the Marks of the Church, wou'd needs make a distinct head of it in their new Theology : for their Marks are so far from being such, that they are the very things to be known, the essential points in debate ; since the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of all parties are to themselves the best ; and the Question is, by what sure Marks we shall know which are so in reality, and not merely in opinion. Besides, that there may be a true Church, that is a number of good Christians, where there is no preaching, nor any Ecclesiastical Discipline. PAUL affirms, that(35) *the Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation, thro' the faith that is in JESUS CHRIST* ; not to speak of the first Protestants, nor of the primitive Christians under persecution, who had none other in the world with whom they wou'd communicate ; or, if there were, and it be said that they communicated with them *in voto* (as the phrase is) it signifies no more than that they wish'd to be in good company, and free from their present dangers or troubles.

III. FOR what is it, pray, to us here in England, who they be that are of the true Church in other parts of the world ? I do not mean

mean in a political sense, as nations may be to one another mutual supports of liberty against tyranny and superstition; nor as we ought to tender the good and welfare of all mankind, as our brethren and the fellow citizens of this terraqueous globe; but I speak to the merits of the cause: for we are never the worse Christians if they shou'd not be good, and if they be, we are not for that ever the better. 'Tis not the testimony, correspondence, equality, or superiority of others that can make us more to be Christians, than to be innocent or virtuous men, which we may actually be, and perfectly know it our selves, nay and are indispensably oblig'd to continue such, tho' all the world shou'd conspire together to maintain the contrary. After the same manner, if we are persuaded of the Doctrines of CHRIST, and are conscious to our selves, that we submit to his laws, fulfilling his will, and taking his Gospel for our Rule, we may be fully assur'd that we are good Christians; and therefore Members of the Church of God, whose true Union consists in these things, and in having CHRIST for its head and author: but not in any form of external polity, which may be justly alter'd according to the exigency of time and circumstances; nor in the succession of persons, rites or offices, these being things with which the maintenance of truth has no relation or necessary connection, and which (according to the ceaseless vicissitudes
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of human affairs) are impossible to be always preserv'd the same.

IV. THE Romanists give us more Marks, but not more certainty. However I shall discuss 'em all, because as I write in favour of no particular Party, no more do I oppose any one as such. In the first place, Catholicity is no mark, since I have prov'd already that there is no such Catholick Church in their sense, and that it is evidently begging the question to make it a mark, if there were. A Catholick Society is nonsense, and Roman Catholick a contradiction. Secondly, Antiquity is no mark, since the Church must have been without it at the beginning; nor does it follow that the Doctrines never vary, tho' most of the names shou'd continue still the same. Yet this is the stale and common cant of all Sects, as if Religion, like wood or wine, was ever the better for being old. The Papists do not only make this objection to the Protestants, but some of the latter are as apt as any to declaim most tragically against all changes or innovations; and the Heathens often alledg'd the venerable wrinkles of their Religion, how many nations, cities, and most flourishing empires, had for a long series of time profess'd it with great success, prosperity, and happiness: *If Antiquity*, says SYMMACHUS to a Christian (36) Emperor, *can add any Authority to Religions, we must adhere*

(36) *Orat. pro Ara Victor.*

here to the faith of so many ages, and herein imitate our fathers, who happily follow'd theirs. Thirdly, for the like reasons, Duration is no mark; besides, that the names and doctrines may not only frequently change (as they have done in effect, or there had been no disputes about them) but that several of 'em may quite decay and perish, as other institutions have done in course of time, which had persisted longer in the world than the Roman or any other Christian Church. Fourthly, a Promise of never failing is no mark; since it's in dispute to what Church that Promise was made, if ever it was to any, unless the word Church be rightly transfer'd from a Sacerdotal Society to the true Religion of CHRIST. Fifthly, The Multitude of Professors is no mark, because the Church wanted it at the beginning; and that the professors of other Religions may be, and often are, much more numerous: but tho' the purity of Religion depends not upon it, yet the authority and profit of the Church, I mean of the Clergy, is greatly concern'd in the multitudes that own them as their guides.

V. SIXTHLY, A Succession of Bishops is no mark, for it is not the Succession of persons, but the truth of the Doctrine that is to be known; besides that the Greek and Armenian Prelates pretend to retain their succession, no less than the Jews. Yet supposing it signify'd any thing, there's no uncontroverted

troverted Succession in the world, the beginnings being manifestly fabulous, diverse and long interruptions happening afterwards, dubious and undecided titles not seldom advanc'd, nor the persons agreeing either in Doctrine or Discipline with those that went before them. Nevertheless some who pretend to be Protestants, are so fond of this Succession, that they seem to make it the sole mark of their Christianity; for they allow no Christianity that's good or sound to such as are without it: and what's yet more absurd, they object as great Corruptions to those of whom they had it; thus making Episcopacy a real Charm, the very enchanted Castle that preserves the Lady Religion safe, when violated, lost, or persecuted every where besides. But more of this in other places of the sequel. Seventhly, Agreement with the primitive Church is no mark; for if this be meant of the Apostles and their time, 'tis still the thing in question: and if it be meant of the following times, the primitive Christians differ'd among themselves as much or more than we do; nor among the numberless Churches, Altars, Sects, and Heresies, which they oppos'd to each other, is there one with which the Roman or any other present Church agrees. Eighthly, Union among themselves is no more a mark of truth than of error, and their adversaries are united as much as they; that is, all of them are split into infinite parties and subdivisions, each pretending to be

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more perfect than the rest : no institution that ever was, being rent into more Sects than Christianity, nor any of those Sects having a greater variety of opinions and practices, of corrections and additions, than the Romanists ; notwithstanding the exquisite policy of their Hierarchy, which was likewise several ages, by various degrees and alterations, arriving to that perfection. Ninthly, Sanctity of Doctrine is begging the question, and the thing that requires to be known. So is, Tenthly, the Efficacy of the Doctrine, which wants a mark instead of being one.

VI. ELEVENTHLY, the Lives of the Authors ; Twelfthly, Miracles ; Thirteenthly, Martyrs ; and Fourteenthly, Prophecies are no marks : because these things are harder to be known themselves from counterfeits, than what they are said to mark ; and that all Religions and parties glory in a large Catalogue of Saints, Miracles, Martyrs, and Prophets, each maintaining theirs to be the only true ones, and all others to be false or fabulous, magical or delusory. Fifteenthly, the Confession of Adversaries is no mark, since they are not adversaries but a party if they come over to the Church ; and if they continue adversaries still, their confession ought to go for nothing, who are so un sincere as to act against their own conviction and salvation. But in good earnest, what signifies the denial or confession of any one
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to truth ? At this rate the truth of Christianity it self must yield to the obstinacy of its adversaries. Nor is, Sixteenthly, the ill Fortune of Adversaries a better mark ; since this may be retorted on all Churches, nay on the primitive Martyrs, which affects the very Christian Religion : and the success of adversaries is often greater than their misfortunes, witness against the Romanists, LUTHER, CALVIN, the Governments of Japan, Sweden, and other places where none is permitted to profess the Roman Church ; on the other side, the Duke of Alva, the Inquisition, with so many Popes, Kings, Princes, and other persons and places which thrive very well, tho' they persecute Protestants with exile, fines, and prisons, with halters, fire, and sword. And indeed the suffering of another may well serve for a witness of his own persuasion, but is no argument of conviction or rejection to me, since it makes equally for and against every thing. Seventeenthly, and lastly, the Felicity of Professors is farthest of any from being a mark ; for it excludes CHRIST from being the Head of his Church, it positively unchurches the poor Fishermen, the primitive Martyrs, and all Christians almost for two or three hundred years ; not to mention the persecuted, calamitous, and afflicted ever since, who yet are supported under their miseries by finding themselves stil'd *bles'd* when they suffer, and having a promise annex'd, that *of such*
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is the Kingdom of Heaven. But this, I grant, is the principal mark at which the Church aims; for the sake of this the external Policy was made to signify the Church; thus the Church came by her riches and power; for these her sons will brawl, clamor, and persecute, burn, and damn without mercy: these they wou'd monopolize to themselves, and exclude as many from being sharers as they can; tho' it must be own'd that no other Church has so many means and methods, so many dignities and preferments to make its professors happy as the Roman.

VII. HAVING thus gone carefully over all the Marks both of the Protestants and the Papists, we are so far from finding out the true Church, that we have yet seen no reasons to believe there's any such thing, meaning it always of an associated Body Politick in the sense of the Clergy: for if the word had been every where, as it is sometimes, translated Meeting, Assembly, Congregation, or the like, it had not become such a riddle, nor been the subject of so many and so intricate Disputes. But the plainest things in the world will be quickly perplex'd, by such as are like to get any power, or honor, or profit for so doing; and the only reason why the Axioms of Geometers are not contested, is, because on these subjects it is neither dangerous nor unrespectable to hold the truth, nor gainful or honourable to maintain
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express passages in the New Testament. If it proves to be really as they pretend, I cannot blame them, and I wou'd do as much myself; tho', by the way, this method of arguing from bare sounds and separate texts, is extremely fallacious, and may serve as well to prove the contrary as the contents of any writing. Attention must therefore be given to the scope of the Author and the thread of his discourse, which must always be reasonably interpreted according to this view, together with a diligent consideration of his particular expressions, which must not be understood as they stand by themselves, but as they agree with the whole. How cou'd we prefer the New Testament to the Alcoran, or believe that the one is true and the other false, if we did not after the strictest examination perceive the contents of the first to be highly reasonable, useful, consistent, and agreeable to the natural notions of God; whereas the latter is full of absurdities, contradictions, ambiguities, and impostures, which may well become a designing and wicked man (as many such Institutions have by the like means long and often obtain'd in the world) but cou'd never have an honest or a good Author, and least of all a divine original? But certain things cannot possibly be defended, if the discussion of Reason be admitted. Wherefore such as have an interest to maintain them, will be sure to exclude Reason from being a judge, and betake themselves

selves for refuge to Authority, which is indeed to make use of force, and to reduce all at last to implicit obedience. If the holy Scripture be the Authority they chuse, and that their Adversaries accept of the conditions, as being persuaded that the Writings of the Apostles are the most reasonable Books in the world; then they artfully cull out certain words and phrases, which taken alone wou'd seem to countenance their opinions, when most commonly the context is against them: yet they have such passages always in their mouths, and so they easily impose on such as may truly reverence the Scriptures, but who will not be at the pains to search, to try, and examine them, as those divine oracles themselves direct.

II. THUS they were hard put to it, who first alledg'd in defence of Clerical Ordination these words of CHRIST in the Gospel (38) of JOHN: *He that enters not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbs up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.* Most Sects and parties agree in their explanation of this place, as if it related to the due manner of admitting or authorizing Christian Priests, Ministers, or Pastors; for I shall not dispute about the propriety of the words, when their meaning is fix'd. But there's odd charging, and mutual imputations, each making

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ing thieves of most of the rest: and for any justification to be expected from this text, they may be all alike guilty; for it properly relates to the Person of CHRIST as the true MESSIAS, in opposition to all those who pretended to be such before him, if his own explication of this Parable may be prefer'd to that of the Clergy. And as he tells us that he himself (39) *is the Door* to the Sheepfold, so he has said nothing of opening it to Priests of any sort in particular; but *by me*, says he, (40) *if any man enter he shall be sav'd, and shall go in and out, and find pasture.* By the Fold he signify'd the Jews; but lower (41) he says, *Other sheep I have which are not of this Fold,* (meaning the Gentiles) *them also I must bring; and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.* The Clergy being ordinarily call'd the Pastors, and the People their Flocks, it was an easy thing for them to gloze this Parable to their own purpose, and to make simple persons believe that they had the Door of the Church, and consequently the Keys of Heaven in their keeping; so that none cou'd enter either place, but by their means, without being guilty of burglary, nor purchase a little Christianity from the Bible without being introduc'd by a
master

(39) V. 7.

(40) V. 9.

(41) V. 16.

master of the ceremonies, and obtaining a licence from this spiritual corporation.

III. THO' the place therefore regards the Evangelical Dispensation, yet as the metaphors of Sheep and Shepherds are natural enough, and justify'd in Scripture of the People and their Teachers, let us by way of accommodation (which yet is granting too much) understand this Parable of the Clergy; and even then it can only relate to the dispositions that move a teacher to take that function upon him, but by no means to the way whereby he's call'd or admitted into his office. CHRIST himself being here call'd the Door, he says, (42) that *whoever enters by him*, that is, according to his design, *will* (as he did) *go in and out before the sheep*, provide them shelter and pasture, and if it be necessary, (43) *will give his life for them*. But he that breaks in any other way, that is, for other ends, as enriching or dignifying himself, does (44) *steal, kill and destroy: he that is a hireling flys, when he perceives the wolf a coming, because he is a hireling, and cares not for the sheep*; for they are not the sheep, but his wages that he loves, as the false deliverers, the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, and the superstitious domineering Priests did before our Saviour. And he that is not a

(42) V. 9.

(43) V. 11.

(44) V. 10, 13.

Hireling indeed, or, as bad, his slave, will grant that the Ordination in question can derive no Authority from this place. They are more concern'd to understand it, who purchase such offices by means no less indirect, than their purposes are criminal; and who, uncall'd or unqualify'd, thrust themselves into a business of so great importance, both in the design and execution of it; who (as in most other preferments are wont to be done) make their court to great men, appear at their levees, flatter such as can befriend them, enter into private obligations with the patrons, and gain some others by presents, which is to corrupt them with bribes. Let them apply this place to themselves, who to render the egregious effects of their Ministry more diffusive, procure as many and as large Flocks as they can, or to be translated from such as are thin, and lean, and naked (and therefore want most care) to the numerous, fat, and fleecy, which least need their help; nay who, rather than be no sacred Shepherds, will dispense with the inspection of any flock, or living among their sheep, leaving them always the pastoral name and crook (whereof they seem mighty fond) and duly paying the salary, which, tho' deserving nothing for their pains, they gladly receive, as a reward (I suppose) of their good intentions, for we seldom see any worthy fruits of their leisure. Let such, if they please, found their practices on that text; unless they think it more

convenient to quit their right to the Ordainers, on condition that they admit none into the Sheepfold but men of their stamp and complexion ; and then they are sure not to be told of their faults, which is a tender point, and what they cannot bear.

IV. ANOTHER Passage produced for the Ordination of Priests by Priests (whether of their own or another degree) is in PAUL'S (45) Epistle to the Romans, viz. *How shall they preach except they be sent?* We grant that none may be a publick Teacher, no more than bear any other publick Office or Magistracy, who is not duly call'd to his post, and empower'd to execute it, according as the laws and customs prescribe in the place where he lives. But this text has no relation in the world to the matter, tho' all sorts of Clergymen (at least the bulk of them) understand it of Ordination : for it is not spoken of the ordinary preaching of any doctrine, much less of the manner of authorizing any to do so ; but it concerns the first promulgation of certain matters of fact, as the abolishing of the Mosaick Law, and the succeeding of the Gospel in its room. The Apostle repeats an objection of the Jews against their being condemn'd for not believing in CHRIST, whose dispensation no body cou'd discover without some extraordinary Revelation, with-

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out express notice from himself, or from such as had seen and heard him. This, tho' PAUL affirms the contrary, they deny to be their case in the following words: (46) *How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believ'd? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher, or one to tell it them? And how shall they preach except they be sent, or that it be reveal'd to them? But have they not heard,* answers PAUL? (47) *Yes verily; their sound is gone over all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Did not Israel know,* says he? and then he quotes MOSES and ISAIAH as prophesying of this very matter. Now what has all this to do with Ordination? It might well be apply'd to the first Preaching of the Gospel, but with no appearance of reason to the teaching, or inculcating, or pressing of the Christian Religion at this time, where it is already receiv'd and establish'd, and when any willing person in a Christian Country may sufficiently learn it from his Bible * * * *

CHAP.

(46) V. 4, 15.

(47) V. 19, 20, 21.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Religious Teachers instituted by
CHRIST.

I. **T**HE Religious Teachers instituted by CHRIST were from their several provinces, as we have observ'd, call'd some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers, and some by more of these names as they were at certain times differently employ'd, or according to the several dialects of the countries where they preach'd. They were ty'd to no certain place nor constant residence, having generously undertaken, to the utmost of their power, to preach and diffuse the Christian Doctrine among all the nations of the earth, and to provide effectual means for the preservation of it wheresoever they planted it. Among other privileges peculiar to their body, they are sometimes term'd Ambassadors (which is but another word for Apostle) because they were immediately sent by CHRIST to offer his Doctrine to the world according to the instructions they receiv'd from him; so that this appellation belongs only to them, and is most improperly apply'd to the present Teachers, many of whom are nevertheless very ready to assume the title, and are not a little

little proud of the same. We read in other Histories (as well as in that of the New Testament) of their journeys, their success, and their troubles, tho' mixt with many fabulous Narrations. But because many pretend that TIMOTHY and TITUS were not admitted into the number of these extraordinary Teachers, besides the title of Evangelist expressly given the first, any one may in several passages of the New Testament acquaint himself with their labors, travels, and fellowship with the rest. Concerning TIMOTHY, consult the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Thessalonians, and the Hebrews. About TITUS, see the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, with that to the Galatians; and lastly, read the Epistle inscrib'd to himself, where it is plain that he was left only for a while in Crete to finish what remain'd imperfect, and to ordain Elders in every city there, which we'll prove by and by was a charge that belong'd to the extraordinary Ministers of Christianity, when perform'd by any single person. He went afterwards to Dalmatia; and PAUL may as well be reckon'd Bishop of Corinth, Antioch, or Athens, because he made some stay in those places, as that TITUS should be Bishop of Crete. Nor can I discover the reason why TIMOTHY should not have as much right to the Bishoprick of Thessalonica, whether he was sent by PAUL to confirm them in the Christian persuasion, as to that of Ephesus

Ephesus where he was desir'd by the same Apostle to tarry for some time, and see that no false or useles Doctrine might be taught there. It signifies nothing to object here that they did not immediately receive their commission from CHRIST, for such were not his only extraordinary Ministers, but likewise all those able persons that were willing to spread Christianity, and whom the Apostles chose for their coadjutors either to do so, or to travel and confirm it where it was already preach'd. These were the Evangelists properly so call'd, whereof PHILIP and STEPHEN were two as well as TIMOTHY and TITUS, to whom may be added the seventy Disciples: as also SOSTHENES, CLEMENS, BARNABAS, MARK, SILAS, and some others.

II. But as it was not enough thus to spread and settle their Religion in the world, where it might soon be corrupted or forgotten, they always declar'd it a main duty of Christians to instruct and exhort one another. Yet lest thro' the wickedness of some, the negligence of others, and the peculiar occupations of all, this should not be so exactly perform'd, they did, in every place, chuse out of their converts fit and able persons to put people in mind of their Religion, and that as much by the example of their own lives, as by the reasonableness and evidence of their Discourses. These ordinary Preachers of Christianity were to reside with their own flocks.

flocks. They might not pretend to any new Doctrine, but were only oblig'd to publish and explain that already deliver'd; to the observation whereof they could not force any, but persuade all they could. They were not to fine, damn, or burn; but to exhort and convince gain-sayers. Nay, should they take upon them to trouble people with fabulous wonders, Traditions, or Genealogies; with Logomachys, philosophical Subtleties, or any thing not tending to the improvement of their understanding or practice, they were not to be heard or obey'd had they been Angels from Heaven. And however useful Miracles might be esteem'd to gain authority or credit to the first publishers of any Doctrine, especially among the Jews, yet this reaches not the ordinary Teachers: for when the question do's not concern persons, and that men are dispos'd to receive Truth from any hand, 'tis then the pure merit of the Doctrine, consider'd in its nature and consequences, that is to come under examination; without any fruitless disquisitions about its age or origin, which are the entangling pretences of designing heads, and proofs only to the weak or superstitious.

III. In all the ancient writings, as well the spurious as authentic, we find these ordinary Ministers of Christianity, call'd for the most part Presbyters or Elders, and sometimes Bishops, which Greek word should be translated

translated Overseers. Now these two expressions are but several designations of the same persons. The name of Elder is taken from the gravity of their years, aptest to inculcate reverence and attention: for it was ever the policy of the best Governments to make action the business of the young, as they did government and counsel the province of the old. The other Denomination of Overseer imports the inspection committed to them over the information and conduct of the people; they being the censors of their manners, and the monitors of their duty. This will undeniably appear from those places of the New Testament, where Elders and Bishops are promiscuously us'd for one another. When PAUL in his Epistle (48) to TITUS enumerates the necessary qualifications of an Elder, he says among other things, *If any be blameless*, and presently subjoins, *because a Bishop must be blameless*; so that Elder and Bishop here signify both one thing. And when the same Apostle sent for the Elders of Ephesus to Miletus, he exhorts them (49) in these terms: *Take heed to your selves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made you Overseers.* *Episcopus*, every where besides a Bishop, is here translated Overseer not without a mystery; for did they put in Bishops, the people are not so stupid but

(48) *Tit. i. 5, 6, 7:*(49) *Act. xx. 17—28:*

but they must conclude these two words to be synonymous: and according to the present ideas of these words, the passage wou'd sound ridiculous, to tell the Presbyters that they were Bishops. PETER exhorts (50) the *Elders to feed the flock of CHRIST, overseeing it willingly, not by constraint; not for base lucre, but out of a ready mind; not as being Lords over God's inheritance, but as examples to the flock.* Now if the Elders were to oversee, surely they well might be, and for that reason, were stil'd Overseers, that is, in terms of art, if they might bishop the flock, they might be Bishops of it. The qualifications and duties of Elders and Bishops are the same in the Epistles to TIMOTHY to TITUS, and every where else. The ordination or appointment of both is the same, which must have been separately confer'd, and different in form, were the persons so in their capacities. The Apostles write to Bishops and Deacons (51) at Philippi, where there cou'd not be plural Bishops in the sense of the word; and speak of Bishops, or Elders and Deacons indifferently; but not a word of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as three distinct orders or offices. When there arose a difference among the Christians about the observation of certain legal rites, we meet with the Elders call'd to consult with the
Apostles

(50) 1 Pet. v. 12.

(51) Phil. i. 1.

Apostles about that matter, and their Letters of resolution sent to the Christians of other Countries, without any mention made of another rank of ordinary Teachers. And so it is all over the New Testament, notwithstanding it is asserted by some, that *'tis evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these three orders in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* About the three words in Scripture there is no dispute; but that they signify there so many orders, I think the contrary is now made very plain.

IV. We meet with another set of men, not more peculiar to Christians than to Jews or Heathens; I mean the Deacons, which should be properly translated Ministers or Servants. They were public spirited (52) persons of eminent probity (and not a particular set of Ecclesiastics) appointed to collect and distribute what charitable people bestow'd upon the needy, in the faithful discharge of which duty they did much approve themselves to the community. The Christians then were so far from having hospitals or physicians at command, as by frequent persecutions to be perpetually expos'd to all the inconveniencies of imprisonment, sickness, weariness, hunger, and cold: and because women in these

these cases are generally more serviceable than men, there were pious and charitable widows (but none under sixty) appointed for that attendance. It was likewise a part of the duty of these to instruct the younger sort of their own sex in Religion and Virtue; neither decency, nor the customs of those times allowing the ordinary Teachers (who are no more exempted from certain passions than other men) to be familiar with them out of the publick Assemblies. Some will tell you that after Christianity degenerated into superstition, and as a part of that corruption, religious Celibacy grew in fashion, the Priests got those Deaconesses abolish'd, that they might have a plausible occasion of entertaining the young women in private. But letting that pass, the Deacons were principally employ'd in serving or ministring to the sick, to the poor, and at tables in their feasts of charity; as the Elders or Overseers had the charge of reforming manners, and propagating virtue. It behov'd such as imprint a spiritual character upon the Deaconship, and make it a necessary step to the Priesthood, to translate the Deaconess PHÆBE, a Servant of the Church at Cenchrea; for otherwise women might claim the Priesthood, and so Episcopacy, which would make a female Pope neither wonderful nor infrequent, considering the interest of the fair. But if the persons were permitted to retain their original office of looking after the poor, there had

been no need of shuffling thus with words to throw dust in the eyes of the people, who are not aware that *Servant* is but the translation of *Deaconess*. I gave an instance before of such fair dealing, and, to speak nothing of acknowledg'd difficulties, I have observ'd some hundreds of places in the New Testament and other ancient writings, not only thus cunningly, but even falsely rendred; which is to be fear'd, could not proceed from any ignorance of the tongues in some of the Translators, but either to maintain certain opinions and customs already establish'd, or to countenance the introduction of more. But to return to the Deacons, it is objected that PHILIP and STEPHEN preach'd; as if I had deny'd that men of parts, approving themselves in the Diaconat, might not as well as all other Christians be translated to another office, as PHILIP was promoted to be an Evangelist. Besides, it is the undoubted right of every person in discourse or writing to maintain the truth, and upon proper occasions to teach it others; tho', for avoiding confusion, none but those allow'd may do it in publick Assemblies.

V. We are now to enquire by whom these persons, thus set apart for the common good of the Society, were and ought to be appointed or ordain'd. We have seen before that the extraordinary Preachers of Christianity did always nominate Elders, wheresoever

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they planted their Religion. For, to pass by their Authority, and the care of all the Churches being upon them, none doubtless, better knew the abilities of their own Profelytes. But no other particular persons can with more right succeed them in this privilege, than in their power of discerning spirits. As soon as the Christians became pretty numerous, the Elders were chosen by the votes of the People: and without these, the Apostles themselves did nothing of common concern. MATTHIAS was elected into the Apostleship against the other candidate JOSEPH the Just by the Ballot, or as we translate it, by the lots of about one hundred and twenty, which were all the Christians of the place. TIMOTHY, an Evangelist, was ordain'd by PAUL in conjunction with the Elders. The Deacons were appointed by the People, who are the best judges of such among'em as deserve that office. And to add another instance, PAUL tells us that BARNABAS was, together with himself, tho' an Apostle, chosen by all the Assemblies to travel. It cannot be contested but that Apostles and Evangelists might be appointed by those of the same order without the joint consent or approbation of others; for it is highly reasonable, that the author or immediate publishers of a Doctrine (as well as of any new invention) should have the choice and nomination of the first managers. But if even upon such occasions, the Apostles thought fit to desire the concurrence

rence of their profelytes, what, pray, can incapacitate the People now from chusing the ordinary Ministers, so immediately relating to themselves? especially, seeing there are no persons at this time in the world, to whom any deference ought to be paid upon the score of extraordinary gifts or power: and, equivocally to say, that none can give but what they have, proves as strongly that the citizens of London cannot chuse their Sheriffs, nor the nobility of Poland their King, since every elector is not himself a King or a Sheriff.

VI. In this case therefore, as in all other publick affairs of the People, the right of Election is theirs; or, which is the same thing, of such a sufficient number, answerable to them, upon whom they shall devolve it, when they cannot all conveniently meet in one place. If they be allow'd not only to chuse their Mayors and Aldermen, but also their Lawyers or Physicians, of whose professions they are such incompetent judges, with much greater reason may they elect their Ecclesiastick Teachers, in whom no essential quality is requir'd, that every Christian is not bound to possess. All men are frequently commanded by the voice of CHRIST and Reason, not only to be well exercis'd in piety and the knowledge of the truth, but also to instruct their families and neighbours, to admonish and reprove, to comfort and edify one another.

So that the only difference between the People and their Teachers consists, as I remark'd before, in this; namely, that lest these duties should thro' vice, neglect, or business, be generally omitted, certain persons are set apart by all to preach them, which exempts no body from particular obligations. I affirm therefore that any Society of Christians may out of their own number, or any other body of people, pitch upon willing persons, with the necessary qualifications to be their Overseers. This is the most divine and regular Mission upon earth, as agreeable to original practice, and the light of reason which is the candle of the Lord. But that the Overseers should exclusively of the People chuse one another, much less be ordain'd by one, is both unreasonable and unsafe, as I shall make it appear e're I have done. Whoever assents to these truths, must likewise grant that he's no longer an Overseer that is depos'd for just causes, as being ignorant, debauch'd, or an enemy to the Government. No more is he that has no charge at present, tho' formerly the Pastor of an assembly: for 'tis the relation between the assembly and him that gave him this denomination, which perishes as soon as that is dissolv'd. The distinction therefore between a Minister and the exercise of his Ministry, is quite as ridiculous, as when in other words they say, that he is a Minister in habit who is not one in act, which is to be actually none at all. For my own part, I don't

don't look upon any in the nation, however dignify'd or distinguish'd, that is not somewhere an actual Teacher, and as such receiv'd by the People, to be more a Bishop, Elder, or Pastor (term it as you please) than I think him this year Lord Mayor, that was so the last; or that a shepherd remains one, after the flock is all sold to the butchers or devour'd by the wolves. And when I call those persons by any of the aforesaid or equivalent names, I'm then forc'd to use the language of custom and not of reason, which in many other points is the misfortune of more besides my self. All they can claim is a capacity of being Teachers, when any society pleases to authorize 'em; to which every willing and qualify'd Christian may pretend as well as they: for this only amounts to possibility and fitness: nor will any body deny but that a man who has already approv'd himself in teaching, is preferable to another, of whose abilities the world has had no experience, nor that such a person is deserving of honor and respect wherever he comes, if he has worthily executed his office; but the same is as true of all other callings important to the common-wealth.

VII. Most of those who make Bishops a superior order to other Priests or Ministers, teach a very different doctrine from this. For, according to them, the Bishop only may ordain; and let the People be never so unani-

mous, or let their Teachers be unexceptionable in their lives, learning, and doctrine, yet if they receive not their power from a Bishop they have no Christian Church or Assemblies, nor can they reap any benefit from the practice of religious Duties. This is one of the most extravagant and uncharitable positions that was ever heard. It's absolutely as wild and contradictory to common sense, as Transubstantiation; and excludes as many from Heaven, as this renders Idolaters. For to assert that such as are firmly persuaded of the doctrine of CHRIST, and conscientiously practise his precepts, are no Christians without this Clerical Hierarchy, is evidently as absurd as believing that to be no bread which I saw made and sold, wherein I find the usual colour, taste, and all other properties, because it was not bak'd in some oven appointed by Authority; or as if I thought nothing could quench my thirst but what I drank out of silver. But if the effects of liquor remain the same, be the vessel of earth or of glass; so they are good Christians, let their Mission (as they speak) be what it will, who believe and practise the Doctrine of CHRIST. Nor shall I make any distinction how they came by their Religion, whether under the discipline of masters, or by their own private industry and study.

VIII. Some are likewise so strangely blinded by Education, but more by Interest, as to imagine he ceases not being a Teacher that

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was once lawfully ordain'd, tho' he become^s deaf, or dumb, or any other way incapable to exercise his office; a privilege never claim'd or pretended by any sort of Magistrates, except of late by some Kings, since the Creation. This wonder is perform'd by virtue of a certain sacred, unknown, invisible, yet indelible Character, as unintelligibly stamp'd on the soul at the imposition of the Bishops hands in Ordination, as a small crumb of bread is transform'd into the body of CHRIST by four words of a Mafs-priest. *Chirotonia*, or the elevation of hands, was in most Commonwealths (particularly those of Greece and Asia, where the Apostles travell'd) the way of giving Suffrages at Elections, as it is now in the Guild hall of London; whence the very act of appointing a Magistrate, or giving of votes, tho' after another manner, is sometimes figuratively so call'd, as none will deny that has read the new Testament or prophane Authors in the original Greek. *Chirothesia*, or the imposition of hands, was a ceremony peculiarly us'd by the Jews, not always to denote an internal change or character, as some ridiculously maintain (which I cannot persuade my self they believe) but, when there was nothing extraordinary, as a solemn designation of the person appointed to any office in the Government; whereby the ratification of his Election was declar'd, himself shewn to the people, and recommended to their love and respect. Upon all occasions of this nature

ture some sign must unavoidably be employ'd, whether it be by proclamation, the imposition of others hands, stretching out of his own; the delivering of a sword, a book, a staff; the putting on a crown, a cap, a robe, or any other way. But all these are in themselves indifferent, and depend entirely upon custom. Now most of the Christian Clergy have constantly retain'd every where the ceremony of ordaining Magistrates us'd in Judea, where the first of their order were appointed; while the people of other places observing their own national rites, and changing fashions sometimes in this as in other matters, are apt to imagine the Clergy would not depart from the common forms, if something more than a bare designation was not meant by their peculiar custom: particularly when they read that the first who were so ordain'd could perform extraordinary things; tho' daily experience may convince them, that nothing unusual follows upon the mere laying on of a Bishop or Presbyter's hands. Let such therefore as pretend the contrary, convince us by miracles; and let those, who are not so extravagant, acknowledge the use of this ceremony to be no more essential to theirs, than the ordination of any civil officers, and so let them indifferently use or forbear it according to the various Customs of different places, but never affect or press it as a necessary Rite of divine Institution.



A
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 OF A
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HAVE throughly consider'd, Sir, the Subject of our last Discourse, and I am not only perfectly convinc'd of the usefulness of what you propos'd, but likewise fully determin'd to begin the Correspondence you desire; which I hope will be agreeable to your self, as I shall constantly endeavour it may neither be unprofitable nor ungrateful to the Publick. 'Tis very surprizing that something of this nature has not been thought of in our country before, or, if any had form'd such a design, that it was never yet executed. Perhaps they thought that the Law and the Gospel

Gospel were sufficient. Our Laws, it's true, enforce the observation of moral and social Duties, and 'tis acknowledg'd, even beyond the seas, that our Divines are the best Preachers in the world. But as all Duties come not directly under the cognizance of the Laws, nor all the different circumstances of any Duty whatsoever; so the Magistrate is but half obey'd by those, who can elude the intention of the Legislators, either in point of time or place, or in any other particular not foreseen at the beginning: and he's often not at all obey'd, by such as know no other reason of the Law, but only the authority that has given it a sanction, which they regard as a meer force, that might as well have appointed the contrary; a power that acts with no regard to the good of private persons, farther than they contribute to encrease the grandeur, wealth, and security of the Government. But when these very men perceive the beauty, harmony, and reasonableness of Virtue in it self; how much it is their own outward interest and inward satisfaction to practise it, (supposing there had been neither praise nor rewards to encourage it, nor any punishments or disgrace to prevent the contrary,) and when they see that the good of all persons indifferently is the scope of the Laws, whence the Government is wealthy, wise, or powerful, only as the wealth, and wisdom, and power of the Nation make it so: then a more chearful and sincere obedience will be yielded

yielded by them to the Laws, and the Magistrate be better employ'd in distributing honor than inflicting of shame. This is likewise as true of the Divines, because the intrinsic worth and rational evidence of religious Duties, will naturally confirm what they preach to the people, viz. that such things are commanded by God, and acceptable to him, since their being both intelligible and practicable make them truly worthy of God, who could not shew his beneficence more, than in giving man a rule so much for his advantage, which could not therefore be invented by those that teach it, for their own credit, gain, or authority.

2. But not to detain you longer upon a subject you understand so well, I shall rather convince you that I took your meaning right, by shewing you in what manner I design to execute your Project: for as to the justifying of a private man for concerning himself with the publick, or proving that this is one of the properest ways wherein I could serve my Country, I shall touch upon it in another Letter, which will be upon the Publick Good, or the common Interest of the Society.

3. Once a Week then you may expect to receive a Letter from me, containing a Sheet of paper, upon some subject of general use, and which you are permitted for that reason to publish to the world. This is the whole design

design in two words. But to make it plain beyond all suspicion of saying one thing and meaning another, I take a Week's time for every Letter, not only to give my self leisure enough without interrupting my other affairs, and not to overburthen the attention, or to pall the curiosity of the Reader: but also to leave no excuse for an ill performance, and to keep a just medium between such Papers as come abroad too often or too seldom; which last therefore are sometimes quite forgot, as the former must exhaust the most fruitful invention. The day of publication shall be Wednesday, because most people are then in Town, and that those who come from their Country-houses may receive this lecture fresh before them for their instruction or entertainment; as they may lay it by, if the hurry of their business requires it, till they are gone again.

4. A Sheet of Paper is the least that can be taken for handling a subject of any importance with the care it deserves, and perhaps in most subjects, that come under our consideration, it is paper enough too: for if Authors did not generally propose, not so much to clear the matter, as to write a volume of a certain bulk, their reasonings and facts might often be reduc'd within a very small compass; and we see sometimes, that the Abridgment of a folio by an able hand into half a sheet, is ab etter Treatise on the subject than than the

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Original,

Original, and more esteem'd by good judges. But however, when I chance to light on any Argument that cannot be sufficiently clear'd in one sheet, it shall be continu'd in the next, or in more, as there may be a necessity for it; tho' I am of opinion, that such cases will very rarely happen.

5. As for the Subject of our Letters, it shall be any thing that may be useful and acceptable to the publick; but chiefly the moral Virtues, remarkable passages of History, philosophical Disquisitions, and the detection of popular Errors. The thread and body of the Letter will always consist of the main subject, capable of such embellishments and examples as may divert, as well as of such grave and solid reasonings as may instruct. Any subject in the world, and, what at first sight would seem the unlikeliest to do it, may give a natural occasion for resolving important doubts in Learning, for making new Discoveries in Nature or Art, for critical Remarks, and for quoting verses, epigrams, fragments, and passages of Authors, such as are not in the hands of every body, and that even the most knowing would be something puzzl'd to find, or that indeed they never observ'd. Not that I promise you all this, Sir: but that if now and then you meet with things of this nature, you may not think it foreign to the Subject; unless you find that there's no connection between them, nor any chain of thought

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or expression, whereby the one gave occasion for mentioning the other.

6. The whole World is the storehouse of the Materials I shall use; antient and modern, foreign and domestick Books; the Letters and Conversation of other persons; the face of Nature and my own particular Thoughts. So that 'tis impossible I should ever be at a loss for a subject, but rather in suspense which to prefer, and how with the exactest judgment to chuse properly among so many. But one indispensable law I propose to my self, is, that the subject be something which may be generally entertaining, for which reason I shall always treat of it in a stile and method intelligible to every body. The Quotations out of other Languages shall be express'd in our own, with the original in the margin; excepting Verses now and then, which often lose their grace and beauty translated, the whole turn perhaps depending on the dialect wherein they were written. Let no man therefore imagine that this will be a work above his sphere or capacity: for 'tis in the moral part of it equally intended for the good of all, and the learn'd part of it is particularly design'd for those, who have not the leisure, nor ever had the opportunity to turn over many Books. And 'tis especially hop'd that the Ladies, who neither do nor ought to undergo such drudgery, will in these Letters find something that may please them,

them, tho' not worth their while to make a painful search for it in bulky volumes. 'Tis the duty of us men to ease and serve them in this, as in any thing besides.

7. This Miscellany therefore being design'd to be of universal benefit, the sheets are printed all on the same Paper and Letter with this Specimen, and the number of the Pages are continued in the order of other books: so that every person may preserve his sheets clean till a Volume be finish'd, which then he may cause to be bound after his own fancy. The heads, or Paragraphs, of every Letter are likewise number'd; that any thing may be the easier found or refer'd to, and for the more perfect framing of the Index, which will be at the end of every volume. Now one word to my self, and another to my Readers. As for me, I thus write a Book at my own leisure, and 'tis the same thing as if I publish'd it under some general Title, though the Pieces be entirely independent of one another; as some have done under the names of Collections, Various Readings, Memorable Things, Storehouses, Nofegays, Treasuries, Gleanings, or such other serious or whimsical Titles, denoting variety of Matter. And as for others, the method I take is infinitely preferable, because they have no trouble in reading the Book by parts, which would deter them in one volume. They have abundantly more time to digest
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the contents, than if they came on their hands all together. The expence will be no more than if they bought the whole Book, nor so much ; besides that 'tis perfectly insensible to most, and easy to all manner of persons.

8. Now, Sir, I'll tell you, and, in telling it to you, I declare to the Publick what I am resolv'd not to do ; and whenever I transgress those Rules, my labour, no doubt, will find a suitable reception. There's no fear in the first place, that the Reader should be disappointed as to the cause of publication, the materials of these Papers not depending on the wind or weather, on dangerous or dirty ways, on private correspondence or publick permission ; and therefore not subject to amuse any with false or sham intelligence, to tire him with nauseous repetitions, or to banter him with idle tattle at home for want of good stories from abroad : which is not said in derogation of News-papers (which in all good Governments are of singular use, under a due regulation) but as things they cannot possibly avoid, if they keep up the order of their Papers, and to which the present undertaking is no way lyable. Neither, as in such daily Papers, shall any part of ours be taken up with Advertisements of any kind, which would not only be unfair, but also ridiculous, to make the Readers pay for what others have lost or found, or what the Bookseller has to sell, instead of the matter with which

We have promis'd to furnish him. But an Account of Books newly publish'd, shall always make up, at least, one third part of this Journal.

9. Next we shall above all things avoid going out of our way to meddle with any Factions or parties at home, with civil or religious professions, designing to hurt none, and to oblige all, to the utmost of our power. We shall not rake into private or family affairs; much less abuse any person by his name at length or abridg'd, nor under any colour, representation, or pretence whatsoever; this being inconsistent with all good manners, policy, or society, being a real assassination when committed by anonymous writers, against whom the injur'd person has no reparation. Our design leads us not to concern our selves with particular men, or, if it should, it must be to speak well and not ill of them; and when we produce any as examples of worth or baseness, they shall be commonly out of antient or foreign History: or, since our own Country abounds with instances of all kinds, having been for many ages so famous a theatre of action; I may well mention the living for the honor and countenance of virtue, but in disparaging of vice, the names I use shall be of persons long since dead, and in whom the families of the living are not concern'd.

10. Nor is it to be fear'd that this Paper should ever incur the displeasure of the Government, since serving the Publick and the Government is certainly one and the same thing, especially in our happy Country (if our own happiness we could but truly distinguish and value) where the interest of the one and the other are inseparable. By serving the Government therefore, I mean, not being the pensionary of a secret Cabal, nor the trumpet of a designing Minister, nor the tool of an ambitious Prince : but every man serves a good Government, who contributes (according to his power) to render the members of it wise and vertuous, which leads them of course to be peaceable and obedient ; to bottom their felicity on the publick welfare wherein their particular interest is involv'd ; consequently to promote the glory, wealth and tranquillity of their Country, whereof they become proportionable sharers ; and readily to yield all honor, duty and reverence to the person and authority of the Magistrate, who deserves it so well for the dangers, pains and care which he undergoes for the whole and every part.

11. I need say no more, either as a preface to my Book, or as an account of my design ; but that whoever has any thing to intimate or communicate, any hint that he thinks to be seasonable, any favorite notion or peculiar discovery, which can naturally enter into
this

this work, let such Pacquets be address'd to the Bookseller, with a Letter containing the desires of the sender, and I shall comply, or give reasons for not doing it, if the subject be of any importance; as to any observations or exceptions that may be made relating to these Papers, such as have a mind to cavil, to shew their talent, or to make a noise about something, will be sure to print without consulting any body; and to such we have nothing to say; because we have no amendment to expect from them. But as for those who are really concern'd for truth, and who have any doubts to propose, or objections to make, who require a further explication of any thing, or that can point out any real mistakes, they shall receive a satisfactory answer, and thanks into the bargain: for as I have merely engag'd in this undertaking for the sake of truth; so the Reader may be satisfy'd that I shall not endeavour to support it by any falshood.

12. And now, to return to your self, Sir, go on as you have advis'd and encourag'd me, to cultivate your understanding, to increase your knowledge, to instruct your neighbours, and to rectify their manners. Whoever does not make use of his Reason, is not only ungrateful to neglect so excellent a gift of God, but actually prefers the state of brutes to humanity. But whoever, on the contrary, has addic'ted himself to a serious con-

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templation of the works of God and Nature; to a diligent examination of times and places, and to an impartial enquiry into men and opinions (which is what we truly call Philosophy, and not any peculiar system of the Schools) whoever, I say, will thus employ his mind, must needs be pleased with this Undertaking, and break out with CICERO (1) into this divine Exclamation: “ O vitae Phi-
 “ losophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix expul-
 “ trixque vitiorum! quid non modò nos, sed
 “ omnino vita hominum, sine te esse potuisset?
 “ Tu urbes peperisti, tu dissipatos homines in
 “ societatem vitae convocasti. Tu eos inter se,
 “ primum domiciliis, deinde conjugii, tum
 “ literarum & vocum communione junxisti.
 “ Tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum
 “ & disciplinae fuisti. Ad te confugimus, a te
 “ opem petimus, tibi nos penitus totosque tra-
 “ dimus. Est autem unus dies bene, & ex prae-
 “ ceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati an-
 “ teponendus. Cujus igitur potius opibus uta-
 “ mur quàm tuis, quæ & vitae tranquillitatem
 “ nobis largita es, & terrorem mortis sustu-
 “ listi ”. *O Philosophy! thou guide of life,
 thou discoverer of virtues, and expeller of vices!
 what manner of life should not only ours, but
 that of all men in general be without thee?
 By thee it was that cities were founded, and
 mankind assembled into society which lived
 dispersed before. Thou first didst join them in
 their*

(1) *Tusc. Disp.* l. 5. c. 2.

their habitations, next in marriages, and then by a mutual participation of languages and letters. Thou wert the inventress of laws, the mistress of learning and manners. With thee we take sanctuary, from thee we beg assistance, to thee we perfectly and wholly resign our selves: for one day well spent, according to thy precepts, is preferable to an erring eternity. What other helps therefore should we use but thine, who hast bestowed upon us the tranquillity of life, and remov'd the terror of death.

13. Thus I have done with my Plan. But this design of a weekly Paper puts me in mind of that most true saying of King SOLOMON, that *there is nothing new under the sun*, no not in the meanest trifles which we think are but of yesterday's invention, as (to give you a trivial instance) the illuminations in windows, which of late years we have substituted to our old rows of bone-fires: yet if you look into JUVENAL, you find them there exactly describ'd and practis'd on great days, especially on the birth-days of Princes:

*Herodis venere dies, pinguesque fenestris
Ordine dispositæ flammam vomuere lucernæ.*

And tho' I will not at this time affirm, that there ever was such a weekly Paper as mine, yet 'tis undeniable of *the Daily Courant*, seeing there was in Rome a Daily Journal of all that past in that city, compil'd

with the approbation and under the direction of the Magistrate. These were the *Acta diurna*, of which I shall give you more particulars, and some fragments at the end of my Letter next Tuesday, which, as I promised you, shall be concerning *the Publick Good*. I need not be so formal as to tell you every time, what you know so well; and therefore now once for all I subscribe my self your most faithful humble and obedient Servant.





A

MEMORIAL

FOR

The Most Honourable

THE EARL OF * * *

CONTAINING

A Scheme of Coalition.

MY LORD,



AFTER paying my acknowledgements for your last favor, I cannot but complain I have so seldom of late the honor of admittance to your Lordship; and when I obtain it, that no opportunity is given me to speak of any thing to any purpose. I am ignorant, as I told you, whom you meant to other day, by my particular friends that were
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against

against the Peace: but of this I am sure, that all my acquaintance are unanimous in their sentiments. Particular friends in this case I have none, but the House of Hanover: and, tho' a good Peace be a good thing, we are persuaded no peace can be good for their interest at this time; and much less a peace that gives up Spain and the Indies to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, or to any French Prince whatsoever. This, MY LORD, but not the spirit of any party, nor partiality for any ministry, is the ground of our opposition. I therefore conjure your Lordship, by all the friendship I entertain and profess for you, to consider, whether it be adviseable in any Minister to carry on a thing so perfectly disgusting to the next Successor? and I beseech you to permit me (as your most sincere wellwisher) freely to tell you, that a clandestine negotiation with France sounds very ill to English ears, even in times of the profoundest peace. I have been so much amaz'd, on the one hand, at the circumstances of this transaction from the beginning: and I have had so much confidence in your Lordship, on the other hand, as looking upon you to be most true to the Succession, that I made myself and others too believe, that the whole was a trick upon the French King and the High-Church; and that, as soon as the publick money was all granted, you wou'd upon very good pretexts break with both of them, and be the author of a happy Coalition

tion between the true friends of their Country, which are the moderate Whigs and the moderate Tories. Several of these denominations have, from time to time, made application to me to convey their thoughts on this matter to your Lordship; which I wholly declin'd, when I perceiv'd such difficulties both of access and speech, as judging my good offices of this kind were no longer agreeable. Among the rest a person of undoubted credit among the Whigs, and that undertook (without presumption) for the leaders, propos'd about two months ago this Scheme, which I took in writing upon the spot from his own mouth :

I. A Coalition, wherein the Earl of G*** and the Earl of S*** should be left for some small time unemploy'd by consent, the reason of which is self evident: that in this administration your own figure should not only be chief, but be continu'd so, as a security whereof the balance of the Parliament should be put into your hands.

II. Present dissolution of this Parliament, which might be time enough for the year's service, witness the last Parliament of King WILLIAM; that the qualifying Act past last sessions, wou'd throw out at least a hundred; besides, that the heats about SACHEVERELL being quite allay'd, and such a number of hotheads disappointed by this Ministry, there
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wou'd not be so much money spent now on that side.

III. Pretexts for the dissolution various, especially that the mony'd people will never trust this Parliament.

IV. A certain number of moderate Tories nam'd, in conjunction with whom the Whigs were willing to act.

And so he concluded, that, the present Ministry miscarrying, you must be ruin'd of course, all being imputed to your Lordship, who will be made to pass for a single Minister : whereas, on the foot of this Scheme, others will be answerable as well as your self for any measures that shall be taken.

This message I peremptorily refus'd to carry, for the reasons abovesaid; but told the person (whose name shall be mention'd, if you desire it, according to the permission he gave me) that, if your Lordship intended any such thing at all, I was of opinion the proper time wou'd be after this Parliament should grant the year's charge : for then their falling into heats about the Peace, or reviving the High-Church projects against the Dissenters, a misunderstanding upon any score between both houses, or something else that may break out by chance or contrivance, wou'd serve as better pretexts for a Dissolution, and beget a better disposition in the

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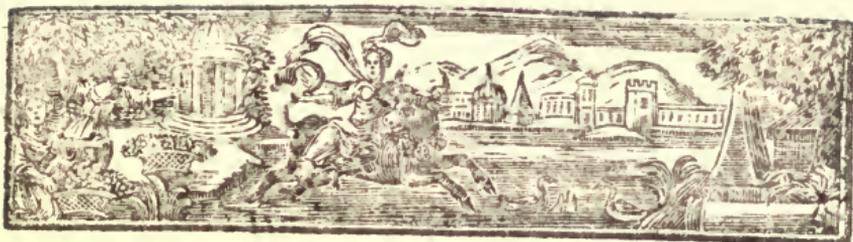
electors,

electors, who understand nothing, at least very few of 'em, concerning credit, tho' in it self a most essential point. *Sed illud quoque valeat quantum valere potest.* Many other representations of no less importance I was entirely discourag'd from offering; and had you given me the hearing, the world should never have seen his Electoral Highness's late Memorial. Don't you now find by experience, MY LORD, that what I wrote to you about that Court near a twelvemonth since, is exactly true? Instead then of your P*** and your S*** you ought to dispatch me privately to Hanover this minute, where you'll find me as secret, as I hope to be successful. In my judgment it imports you not a little, were it but for the Queen's service, to clear up some things there. If you are of the same opinion, I know Holland so exactly as to engage my life for passing and repassing unobserv'd; giving out here, that I am retir'd some where into the country. I need say no more, but that as my interest is inseparable from that Family, so none upon earth wishes better to your particular person. But we must come to a nearer understanding. If you'll please to send me any letter or message, let it be to the same house where I lodg'd, and where your chaplain succeeds me. Delays are dangerous.

I am,

MY LORD,

*Your Lordship's most faithful
humble Servant.*



Another

MEMORIAL

FOR

The Most Honourable

THE EARL OF ***

London, Dec. 17, 1711.

MY LORD,



A M so far from being troublesome by frequent, affected, or officious visits to the great men, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted, that the fear of offending this way, is rather more likely to argue me guilty of negligence or disrespect ; and to make me pass for one that either clownishly knows not, or that sullenly cares not to make his court. But as my circumstances must clear me from the last imputation ; so the company I have ever kept, and the good reception I have often had from
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many Princes, in whose Courts I have resided, or with whom I had any business to transact, will (I doubt not) set me right as to the first. *Principibus placuisse viris, non ultima laus est.* Your Lordship in particular will acknowledge, that I am not wont to interrupt my friends about trifles. But I am very sensibly mov'd (I own) at the unusual difficulty of access I find of late to your Lordship, when at the same time, I have scarce ever fail'd of meeting those going up your stairs or coming down; who, not very long since, wou'd have been afraid to be found in the same house with you: men (as I then thought) the most opposite to you in principles, and men who were the most bitter in their sarcasms against your reputation, when I suffer'd the reproaches of my best friends for adhering to your interest; personal, I mean, and not always political.

But as, in the quality of a States-man and Prime Minister, you are to deal with all sorts of persons; so I don't complain of their good, but of my own bad usage. I need not mention how many years ago our familiarity commenc'd, founded upon the same love of Letters and Liberty, which to generous spirits are stronger ties, than even those of blood or alliance. As little need I mention, how inviolably I have observ'd the rights of friendship, both in the times of your prosperity and adversity. My enemies never objected
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the contrary to me: whereas a certain (1) couple, I often see coming from you, and who are known to be high in your favor, are remarkable for nothing so much as the one for his levity, the other for his ingratitude, and both for their insufficiency; which indeed does excellently qualify 'em for tools, if that be your design. They have ambition enough to turn and return, to say and do, to unsay and undo as they are bid: nor have you any thing to risk, when you use them as tools deserve. To you (I can say it without vanity) I am just the reverse. I might be sometimes mistaken in men, but never was so in things. My management abroad, my behavior at home, what I whisper'd in private, and what I printed to the world, all speak the same language, all tend to the same end. But of this point on some other occasion: my business now is more particular. My adhering to your interest, MY LORD, when it was not my own to do so, made several people entertain an opinion of me, to which I can lay no manner of claim; as if I were no less engag'd in your Lordship's confidence and concerns, than you are in my respect and esteem. This perseverance of mine, and this only, is the foundation of that notion, which, tho' to me so reputable, I was never industrious to propagate: but rather insinuated quite the contrary to all those, who, led by this mistake, solicited my interest for access to
 your

(1) S * * * and P * * *

your person, or intercession in their behalf; constantly refusing the most tempting offers, and often when I had not many guineas left for superfluous expence.

I defy the whole world to produce an instance to the contrary. I laid an honest Scheme of serving my Country, your Lordship, and my self: for seeing it was neither convenient for you, nor a thing at all desir'd by me, that I should appear in any publick post, I sincerely propos'd (as occasions should offer) to communicate to your Lordship my observations on the temper of the ministry, the dispositions of the people, the condition of our enemies or allies abroad, and what I might think most expedient in every conjuncture; which advice you were to follow in whole, or in part, or not at all, as your own superior wisdom should direct. My general acquaintance, the several languages I speak, the experience I have acquir'd in foreign affairs, and being engag'd in no interest at home, besides that of the publick, shou'd (one wou'd think) qualify me in some measure for this province; wherein I am of the mind more than one ought to be necessarily employ'd. All wise Ministers have ever had such private monitors. As much as I thought my self fit, or was thought so by others, for such general observations, so much have I ever abhorred, MY LORD, those particular observers we call Spies; which aspersions nevertheless on
your

your account, neither I, nor yet some other men, who as little deserv'd it, cou'd wholly escape from the malice of yours or our own ill-wishers : as if none cou'd approach a great man, without entring straight into his measures right or wrong. But I despise the calumny no less than I detest the thing : and as you, on your part, must own that I never injur'd any man or woman to you ; so I'll do you the justice, on my part, that Your Lordship never thought so unworthily of me as to hint, much less to require any thing of this kind. Of such general observations then as I offer'd, you shou'd have perus'd a far greater number, than I thought fit to present hitherto, had I discover'd by due effects that they were acceptable from me : for they must unavoidably be receiv'd from some body, and, as I said, from more than one hand, unless a Minister were omniscient. Yet I soon had good reason to believe, I was not design'd for the man ; whatever the original sin cou'd be that made me incapable of such a trust, and which I now begin to suspect. Without direct answers to my proposals, how cou'd I know whether what I did here was a service or a disservice ? whether I help'd my friends elsewhere, or betray'd them contrary to my intentions ? and accordingly, I have for some time been very cautious and reserv'd. But if Your Lordship will frankly please to enter into any measures with me on a fair and honourable foot, I shall not
only

only use all the faithfulness and diligence in my power to procure the good of my country; but be more ready to serve your Lordship, in this, or in some becoming capacity, than any other Minister. They who confided to my management affairs of a higher nature, have found me exact as well as secret. My impenetrable negotiation at Vienna (hid under the pretence of curiosity) was not only applauded by the Prince that employ'd me, but also proportionably rewarded. And here, MY LORD, give me leave to say, that I have found England miserably serv'd abroad since this change, as in some cases before: and our Ministers at home are sometimes as great strangers to the genius, as to the persons of those with whom they have to do. I foresee that a little time will convince you of this, especially in . . . where you have placed the most unacceptable man in the world, one that liv'd in a scandalous misunderstanding with the Minister of the States at another Court, one that has been the laughing-stock of all courts for his senseless haughtiness and most ridiculous airs, and one that can never judge aright unless by accident in any thing.

Now what is it that should hinder your Lordship, after so long an acquaintance, from honoring me with your Patronage and Commands, but some disagreement to the conditions demanded by me, or in the principles on which we are both to proceed? To per-

suade me of either of these, I fancy will be a harder task than most men can easily perform. The annual allowance I have proposed is so moderate, and the ways of securing it to me (without costing your Lordship any thing) are so many and so obvious, that it will admit of no other question, but whether you are still disposed to comply with it: for I had your promise for it the last time but one I had the honor to discourse with you, besides all the Letters and Promises of providing for me in general before. By declining a publick Post, not only out of prudence, but out of choice (which yet will scarce be credited) all pretences are remov'd of irritating any party or persons that should not approve my preferment, a thing unavoidable prefer who you will: and there are so many ways of accounting for my being easy, besides one relating to Learning I shall not name at present; that this point likewise admits of no difficulty. The work I mean will be no party-drudgery, nor wou'd the greatest Prince on earth think it below him to patronize it, whether he had the best, or the worst, or no Religion. But such will never like it, as are not hearty lovers of their Country.

As for the Principles on which we are both to act, I hope we are still more agreed. The special ones of usefully serving your Lordship, and securing a competent maintenance to my self, are supposed of course. But the
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general ones which with me are unalterable and indispensable, are civil Liberty, religious Toleration, and the Protestant Succession. These are my conditions *sine qua non*: and he that will not agree with me on this foot, must never employ me nor ever trust me. This I take to be plain-dealing, as I take honesty to be the best policy. Sooner than recreantly espouse Prerogative, Persecution, or the Pretender, let me be utterly discarded, be exposed to all hazards, difficulties, and inconveniencies. To obviate any misunderstanding, MY LORD, I mean no more by Liberty than a government of Laws and not of will, particularly our own excellent constitution of King, Lords, and Commons: yet without the Juredivinship of the Prince, or the Passive-obedience of the Subject, the Laws being to both an equal-rule. As the Whigs mean no other Commonwealth, contrary to the calumny of the furious and ill-affected part of the Tories; so I am persuaded many of the Tories are far from aiming at setting up irresistible Power or indefeasible Succession, contrary to the suggestions of some weak but well-meaning Whigs. The Papists and Jacobites are common enemies to both, and against these they must both join at last, or be ruin'd. Such a Commonwealth's-man I only approve, as your Lordship formerly was, when you encourag'd me to reprint *Harrington's Oceana*, tho' neither of us imagin'd the model it self to be practicable. For my own

part, as I have ever been, so I still declare myself to be a Whig: a Whig, I say, by denomination as well as 'by principle, in the sense that I have explain'd this word in a book I wrote by your Lordship's allowance and encouragement, *the Memorial of the State of England*. But I declare at the same time, that I am far from thinking the Prince, or even his chief Minister, should make himself the head of a party; which will not only render either or both of them contemptible, but likewise plunge 'em into inextricable difficulties. In this very respect I have often admir'd and applauded your Lordship, for so often in certain affairs recovering the over-setting vessel to its former steady course: and it shall be my ardentest wish, that no provocation of what nature soever, no precipitate measures of your associates, neither superior influence, nor inferior phrenzy, may be able to force you into any of those extremes, the edge of whose fury you have sometimes blunted or retorted with such admirable address. So have I always understood your conduct, and so have I always explain'd it in the sincerity of my heart, as well as by my inclination to have it so: so I understand your Lordship now (whether I be mistaken or not) and may I prove as true a Prophet as ever to my special Friends! But my mind in this matter is fully understood by the Scheme I presum'd to lay before you not very long ago about a Coalition, towards the effecting of which, nevertheless,

theless, the management of affairs since gives me very small hopes, and seems to portend quite the contrary, which must needs end in confusion.

Now if your Lordship keeps as firm as ever to the glorious principle of Liberty, you must by an inevitable consequence be entirely fixt in the next human and heavenly principle of Toleration. So far am I from apprehending you should, as some daily insinuate, promote any of the High-Church designs, those projects of APOLLYON, that I am persuaded (whatever use you may make of the Protestant Jesuits of Christ-Church) you can never favor those Priests who sawcily strike at the Queen's Supremacy, by asserting the Independency of the Church upon the State; who openly endeavour to make the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper pass for a proper Sacrifice the very essence of the Mass; who as boldly press the duty of private Confession to a Priest, in order to introduce the necessity of his lucrative Absolution; and who, by other means more covert and disguis'd, labour at reconciling ours with the Church of Rome, or rather to make the English Church as pompous, superstitious, and tyrannical as the Papal: the ultimate end of A***, S***, M***, and such other Preachers for Bishopricks, being nothing else but advancing the pride and power of Priests. This is their *Church of England*, and by this word is the mob deluded. How can I, that think I know

your Lordship so well, ever impose on my self so far, or suffer my friends to swallow such a monstrous absurdity, as that you should not strenuously support the legal Toleration, ay and the general Naturalization too, in their utmost latitude? as being the main springs and secrets of making any country flourish in wealth and learning, in arts and arms. Your Lordship knows that I neither am, nor affect to be thought, a Bigot; and that I abominate Licentiousness as much as I venerate Liberty. But let no body imagine that we Free-thinkers (whom some of narrow views ignorantly confound with thoughtless Libertines) should be less zealous or courageous, than the most wholesale believer or the precisest professor of 'em all, against the return of Popery under whatever denomination. The converts in King JAMES's time were most of 'em Ecclesiastics or their Lay-bigotted Pupils, and not one of 'em a Free-thinker, no nor a Dissenter: nor are the Free-thinkers (for which glorious name they are oblig'd to their enemies) so easily put off with words as some others, since there may very well be such a thing as Protestant Popery; for Popery is in reality nothing else, but *the Clergy's assuming a right to think for the Laity*, from which not only follows the leading or driving of them at their pleasure, but every thing imaginable the Priests shall find conducing to their peculiar profit or authority. English Catholic shocks common
sense

ſenſe, as much as Roman Catholic. You may play your Priests then (if that be all?) just as you please against one another, I shall cheerfully go on to serve your Lordship for the Protestant cause in general, which, even in the least reform'd parts of it, must be acknowledged to be a noble struggle for Liberty, and a mighty step towards the ruin of spiritual Tyranny.

Having exprest my self so copiously, MY LORD, upon Liberty and Toleration, I may be the shorter upon our third principle of the House of Hanover, from which the other two are inseparable. Liberty and Property, Toleration and Union, have occasion'd that Succession. On these it is founded, by these it must be maintain'd against all opposition. And, as a sure earnest of a glorious future prospect, these are the domestic hereditary principles of that House: for, whatever our fools or knaves may prate of arbitrary Power there, the inhabitants are Syncretists by profession (that is German Occasional Conformists) and never were there Subjects on earth better used, or more content; the Barons having an appeal ~~from~~ the Prince to a higher Court, tho' they never have occasion given them to make use of this right. Your Lordship appeared for this cause as early as any, and if to the same you are not still as firm as any, what a wretched Politician am I? how greatly misled my self? and how great a misleader of others,

P 4

especial-

especially of that illustrious Family? This, I cannot in duty forbear telling you, is the place in which your enemies now attack you with their utmost vigor, and, from certain odd circumstances, they persist in their accusation with the most sanguine hopes of success. It is here therefore that I daily exert my greatest efforts in your defence, and where I have a better right to be credited than any of your new friends. To this House, in a word, I am wholly devoted out of inclination and principle. I have no other interest than this, which I take to be the common interest of us all. Tho' changing of sides is become so fashionable a thing, yet neither fear nor favor, no advantage or temptation, tho' ever so considerable, not the byass of acquaintance, nor even the force of friendship, can take me off (as the phrase is) from this principle of the Hanover Succession, where I have from the beginning fixt my rest: and therefore I cannot but be honestly of the mind, that I ought to be more trusted and more encouraged, than such as have been ever indifferent or ever enemies to it. There's a long list of those I mean, and which I am ready to produce upon occasion. I do therefore most earnestly wish, that all ugly appearances (whereof I have so frequently complain'd in other *Memorials*) were quite taken away, and that a better understanding were cultivated with the most discerning Court in Europe. Your Lordship will find by experience that I don't flatter.

Since

Since then, MY LORD, the truth of the matter is, that I have been for many years, both at home and abroad, your unwavering friend and adherent; one, for whom you have express'd the greatest kindness; one, to whom, since your late advancement, you have made repeated promises of the continuance of your protection; and one, who on many accounts may be more serviceable to you for the future than ever before: I cannot, I say, from all these considerations, but, in the nature of a lover, complain of your present neglect, and be solicitous for your future care. There being none but your self (which may never happen!) capable to convince me that we are not embark'd in the same bottom, have I not some reason to expect good entertainment in the ship, where I have not been altogether idle? especially, when I neither take upon me to control the officers, nor to claim any share in the government. As to the observations I did propose to make, I fancy those I actually presented, are sufficient to answer for those I shou'd have made, had I receiv'd befitting encouragement. I appeal particularly to my early application about the pretended West-Meath Plot, and the too real affair of the Scots-Medal; both which (from wrong steps taken against my advice at first) have since occasion'd so much noise, and, if I be not mistaken, they'll occasion much greater yet, tho' seemingly now forgot. No body is punish'd at all that li-

bels the succession, tho' I have shewn such libels to be numerous, and openly sold. We'll see what the house does with CR**L: yet one wou'd think that certain others never expected those to succeed, against whose sentiments they act in so desperate a manner. But, in plain truth, what shall we say after the pardoning of some from the gallows, whose execution might be a service to the Ministers as well as to the Nation? after the not punishing of one mortal for the late Invasion, a mercy not to be parallel'd in all history? and after the dismissing of those that were taken in the fact on such easy bail? The advancement of certain persons in Scotland, seems prodigious unaccountable to the irreconcilable enemies of Popery and the Pretender. I shall not say however that this is inconsistent with her Majesty's Speech, at the opening of the present Parliament (where being hearty *for the House of Hanover* is made by her an exprest qualification for preferment) because in the first speech she ever made in Parliament, she bids the nation expect *to find her always a strict and religious observer of her word*. Nor must your Lordship take ill what is meant so well, if I prophecy that two incendiaries (2) in Ireland, if not timely prevented, will occasion you many a heart-ake: seeing the honest people of England now do make the same inferences from the proceedings about Corporations in Ire-

land,

(2) P *** and H ***.

land, that they did from the Declarations for Indulgence in Scotland, and from the Quo Warranto's and Regulators in England, in King JAMES's time. *Verbum sapienti*: for surely the reigns of King CHARLES and King JAMES should be no patterns to men of revolution principles; by which I mean those that acted in the Revolution, and that approv'd of it. Nor are many less alarm'd at the late unprotestant and unpolitick Address'es of certain Irish Bishops, and their noble pupils in leading-strings. I hope, during the power of such a father's son, the honest Northern Dissenters may not be so barbarously us'd with relation to the pension of their Ministers, as a reward (or shall I say a punishment?) for securing London-Derry, and preventing thereby a descent into Great Britain of a very dubious issue. Must reprisals be thus taken upon them, for the villanous impostor LANGTON's being struck off the Establishment? I further hope, that you'll keep some body from meddling a third time in that Kingdom with matters above his sphere.

But I am launch'd perhaps too far, where my advice is not ask'd: and I am afraid by this time, Your Lordship may imagine I would give my self airs of importance. I appeal to your own experience, whether of all that transact any thing with you, I be not the farthest from this sort of vanity? Neither am I a medler or busy body, beyond what justly comes to the share of every free subject.

subject. Have I ever obtruded on Your Lordship's privacies? or importun'd you to tell me, what you did not think fit to impart of your own accord? for as to the affairs of the present conjuncture, I content my self with knowing as much of 'em, as any man in the world that is not in the secret, of which I have given, where it was necessary, a most authentic demonstration; and even to your self, when, in my last *Memorial*, I declar'd against any Peace at all at this time, as believing it must be such a peace, as will not only render useles all her Majesty's triumphs, sully the honor of the nation, betray our best and firmest allies, but effectually ruin theirs, and ours, and the liberties of all Europe, besides the manifest breaches of word and faith in persons, whose character ought not to be lightly prostituted. I wish from my soul, inconsiderable as I am, that you had vouchsaf'd to ask me a few questions, with regard to some particulars.

As for writing in defence of your person or politics (the neglect of which was lately objected to me, by one of your relations) how cou'd I possibly divine, without your express instructions, that I shou'd not be all the while unskilfully thwarting your designs? Far from being ambitious of recommending your Schemes to the publick, I wou'd gladly have employ'd my pen to convince the world, that it was neither by your Lordship's
 privity

privity nor approbation (as your enemies give out) that our faithful Allies, especially the Dutch, have been treated of late, in a manner too injurious and scurrilous to be permitted even towards declar'd enemies, in any civiliz'd country. Posterity will be asham'd, when they read such infamous pieces. With what alacrity should I obey, were I authoriz'd to shew how the not calling of the wretched ABEL ROPER to account for his treasonable paragraph against the Succession, and his abominable usage of all men of worth, abroad and at home (not to forget the Author of *the good old cause*, of the *Oath to an Invader*, the *Examiner*, and such other open opposers of the Protestant Line;) how, I say, this unexampl'd lenity towards such criminals, is consistent with our care and concern for the House of Hannover, and for the Liberties that have cost so much blood and treasure to secure; for, believe me or not, I had rather be enabl'd to shew the true reasons, than to receive a bank-bill of a thousand pounds. My best apology for the length of this Letter, MY LORD, is that the nature of the thing requir'd it. I have before made use in it of the simile of a Lover, and, as such indeed, I thought fit once for all to come to a thorow explanation: looking upon uncertainty as one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall me, and being resolv'd, if my affection be not kill'd by your unkindness (I mean to your self as well as to me) to become

indisso-

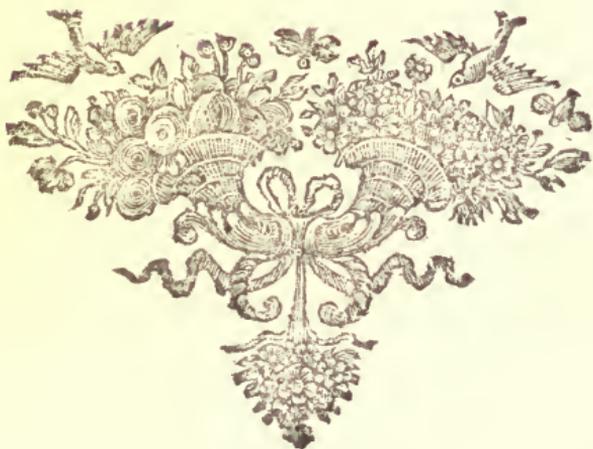
indissolubly yours; for which the only secret is, that you do inseparably become your Country's. I am with the same dutifulness, zeal, and respect as ever,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

most faithful, obedient,

and devoted Servant.





A

MEMORIAL

Presented to a

MINISTER OF STATE,

*Soon after his Majesty King GEORGE'S
accession to the Crown.*



THE chief heads of this Memorial shall be the Clergy and the Laity. And as for the first of these, I take it for granted, as a thing of publick notoriety, that but too many of the Clergy of England have no regard for any thing but profit and power; that the more you enrich or advance them, the more haughty and mischievous they will be; not valuing any sort of Religion or Virtue, further than

than it merely serves their interest. This, you'll say, ought not to be so, to which I add, that 'tis pity it should be so. But neither of us can deny the fact: and I conceive the only way to manage those men, so that they may neither hamper the Government nor disturb the Peace of the People (by their intrigues and importunities with relation to the first; or their imposing upon and gaining the money of the last, by wheedling, and especially by practising upon sick people) is to make the statute of Mortmain in force as formerly. Their revenues are sufficient, and much more than are enjoy'd by any secular Priests in the world. Nay, had many of them less, their cures would be better taken care of: and it is apparent that nothing ever did or can keep them quiet, but a strict and steady hand over them. I mean, that they be not suffer'd (much less encourag'd) to meddle with politicks or civil affairs; but that they be strictly kept to their spiritual office, as set forth in a Sermon preach'd by the late Archbishop of York. They must be discountenanc'd in their rampant practices, and those be never preferr'd who transgress in the above-mentioned particulars. Thus the thing may be easiest affected, by a good Magistracy in every County: for these I am speaking of, are meanly born and bred, ignorant for the greatest part, and made equally proud and insolent at the Universities. Therefore when they perceive the civil Government re-

folv'd and steddy, they will court and comply with the Magistrates; being naturally fearful, and perpetually undermining each other: whereas the more the Magistrate gives way to them, the more they'll grow upon him. It is self-evident, that their great power and interest is principally deriv'd (not from the populace) but from those of the Nobility and Gentry, who govern the people, and who are themselves govern'd by these Priests. When very young they are commonly their Schoolmasters, and always their Tutors at the Universities; whereby they cannot only lead them all their lives in matters above their reach, but even fright and deceive them as they please; governing their persons, families, estates and interest. A remedy therefore should be found out for a better Education and better Instructions at our Universities. Among other methods, I fancy if the Fellows and Masters of Arts in all the Colleges were not oblig'd to go into Orders, that it would go a good way towards the cure. But of this more particularly hereafter.

Now as to the Laity, they are divided into Papists, Tories, Whigs, and Trimmers. The first of these, if consistent with the flourishing condition of any civil Government, is not I am sure with a Protestant one: because their Religion not only obliges them to own a foreign Superior, to whom they yield a submission incompatible with their Allegiance

to their natural Sovereign; but to break all faith, morality, and humanity with those which the Pope shall denuonce to be Hereticks, in order to advance their own Doctrines, all calculated for the interest of that damnable, bloody, and destructive Faction they call the Church. These men ought to be crush'd and subdu'd to the utmost (not for mere opinions in Religion, which every man ought to enjoy) but as they are constantly endeavouring, with all possible industry and artifice, to destroy all other Religions, to subvert Liberty and Property, the better to introduce their own Superstition. The Pope and his Clergy abroad (who formerly possess the best part of this rich and happy Island) leave no stone unturn'd to regain those powers and riches they formerly had. To this end they send over their best heads, generally natives of this Kingdom, to make converts directly; and indirectly, under the notion of zealous churchmen, to increase mystery, superstition, and priestly power, to divide the establish'd Church, to encrease the Sectaries, to corrupt the Universities, to raise antipathies among the People by party-names and distinctions; to bribe, (in a word) to lie, defame, and murder, or if there be any other villany more heinous than these. On such accounts no proceeding can be thought too severe, since this evil is become hard to suppress, or indeed to be tolerably kept under, by reason of the byass the House of the STUARTS has had all along

in favour of Popery, and the encouragement it has constantly receiv'd, tho' in a more covert manner, from the aspiring or the ignorant part of the Church of England Clergy. King GEORGE, on the contrary, will not only more effectually secure himself at home, and become prodigious popular, by appearing (as he is) a thorough Protestant, as having the Reform'd Interest much at heart; but thus acquire authority, credit, and confidence abroad, as the real Head of the Protestant Religion every where, and in every circumstance.

To proceed from the Papist to the Tories, these are of two sorts. The first are Non-jurors, perfect Rosicrucians in Government, a stupid, illiterate, stubborn, positive, noisy and impudent Generation; yet not very dangerous, so long as they have ingenuity enough to continue their scruples about the Oaths: but once they get the better of their consciences in this respect (which, a few silly creatures excepted, they generally do) then no sort of men are more clamorous about the Church, or more importunate for Places. These ought not only to be kept under, and discouraged; but also to be ridicul'd and made contemptible both in print and conversation: for they are never to be chang'd, and consequently never to be trusted; as being incapable of reason, and insensible of favours. Besides that it is an establish'd

maxim with them, to swear and creep into places, the better to serve their young Master, as these Wittals term the Pretender. The second sort of Tories are, 'tis true, men so devoted to the Church of England, that they are implacable towards all other opinions, tho' ever so little differing in form or substance from their own; but yet they are neither so furious, senseless, or wicked as the first: for they wou'd not give up their own Property or the Liberty of Europe, they wou'd not willingly lose our Trade or aggrandize France to the ruin of their native Country; and they are withal good friends to the Protestant Line, and as averse as any to a Popish Successor. These men therefore ought to be mildly treated, and those of 'em to be prefer'd to Places, who have virtue and merit; which are the best qualifications in all kinds of men, for Magistracy and offices. This impartiality will highly please the People, leave the Tories in hope, even the worst of them, and give no ground for the clamours of any Party.

The Whigs (I mean those who practise what they profess) are virtuous, wise, and industrious Church of England men; yet brotherly indulgent towards other Protestants, and all for a general Naturalization. To these ought to be added the Sectaries, who heartily join with them on one common bottom, against Popery and Slavery either in Church or State. The Whigs of all denominations

nominations (whatever may be their failings or differences in other respects) are immovably staunch for Liberty civil and religious, for Trade and the Balance of Europe, in which things I take the true interest of Britain to consist. So far are they from being against Kingship (as their enemies foolishly calumniate them) that they are to a man most zealous for the Act of Succession, particularly faithful to King GEORGE (whom they admire almost to adoration) absolutely determin'd to support his progeny, and such, in short, as may be depended upon in all the particulars aforesaid. I still mean those that are true to their principles, such as have kept their integrity in times of danger, that have not chang'd for interest or favour, and who are known (as all men are best so) by their actions. These are the men who ought to fill all posts of trust in his Majesty's service, both at home, and in his Embassies abroad: giving some places of honor, and of profit also, to such Tories as are to be wean'd off from their Party, or who are to keep them in hope and dependance.

The Trimmers are timorous pusillanimous knaves, who (forsooth) would not provoke any party, but smile upon all, and ever leaning towards the prevailing side, or hovering between both till they see who gets the better. I conceive no other use ought to be made of these men, but as tools to serve the

Present demands; but such time-servers are never to be confided with posts of trust, nor with any such great places, that will procure them credit and power, both which they will be as ready to employ against as for the King, according to the influence their fears or their avarice may have upon them in a perilous conjuncture.

If this be the true state of our case, the next enquiry must be after a proper cure; which that we may the more certainly discover, we ought to lay down such principles, as will support all we shall build upon them in the sequel of this Discourse. There is no question to be made, but that mankind by nature is of the sociable species of animals, herding together in communities for their common safety; and that they quarrel among themselves, or oppress each other, just upon the same motives and topicks with other animals: such as food, vengery, sickness, old-age, and want of understanding; but to a far higher degree by the use of speech, and especially of hands, which manage weapons to their own destruction, as well as that of their fellow-creatures. I conceive therefore, that true Virtue, Religion, and understanding, ought to provide against these evils of Society, by good Education and wholesome Laws, whereby sufficient food may be provided without violence, vengery without force, the sick and aged reliev'd, and madmen and idiots taken care of.

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The rules for Virtue and Religion ought to be plain and simple, or (as we commonly speak) the naked truth, unchangeable, void of craft, of gain, or of power; being part of the civil government, and wholly depending upon the same. The Clergy shou'd teach those rules, and deliver those precepts without adding, diminishing, glossing, or commenting; which is the ready way to make Humanity shine, Justice flourish, and Communities happy. But since England is not what we cou'd wish it, we must endeavour to alter and amend by degrees, as far as practicable: and I think it very reasonable, that present care shou'd be taken, to prevent the Clergy meddling with Politicks in their pulpits or elsewhere.

This evil may in a great measure be cur'd by the King, and by the Diocefans proceeding according to his Injunctions, both sending such orders to the inferior Clergy, as shall seem most convenient; the King acting as Head of the Church, and the Bishops as Governours of their several Diocesses under him. They must be strictly kept to that Law and Canon already in force, viz. that no persons be admitted to take Orders, but such as have a title, or are truly presented to livings; nor that they be permitted to act or concern themselves in any civil employment whatsoever.

Great care should be taken to reform the Universities, which, if settl'd on the foot of Virtue, wou'd in twenty years bring up a generation, that shou'd retrieve the worth, understanding, industry, and honor of the nation, now so low, and almost destroy'd by a late set of men, who were there viciously and ignorantly educated. Smiles and frowns will go a great way at the University, preferring one before another, as they excell in probity and proper endowments. Other methods will have their due effects, as obliging the Tutors to read Lectures to their Pupils in a regular manner; but especially encouraging such Tutors, as teach useful knowledge: restraining them from dabling in Politicks, and that youth be not permitted to be out of their Colleges, but at certain hours, without the leave of their Tutors; nor to frequent publick houses, but scond'd when found there at any time of the day: that common fire-rooms be provided in all Colleges, and that several superstitious customs be abolish'd, with that servile one of Scholars capping Fellows, Masters of Arts or such others, any more than they do other men in other places: that prizes be given by the King to such as excell in Literature, or even in any exercises relating to Trade, no less than in Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Agriculture, Navigation, Planting, Fishery, Mining, and so on.

As to particular Professions, care should be taken, that no persons be prefer'd but such as are bred up to that same way, or are well skill'd therein; but by no means to give the same person two employments in different professions; I mean, that Lawyers be kept to affairs of justice solely, Physicians to take care of health, Soldiers for offence or defence; as Gentlemen to the Belles Lettres, to travel, to the court, to embassies, and to country-offices: the Merchants to trade, the Citizens to their various crafts, the Shop-keepers to diligence in retail and the plain rules of buying and selling, Farmers to the management of their lands, and Labourers to industry, sobriety, cheap diet and cloathing. In short, not to encourage them to entrench upon or intermix with each other, in any thing different from that which they were severally bred; unless in case of some extraordinary genius and propensity. This will quiet and please vast numbers of people.

Also it will be granted (I suppose) at first sight, that a prudent Economy shou'd be us'd in disposing of Places, since for any one place there are so many Candidates. No person therefore should have pluralities. Rich men shou'd be rewarded by titles or places of Honor: middling men shou'd be rais'd purely on the score of their Merit: and poor men for industry, honesty, and other fitting qualifications. A special regard ought to be

had to the various desires and inclinations of men: for a small thing rightly apply'd, may please more than one of twenty times the value. But men extremely profuse or covetous, ought not to be prefer'd at all, these extremes making them mercenary, cowardly, and perfidious.

Education is of the last consequence, and care shou'd not only be taken to adapt the professions to the genius or inclinations of the youth; but also to encrease the numbers of each profession, as the emergencies of State may require. And I think nothing will prove more pernicious to the Publick than the new erections of Charity Schools, where the poor Children are bred up all pen-men (forsooth) and qualify'd for such employments where they are not wanting, but which are on the contrary more than overstock'd. This causes a prodigious drain from the Manufacturers and Labourers, who are observ'd to grow much scarcer since this mischievous invention, and which of course encreases the price of man's labour, makes commodities be wrought worse, and sent dearer to the market. It does further give the greatest encouragement to idleness, the poor folks using all means and interest to educate their Children book-learned and Schollards; which is a most inconceivable damage to the Nation: as to this same Nation, I take the great number of Country Latin Schools to be a real loss and

and injury, since four or five years of their childrens labor are lost and mispent, by most that can pay a small matter for their teaching; tho' not one in five hundred makes any future use of it to their advantage, but rather to their ruin, and so much of their best time irrecoverably lost from learning other matters, infinitely more servicable to themselves and the Publick. This same Latin-mongering spoils their hand-writing, figuring, and true English, the only accomplishments requisite for the Populace.

Another matter highly injurious to the Publick, as it particularly reflects on the Prince, is that the Discipline of the Army should be so neglected as it is in England, that commands shou'd be dispos'd of for money, not merit; that false musters and unfit men should be conniv'd at; that advantage should be taken of the Soldiers cloathing and subsistence; that they are not kept to easy labour for the publick good in time of Peace, and care taken to employ them when disbanded. But the most shameful evil is, the Collonels, and others making their children of two or three years old, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns. I have been credibly inform'd that girls have been list'd officers, nay, that children unborn were so. Nothing can be a greater cheat, nor more disgusting to all sorts of people, than to see this practice; and to pay the money (which some want for necessaries) to uphold this wicked

wickedness: nor is it to be doubted but our good and wise King will forthwith redress this evil, for the fact is undoubtedly true; besides that, he will have the more places to dispose of, to men devoted to his service, and greater numbers of officers and effective men to serve in his wars. Care should also be taken, that the Soldiers in their quarters should not meddle with the Magistracy, nor invade any man's property; that they be kept to virtue and morals, and not to be suffer'd to destroy the Game, which is a great offence to the Country Gentlemen, tho' they even give their consent to the officers.

England is now so vicious and wicked, that it is of absolute necessity to put the several Laws strictly in execution, the doing of which tho' a seeming severity, yet is real charity: and no people will ever obey a Government that do not pay a ready obedience to the Laws. The declaration of pardoning none, will save the blood and punishment of thousands. Magistrates, in a word, must be oblig'd to do their duties, whereas they are at this time so complying, and so negligent to the last degree, that vice has got the better of almost all of them. Riots therefore, and Factions, and Tumults, particularly the disturbers of the Worship of such as are tolerated by law to exercise their Religion, shou'd be as severely punish'd as the law allows, and the abettors of such disturbers of the Peace remarkably

Remarkably discourag'd: for in a good Government, all men ought to have free liberty to speak and write upon any subject whatsoever, not inconsistent with virtue, morality, or the civil administration.

It's highly necessary, that the Revenue and publick Money be put into a good method and frugal management, both as to the receipts and issues, as well as in all parts of the application to proper uses; correcting the sinister practices of under-officers, and preventing the lavishing of great sums by bribery, or trades-men's cheating and omissions, the slow execution of business both civil and military, especially going to market upon tick, the advancing of money upon loans or interest, and using of extortion in returns. Times ought to be set for undertakers, and no great contracts made privately or underhand, but publish'd in the Gazette, and by other proper methods, to the view and consideration of all the world. But I am grown less sollicitous about this most essential article, since his Majesty has shewn his wisdom, by putting the Earl of HALIFAX at the head of the Treasury.

There's nothing the Nation labours so much under at present, as the heavy load of publick Debts (tho' numbers of particular men be rich and opulent) and therefore its hop'd his Majesty will apply his great wisdom to this
work;

work; and manage his own Revenue so well, as to spare (if possible) some part of it to the publick-service. This will gain him millions in time, and endear him to the People above all things: for nothing can please them so much after their late great payments, as some such act, tho' a small insignificant matter. What accession of power and her people's love, did Queen ELIZABETH acquire by returning some taxes, for which there appear'd no occasion? and by her frugal management of the purse, were not all the purses of the Nation at her devotion? Nor, give me leave to say it, will any thing more displease the people at this juncture, than the asking of an additional Revenue, as some out of officiousness shew themselves ready to offer, and others on purpose to make his Majesty odious, to entangle his affairs, and that the Hanover Succession may seem a national burthen: whereas it's humbly conceiv'd, that the present Revenue will answer all the demands of the Royal Family, till the necessity of publick affairs requires the raising of more money.

But that these main points, and capital articles, may not put smaller matters out of our memory, which yet deserve our care, I am of opinion that Gypsies, Vagabonds, and Beggarly Strangers, ought to be taken up and severely handl'd, if they cannot give a good account of themselves: for they com-
monly

monly disperse lyes and scandal, they teach the people tricks and knavish shifts, they are examples of idleness and thieving, and have an opportunity (which I wou'd have understood likewise of Hawkers and Pedlars) to carry about any treasonable design, correspondence, or libels, on which they may be put by crafty, discontented, or ill-affected persons; who rather than fail of their purpose, will gain 'em with money.

The best way to prevent this, and many the like mischiefs, is to have Gentlemen of virtue, understanding, and industry made Magistrates; men who know their business, and that will be sure to execute the Laws; men that will be zealous to retrieve the morals and manners of the people, who are dissolute and vicious to the highest degree. But no Clergymen (as I said more than once before) ought to be in the civil Magistracy, and as few Lawyers, at least Attorneys and Pettyfoggers, as may be. And if any of these Magistrates be remiss and negligent, or shew others the worst example by transgressing the Laws in their own persons, let such be immediately turn'd out, and others put in their room without favour or affection. I had like to forget that all Fees ought to be ascertain'd by Act of Parliament, with a great penalty on those that will presume to take more.

The present practice of the Courts of Law is extremely corrupt, dilatory, and expensive; the Counsel abominably mercenary, and guilty of extravagant extortion in their fees; the Attorneys are arbitrary in their bills, treacherous to their clients, the greatest encouragers of cheats and falsehoods, ay and of perjury too; commonly beggars, poisoning the peoples morals, ever setting 'em together by the ears, and awing them to that degree, that they perpetually live in fear, being little better than their slaves: so that the Law, which was specially ordain'd for the relief of the poor and ignorant, is become their highest bane and oppression.

I further presume to hint whether (now that we have got a King who delights in hunting, the princely exercise of his Saxon Ancestors) it may not be of service, to enforce the Laws against Poachers, especially as to shooting. These being very numerous, and encreasing every day, the mischief is not only the almost intire destruction of the Game, even in his Majesty's forests; but it makes the common people negligent of their callings, idle, lewd, insolent, and beggarly. To prevent these or worse effects, care should be taken to revive and encourage by prizes or otherwise, such other Sports and Pastimes as were anciently in use for the publick exercise of the people; such as Wrestling, Cudgel-play-

ing,

ing, throwing the barr, and the like recreations ferving to increafe ftrength and agility of body, no lefs than to procure or to preferve health. Among others it is more to be defir'd than hop'd (confidering our more than Jewifh fuperftition) that there fhould be a reasonable exercife of the Militia after evening fervice on Sundays, particularly in fummer, as it is practis'd in fome Proteftant countries abroad; which would be ufeful to the State, and pleafing to the People: provided always, that their fire-arms be kept in a room for that purpofe, excepting only when they are thus to be employ'd.

But why fhould I longer infift on thefe particulars, when I confider that never before did Britain poffefs a King endu'd with fo many glorious qualities; as true piety, fortitude, temperance, prudence, juftice, knowledge, induftry, frugality, and every other virtue, all fupported by an active and even temper, by uninterrupted health and application: fo that (thanks be to heaven) we may all reft affur'd that this greateft and beft of Princes will encourage virtue and truth, that he will employ and countenance fuch men as will in time (under his benign influence) make thefe Iflands the moft happy, flourishing and potent Empire of the whole world; efpecially, by the deftruction of Superftition and Vice, the higheft and moft glorious conqueft:



A
M E M O R I A L
Concerning the
S T A T E O F A F F A I R S
I N
E N G L A N D

*In the latter part of the Year 1714. **



THE happiness of the Nation, and the wellfare of Europe, as well as his Majesty's quiet, does in a great measure depend upon the conduct that is to be observ'd in the present juncture; and nothing but a Prince of so great wisdom, experience, and steadiness

* This Memorial was not drawn up by Mr. TOLAND, but found among his Papers; and therefore properly belongs to the *Appendix*: but it was thought fit to insert it here, as relating to the same subject with the foregoing Piece.

ness can extricate us out of our present difficulties.

That the State of Affairs, upon his Majesty's coming to the Crown, may be the better understood, it's necessary that some short account should be given of the two Parties which so unhappily divide the Nation, their interest, views, and designs.

It's notorious that a great many of the Clergy in Queen ELIZABETH'S reign came very unwillingly into the Reformation ; and that it cut them to the heart to part with the gainful Doctrines of Popery : the Pope's Supremacy they were willing to quit, but 'twas in hopes of gaining that Supremacy to themselves.

These men, who saw how fond JAMES I. was of arbitrary power, thought they had no way of making themselves absolute in ecclesiastical matters, but by allowing him to be so in temporal : and in order to it, they preached up the Divine Right of Kings, and that Obedience was due to them in all things, tho' never so contrary to the Law of the Land, if not contrary to the Law of God ; and that Subjects on pain of damnation were obliged never to resist, tho' to save their Liberties and Lives, and that the descent of the Crown was unalterable by any human Laws.

These Doctrines did not spread much during King JAMES's reign, and serv'd only to create jealousies in the minds of his People, which had very fatal effects in the reign of his Son, who was intirely govern'd by these principles, and the party which embrac'd them, who went under the name of *Cavaliers*, as those that opposed them did under that of *Round-heads*.

CHARLES II. prefer'd none in Church or State, but who embrac'd those arbitrary principles; and the Universities made it their business to instill them into the youth: and then it was, that the parties were distinguished by the names of *Whig* and *Tory*; the latter joining with the King, hindred the passing a Law for excluding the Duke of York from the Crown, contrary to the bent of the generality of the Nation, who then dreaded nothing so much as a Popish Successor.

JAMES II. when he came to the crown, was so weak as to imagine the Clergy and Tories wou'd be tied down by their own Doctrines; and therefore courted the Dissenters, sufficiently exasperated against the Church by a long and severe persecution: this made the Church quickly renounce their former doctrines of Non-resistance, &c. and promise the Dissenters (who saw what King JAMES meant

meant by designing to divide the Protestants) to treat them for the future as their brethren ; but when they had opportunity of doing it, then they shew'd that they thought Faith was no more to be kept with Schismaticks, than the Papists do with Hereticks. And when the Parliament, in spite of all their opposition, pass'd the Toleration Act, they reviv'd their old principles, and ever since taught those Doctrines in the Universities, by which means most of the Gentry have been poison'd: whereas if King WILLIAM had reform'd the Universities, and employ'd none but men of revolution principles, Torism had been rooted out.

He, or rather his Minister, to whom he weakly intrusted the whole administration, industriously nurs'd up the Parties, which being pretty equal, the Court cou'd turn the ballance on what side they pleas'd. This oblig'd the Party they headed to come into their measures ; since otherwise they saw they must be oblig'd to give up their preferments and pensions to the other party. It was this, and not any disaffection, which made the Whigs act so scandalous a part with relation to the coming over of one of the illustrious House of Hanover. They had no other way to preserve their leaders, and consequently themselves, in their posts ; and that the Tories put these difficulties on them, not with any design to serve the House of

Hanover, their conduct ever since has made very plain.

This dextrous management of the Parties brought things to that pass, that neither of them scrupl'd at any thing that wou'd serve their own side; and they seldom consider'd whether a man was rightly elected, but whether he was of the right side: and if one party propos'd any thing which was for the publick good, the other party, for that only reason, wou'd oppose it. And as one party was for humbling of France, supporting of the Allies, preserving the Toleration, hindring the Clergy from assuming more power than the constitution allow'd them; the other party (tho' their principles did not influence them) wou'd in opposition have taken the contrary side, by being in the interest of France, and the Pretender, and favouring the Papists both at home and abroad, and for persecuting the Dissenters.

And the Tories, tho' they were frequently counted by King WILLIAM, yet he cou'd never make them really his friends, or to join with the Whigs in the common interest. When they were out of favour, they clog'd the wheels of affairs, by providing deficient Funds, &c; and when employ'd, they favour'd as much as they durst the designs of France: and King WILLIAM being in their hands, when the Spanish King died, they made him

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own the Duke of Anjou, and sit still till the French were possess'd of the Spanish Monarchies; and acted such a part, that the King at last cou'd not avoid seeing that all his caresses were in vain, and that his own, and the Nation's safety, required the removing them from all places of trust, or profit. And how they acted since, I need no more mention, than how they acted during CHARLES II. reign.

Though the greatest part of the Gentry, by reason of their University Education, have been debauch'd into anti-revolution Principles; yet the Populace, who had no such education, and especially the better sort of them, in whom lies the greatest part of the riches of the Nation, and who have votes in choosing Parliament-men, were for the most part true to the principles of the Revolution, and to the common Protestant interest; and when we had any tolerable Parliaments, it was owing to the little interest the Clergy and Gentry had then over them.'

But these well meaning men were at last imposed on by the perpetual noise the Clergy made about *the Danger of the Church*, and by being persuaded by the Tories, that the Whigs, for the sake of their private interest, wou'd never put an end to the War; which, they said, had given them an opportunity of cheating the Nation of more than thirty

millions; but that if they wou'd be so much in their own interest, as to vote for the Tories, they wou'd force the Whigs to refund, and ease them of all their Taxes, and give them a glorious Peace, and a most flourishing Trade. These, and such like stories, made them desert their old friends, and vote for the Tories.

The High-Church Clergy, who since SACHEVERELL'S Trial imagine they can rule the People as they please, will rather than endure a Whig Ministry have recourse to their usual arts, and cry out as much as ever of the Danger of the Church, in order to make the People choose such a Parliament as they hope will distress the King, and force him to put the administration into Tory hands.

And it can't be expected but that the Tories, who are now such a majority in Parliament, will do their utmost to be chosen again; and for which now they are in the Country making their utmost efforts, while the Whigs stay in Town, soliciting for places.

And the late Ministry, who know an honest Parliament must call them to account, are oblig'd to be at all possible expence to get one for their turn.

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And considering all the French King's hopes now depend on such a Parliament, it is to be presum'd, that French Money will not be wanting to bribe the electors.

His Majesty's reputation abroad, his quiet at home, and the interest of Europe, depending in a great measure upon the temper of the next Parliament, all efforts ought to be made for obtaining a good Parliament.

And most of the better sort of People, who now feel the effects of a bad Peace, and plainly see that they were grossly deluded by the Tories, and that they neither made out any one charge against the Whigs, or perform'd the least tittle of all their promises, may easily be brought over to join again with the Whigs, especially if due care be taken to have them rightly inform'd of all their late transactions, and Pamphlets writ to that purpose be well dispers'd.

The late Ministry, knowing how much it was for their interest, bribed those who cry'd Pamphlets and Papers about the streets, to cry none but those of their side; and were at no small expence to disperse them into every corner of the Kingdom; and since the paper war is like to continue, the Government shou'd not scruple some small expence, to have that which is writ in its defence as effectually dispers'd.

Nothing

Nothing would have a greater influence over the People, than if the King in his declaration for dissolving of the Parliament express himself fully as to the Danger the nation was in, both as to their religious and civil Rights. This wou'd make them perceive, that those who cry'd out most of the danger of the Church, were the only persons that brought the Church in danger.

It will be highly convenient that one, if not of the chief Traytors, yet of their most criminal Instruments, shou'd be convicted before the choosing of a new Parliament; for then the Tories cou'd not take the advantage of the King's peaceably coming to the Crown, to deny all that was acted in favour of France, the Pretender, and Popery, nor ask why the Whigs have so little regard to the welfare of their country, as not to punish, when it is in their power, at least some one of the notorious Conspirators: and I can't think that any one will oppose this proceeding, except he has been tampering with France himself.

That the eyes of the People begin to be open it's evident from the late election in the City, where a Whig Sheriff carry'd it by a majority of more than a thousand: and because there can be no doubt, but that they will carry the election for Parliament men in the City, by at least as great a number,

it ought to be so contriv'd, since other Corporations are influenc'd by the example of London, that the first choice of Parliament men shou'd be made there.

And since there is a division among the Tories, and some of them have distinguish'd themselves from the Jacobites, by several Votes in favour of the House of Hanover, and in being against that destructive treaty with France; there can be no reason, why they ought not to enjoy his Majesty's favour; provided in the elections they will oppose the Jacobite Tories, and in Parliament come into proper measures for punishing the betrayers of their country. This method will very much increase the number of his Majesty's friends, and enlarge the true British interest.

As for those, who according to their usual custom, hope by a majority in Parliament to force the King to discharge his faithful servants, and to employ none but themselves, they are his worst enemies; especially the Leaders amongst them, who slight his Majesty's favour, and wou'd not accept the most beneficial employs, if not at the head of their own party; many of which Party, tho' prefer'd by or got into the Parliament by means of the late Treasurer, yet because he (tho' as black as any other) wou'd not take such hasty unadvis'd steps in favour of the Pretender,

as a late Secretary, they went over to him as acting more agreeable to their violent tempers.

And if there be any great men about the King, who either recommend Jacobite Tories, or make an interest for them in elections, it's plain they intend not his Majesty's service, but design upon the first opportunity to set themselves at the head of the Tory party.

In order therefore to the getting of an honest Parliament, it's necessary since the late Ministry pick'd out the most violent Jacobites for Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, and Magistrates, that they should be chang'd, and that such Whigs or Hanoverian Tories as are men of probity and courage, and of the best estates, shou'd be put into their places. In order to this, his Majesty ought to have a list of the best men in every county; and since the Lord Lieutenants, and other great men, will in their choice have more regard to their own creatures than his Majesty's service, it might be proper that those they recommend, be consider'd by some private disinterested persons.

The Collectors of the Duties, especially of the Excise, who can influence the Ale-house-keepers as they please, and who being a set of profligate men, have almost as much debauch'd the People, as the Clergy have the Gentry,

Gentry, ought to be chang'd, or oblig'd on loss of their places in the elections, to do their utmost for his Majesty's service.

If these and all other methods whatsoever, which are necessary for procuring a new Parliament, should be strictly observ'd, yet the Tories can have no manner of reason to complain, since they destroy'd the freedom of elections by mobbing the electors, and by bribing the returning officers, and by using all other indirect methods: and considering the Court may be secure almost to a man of the members from Scotland, and there are near one hundred and fifty, who by reason of their places depend on the Court, there can be no danger, if vigorous methods are taken, of not carrying a majority.

When the Clergy see a steady conduct observ'd by the Government, and that they have no way of getting preferments but by coming into its measures, they, who mean nothing by Church and Religion, but themselves and their own interest, wou'd not long stand out; and in the mean time there may be such divisions sown among them, and one University set against another, as they may be disabled from doing much mischief.

The Tories want courage as well as sense, and may be us'd by a resolute Prince as he

thinks fit: but if a Prince is so abject, as to court them, they grow most insolent in power, and no Exchequer is sufficient to satisfy their unreasonable demands; and so mercenary are they, that there's scarce one amongst them but may be easily brib'd to betray his own party. Sir C*** M*** is a remarkable instance of this, who, tho' at their head for many years till his death, was by agreement against the Court in little matters, the better to serve it in greater.

CROMWELL by acting a steady part, and employing none but such as were hearty in his interest, tho' he had in a manner the whole Nation against him, yet govern'd as he thought fit; whereas the STUARTS, tho' they had the whole Nation for them, yet by not observing such a conduct, but giving themselves up to be govern'd by a few worthless men (who as long as they enjoy'd their favour heap'd what preferments they pleas'd on themselves and their creatures) met with a great many difficulties, and their affairs were continually embarrass'd.

A Prince who only sees with his Favourites eyes, and hears with their ears, can be no better than their tool, to execute those designs that their ambition, their covetousness, their revenge, and their other passions will inspire them with; and the more a King is a stranger, the more will they be tempted
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to endeavour to impose on him, especially if before they have govern'd other Princes as they pleas'd : such men will take the merit of all the good which is done to themselves, and lay the blame of all ill on him. A Prince thus besieg'd by his Favourites, tho' his understanding be never so good, yet it will cause his own subjects to have but a very mean opinion of his parts. Whereas a King who has a mind to govern, and not to be govern'd by his Ministers, ought upon all occasions, to receive information from such private persons without doors, as are men of good understanding, and have shew'd themselves in the worst of times zealous of his interest, and who by being made easy in their private circumstances, have nothing to do but to attend to his Majesty's service.

These Men, tho' with the utmost privacy, may be permitted humbly to offer their opinion, and with the like privacy receive his Majesty's command. This wou'd give him an opportunity to see whether his Ministers acted sincerely with him, and make them as well as others have a just opinion of his great penetration ; so that none would dare ever to impose on him ; and the advantage his Majesty may receive (not to mention any others) as to the management of his Revenue either at home or in the Plantations (which last is under the worst regulation) would be very considerable. And the Trade of the Nation has

has been so little the business of the Ministry, that no other use has been made of the Board of Trade, which cost the Government every year such considerable sums, than to skreen the miscarriages of the Ministry; and the filling up that Commission with Merchants, and such as understand Trade, wou'd be a great satisfaction to all the trading part of the Nation.





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Non Rem antiqui damnabant sed Artem.

PLIN. Nat. Hist. xxix. i.



O mention your Friendship, Generosity, or any other of your good qualities to your self, is no more improper, than doing it to your acquaintance, or to those whom your name has any way reach'd; that is, telling them what they know already:

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but as these will be always well-pleas'd, to find their experience or their opinion confirm'd by fresh instances; so you, SIR, ought never to be offended, at the grateful expressions of those you have oblig'd, tho' praise be not what you either like or seek. I take the liberty therefore to repeat the ineffaceable sense I have of the concern you shew'd, for my late indisposition at London; and my thanks for so seasonably assisting me even in person, to fly from the foggy, smoaky, steamy, and putrid air of that vast City: which, in so weak a condition, wou'd have naturally kill'd me in less than a fortnight, without needing the help of art to do it sooner. I am not ignorant, that certain men of vitiated palates, yet mighty pretenders to nice breeding, declare a disrelish of all such personal acknowledgments, especially if public: but they are such as your favorite Author, the younger PLINY, has long since describ'd, (1) *men who doing nothing themselves deserving commendation, think it impertinent that any should be commended.* The disapprobation of such delicates I shall studiously court, by never failing to applaud merit.

As for my present state, I am recovering indeed, tho' very slowly: for having as yet little appetite, I can have no great strength;

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(1) Postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. *Lib. 8. Ep. 21.*

nor have I been once out of doors, since last abroad with your self. This is the effect of Physic, taken against judgment, and given without any. Had I obey'd the call of Nature, to which I am not wont to be disobedient; and retir'd from London when my Lungs and Stomach begun to fail me (which I perceiv'd both to do by degrees for four winters past, tho' in the thickest fogs breathing and eating freely in the Country) this sickness had not in all probability happen'd: and when it happen'd, had I then quitted the Town with the soonest, had I kept to Mr. LA MARQUE's simple and intelligible manner of treatment, which succeeded likewise to admiration (for I shall never excuse my own blameable easiness in this matter) I had e'er now been in perfect health. That honest man, who's well worth your acquaintance, is a good Botanist, a dextrous Surgeon, and prepares his own Medicines; joining all the three functions together, as of right they were united originally: and solely trusting to his own eyes, experience, and judgment. But I must needs be fashionable, and persuaded to put my self under the care of a collegiate Physician by a noble Lord, the best of Patriots and kindest of Friends; who himself, the more's the pity, is sure to fall one day by the hands of the Doctors: men, who, the greatest part of them, ruin Nature by Art; and who, by endeavouring to be always very cunning for others, by making every thing a mys-

tery, are frequently too cunning for themselves.

This has been the point in regard to me, since my Physician (willing enough I believe to do me good) plainly mistook both my Case and Constitution. It wou'd be tedious, to give you an account of the particulars. Thus much only I now tell you, that what was given me for a gentle aperitive, to dispose my body for stronger operations, vomited and purg'd me for the best part of three days; brought on a looseness, that cou'd hardly be stopt in a week; and, besides the continuance of the vomiting, threw me into fainting and swooning fits. Many material observations, that I made from time to time on other people, slightly indispos'd, but disabled or dispatch'd by their Physicians, presented themselves on this occasion fresh to my mind. On this you may therefore depend, that, happen what will, I shall never more put my self under the management of such, whose art is founded in darkness, and improv'd by Murther. Even this Gentleman, after my telling him how much and how violently his Lenitive had vomited me, which he own'd was contrary to his expectation, seem'd no otherwise concern'd than gravely to say, *That it was very remarkable.* Was it so Doctor? I promise you then, it shall be the last Remark, that any Physician shall ever make upon me; and the

reason very good: (2) *They learn their Art at the hazard of our lives, and make experiments by our deaths*; which is the infallible sentence of one who was a thorough judge, and who'll tell you more truths presently. From this censure however ought to be exempted those few gallant spirits (far exalted above the herd of their profession) who, by their Learning, Integrity, and Application, deserve to be stil'd the *Benefactors* and *Deliverers* of mankind, in this like God himself: only it were to be wish'd that they follow'd the example farther, and made the charge of their assistance so easy; as barely to serve for an exception from him, who bestows all his benefits freely. A distinction (in short) ought to be made, be the number on one side ever so small.

But the whole mystery, with the numberless mischiefs, of Quackery, (for, the cause of the Disease being once known, all Physic, except manual Operations, a regular Diet, moderate Exercises, and the proper use of Simples, is such) all Quackery, I say, you'll find divinely laid open by the elder PLINY, in the 1st Chapter of the 29th Book of his *Natural History*: a work little read by the Physicians, and less understood; since even the delirious fables, charms, and other magi-

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(2) Discunt periculis nostris, & experimenta per mortes agunt. PLIN. *Nat. Hist. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

cal vanities he so judiciously explodes, are by many of them grossly confounded with his approv'd remedies and most solid remarks; It is literally an unparallel'd performance, the like having never been accomplish'd before or after him: and the character his Nephew gives of it, is no more than just; that it is not only (3) *a work full of Learning, but likewise as diffuse and diversify'd as Nature it self.* Certain passages out of him, instead of a more modish New-year's Gift, I hereby send you; being sure they'll please, if they do not convince you.

After having given a historical account of the many changes, some of 'em from white to black as we say, that the Art has undergone (which is an insuperable objection against it) he proceeds (4) thus: *There is no doubt but all those Physicians, in hunting after fame by some novelty, make an assur'd traffick of our lives. Hence those miserable diversities of opinion*

(3) *Naturae Historiarum xxxvii. opus diffusum, eruditum, nec minus varium quam ipsa Natura. PLIN. lib. 3. Ep. 5.*

(4) *Nec dubium est, omnes istos, famam novitate aliquâ aucupantes, animas statim nostras negotiari. Hinc illae circa aegros miserae sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem censente, ne videatur accessio alterius: hinc illa infelicis monumenti inscriptio, TURBA SE-MEDICORUM PERIISSE. Mutatur Ars quotidie, toties interpolis, & ingeniorum Græciae flatu impellimur; palamque est, ut quisque interistos loquendo poleat, Imperatorem illico vitae necisque fieri. Ceu verò non millia gentium sine Medicis degant, nec tamen sine Medicinâ: sicut populus Romanus ultra sexcentimum annum, nec ipse in accipiendis Artibus lentus; Medicinae etiam avidus, donec expertam damnavit. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

opinion in Consultations about the sick, not one of 'em declaring himself of another's Judgment, lest he should seem to approve his Sentiments: hence that Inscription order'd by a wretched patient to be put on his Tomb, THAT THE MULTITUDE OF HIS DOCTORS HAD KILL'D HIM. The Art is chang'd every day, being as often patch'd up, and we are driven whithersoever the breath of the Grecian wits [who invented this mystery] will blow us. 'Tis moreover evident, that the greater tongue-pad any among 'em is, he straight becomes the sovereign disposer of Life and Death; as if thousands of Nations had not liv'd, and still do so, without Physicians, tho' not without Physic. Thus did the People of Rome for above six hundred years, whereas they were not backward in receiving the Arts; and even fond of Physic, till after trial, they condemn'd and banish'd it. Here's our first passage.

Now, he that in these daily, these endless changes and contradictory methods, does not see the absolute uncertainty of the Art, must needs be either senseless, or prejudic'd, or interested: and it is as evidently observable in ours as in all ages before us, that those Nations, which have no Physicians, are troubled with few diseases; and these easily cur'd by Diet, Exercise, or Simples, whose effects have been long and generally known, many of them Specifics. Thus it is likewise with particular persons, who make little use of

Physicians where they abound, of which I could give many examples; my self among the rest, till I became infected with this deplorable habitude of some of my best friends, it self the greatest of Distempers. But shall we have recourse to no sort of Physicians? I answer, that if there be any choice, 'tis the hardest of all things to be made: for the Doctors have almost as many jarring Sects and incompatible Factions among 'em as the Priests, and come little short of hating each other as heartily; that is, like Devils, according to a general (5) maxim. They broach novel opinions visibly for the sake of thwarting their Adversaries, there being nothing so ridiculous or extravagant, which many of 'em do not hold: generally founding their conceits, upon some loose scrap of one antient Sage or other, which seems to countenance what they maintain standing thus alone; but, read with what goes before or after in the same place, it signifies quite the contrary, or something as different as a Cock and an Elephant.

Nor is this the worst. They reduce all Diseases, with their Cures, right or wrong to certain precarious Systems, or Hypotheses, according to which he that expresses himself the most volubly or plausibly, sets up immediately for an able Physician,

(5) *Odium Theologorum est odium Diabolorum. Consens. Univerf.*

cian, and is by others so deem'd: tho' he knows nothing of Anatomy, Botany, or any such requisite qualifications; and wou'd sooner kill a man according to the Doctrin he has espous'd, than cure him by following any other method. PLINY does not exceed bounds a jot, in affirming (6) *with wonder and indignation, that their Art has been heretofore more inconstant, and is now more frequently alter'd, than any other, tho' none be more amply rewarded*; the easiest means, one would think, for acquiring of certainty and stability. I shall not insist on such slight crimes, compared to others, as their willfully protracting many times the cure of Diseases; or their turning of small disorders into perillous symptoms, in order to squeeze the purse of an opulent patient: nor yet am I prone to credit those Physicians, who accuse some of their faculty of willfully sending a patient out of the world; lest another should have the credit of a cure, which they cou'd not effect. This suggestion may be owing to their mutual envy, which is long since grown into more than one (7) Proverb.

But

(6) *Mirumque & indignum protinus subit, nullam Artium inconstantior fuisse, & etiamnum saepius mutari, cum sit fructuosior nulla. Hist. Nat. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

(7) *Medicorum Invidia:*

Medicus Invidiae Pelagus:

Medicus Invidiae perforata Clepsydra.

Consens. Univers.

But not to quit such an entertaining and instructive companion as PLINY, a good way lower in the same Chapter I have quoted, there's another curious passage; which, tho' the matter of every body's observation, was never so happily express'd. He begins with the sottish credulity of the Patients, and goes on with the stupendous imposture of their Doctors; who, (to speak of the thing as modestly as may be) are departed almost as far from ESCULAPIUS and HIPPOCRATES, as the Christian Priests are from JESUS CHRIST and his APOSTLES. Thus run his (8) words: *Whoever treats of Physic, otherwise than in Greek terms, has no authority; no not with the ignorant vulgar, or such as understand not a word of the language: and they believe those things the less, which concern their health and preservation, if they are made intelligible to them. Thus (by HERCULES) it comes to pass in this alone of all Arts, that credit is presently given to any body, who professes himself a Physician, tho' a lye be not so dangerous*
in

(8) Imò verò auctoritas, aliter quàm Græcè eam tractantibus (Medicinam scilicet) etiam apud imperitos expertesque linguæ, non est: ac minùs credunt, quæ ad salutem suam pertinent, si intelligunt. Ita (Hercules) in hac Artium solâ evenit ut cuicunque, Medicum se professo, statim credatur, cùm sit periculum in nullo mendacio majus: non tamen illud intuemur, adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. Nulla præterea Lex, quæ puniant inscitiam capitalem; nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris, & experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantùm hominem occidisse impunitas summa est: quinimò transit in convitium, & intemperantia culpatur; ultroque, qui periere, arguuntur. *Hist. Nat. ubi supra.*

in any other regard: but this we do not see or consider, so flattering and agreeable is the hope, that every one conceives in his own behalf. Let it be also consider'd that there is no Law, for punishing with death the ignorance that causes it; nor so much as an example of any being call'd to account on such a score. They learn their Art at the hazard of our Lives, and make experiments by our Deaths: besides, that none, but only Physicians, may murder men with all security and impunity; nay, and affront their memory afterwards, reproaching them with intemperance, and reviling the dead without provocation. If you believe them, in a word, none ever perish'd by a Physician, nor recover'd without one. How disingenuous! how barbarous! first to torture and kill us, and then to give out, we did it our selves; that we wou'd not be govern'd, and ate, or drunk, or did something else the Doctor forbid: whereas on the other hand, if a Patient's happy Constitution gets the better of an improper prescription, and the person mends; then the Doctor has wrought a signal Cure, and the Medicine is cry'd up to the destruction of thousands. But all that Chapter, of which I only give a few choice sketches, ought to be carefully read over and over by every one, who values such near concerns as health and life.

Now, SIR, since I have so frankly declar'd against those Empirics, tho' not against Medicine,

cine, (which is the gift of God and Nature) I shall, when my health is confirm'd, and leisure permits, send you my thoughts more particularly, about the method how we may acquire the knowledge of those things, wherein this Medicine truly consists; and at the same time give you some necessary cautions against the intolerable cheats of the Apothecaries, who impose on the Physicians, as much as these on the Patients: for, to do every body justice, the latter have not done half the hurt to mankind as the former; and they wou'd do still less, did they prepare their own Medicines, and avoid those monstrous mixtures, which are the source of infinite mischiefs, and wherein a systematical conjecture has more place than reasonable or experimental knowledge. They were deceitfully invented to bereave people of their money and their senses. The poor Patients must never know what they take, nor ever pay enough for what they do not know. Besides that the several ingredients of those Compositions (by our Author prettily term'd *inexplicable*, or if you will *inextricable*) thus intangl'd and imbarrafs'd, fermented, coagulated, or any other way alter'd, do often produce quite other effects than what were expected from their proportionable adjustment: whereas perhaps any one of them, at least some other Simple for certain, wou'd succeed as intended.

The genuine Books of HIPPOCRATES, with a few other pieces in that collection call'd *his Works*, are the best guides and helps to him, that wou'd study Medicine in the way of nature and experience. Such a person neither prepossess'd by any hypothesis, nor servilely tying himself down to any system, ought to pick what's rational, good and experienc'd, wherever he finds them; as well from an old woman or a savage Indian, as from Dr. MEAD, or Professor BOERHAVE: nor shou'd he slight every thing that even Quacks and Mountebanks vend, who often light one way or other on an excellent remedy, by the credit of which they dispose of numberless poysons. Finally, he must not be a THESSALUS, one *who in the reign of NERO* (as (9) PLINY acquaints us) *raꝝ'd and foam'd against the Physicians of all ages before him, rejecting indiscriminately whatever they had invented or approv'd*: and this, not out of love to truth, or for the good of mankind; but to bring the whole grist of Rome and Italy (if not of the Empire) to his own mill, pardon so vulgar an expression. The candor, judicious observations, and incredible diligence of HIPPOCRATES, will give us a nobler idea of things. That admirable person, whom for some years past I have esteem'd, as I do still, for one of the

(9) Eadem ætas, Neronis principatu, ad Thessalum transfuit; delentem cuncta majorum placita, & rabie quâdam in omni aevi Medicos perorantem, &c. *Plin. Ibid.*

the most accurate Philosophers; and whose writings I have perus'd more than once on that account (for at the University I never look'd into him, then groveling under the prejudice of thinking him fit only for Physicians) HIPPOCRATES, I say, who has preserved in part the salutiferous remedies of ESCULAPIUS, shall be the champion of the next Letter: well assur'd, that we may as successfully batter Quackery by his authority, as we do Superstition by that of the Bible.

In the mean time PLINY shall hold his rank in this Letter, and entertain us now with a short parallel between the no less easily than cheaply procur'd Simples of the Fields or Gardens, and those expensive far-fetch'd pernicious mixtures of the Apothecaries, equally ruining men's bodies and estates. Hear him, and be wiser. *It (10) has pleased NATURE to make these the only Remedies, things that may be prepar'd by every body, easy to be found without expence, and some of 'em our daily food. But the frauds of men, and sharpers with baited hooks, have invented those shops, wherein every man's own Life is publickly*

(10) Haec sola Naturae placuerat esse Remedia, parata vulgo, inventu facilia, ac sine impendio, & ex quibus vivimus. Postea fraudes hominum, & ingeniorum capturae, officinas invenère istas, in quibus sua cuique homini venalis promittitur vita, Statim compositiones & mixturae inexplicabiles decantantur, Arabia atque India in medio aestimantur, ulcerique parvo Medicina a Rubro Mari imputatur; cum Remedia vera quotidie pauperrimus quisque coenet: nam si ex horto petantur, aut herba vel frutex quaeratur, nulla artium vilior fiet. *Hist. Nat. lib. 24. cap. 1.*

publicly exposed to sale to him. There, compositions and inexplicable mixtures are immediately cry'd up; Arabia and India are rated on the counter, and a cure from the Red-Sea is apply'd to an inconsiderable bile; whereas the poorest man has, every day, the true Remedies for a sallet: but if such be brought out of the garden, or some herb or shrub be sought in the fields, the Apothecaries will of all arts become the most contemptible. The passage is in the first Chapter of the 24th Book, and is too plain to need any comment.

I wou'd only here observe, how many, how great cures we continually read and hear perform'd in the East and West-Indies, by flowers, roots, leaves, juices, barks and the like. But, without going to foreign Countries, wonders are daily wrought by Simples in the Highlands of Scotland, in the Hebrides or Western Isles, and in some parts of Ireland, whither the plague of systematical Physic has not yet penetrated: and, what is still more observable, when, by the information of Travellers or otherwise, any Remedy of this kind is communicated to a collegiate Physician (as it sometimes happens) presently this man of mystery, who scorns to learn of any one, so alters and disguises his discovery, by preparing it more artificially than the Natives, or incorporating it with a multitude of other things, that it either loses all its virtue, or produces a different,

ferent, if not a contrary effect. In the meantime a noble Medicine, perhaps a Specific, is cry'd down and grows into difuse, thro' the credulity of those that implicitly hearken to a pretending Coxcomb. Thus even the Peruvian bark, and Ipecacuana root, are often render'd noxious or insignificant by pharmaceutical preparations.

We must not ungratefully forget on this occasion those wise and worthy Ladies, who, considering, or it may be sadly experiencing, the dangerous and often fatal compositions, the clogging and nauseating flops of the Physicians (to say nothing of their imperious dictating oracular declarations, or insolent behaviour) take care not only of their own healths and that of their Families; but are also a common blessing in this respect to all around them, whether in town or country: particularly to the lower sort of people, glad to live by cheap and obvious means; while the Great chuse to perish by rules of Art, and to make a parade of their wealth, by the sums they lavish on exotic drugs, not content with enriching one domestic poysoner. Among such beneficent Ladies, I had the happiness to be for several years acquainted with one, who was wife to the best and bravest Citizen that ever lived; whom, tho' by constitution valetudinary, she skillfully nurs'd to a good old age: till at last this excellent woman was seiz'd so violently by a fever, that,

not

not being in a condition to order those helps for her self, she was always so ready to afford others, a Physician was call'd, and she dy'd universally lamented, nor did the truly destitute Sir ROBERT CLAYTON, for this was the man, long survive his faithful companion and preserver. That at present, SIR, I entertain strong hopes of a perfect recovery, that I am able to send you this long Letter (written indeed by fits and starts in my intervals of up-sitting) is for the greatest part owing to the proper things, and directions for using them, sent me by a Lady, exemplarily tender of an infirm husband: and who, as in beauty and modesty she's inferior to none of her own Sex; so, in a clear understanding and an agreeable conversation, she surpasses most of ours. I am likewise inform'd by very good hands, that the Dutchess of MARLBOROUGH (which I record to her Grace's honor, and will not be reckon'd the least of her virtues) contributes more to the ease and relief of the never fame-dying Hero, her illustrious consort, than all the aids of collegiate art; which, in such mighty circumstances, cou'd not possibly fail of being procur'd, were there in reality any thing of this kind effectual or certain. I wish some of this great Lady's family had never seen a Physician. So much of this subject for the present.

If any of the faculty should chance to see my Letter, I know they would first make an arrogant grimace, as disdain'g one unskill'd in their profession; and then pretend to answer it with an insipid Jest, saying, that tho' I complain'd of being immoderately purg'd and vomited, I had not yet got rid of all my Bile. That is true: to let 'em see I know something of the animal economy, tho' little of their juggling. Nevertheless, I do assure ye, my old friend, that I never wrote any thing with more phlegm in my whole life; which those facetious Gentlemen may be ready enough to allow, tho' in a different sense from you. But I care as little what they say, as they do what becomes of their Patients: and if they provoke me (as CICERO said of the Petty-foggers of Rome, who reproach'd him with not understanding the quirks and chicanery of the Law) I shall in three days become no less master of their legerdemain and jargon, than the best of themselves. This, however, would be throwing away too much time by any, that scorn'd to make use of it to the same vile purposes. A nobler task attends me: for I shall study Nature hereafter with regard to the body of man, in her own way and for my own preservation, as the best Philosophers were anciently wont: there being nothing more pleasant than so useful an amusement, very consistent with other occupations. This I was always inclin'd to do, having early assisted at

two courses of Anatomy, after being tolerably initiated into Botany: but I was diverted from so good a resolution, I know not how. The Craft I abhorr'd, the Skill I admir'd; herein precisely of my Author's mind, who says, that *the antients did not condemn the thing, but the trade.*

While I am comforting my self with these sage ideas, you are busily retrieving your losses by the villanous execution of a late execrable Scheme. Long may you enjoy health for your own sake, and that of your lovely family. But as I heartily interest my self in whatever concerns you, so I particularly wish, you may never become the prey of those merciless sharks, I have been hitherto describing: for were your purse as large as your soul, it wou'd not suffice both for Doctors and Directors; and believe me, your body is as little to be trusted with the one, as your money with the other. By these you have lost part of your wealth, and I part of my health by those: wherefore let the caution be mutual, and be persuaded that I am, Dear SIR, your most faithful friend, your most oblig'd and obedient Servant.

Putney, January

1721-2.



L E T T E R S.

To * * *

Oxford, Jan. 1694.

S I R,



Got safe to Oxford, tho' not without frequent apprehensions of being set upon by highway men; and indeed we narrowly escap'd, for the Coaches that came in next after us, and they say those of Monday before us, were all robb'd. I was so far from making any observations upon the country as I came along, that, as if I were never to know my way back again, I could not once look out, the weather was so tempestuous. One of the Fellows of New College, a violent partisan of the Clergy, happen'd to be my fellow traveller, of whom in that small time, as occasional discourses favour'd me, I inform'd my self of the abilities, genius, and disposition of the Doctors. The place is very pleasant, the Colleges are exceeding fine, and

I must

I must confess I never saw so much of the air of an University before. I ly under great obligations to the Gentlemen who recommended me, both for the advantageous Character they were pleas'd to bestow upon me, and the suitable reception I met with: Mr. CREECH in particular has been extraordinary civil to me, and did me the honor to recommend three or four of the most ingenious men in the University to my acquaintance, who accordingly visited me. The like did Dr. MILL and Mr. KENNET. This I look upon as very obliging, and so I take it, but it is very troublesome, and somewhat à la mode de France: for I am put into as great agonies as Sir LIONEL JENKINS to answer the expectations of those grand Virtuolos; especially some of their Antiquaries, and Linguists who saluted me with peals of barbarous sounds and obsolete words, and I in return spent upon them all my Anglo-Saxon and old British Etymologies; which I hope gave them abundant satisfaction: Hebrew and Irish, I hope, will bear me out for some weeks, and then I'll be pretty well furnish'd from the Library, into which I was sworn and admitted yesterday only: for it was not to be done, without being first propos'd in Congregation. This is the reason, SIR, that I have not sooner written to you, having no account to give of my self. For the future, I'll endeavour frequently to acquaint you with something more entertaining than what concerns my self; tho' if I

cou'd understand what it is you most esteem, I shou'd particularly study to give you satisfaction: with whatever else I can think may convince you, that I am not a little proud of the honor my friends did me, in making me known to so considerable and ingenious a person; and that I am very sensible of your goodness in contributing to make my life more easy, and my studies more free. I beg you, SIR, to acquaint Mr. FREKE as soon as you see him with the contents, whose care and favour I shall always endeavour to deserve: looking upon him as the *primum mobile* of my happiness. I forgot to tell you that Mr. CREECH is publishing *Lucretius* in Latin, with a Paraphrase and Commentary, and *Manilius* in English Verse, which will be nothing inferior to *Lucretius*. Dr. MILL has already communicated his Testament to me, and others sent me several Books, I only inquir'd after, without any design of making bold so soon to borrow; all which I attribute to the respect they owe their friends. I am conveniently and pretty reasonably lodg'd at Mr. Bodington's over against all Souls College, to which place all my Letters and Packets are to be directed.

FOR

Mr. T O L A N D.

Oxford, May 4, 1694.

Mr. TOLAND,

THE Character you bear in Oxford is this; that you are a man of fine parts, great learning, and little religion.

Whither or no this be your just Character, I cannot say; but this I can say, and am assur'd of, that if it be, 'tis your highest interest to reflect seriously upon the matter, and to endeavour betimes to deserve a better. This is the whole occasion of my writing to you; and I entreat you to receive it as it is meant.

'Tis the constant voice of the Holy Scriptures; and there is nothing more agreeable to our common reason, than that much should be requir'd of him to whom much is committed: you are sensible (I believe) that you have receiv'd a great deal; it lies at your door to employ it so, as to be able to give up a good accompt to him, from whom you receiv'd it, at the last day.

'Twould be a very grievous and bitter thought, when you lay upon your death-bed (and thither one day you must come; God only knows how soon) to consider that your

parts, and your knowledge, which, if employ'd in the service of your maker, and to the benefit of mankind, might have entitl'd you to a nobler share of happiness and glory; shall not only be of no advantage to you, but shall infinitely enhance and augment your condemnation.

Popular esteem, the applauses of a Coffee-house, or of a Club of prophane Wits, are mean, unworthy ends; and which a man of understanding is asham'd to stoop for: they are too slender to satisfy at the present; and 'tis certain they can yield us no comfort when we shall have most need of it.

But the discharge of our duty, and a good conscience, are a never-failing spring of pleasure: and what mighty advances may a man make in virtue, if such abilities as God hath been pleas'd to bless you with, were directed into a right channel?

Think not, SIR, that I speak thus to draw you over to a party; as though Religion either feared an ingenious adversary, or need'd a learned advocate: no, (bless'd be God) she stands firm upon a rock, and 'tis not within the power of the eager malice of Devils, much less of the vain tongues of wicked men, to overthrow her: neither doth God need the service of any man; he, who ordains strength *ex ore infantum*, can work his ends,
and

and maintain his own cause, without the concurrence of human wisdom or policy.

No. Believe me, I am concern'd for your sake: methinks, 'tis ten thousand pities that any one should freely choose to be eternally wretched, or but moderately happy, into whose hands God hath put the means of purchasing an exceeding weight of Glory; and whom he seems to have designed to be a vessel of honour.

All that I can do to you, is to entreat you by the love you bear your own Soul, to weigh impartially the evidences, and the consequences of the Christian Religion: if its evidences convince you not of its reality, I must pity your blindness; but if they do, then I am sure its consequences are such as must either allure or frighten him that is not either very disingenuous, or very stupid. The genuine issue of this reflection, will be an hearty resolution of embracing the plain easy duties enjoined in the Gospel: which, as it is the only sure grounds upon which we may expect Salvation hereafter, so is it the true foundation of peace and satisfaction in this world: every step we tread, before we have, in some measure, secur'd our peace with Heaven, is infinitely hazardous, and such as flesh and blood could not bear the prospect of, were our eyes open. God who made you, and hath so richly blessed you,
of

of his great mercy, bleſs you yet farther, and make you become an happy instrument of his Glory. Amen.

Dear SIR, I remain your hearty well-wiſher and real (though unknown) friend and ſervant,

A— A—

F O R

Mr. T O L A N D.

Oxford, May 7, 1694.

Dear Mr. TOLAND,

I Hear that you have received a Note of the 4th inſtant, which was ordered to be left for you at Nan's Coffee-houſe: I hear alſo with what acceptance you entertain it; you ſay, the Letter has nothing in it immodeſt or uncivil; but you cannot believe that he who wrote it intended you any kindneſs by it, becauſe he ſent it unſeal'd and to a publick houſe.

Now to this, I ſay, that ſuppoſing the Letter to be modeſt and civil; it ſeems more equitable to impute any miſcarriage or accidental indecency in its delivery, to indiſcretion, rather than lack of kindneſs.

For:

For, alas! had he intended to defame you, how easy had it been to have pitch'd upon a more natural and likely means of procuring it, than the directing a Letter to your own hand? it being highly improbable that, if any thing were found there tending to your disparagement, you your self should have divulged it.

No, assure your self, Dear SIR, he who wrote it, meant you no harm, but rather the contrary; and if, through any accident, the matter went farther than his own, and your breast, 'tis quite beside his intention.

That excellent sweet-temper'd Religion, which he entreats you to look towards, and embrace; as it obliges its followers to love all men, so it forbids them to defame or upbraid any: and I am sure, that he who sent you that Letter, would willingly put his hands under your feet; to do you any real service.

The true reason of his sending it to the Coffee-house, was because he knew not your lodgings; and to have enquired for them might occasionally have discovered, what he designs to conceal.

The cause of his sending it unsealed, was a dependance upon the general integrity of mankind in this particular; arising from the
odium

odium which attends busy-bodies; and chiefly those who examine other mens papers.

In short, whether you believe him your friend or your enemy; he passionately desires you to lay to heart what he has said. If he be an enemy, you will sufficiently revenge your self upon him, by disappointing him of all occasion of reproaching you: if he be a friend, you will abundantly gratify him, by letting him see the good effects of the travel of his soul: but, above all, by that means you will be a true friend to your self. Dear SIR, farewell, and may the blessing of God always attend you.

Dear SIR, I must beg one favour of you. The story runs thus; that a Letter was left at the Coffee-house with this Superscription, *For Mr. TOLAND's perusal.* Now, I confess, this inscription seems to promise somewhat scurrilous and reflective: but you who know that this is false, may do me thus much justice, as to satisfy those you may speak with concerning it, that 'twas inscribed otherwise,

Mr. TO

Mr. TOLAND's
A N S W E R.

S I R,

IF I knew your person as much as I honour your merit, the stile of my Letter should, it may be, better suit your quality and station: but I am persuaded by the extraordinary temper of yours, that a sincere Answer is the greatest respect I can pay you. The grave and serious advice you condescend to give me, with this fair opportunity of vindicating my self from all indecent aspersions, cannot but oblige me to the highest pitch of gratitude. I bless God, that in this loose and sceptical age, there remains so much of the truly primitive spirit as the genuine fruits of it express in you. Indeed, your close and perspicuous arguments, so candidly manag'd, and so properly apply'd, could not well miss their effect upon any ingenuous man, under my suppos'd circumstances; but I heartily wish I could as justly claim the first two parts of the character, you say, I bear in Oxford, as I really abhor the last. You seem, SIR, to speak more of me from the discourses of others than any personal knowledge, and you are not ignorant how cautiously we should receive the informations of any, till we learn the interests and inclinations of both the parties. Had I the happiness of your acquaintance, which I passionately desire, I could

could quickly convince you that the irreligion laid to my charge, is as much owing to the malice of my enemies, as the reputation of parts and learning to the goodness of my friends. Neither have I receiv'd so much as you think, tho' more than I deserve, and enough to render every neglect of my duty inexcusable.

I am sensible all my actions should be calculated for the glory of God, and the good of my country. To become more capable of answering these ends, is the true reason of the stay I make for some time in this famous University. And further than they contribute towards this design, neither the exceeding agreeableness of the place, nor the improving conversation of the members should be to me any attractives. But to what purpose should I study here or elsewhere, were I an Atheist or Deist, for one of the two you take me to be? What a contradiction to mention Virtue if I believ'd there was no God, or one so impotent that could not, or so malicious that would not reveal himself? Nay, tho' I granted a Deity, yet if nothing of me subsisted after death, what laws could bind, what incentives could move me to common honesty? Annihilation would be a sanctuary for all my sins, and put an end to my crimes with my self. Believe me, I am not so indifferent to the evils of the present life; but, without the expectation of a
better,

better, I should soon suspend the mechanism of my body, and resolve into inconscius atoms. Now if I am persuaded our Souls are immortal and responsible for their actions, to be eternally happy or miserable in a future state, I must be necessarily of some Religion: and I presume you will readily acknowledge it to be the Christian, when I assure you, that

“ I. I firmly believe the existence of an
 “ infinitely good, wise and powerful Being,
 “ which in our language we call GOD, sub-
 “ stantially different from the Universe he
 “ created, and continues to govern by his
 “ Providence; of whom, through whom,
 “ and to whom are all things.

“ II. Concerning CHRIST in particular,
 “ I believe that he is God manifest in the
 “ flesh, or true God and Man, perfectly united
 “ without contrariety of will, or confusion of
 “ essence. As to his human nature, that
 “ according to the Prophets, he was born
 “ of a pure Virgin, conceived by virtue of
 “ the divine Spirit, and therefore ever free
 “ from all the sinful disorders of fallen man.
 “ That he rose from the dead the third
 “ day after he was crucify'd by the Jews, and
 “ forty days after ascended into Heaven,
 “ from whence I expect his coming at the last
 “ day to judge me and all the world: and
 “ that when he was on earth he not only by
 his

“ his life gave us a perfect example, and by
 “ his Doctrine an infallible rule of all that
 “ we are to do, suffer and hope; but also
 “ by the sacrifice of his death, reconcil’d to
 “ mercy all such as do the will of his Father,
 “ particularly those that believe his word,
 “ imitate his works, and accept his inter-
 “ cession. That as well the holy adult de-
 “ ceased before his passion, as children dy-
 “ ing before the use of reason, are deliver’d
 “ from death by his merits, so that none
 “ can be sav’d without a Mediator. And
 “ lastly, that he is the only Ruler and Legisla-
 “ tor of the Church.

“ III. I believe we are sanctify’d by the
 “ divine Spirit, who worketh in us, and with
 “ us, who directs and perfects us. I acknow-
 “ ledge the purity, excellence and obliga-
 “ tion of all the evangelical precepts, as they
 “ are comprehended under these three heads,
 “ to live temperately, justly, and piously; to
 “ love God above all things, and my neigh-
 “ bour as my self. This is the sum of my
 “ assurance of eternal life, in hopes where-
 “ of I am now writing this unfeign’d Con-
 “ fession of my Faith.

Whoever consents to these Articles, and
 receives the Scriptures for the word of God,
 is my brother in CHRIST, let him think of
 me or denominate himself as he pleases. I
 will not contend with any about dubious or
obscure

obscure points, and I do not so much regard frivolous matters, how superstitiously soever cry'd up by some, as to erect them into terms of Communion. I dare not confine the Church to the narrow limits of a peculiar Sect, or her Doctrines to the affected phrases of a Party; and because the Gospel teacheth us mutual forbearance and the love of our enemies, I would not be suspected to favour those I cannot abuse with unseemly heat, much less question the truth of what I hold unlawful to impose. No man can believe as he lists, and 'tis not just any should say what he thinks not. All that we have to do is charitably to instruct, and if we can, convince the erroneous. We may pray for the obstinate, and persist in our endeavours, but further we have no commission. They have as great an interest to save their own Souls, as we to encourage them to it: and if they slight our exhortations, we must leave them to God. The civil Society cannot be injur'd by this Toleration, whilst all irregular practices are punishable by the Magistrate; nor would I defend it, did I see the sin or the danger: so far am I from making it a shelter to Atheism and indifference, as my ill-wishers give out.

SIR, I hope by this time I have satisfy'd your pious concern about my everlasting happiness, and the evidence of that Religion, whereof, tho' I cannot pretend to be an in-

genious, or a learned advocate, I shall always, according to my poor abilities, prove a faithful and a zealous one. I give you a thousand thanks for the pains you have taken about me in your two excellent Letters, which I shall still preserve and value. I am certain you intended me no hurt by them, which I may not say of those who suggested the unworthy thought. 'Tis true I was surpriz'd with the circumstances; yet never suspected your good intentions.

Things reflecting upon yours and my integrity were discour'd about the first Letter, which made me communicate it to several but in vain; for the malice of some Jacobites, who envy me common charity, proclaims my self the Author. This honor I'm sure is undesign'd, as the palpable absurdity that I should purchase a few commendations of course, at the expence of what is most laudable among men. But this is not the only time I have been grossly misrepresented by these Gentlemen, tho' ordinarily their efforts have contrary effects. At my first coming, they thought to frighten me with that terrible thing of a Commonwealth, an artifice I look'd upon despis'd, and forgotten as the incense of arbitrary power which they offer'd to the late Kings. But when they perceiv'd I was nothing shy of owning the true Constitution of the English Government, however basely nick-nam'd
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by some of its degenerate subjects, they made a mighty noise about the Church, and falsely reported that I did not frequent the public worship from which they voluntarily separate themselves. Now they make my assiduity a fault for reasons as groundless as pitiful, so implacable is their spirit! But these miserable tricks not taking with the learned and the wise, they shifted scenes, and made me next an accomplish'd Conjuror for ridiculing Necromancy, and the second Sight. A simple story was whisper'd of the amazing feats I had done, which a worthy friend gave me occasion to expose to the diversion of the company, and the relator's disgrace. Well, if Magic won't do, Heresy must. I am a dangerous Anti-Trinitarian, for having often publicly declared that I could as soon digest a wooden, or breadden Deity, as adore a created spirit or a dignified man. This Socinianism and Arianism are, one would think, very orthodox.

SIR, these are few of the numerous instances I can produce of my adversaries unchristian hatred, which I pray God to forgive, as I do. Did they but mind their own business as much as I slight what they say of me, they would afford the Coffee-house better entertainment. 'Tis to undeceive you and the rest of my honored friends, whose favours I thankfully acknowledge, that I have writ this Answer. I was a while somewhat back-

ward to do it, lest any should imagine I minded our State Enthusiasts, but at length their clamours extorted it. I'm confident you'll do me that justice I expect, and becomes you, tho' I dare not flatter my self with the hopes of your more desirable acquaintance. Had you given me any Direction, you should have seen this Answer before I receiv'd your second obliging Letter; wherefore I entreat you, if this comes to your hand, not to forget this point the next time. I am, SIR, your much oblig'd, and most humble Servant.

F O R

Mr. T O L A N D.

Oxford, May 30, 1694.

S I R,

SOME time last week, I got the sight of a Letter which you left at the Coffee-house for your Friend A. A. and it being intended for a vindication of your Character, from the false and malicious aspersions of your ill-wishers, I am glad that I never found means of getting it into my hands securely, before it was open'd: for I should never have been able to have done you half the justice, which the timely appearance of this Paper in publick hath done.

I am sorry that you should think, that I mistook you for an Atheist or a Deist: by
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the character of *little Religion*, I meant no more than this: that you were one who dealt somewhat too freely with it, a man of an aspiring and uncontrouled reason, a great contemner of Credulity, and particularly an undervaluer of the two extraordinary Cures, wrought lately at London: these do not immediately prove a man an Atheist; though, I confess, I was always apt to think, that they generally proceed from some degree of infidelity in the heart, which by a little indulgence may easily grow into an hatred and contempt of Religion; and thence insensibly dispose the mind for Socinianism, Deism, Atheism, or any thing: but however, I am concern'd at it the less, since you acknowledge some have been endeavouring to fasten a bad Character on you; and you have hence taken occasion to refute all Calumnies.

In the Letter you load me with much honor, much more than I expected, or deserve; in those who never saw my Letters, this raises an opinion that something is in them very extraordinary; but to those who have seen them, and to my self, 'tis an argument of great candour in you, who can love truth in so plain a dress: the abhorrence you express for Atheism, and your descanting upon it, even to the awakening the Civil power against it, give me grounds to believe that you have no real kindness for it: your concern for the looseness and

scepticism of this age, inclines me to hope that you are neither prophanelly nor sceptically given; your so free declaration of your Faith, makes me think you an Orthodox believer; and your sense of the obligation of the Christian duties, and your resolves of appearing in the behalf of Religion, confirm me, that you are, and design to continue a very good Christian.

For, why should I not acquiesce in these tokens of sincerity? I confess, I hate a distrustful narrow temper, which is jealous and suspicious of all mankind; 'tis, methinks, a disparagement to our common nature, when we refuse to think well of another, till it's impossible to think otherwise, and is the very scepticism we condemn. No, I trust, SIR, you are in good earnest, and would not play with your soul's happiness: and I doubt not, but you will soon make many be of my mind; for Religion is no lifeless thing, but when once it hath taken root in the heart, (which is its proper soil) as a tree planted in the fertile valley, or (as the Psalmist speaks) by the water-side, it cannot fail to bring forth its fruits, its genuine, undoubted, distinguishing fruits, in due season.

And though God, who disposes and cultivates the heart, alone knows the time of its harvest, yet in man's judgment, no season
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can be more proper for its producing a plentiful crop, than while the understanding is mature, and in its full strength, the mind fresh and impregnated with the dews and showers of God's grace, and moreover adorn'd with all outward accomplishments; than while the body is healthy and strong, and in a vigorous capacity of ministring unto the soul. This is the season, in which men expect that a noble soil should yield much fruit to be treasur'd up in store against a day of calamity, against the day of sickness, old-age, and death: and I am fully persuaded, that if a few generous spirits would stedfastly resolve to employ their rich endowments in the service of the donor, but especially praise him with the tongues which he hath given them; to stem the flood of impiety, and appear boldly in the behalf of virtue; shewing as well the loveliness of being virtuous, as the baseness and rascality of being wicked; and study seriously to engage all they converse with in that reasonable course, which alone, can render them happy here, and glorious hereafter; we should soon see a blessed change upon the earth, sin being by degrees extirpated, we might make some approach to our former Paradisaical state; in the language of the Prophet, instead of the Thorn, would come up the Firr-tree, and instead of the Brier, would come up the Myrtle-tree: millions of souls (each of them better than the whole perishing world) might

be rescu'd from destruction, and entitl'd to glory; and the happy undertakers themselves, be assur'd of shining as the brightness in the firmament, as the stars for ever and ever: and oh! that God would touch the hearts of some, who are fitted for this work, with the alone truly laudable ambition of becoming exceedingly beneficial to this world, and exceedingly happy in the next!

Dear SIR, I run out into this subject, as well, because my hopes of the good success of such an attempt (through God's blessing) are very strong and lively, (for I know that in reality, nothing is so arrant a coward as vice, and nothing is so forcible as reason and love) as likewise, because 'tis commonly reported, that you are at present upon a work, which I fear will not prove half so advantageous to yourself or others: 'tis said, that you are now publishing a piece with intent to shew, that there is no such thing as a *Mystery* in our Religion; but that every thing in it is subjecible to our understandings. I confess, I do not foresee what good influence it would derive upon our practice, if all the deep and hidden things of God lay open to the meanest capacities (and there is no better argument with me, that the knowledge of them would be of no great use unto us, than that they lye so very deep) but that ever they should be thus laid open to men in these bodies, I freely own, I think
next

next to impossible. Myſteries, 'tis true, are reveal'd to the meek, and it may be the peculiar reward of ſome very humble perſons, to be admitted to behold ſome things within the veil : but then I am perſuaded, that whatever they ſee there, is of the ſame nature with St. PAUL'S *Ἀρρητὰ* ; it cannot, it need not be utter'd unto others. If you are really engag'd in ſuch a work, 'twould be folly in me to think of diverting you from it, by any thing which I can ſay ; let me only beg you to run over a book, entitl'd, *The Cauſes of the Decay of Chriſtian Piety*, a piece of the ſame lineage and integrity with the *Whole Duty of Man*, in which, among other melancholy truths, the great miſchief of ingenious perſons applying the choicest abilities to ſuch ſort of purpoſes, is pathetically lamented.

Dear SIR, pardon, I beſeech you, the great freedom I uſe with you, I am unknown to you, and therefore am the freer ; though I confeſs, I think that ſome degree of this freedom would do no great harm in common converſation. I earneſtly deſire of you to let no man ſee this. You gave ſome reaſons which oblig'd you to impart my other, I ſee no ends which you can ſerve by diſcloſing this ; let me entreat you therefore, by the kindneſs which you ſay you bear me, not to let this go any farther than your ſelf. As to the perſonal knowledge, which you ſay, you could wiſh ; I aſſure you it can be of no uſe

to you, and it may be very prejudicial to my self, upon divers accounts; otherwise you may imagine I should not easily decline your so valuable an offerture: 'tis not any seeming modesty, but, indeed, real and necessary prudence which makes me study to be concealed.

Dear SIR, excuse all the trouble I have created you, and particularly that of this wearisome Letter: the matter, I hear, has made some noise, and I am sorry for it; all my comfort is, that I never intended it. Dear SIR, adieu.

I am

your real friend and servant.

T O

THE REVEREND Mr. * * *.

London, Sept. 12, 1695.

Reverend SIR,

I Can send you no news foreign or domestick this post; and, which is the greater wonder, your Champions of the Commonwealth of Learning seem to have retir'd into winter-quarters too, for we never enjoy'd a more profound peace in this respect: either no enemy appears at all, or, if now and then one makes an incursion, he meets with
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little or no opposition; except a Captain ANTONIO ventures abroad sometimes to pick up his stragglers, and curse him afar off, as SHIMEI did good King DAVID. So, you know, *the Reasonableness of Christianity* was lately serv'd.

However, I can be no sufferer by this silence of the Learned, as long as you are pleas'd to honor me with your correspondence. You are the oracle I consult about all my difficulties, and from which I never miss of satisfaction. What employs my thoughts at present may seem a great Paradox; but, unless your answer can make it in good earnest appear one to me, the world is like to have it one time or other for sound Divinity.

The Subject is the *Book of Job*. After proving it, with others, more antient than the writings of MOSES, and shewing it to be a real History and no Parable, contrary to the sentiments of the Jews and a modern author; I discover the true Quality and Country of JOB, the noblest pattern on record of a mind truly divine, endu'd with the most finish'd wisdom and resolution. So far, you'll say, all goes very well. But further, I endeavour to make it appear in particular (for none before me, as I know, ever dreamt of any such thing) that only the Dialogue between JOB and his three Friends is the genuine Book,

3 beginning

beginning at verse the second, of chapter the third, and ending at the last verse of chapter the thirty first, according to our common division. Then I prove the Relation preceding this Dialogue, as an Argument to the Piece, wherein such odd, if not impossible, passages are told of Satan and the Sons of God, of JOB himself, his wife, his children and friends, to be a meer Fable made by some idle Jew; who, finding the Hero of this excellent Poem labouring under the greatest afflictions, thought pity the particulars shou'd be unknown: and so by a liberty ordinary to the Rabbins, invented that monstrous Story, tho' without any sufficient ground for it, from JOB's complaint and defence, or the reproaches and arguments of his Friends. I make the same account not only of the latter part of the last chapter, but also of the foregoing chapters, from the xxxii inclusively. And that same ELIHU the son of BARACHEL, who takes so much upon him in those chapters, I shall demonstrate to be the undoubted Author of all the Additions.

But tho' it be not my intention to give you the detail of my reasons for this Paradox, yet I would have you consider, that the most part of what I call in question, is penn'd in very dull and negligent prose; whereas the native beauties of the Dialogue appear even through the version, which is all rimed verse, according to the genius of the Eastern Poetry.

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The Dialogue too is full of Arabisms, which help us to discover the original; but no such thing appears in the additions of the Hebrew Translator.

And to compleat all, I shew by the best Memoirs that any person can desire, what was JOB's true state, or the occasion of those Complaints, so pathetically express'd in this admirable piece.

All that I request of you, SIR, is, by the strongest reasons you can think on, to shew me any impossibility in such a performance; and if no better occur to you, let me have all the negative difficulties you can make.

SIR,

I am

your unalterable friend and servant.

A CON-

A

CONSOLATORY LETTER

To the honorable

Sir *ROBERT CLAYTON*, Kt.*Formerly Sheriff, afterwards Lord-Mayor, and
still Alderman of London.**London Decemb. 4, 1698.*

SIR,

THE passions are such an essential part of our constitution, and so inseparably united to our understanding, that on this account they are commonly term'd *natural affections*; nor is there any part of our fabrick wherein the effects of divine wisdom are more visible and obvious; seeing that to have all our members so wonderfully accommodated to their several uses would signify little, if we wanted the passions of joy and grief, or the sensations of pain and pleasure, which are the primary springs and motives of all our desires and actions. Herein therefore the excellence or depravation of our mind appears, according as reason governs our passions, or we suffer the passions to corrupt our reason. An inclination to eating and drinking (for example) is very natural,
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and absolutely necessary for our preservation; but he, that considers no further than the pleasing and inviting tast of the meat or liquor, acts unnaturally: while another, who measures his appetite by a sufficient nourishment and support for his body, answers the design of God in planting these desires within him. In like manner, to grieve or be afflicted for the loss of any thing which in it self we count amiable and worthy, or pleasing and profitable to us in particular, is natural and just; for without this affection we should not sufficiently value these blessings, or be enough sollicitous to cultivate and preserve them: but on the other hand, so to let loose our passions on such doleful occasions as to set no bounds to our sorrow, and to despair of all other comforts at once, because we have lost any simple object of our felicity, is both unreasonable and defenceless.

Now, considering that the first motions of our passions are generally too violent to hear advice; and that indeed this impetuous torrent of the spirits is nothing so dangerous to our bodily health or intellectual faculties, as the melancholy and solitary thoughts that succeed (these being of a longer continuance and of a more pineing nature) I thought fit, SIR, to speak very little to you at the beginning concerning the early death of your most hopeful Nephew, and to write nothing at
all

all on this subject (which I count not so much your private loss, as that of the publick in a useful Citizen) till your mind should be less disturb'd, or your first transports well allay'd. And I must acknowledge that I was greatly pleas'd to perceive with how much decency and true manliness you behav'd your self on this occasion; tho', for preventing the fatal consequences of future pensiveness, I take the liberty at this time of laying a few considerations before you. I knew the young Gentleman well when we studied at Oxford together, and valu'd him both for his personal merit and the hope I conceiv'd of his ability to serve his Country in some eminent station.

This makes, not me alone, but all his other acquaintance to be deeply sensible of our loss in him; and therefore to be companions with you (tho' not on equal terms) in sorrow. But permit me to tell you, SIR, that of all others you have in my opinion the least reason to torment your self. That men are born mortal, every body knows, how few soever seem to consider it; for by many of their actions one would think they were certain of immortality here 'on earth. Nor are they less convinc'd that the whole course of life is subject to infinite changes and accidents, which by their sudden or unforeseen effects always confound the weak and vitious,
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but never catch the honest and wise unprepar'd; for a virtuous man of good understanding is placed above all the chances of fortune; because he constantly expects them, and is never displeas'd but with the ill of others or his own frailties, which he labors to conquer and reform. Most people will agree likewise that we should not bear those things heavily, which we can by no means avoid; and the experience of all ages must persuade us that we can neither by poverty or pain, by slavery or disgrace, nor even by death it self, suffer any thing new or unusual; which reflection alone should teach us to live content with that condition wherein we are born.

But these arguments of Consolation, tho' very good and solid in themselves, are yet common to you, Sir ROBERT, with the rest of mankind. You have little reason in particular to impair your health, or to lessen the tranquillity of your mind by abandoning your self to fruitless mourning, when you seriously consider that after having rais'd your fortune solely by your own merit and industry (without losing your honor or reputation by any indirect and criminal methods of growing rich) you had the happiness of serving your country in the most publick capacity, as well in this City, as in the honourable House of Commons; and that in the most dangerous times, but yet with the greatest applause;

plause: that you still assist in the government of the greatest, freest, and most powerful City in the world, where you are universally esteem'd, particularly dear to the best persons, and that without your advice the most eminent of your fellow citizens will not administer their own share of the magistracy: that by publick and private charities, as well as by a generous and hospitable manner of living, you have shower'd the blessings of a plentiful estate the most agreeably to the will of heaven, the exigences of the needy, and the approbation of the best men: and that with all this you have neither neglected your own kindred, nor the relations of your excellent Lady, who all tenderly love and reverence you living, and will adore and bless your memory when dead: I say, when you consider all this you ought to entertain a becoming satisfaction in your mind, and to contemn all the cross accidents of the world.

When you further think on what you have done for that incomparable youth for whom you particularly destin'd a large share of your estate, and in whose laudable actions your country might promise it self as it were a continuation of your own life; how you gave him the liberal education of a Gentleman, and taught him the principles of true virtue, illustrated by your own example and that of other good men; you ought to be
greatly

greatly pleased that nothing was wanting of your side. And when on the other hand, you remember how well he answer'd all your care and hopes, how temperate, how learn'd, and how judicious he was; how prudent in his travels, and how pious in rendering his soul to God who gave it, you have the highest reason to rejoice that so liv'd and died a person of the best accomplishments attain'd thro' your beneficence and direction. Thus irreproachably to lead his life, deservedly belov'd of every body; and thus to finish his course agreeable to the utmost perfection of nature, would certainly be hereafter, and has, no doubt, hitherto been the result of your desires.

The only apology therefore left for your grief, must be, that he died sooner than was good, for you or himself. But I have too great an opinion of your understanding to imagine you should harbour any thought, which is not the less unreasonable for being so common. A passage to immortality, and a perpetual union with the supreme Being cannot be reckon'd for his disadvantage; and were there no sensation after death, he could not be reputed more miserable than before he was born: nor would this argument for sorrow be less cogent from the first moment of his nativity, since you might be sure he must inevitably die some time or other. And as for you, I will not appear so diffi-

dent of your accustom'd wisdom and gravity, as to suppose you should now be wanting to your self in making good the character you have hitherto obtain'd of constancy and firmness; or that you will expect that cure from length of time, which you ought speedily to perform by your own reason. You have still many opportunities of benefiting the world, you have the same means of doing good, and the same discernment to chuse the properest objects of your charity or care. Instead of one family you may raise several, or prevent others from falling to decay; and by what you design'd to give that lovely young Gentleman alone, you can make the fortunes of many, who may prove to be the ornaments of their country, and will be the most glorious monuments of your piety, wisdom, justice, liberality. But to one who so much exceeds me in age and understanding, to hint these things is sufficient.

I shall be extremely pleas'd to learn that these lines have afforded you any pleasure or consolation; and if they should not have all the effect I intended, yet I am satisfy'd that I did not fail of my Duty to serve a person whom all good men love, whom I particularly honor, and to whom I have so great obligations.

TO THE SAME.

London Decem. 7, 1698.

SIR,

AS those who have not perform'd any worthy actions themselves, think it impertinent that others should be commend-ed; so the panegyrics, which fear or favor draws from servile spirits on undeserving persons in corrupt times, occasion all just praise to pass for flattery. But in those ages and places where liberty and learning equally flourish'd, every man's virtue had full justice done to it; nor were the most glorious rewards propos'd to merit half so effectual, as the distinguishing examples of brave or good men, to animate others with an emulation of their laudable actions. This manifestly appears in all the writings of the old Romans, particularly in the divine volumes of CICERO, where we meet with such noble characters, and such lovely pictures of his friends and cotemporaries, as may enflame the most insensible to glory or applause.

In imitation therefore of these perfect models, I wrote the Letter which I lately sent to you, and wherein the chiefest topic of comfort was the consideration of your own virtues. I send you now, as a justification of

this uncommon way of writing, and as an additional argument or example, the Translation of a Letter written upon the like occasion to CICERO after the Death of his be- lov'd Daughter TULLIA, a Lady of extraor- dinary learning and merits. CICERO, tho' the most eminent philosopher, politician, and orator in the world, was not proof against the first impressions of this misfortune: where- fore all the men of parts and quality that knew him, either came or sent to comfort him. MARCUS BRUTUS sent him a consolatory Letter, which CICERO himself frequently commends ; but it is since unhappily lost. LUCIUS LUCCEIUS wrote another to him ; JULIUS CÆSAR one, and at last he wrote a Consolation to himself : but the only one remaining is that of SERVIUS SULPITIUS, which I here subjoin for your perusal, wish- ing you long life and an uninterrupted hap- piness,

S E R V I U S S U L P I T I U S

T O

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

WHEN I was inform'd of your Daugh- ter TULLIA's Death, I took it, as I ought, most grievously and heavily, esteem- ing

ing it a common calamity. And if I had been there at that time, I had neither been wanting to you, nor yet have forbore to express my grief in your presence. Tho' this kind of Consolation be miserable and difficult, because the relations and acquaintance, who ought to afford it, are themselves afflicted with the same sorrow, and cannot endeavour to do it without many tears; inso-much that they may seem rather to want being comforted by others, than to be able to perform this good office to any else: notwithstanding, what things offer themselves at present to my mind I determin'd to write to you briefly; not that I think you ignorant of them, but that being hindred by your grief you may perhaps observe 'em the less.

Wherefore then should you be mov'd at that rate by your private sorrow? Consider how fortune has dealt with us hitherto: and how all those things are taken away from us, which ought not to be less dear to men than their children; I mean our Country, our Reputation, our Dignity, and all our Honors? What could be added then to our affliction by this one misfortune? or how can a mind disquieted with these things not grow callous, and set a lower value on all other matters? But if (as I suppose) you lament her case, how often must you have hit on this thought, and I have not seldom done it, that in these times their fate is not the worst,

who may without much pain exchange their life for death? Now, what was it that could so greatly invite her to live at this time? what thing? what expectation? what pleasure of mind? Is it that she might spend her days in marriage with any of the principal youth? as I believe a person of your figure may pick and chuse a son-in-law among our young men, to whose care you might safely commit your daughter. Or is it that she might bear children, whom she would rejoice to see in their prime? who could wisely preserve the estate receiv'd from their parents? who should in their turns stand candidates for honorable posts in the government? who should make use of their liberty in the service of their friends? Now, which of all these was not taken away before it was given?

But you'll say it is a misfortune to lose our Children. A misfortune indeed, if it be not worst to be always afflicted and suffering on this account. What afforded me no small consolation I shall impart to you; for perhaps the same thing may contribute to diminish your grief. In my return from Asia, as I sail'd from *Ægina* towards *Megara* I begun to view all the regions on every hand of me; behind me was *Ægina*, *Megara* before me, on my right hand *Piræus*, and *Corinth* on my left; which cities were once in a most flourishing state, tho' now they lye scatter'd, and mangl'd in ruins before you.

Thus

Thus I began therefore to meditate with my self: *Alas! why should we poor men be displeas'd that any of our number dyes or is kill'd, whose life is naturally short; when the carcasses of so many cities lye expos'd in one place! Do thou therefore refrain thy self, O Servius, and remember thou art born a man.* Believe me, I was not a little confirm'd by this thought. Do you likewise, if it seems good, set the same thing before your eyes. Late-ly so many famous persons were destroy'd at once; besides our Empire is so greatly diminish'd; all the Provinces are shaken, and are you so vehemently disturb'd at the death of one woman, who, if she had not departed now, must have dy'd notwithstanding within a few years, seeing she was born of human race?

Recall therefore your mind from these things to the knowledge of your self, and rather remember those matters that are becoming your person; namely, that she liv'd as long as it was needful for her, and expir'd together with the Commonwealth: that she saw you her father, a Prætor, a Consul, an Augur: that she was marry'd to a couple of our hopefullest young Gentlemen: that she had enjoy'd almost every good thing in the world: and left this life when our government was destroy'd. What is it then wherein you or she can in this respect complain of fortune? Finally, do not forget that you
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are CICERO, and he that was wont to comfort and advise others: nor imitate bad Physicians, who profess great skill in the diseases of others, and cannot cure themselves; but rather call to your mind and propose to your self, what you are accustom'd in the like cases to prescribe other people.

There is no grief but length of time diminishes and softens; but for you to expect such a time, and not rather find a remedy for this matter from your own prudence, is unworthy. But if the very dead have any sense of our condition, such was the love she bore you, and her piety towards all her relations, that she requires none of your tears. Be rul'd then by your dead child; by the rest of your friends and acquaintance, who are griev'd for your sake; grant this favour to your country, that if there be any occasion, it may use thy assistance and advice: and lastly, since our hard fortune is such, and that we must act this complying part, do not suffer that any should suspect it is not so much your Daughter, as the bad times of the Commonwealth, and the victory of the opposite faction, that afflicts you.

I'm ashamed to write any more to you on this subject, lest I should seem to distrust your wisdom: wherefore, after offering you this one particular, I shall make an end of writing. We saw you sometimes bear your
prosperous.

prosperous fortune excellently well, which procur'd you great commendations: let us now then be convinc'd that you can equally bear adversity, and that it seems no heavier burden to you than it ought; least of all virtues you should appear to want this single one. As for my self, when I know that you enjoy more tranquillity of mind, I shall acquaint you with the transactions of this place, and the condition of our Province.

Farewell.

A N T H O N I O V A N D A L E

S. P. D.

J O. T O L A N D U S.

NON possum, vir celeberrime, non possum non te etiam atque etiam monere quanti ingenium & studia tua semper fecerim, nec quidem, ut frequenter evenire assolet, minuit præsentia famam: nam quæ in te summo opere elucent virtutes; mira scilicet comitas, exquisitissima doctrina, veritatis indagandæ desiderium cum libertatis tuendæ studio conjunctum, te mihi (quod vix possibile credebam fieri) chariorem adhuc multo reddiderunt. Pergas ergo, Archæologorum quot sunt quotvè erunt doctissime, iisdem tibi conciliare

conciliare modis omnes ingenuos, bonos, & cordatos: herculeo nitaris labore horrenda superstitionis in lucem pertrahere monstra, & non ferendum excutere sacerdotale jugum: demones non ovum ovo similis esse, quam se invicem referunt sacrata recentium & antiquorum, quibus popello illudunt & imperitant, artes, fraudes, strophæ: fac videant ipsi hebetioris acuminis homines nullo pacto in mirandis fabulis, horrendis ambagibus, vel reconditis mysteriis, sed in vera virtute & solida scientia, situm esse summum mortalium bonum:

*Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
 Secta fuit, servare modum, finemque tueri,
 Naturamque sequi, patriæque impendere
 vitam,
 Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.*

Ut breviter dicam, fruatur quam cito literatus orbis aureis illis, quos de Romanorum & Græcorum Sacerdotiis elaborasti tractatibus: nec longius, quam par est, expectentur secundæ melioresque de Oraculis curæ, quibus evulgandis non magis tibi aliàs conterraneos meos devincere poteris.

Altero meo hospiti, viro dignissimo Domino DROSTIO, grates ago innumeras ob tot in me favores congestos, & quos ut bene sentio non mereri me potuisse, sic doleo. Commendatum me habeas, quæso, tam forma quam ingenio præstantissimæ virginis, Dominae

næ meæ COLARTIÆ, maximo Harlemi simul & naturæ miraculo. Inter pretiosissima reponam cimelia, quibus beare me dignata est munuscula; etsi adhuc vix mihi persuadere possum de veritate rerum earum quas tamen in dubio mihi revocare non licet, quarumque propriis auribus & oculis experimentum accepi.

Per literas quas hic ex Anglia accepi, intelligo Comitum PORTLANDIÆ huc certissimè venturum, Regem manere domi hac æstate, numerosam parari classem, Gallos nequaquam timendos, & Parliamentum nostrum in proximum annum esse prorogatum ut nostri loquuntur. Vale.

Nobilissimo Domino

J O. T O L A N D O

A. VAN DALE S. P. D.

ME tibi percharum esse maximè gaudeo. At suffundis me tantis elogiis, quibus me minime dignum sentio, maximo pudore. Sumo tamen illa pro humanissima admonitione; ut coner talia, per quæ, si non laude, certe venia doctis ac cordatis viris dignus videar. O si liceret cum talibus, qualis tu nobilissime vir es, transigere mihi vitam! Nunc vivo, ubi dum bene facere studeo,

male

male tamen audio, unius ob noxam & facinus Ajacis Oilei. BEKKERUS nempe mihi amicus fuit. Certè si jam non senex essem, ac non uxoratus, mihiq; fatis honesta ac qua fatis commode subsistere queam, oblata esset in Anglia conditio, ibi vobiscum vivere ac mori liberet. Hic nullus eruditus honos: aut si aliquis adhuc sit, solis illis obtigit, qui summa cum patientia (licet simul summo cum tædio) servitutis pignus ferre dederunt, adulationiq; illorum, qui ipsis longe peiores sunt se bene assuescere valent.

Novellæ, quas mihi scripsisti, pergratæ sunt. At hic Harpocrati litandum; nisi apud tales, qualis tu nobiliss. vir, ac DROSTIUS noster. Reperies tamen & Amstelodami Nicodemitas. Ejusmodi moribus quippe hic nobis vendendum; nisi quibus ita vivere licet, ut aliis non indigeant. Ego interim, dum adulari nescio, tacitus fata mea fero; mihiq; magis magisq; circa talia impero. Verum plura de hisce coram, cum per diem unum aut alterum adhuc simul vivere licebit.

Perillustri GRÆVIO, ut commendes me sicut desidero, ita nullus dubito.

Vale interim optime virorum: atq; ut jam coepisti, me amare pergas.

Harlemi 23 Maii 1699.

Peril-

Perillustri eruditione viro

GEORGIO JOANNI GRÆVIO

S. P. D.

A. VAN DALE M. D.

QUOD dudum volueram, sed vix tandem ausus sum, id jam occasione hac captata facere instituo; ut te scilicet super studiis meis consulam. Cum itaque vellet ad te transvolare nobilissimus Anglus Jo. TOLANDUS, oneravi ipsum meis nugis ad te sic perferendis. Non ipsum, celeberrime vir, tibi commendo; quod neminis commendatione indigeat: ipse enim sibi est optima ac maxima commendatio; at volo me per ipsum tibi commendari.

Verum ut ad rem accedam, est mihi nunc, post sacra Taurobolia, sub manibus tractatus illis subnectendus de Sacerdotiis, aliisque muneribus *ἑπωνύμοις* apud Græcos: qua occasione mihi plusquam centum Inscriptiones Græcæ partim explicandæ, partim illustrandæ, partim consulendæ aut perpendendæ veniunt; circa quas ut mihi plures occurrunt difficultates, sic tu mihi, celeberrime vir, super una atque altera consulendus es.

Ad te igitur, ut ad commune eruditorum oraculum confugio: nec tam λόγια atque obscura, quam illa fuerunt quæ ex Apollinis opertis prodibant, expecto. In ista igitur Inscriptione apud SPONIUM *p.* 356. *n.* 99. occurrit nobis primum ἀρχιερεὺς τριβαπολέων, quod fateor me non intelligere: unde ad Hierapolim mihi confugiendum hic videtur; atque ita reponere velim ἱεραπολίτων, quod videre mihi videar, si non ex STRABONE atque STEPHANO, VITRUVIO ac PLINO, certe ex hac Inscriptione illam ad Sardonios pertinuisse, cum idem L. J. BONNATUS, de quo hic mentio, simul Ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἐν λυδία Σαρδιανῶν, fuerit. Secundò, mihi molestias creat ille ἀγωναθέτης διαρίων, quem quoque non capio, nisi ad Gladiatores Diarios referendus sit. Nosti, optime vir, quam multa vocabula Latina nobis in Græcis inscriptionibus occurrant, ut πραιφεκτός, σαβδαρίον, φράτηρ ἀράλις, & nescio quæ non alia. Sic ergo crediderim τὰς διαρίους fuisse Gladiatores ipsos, qui certo die a Cæsaribus dato depugnabant: atque eo respicere non solum eam inscriptionem quæ a LIPSIO *l.* 1. Saturnal. producitur; sed & illam quæ a GRUTERO *p.* 475. *n.* 3. exhibetur. Familias autem Gladiatorum suos procuratores, & minerrarios, & ἐπιστάτας, adeoque & ἀγωναθέτας habuisse, æque fere atque athletas, mihi ex inscriptionibus persuadeo.

Plura essent mihi quidem proponenda super aliis; at nauseam meis nugis tibi creare non

non audeo. Si videro hæc non nimis ingrata fuisse, proponam quoque quæ, cum super aliis, tum super *Archibucolo Dei Liberi*, tum super *Sacerdote Cereris Græca*, tum denique quæ super pluribus aliis concepi. Vellem namque cum minimo meo dedecore talia, nec nimis cruda, in orbem literarium protrudere. Atque, utinam mihi præsentem te consulere liceret! verum hic mihi subsistendum, ne tibi nimis ob nugas meas tædio fiam. Hoc tamen addam, *Oracula* mea nunc iterum sub Bomii prælo, non sudare, sed frigere, ac quidem ὕστερον πρῶτερον: prior enim Dissertatio agit de origine ac progressu, seu potius de auctoribus Oraculorum; posterior vero de ipsorum duratione atque interitu. Vale interim, celeberrime vir; atque hoc temporis tui dispendium mihi, quæso, benignè condones, dum tuus ex animo sicuti semper permaneo.

Dabam Harlemi, 24 Maii, 1699.

T O

Mr. * * *

London, June 26, 1705.

SIR,

BY the discourse we had together last week, I find you have lain under the same mistake with many others in relation to my circumstances; for I do no less positively

sitively than sincerely assure you, that in my whole life, I had no relation whatsoever to my Lord SOMERS or my Lord HALIFAX, that I have no personal obligations to either of them, nor ever enter'd into any manner of transactions with themselves or on their behalf, either here at home, or any where abroad. As to my Politics, I ever was and will be for a free Government against what is arbitrary and despotic; which is to say, that I prefer standing and indifferent Laws to the uncertain and byast will of any Prince. But concerning the several forms of free Government (which are all good in their kinds, tho' not all equally so) I justly think our own mixt Constitution to be the best that is now extant any where. With these sentiments I came abroad into the world; but as nobody's born inspir'd, so I am not asham'd to own, that I had not so much wisdom and discretion, as I had sincerity and zeal, in the management of my opinions. I thought every body meant what they said as well as my self; and therefore in the most public manner I promoted the party I had espous'd, without once considering that their adversaries wou'd all very naturally become my enemies; nor did I take any care to ballance that opposition by procuring potent friends elsewhere. Besides what I wrote my self, I likewise publish'd the Lives and Works of HARRINGTON and MILTON, with some other Authors; and tho' I profess not to agree with
them

them in every thing (especially in their Democratical Schemes of Government) yet in general they greatly contributed to beget in the minds of men, as the effect has shewn, an ardent love of liberty, and an extreme aversion to arbitrary power. This was reckon'd a public service, but rewarded only with the public applauses of such as approv'd the undertaking; while the other side had the most specious pretext imaginable to represent me, what yet in their sense I was not, a most violent Republican.

But, SIR, you'll scarce conceive my surprize, when by degrees I begun to discover, that certain persons, of whom I hitherto entertain'd a high opinion, meant nothing by the Public but themselves; and my wonder was yet greater when I perceiv'd so many others, wiser and abler than these, contentedly become the mean tools of their avarice or ambition, being their exchange or coffee-house heralds, and the trumpeters of their praises in all public meetings. This made me quickly distinguish between men and things, between professions and performances; and it remain'd no longer a mystery to me, why they were fonder of employing and preferring footmen, bankrupts, poets, players, and pettyfoggers, than men of family, learning, ability, or virtue: because the first wou'd not scruple to do unexamin'd, what the last might reject with detestation or contempt, and never

ver come under such engagements as the others wou'd be sure both to promise and to perform; besides that they cou'd not bear any rivals to their reputed capacity, which made 'em discountenance the best spirits of their own party. Three or four Bills in Parliament did quite take the scales from my eyes. And who, I pray, cou'd endure to hear any Whigs oppose the Judge's Bill, the Triennial Bill, the Bill for regulating Tryals in cases of High Treason, and such like? when in the preceding Reigns they loudly call'd for these, as the very Laws of Nature, wherein they were most certainly in the right. Their reasons against these excellent Statutes were worse than even their opposition, as if the Whigs only ought to enjoy the benefit of wholesome regulations, and as if the Tories might reasonably suffer under brib'd Judges and perpetual Parliaments. As a judgment of God, the Tories might justly come under these punishments for promoting them formerly against others, without considering how another time (as it happen'd) it might be their own turn to feel the smart of such severities; but this partiality was strangely unbecoming the Whigs, who by their constant principles ought to be patrons of the Liberty of mankind. I was not a little scandaliz'd to find 'em, when all other colours fail'd, pretend they were against these Laws, because the Tories were for 'em, to serve their own purposes: for 'tis no matter who is for a good thing,

thing, nor for what ends, provided the thing it self be truly useful and necessary ; tho' no excuse is to be made for men of good principles to appear for a bad thing ; especially if they clearly perceive the ill of it, and have so declar'd it themselves before.

The business of the standing Army finish'd all, tho' I am far from being against an Army whenever our circumstances indispensably require it. By that time I understood so much of men and things, as most plainly to foresee that the endeavouring to gain that dangerous and invidious point, wou'd in the minds of the people quite ruin the credit of the Whig-Ministry. For this, I own, I was not sorry ; but I was afraid that thro' their sides the cause of Liberty wou'd suffer, as very manifestly it did. Nevertheless those persons, in order to make their own court and fortunes, did violently insist on that matter, so displeasing to the nation, and so directly opposite to their own declar'd principles and profession. It became the very test (as they wou'd have it) of Whig and Tory, when they were all Whigs that wrote against it, tho' I will not say, they all had the same views, no more than all the Tories in opposing it in Parliament ; but, as others are convinc'd that this controversy serv'd more truly for a test to discover the inside of those quack Ministers, and their worthless Tools, and to undeceive those who before this time had more favourable

rable thoughts of both, but now call'd their ability in question no less than their integrity. What changes, what Parliaments, what measures ensu'd, you well know, and all thinking men did expect. Yet so enrag'd were these undertakers at their surprizing disappointment, that they never forgave those Whigs, who had the honesty and firmness to adhere to their old principles. Uncertain men they call'd such as they durst not irritate too much; and those they had less reason to fear (among which I had the misfortune to be one) they either branded for Tories among the credulous herd, or represented as men of none or unsettl'd principles, and all were unsettl'd that wou'd not go thro' stich. Neither of these are to be ever pardon'd for rendring their hopeful projects abortive. However I am sorry they are such bad Christians as not to forgive real or imaginary offences against them; or such bad Politicians as to think themselves infallible, incapable of committing any errors or mistakes, and not as liable as others to the reverses of fortune, which may occasion the want of useful friends. Yet to this hour they cannot discern their friends from their flatterers, but prosecute the former with all the contumely and ill offices they are capable. And, believe me, SIR, this perverse disposition makes hundreds of Whigs to desire that, however these Gentlemen set up for Liberty (which they wish long to continue) yet they may never

never be the guardians of it: and 'tis but natural that they shou'd endeavour to keep the power out of those hands who have the will to hurt them; especially since there are so many fit and able persons in the Nation, under all distinctions, who never approved of their maxims or practices (some of which are lately employ'd, as the Duke of NEWCASTLE and others,) men who were either never tainted with notions of arbitrary Power, or at least were never engaged in arbitrary Proceedings; and who are most unlikely to be seduc'd or corrupted hereafter by reason of their great quality, plentiful fortunes, and honest principles.

But, leaving such Affairs to her Majesty's wisdom, I proceed to tell you, SIR, that the persevering Whigs on the other hand, were always ready to prefer the public good to their private resentments; nay, they were content to wink at those needy Minister's indirect methods of scraping for estates at home, so long as to secure them they wou'd be zealous and vigorous against our enemies abroad: and therefore when the cause of Whiggism was thought to be attack'd in those Gentlemen's persons, they cordially defended them against the prosecution of their enemies; which service they did 'em with more success, I am sure with a better grace than their sworn creatures and mercenary dependents. The thanks that I in particular had for my

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pains

pains, was to be most falſly represented by them not only at home but abroad; at the ſame time that I was exhorted by my real friends to forget all perſonal injuries, and not to complain, if I ſhould not think fit to commend. The Tories were againſt me of courſe; and I cannot blame the Jacobites for being ſo, if any reaſons can be given to juſtify the defence of a bad Cauſe. But thoſe who paſs for Tories, without being Jacobites, are perfectly miſinform'd about me, and if they knew how I represented them at Hanover, and in Holland, as being really for the Succeſſion, and in what matters I was of opinion they deſerv'd to be oblig'd, they wou'd undoubtedly believe me no enemy of theirs, how little I might thereby befriend my ſelf: for words are but wind (as they ſay) and therefore names go for nothing with me, where men's actions demonſtrate 'em to be true Engliſhmen; ſince healing of breaches, and enlarging the foundation, ought to be only a good Countryman's deſign. But ſuch a temper in any man is what certain great perſons deteſt above all things, becauſe they can only hope to make a conſiderable figure in ſome narrow-bottom'd faction; whereas in a conjunction of all who agree in the Proteſtant Religion and Succeſſion (however they may diſagree in ſuch trivial matters as forms or ceremonies) their tinſel abilities wou'd be quickly obſcur'd by the ſhining merit and ſolid worth of very many Gentlemen in all

Parties.

From

From these several Considerations you may easily infer, that in the first year of her Majesty's reign, being a stranger abroad and friendless at home, I must needs have been in a very uncertain condition, were not the high-born persons, under whose protection I then liv'd, proof against all misrepresentations, and that they judg'd of things from their own knowledge and not by the passions of others, to which they are not so great strangers as they are thought or wou'd seem. 'Twas happy for me, they had this generous disposition: for at one and the same time I had a Tory Secretary of State writing Letters against me to foreign Courts as Agent to the Whigs, if not obnoxious to the Laws; and certain leading Whigs were persuading the same Princes that I was Mr. HARLEY'S Creature, which was a higher crime by far than being a Tory. But I protest to you, SIR, by all that's awful, that I have not spoke one word to Mr. HARLEY, nor receiv'd one Letter or Message from him, nor sent any to him, since King WILLIAM died. And in this particular I frankly confess, that from prudential considerations I acted by constraint against my own judgment; I mean in breaking off conversation and correspondence with a person of signal abilities, and excellent learning, by whom a man in my circumstances cou'd mightily improve, as before I freely acknowledge to have done. But this affected strangeness was merely

ly to prevent the vile aspersions of others either against him or my self, which yet I was not able to accomplish: tho' I did as little approve as any whatsoever such things, if any there were, as I thought in Mr. HARLEY might proceed from private resentments to the detriment of the public Good. Yet I wholly did and do approve the sense he then had of our corrupt Ministry, and thank him for the strenuous efforts he made to dissolve it. But, in the mean while, I find my condition to be like that of your coquet Ladies, who tast all the bitter of the scandal without enjoying any of the sweets of the sin. I past for Mr. HARLEY's friend, when he was opposed by the Court, and now that he's in power I'm inform'd that by the suggestion of certain Scots and a Dutchman, he takes me for his enemy; tho' his real unforgiving enemies will have me still to be his favorite, and oppose me now on that very score.

With relation to another very great man, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH; I own that having known nothing of him but by the report of others, and being misled by appearances of a conjunction between him and the most violent Tories, from whence I reasonably apprehended danger to the Succession in the beginning of this reign, I gave my self in Holland, at Berlin and elsewhere some liberties in speech, for which upon
better

better information I have amply aton'd, doing him all the justice possible wherever I had injur'd him. And since his Grace has perform'd such extraordinary services for his Country (which have contributed not only to reconcile and endear him to all true patriots, but also to undeceive all well-meaning, tho' mistaken persons; and that his actions are an effectual demonstration of his good intentions to the Succession, whereof the Court of Hanover it self never doubted) he has the means in his power of discerning the sincerity of all who pretend to honor his worth; considering especially the open enmity and scurrilous usage he meets at present from many, who were his Flatterers and past for his Admirers before. The very ground of their careesses (as their behaviour undeniably proves) was a presum'd aversion in his Grace to the Protestant Succession of the House of Hanover, which they were far from making a secret till this last year, when their fairest hopes were so happily and so gloriously defeated.

As for my Lords N*** and R*** (for I am resolv'd to be so plain and particular, as not to trouble you with a second Letter on this subject) the first had a personal pique against me, the Ministry of the second was dreaded abroad yet more than at home, and I am so averse to the Designs of both the men, that there was no friendship or favour to be

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expected

expected from that quarter, and so none was ever desir'd. To say it then in a word, my support has been owing to the generosity and esteem of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, and certain other worthy persons at home, together with some help from Germany; and not in whole or in part deriv'd from my Lord SOMERS, Lord HALIFAX, or any other Ministers. The Duke of NEWCASTLE has been my true friend; and, since I had the honor to be known to his Grace, he has been constantly infusing into me sentiments of peace and moderation, the profoundest respect for the Queen's Majesty and Government, and a largeness of soul towards all denominations of Englishmen, that wou'd agree in the support of her Title and the legal Succession; notwithstanding any difference of opinion in other matters, whether of Church or State. To this disposition experience had already brought me without his honest advice, and if enabl'd, I shall make it plainly appear in the whole conduct of my life.

Thus I have given you, SIR, the true reasons why I have not been hitherto put into any Employment, nor ever yet su'd for one to any Party. Whether it be a vanity to own it, I know not, but it wou'd certainly be a false modesty to conceal it from you, that I thought my self neglected and ill-used by the Whig-Ministers (as they were call'd)
which

which without all question has begot suitable resentments against their persons, but no dislike of the Cause in which they pretend to be engag'd, which is the cause of human nature, and consequently mine as well as theirs. You need not wonder therefore any longer that I made no application (since they say I was never deny'd) where the terms imported to become a tool at least, and what the most is I forbear now to mention. But I was once so sensible of their unworthy treatment, that I digested the heads of a Paper, which I intended to call *Advice to the Whigs against the time they are next in power*, wherein I wou'd shew the true Whigs the several slights and failings of those Gentlemen, what a discredit they brought thereby on the Party and danger to Liberty; that they were the occasion of any disaffected person's getting into the Administration, and that they were by no means fit to head a Party, tho' they might be proper enough to promote or undermine one: in the service I think they ought always to be kept, and therefore to be always fed in hopes. But I made no progress to reduce that Paper into method, and God knows if ever I do: for all I have repeated and much more I cou'd forgive, tho' not be able to forget, provided the peace of my Country requir'd it.

The present Lord Treasurer is a person I never offended in word or writing, tho' in

the Art of governing by Parties, which I wrote some years ago, I have shortly but justly characteriz'd all the other great men (with some more) I have nam'd in this Letter, except Mr. HARLEY. This, you may be sure, cou'd not proceed from a foresight of his being one day, as he is at present, first Minister; but is a pure effect of his merit in the discharge of his trust as a public person; for in all other respects he's to me a perfect stranger, tho' neither the name nor imputation of any Party cou'd prejudice me against him, according to the part I have a good while acted, which is reckon'd lukewarm by the pretended Whigs; and yet most violent by the worst Tories, but in time, perhaps, may be *vice versa*. Now, tho' I never yet did so to any other, yet to him I find my self most readily dispos'd to apply in any manner, that he shall think me fit to serve the Queen or himself; for I am certain before hand, that it will be on such a foot as is agreeable to my principles, and for the particular benefit of the Succession. Tho' they have done whatever they cou'd to ruin me in all people's opinion, yet I commend the measures his Lordship takes with those abdicated Ministers; but then let him always remember the late Lord SUNDERLAND, and consider whether they did not owe more to him, notwithstanding their ungrateful returns, for which, however, they have deservedly smarted ever since. Neither am I apprehensive

hensive that so wise a man should receive hasty impressions against me as being too open, when I had no secrets to keep, or business to manage; nor as being too bookish, when I had no other employment for my thoughts or time, notwithstanding the artful insinuations of certain people in the world. 'Tis but putting me to the tryal. And might my own advice be heard in an affair that concerns me so nearly, I wou'd not desire any public establishment for some time, 'till my Patron had got experience of my fitness and ability, as well as that I might have an opportunity of curing certain prejudices in others which have done me much disservice, and which I never endeavour'd to prevent, because it was never worth my while. You'll wonder all this time, that I have not mentioned the Church which is so much exasperated against me; but as that is indeed the heaviest article, and the least excusable, being matter of pure speculation, yet 'tis undoubtedly the easiest conquer'd, and I know the infallible method of doing it: but of this in particular among our selves.

I wou'd therefore go at present to Germany, as before I intended by encouragement from thence, and keep a constant weekly correspondence with his Lordship, not only according to his Instructions, but likewise as to all Observations of my own, I shou'd think deserving his curiosity or notice. I shou'd remain sometimes at Berlin, or Cassel, or Des-
sau,

fau, that it might not be faid I was more at Hanover than elfewhere, or that I was fent by any man or party thither; but my intereft there is fo good, and they have fuch an opinion of my diligence and affection, that when abfent I fhould know all that paff there and could communicate what I thought fit to them from other places, as well as when I found it convenient to be upon the fpot. This I fancy would be of fome advantage both for the Queen's fervice and theirs, and the fecret fhall be kept by me inviolable, fo long as it fhall be thought neceffary fo to do; for I have pretences enough to go into that Country on my own account, as to make an ampler Description of it, or for any other plaufible intent. For my Appointment, I fhall be well content that it be paid me quarterly, and that it be continued no longer than I fhall be judg'd to deferve the fame or a better.

Whether fuch a perfon, SIR, who is neither Minifter nor Spy, and as a lover of Learning will be welcome every where, may not prove of extraordinary ufe to my Lord Treafurer as well as to his predeceffor BURLEIGH who employ'd fuch, I leave his Lordfhip and you to confider. As for the fervice and gratitude I fhould owe to his family no lefs than to himfelf, they are better underftood than expreff; fince it is not words but deeds that muft do the latter, and that there can be no deeds without an opportunity. My friends on t'other fide of the
Sea

Sea wish me impatiently there; and even in my Lord N***'s time, notwithstanding his Memorials, the Electress proferr'd to do something for me in a public manner, were I but recommended by any considerable persons, as I'll shew you by express Letters: for she believ'd (and I suppose not without reason) that I was strangely misrepresented to the Queen, with whom she justly desir'd, as she ever will do, to be upon the best terms she cou'd, and so durst do nothing openly in my behalf. Nevertheless, her Royal Highness knew better than any body that it was impossible I should not be most hearty for her Majesty's Title and Government, or be perfectly inconsistent and the falsest creature in the world to my own principles, and regardless of that Succession for which I profess so much zeal, and which I had publish'd to the world as the greatest happiness, not only to England, but to the liberty of Europe in general. I can make no other apology for the length of this Letter, but that it saves you the trouble of many more, and that in a narrower compass I cou'd not give a full and satisfactory answer to all your Questions, which yet may be all reduc'd to these two, why I was not employ'd before, and how I wou'd be employ'd at present?

I am, SIR,

your most oblig'd and humble servant.

T O

Mr. * * *

December 14, 1705.

SIR,

ALL this time I have been a silent but not an idle Spectator. Publick matters go exactly according to my wishes, and not otherwise than I expected from this Ministry, which (I hope) in the principal supports and springs of it is inviolably united: and then the ornamental or subservient parts may be alter'd or amended at leisure. It is no small satisfaction to me, that the judgment of the Queen, the Parliament, and the Ministry, do so unanimously concur with the Book, which (under your protection) I have publish'd for their service; and which has met with all the success and reputation that any Author cou'd wish, tho' he had declar'd his name, as I have been far from doing even to those I have oblig'd. It had the honour to be attributed by good judges to several eminent persons, and among the rest to you; where it had most certainly fix'd, were it not for the Character given therein of your self, in which particular, the world believ'd that you wou'd be less just and more reserv'd, than any of your servants, friends, or admirers. Among persons of an inferior rank I have been nam'd (as I understand) by many; but,

for want of good information, 'twas always with some doubting, wherein I am still determin'd to leave 'em. As for any thing in the Book not just according to your sentiments, which perhaps may happen in a point or two, you'll have the goodness to consider that I wanted opportunity to consult you personally, for doubtless your special Directions, or the honour of your Conversation at leisure hours, wou'd have made it another guess piece; I having finish'd it in a very few days, without any to advise me but Mr. P***, being in the country, and not master of time enough to polish the very language.

Now, SIR, I have form'd another Design, which may be as seasonable, useful, and necessary as the first; and therefore as well for that, as for some other reasons, I humbly and earnestly beg the favour of one half hour's Discourse with you, wherever or in what manner you please to appoint; for I can come by water, or at any time in the night. I wou'd not give you any trouble of this kind, while my friend Mr. P*** was absent, that I might not be oblig'd to make use of any other name. There's no time to be lost, and I am ambitious to have the next Piece without a fault; which I shall judge it to be, if it has but your concurrence or approbation. Having sent one of the first (under the feign'd name of Mr. FREEMAN) to Mr. SHOWER the Dissent-

ing Minister, I receiv'd the Answer which I send you inclos'd, and more such from other hands: all assuring me that *The Memorial of the State of England* was the true state of the case, had less trifling, and more impartiality than any Book that had yet appear'd on the subject. I flatter my self you'll not wholly impute it to vanity, that I give you this account of a work, which in some sense may be call'd your own, as in every sense I am, SIR, with the greatest sincerity and zeal,

Your most faithful, humble, and obedient Servant.

Mr. SHOWER's Letter *on receiving the Memorial of the State of England, as a Present from the unknown Author.*

Clerkenwell, Oct. 24, 1705.

S I R,

THE kind Present I receiv'd on Monday night, viz. *The Memorial of the State of England*, appears to me to be the most judicious and seasonable of any thing lately printed. 'Tis the real state of our case set in a true light, with excellent judgment and eloquence; very likely to open the eyes, and calm the minds of many. I shall most gladly do what I can to promote the spreading of it;

it; and accordingly desire twenty five may be sent me per first, and shall pay the porter the Bookseller's price, and so dispose of 'em, as to occasion the buying and reading of a much greater number. If the other Ministers nam'd have read it, I doubt not but their sentiments are the same with mine, tho' I have not had the opportunity to see either of 'em. SIR, I reckon it an honour to have been thought worthy of such a present; and 'twill be an additional one to kiss the hands of him who sent it, and express my thanks and esteem and unfeign'd respect, of which I hereby assure him, who am, SIR, his most oblig'd humble Servant,

JOHN SHOWER.

My Aversion and Inclination :

IN A LETTER

To Mrs. D * * *

YOU send me news indeed, MADAM, that Dame SCRAG that unparallel'd original, imagines I am deeply smitten with her; by reason of some expressions in a Letter of mine to the Reverend Doctor, our common acquaintance. But that Gentleman and I dealing wholly in mysteries of one kind or
 Z 3 another,

another, I'll then allow her to comprehend my meaning, whenever she has a particular revelation either from him or me. But you say the same thing was confirm'd to her by one, who has an unlucky talent at writing merry Ballads and waggish Lampoons; nay, that he insinuated much more than he thought fit to say. Such a heroic accomplishment is enough, I confess, to beget a terrible idea of that wight, in the breasts of all those Ladies who blush as soon as they hear him nam'd; which are the foolish, the frail, and the fickle, the tattlers, the dawbers, the modish, and the coquets, to all which I know her Ladyship to be a perfect stranger. These characters will reach nevertheless to a world of other women; which makes me wonder, that the adventurous Poet does not put all the timorous fair under contribution; which wou'd be a surer way of enriching himself, than by dabbling (as he does now) in Politics, or by drudging (as he did before) in Trade. I don't say, and you won't think, that on any account whatsoever, her Ladyship shou'd either pay her quota to him in coin, or be frighted by his Satyr to quit any of her humors, which are dearer to some women than the most precious of their jewels: but in the particular you mention, she's certainly more afraid than hurt, or rather, not being hurt, is the reason she's not afraid; since the scandal (if any was intended) must be entirely meant to me, which yet I easily forgive, because none
will

will believe it. But, in the name of aver-
sion, what have I done to occasion this sus-
picion? for what have I not left undone to
prevent it? Yet if it must needs be added to
the punishment of my other sins, let it be
said at least, that I suffer for a sin of omission;
since in all probability I wou'd take care not
to be over intimately concern'd, unless with
some of your sly Gypsies that can keep a se-
cret, such as rarely shew their admirer's Let-
ters, and that never boast of the number of
their conquests. But I appeal to her Lady-
ship, if setting aside some roguish expressions,
which I know to be one of her favourite di-
versions, I be not the most harmless thing in
the world as to deeds; and I am ready to
take my corporal oath, that she was never
one moment the object of my thoughts.

However, lest her Ladyship should be ever
so little discompos'd at so ungrounded a sur-
mise, and that I may ruin my self all at once
with some other Darlings of mine (meaning
the venerable society of vain and wanton
Widows; the honourable company of Vir-
gins, that have large fortunes and small un-
derstandings; with the faded skins, and cher-
ry-cheeks of both sorts) I need but tell them
in one emphatical word, that I have engag'd
my heart: or, to use a longer form, since
they love chat, that I shall be constant to me-
rit in the person of one excellent creature;
and then the very old Maids themselves, will

cry out upon me for an old fashion'd lover. Trust me, MADAM, this is a more infallible receipt to get rid of what's importunate or impertinent, than ever was invented for driving away troublesome flies. It will effectually lose me the reputation of intriguing, which I have ever carefully avoided; nor will I gain a little by it in another way, I shan't be apt to tell you at this time. And now if you wou'd either know my sure preservative against all mean temptations, or how my inclinations stand towards some of your other female acquaintance, be pleas'd to learn from my own pen the Character of my real or imaginary Mistress; for as to the design of this Letter, 'tis no matter whether it be a present Mistress or a future.

I assure you therefore in the first place, that she ever thinks before she speaks, tho' she never speaks half she thinks; which you'll say, is very much in either man or woman. You know already who she is not. But then, as she betrays no folly by giggling laughter, nor any malice by leering smiles, so she can be very brisk and chearful in conversation, without poorly lessening, or scandalously abusing her friends. Her prudent observations (join'd to moderate reading) will never let her be at a loss, when 'tis her turn to entertain the company; tho' she's far from being the monster they call a Learned Lady, or from thinking her self oblig'd to furnish all the talk
and

and diversion: for she never becomes the subject of discourse to others, but as she's the admiration of the good, or the envy of the bad; and even these last are sometimes heard to praise her, in order to pass themselves the better with their neighbours for sincere or judicious persons. She avoids ill company as carefully as she does their faults: but if by accident or mistake she happens to be engag'd in such, (as who can always prevent it) she behaves her self so cautiously, as neither to disoblige them, nor to scandalize others; yet leaving them without any hopes of receiving a second visit, and the rest of the world without any just cause of reflection. She has wit and beauty to make her be passionately lov'd in youth, as she has sense and virtue to make her be honourably esteem'd in old age: and she despises as much the nauseous flatteries of pretending coxcombs, as she values the disinterested commendations of the wise and good, whom she studiously imitates. Her Religion lyes not in her tongue, but in her heart: and the outward performances of it do no more consist in precisely lifting up her eyes to heaven, at the same time that she curtsies to the rake or the fop in the next pew; than the private duties of it are reading loose Poems, placing of paint and patches, consulting the oracle of the bottle, or using certain other amusements in the closet, from which several come out more boisterous Devils, than they went in demure

demure Hypocrites. But the inoffensiveness of her manners, the evenness of her temper, the charitableness of her disposition, and the clearness of her whole conduct, make her be blest and admir'd for her goodness wheresoever she comes; so that the properest prayer for discreet Matrons, is to wish night and day, that their own Daughters may be like her. To be as short as I can in a very long Letter, she's genteel without affectation, gay without levity, civil to strangers without being free, and free with her acquaintance without being familiar.

I am convinc'd that those Ladies who judge of other's inclinations by their own, and who have reason to wish all women were like themselves, wou'd be ready to say, (if they saw my Letter) that this is an imaginary Mistress; tho' if I had but her permission, I cou'd with pleasure tell you her name, and defy their worst malice to find a tittle in the description, which is not outdone by the original. Yes, MADAM, there is in reality such a Lady somewhere; tho' I am so far from pretending to a return of mutual love, that I cannot even say I ever made her a positive declaration. Yet as to the mere Character, I'm sure for the honor of your sex you'll make no scruple to believe it. But then, for the honor of ours, I expect you'll likewise believe, that secure of such a one's person and affection, I wou'd rather undergo

undergo poverty and disgrace, accept of the woods for my lodging with the old Knights-errant, and be content with roots for my daily food; than being coupl'd (like the living and the dead) with any of a different stamp, to possess riches and favour, to feed continually on exquisite dainties with the modern heroes, and to pass all my time in gilded palaces. And tho' I have no reason to doubt but she has a handsome fortune (for this I'd scorn to examine) yet I heartily rejoice that she's none of your vast estates; lest she should imagine from the conduct of most other men, that one sordid arrow tipt with her gold, had mingl'd with those purer rays which are shot from her eyes. This you may take for romantic language, tho' of you in particular I have a better opinion: and others, whose good opinion I shou'd be sorry to deserve, will call it a generous folly. But I, who know that true happiness is inward tranquillity and not outward pageantry, contemn the judgment of the multitude when it comes in competition with my own experience: my pleasure and repose by no means precariously depending on what others think, or say, or do: but solidly consisting in what I my self do feel, and relish, and enjoy.

Now, that I may a little shift the scene, I'll say that for Dame SCRAGG, she's wonderful sagacious to smell out an Amour before it is conceiv'd,

conceiv'd, and at such a terrible distance too. But since to clear my self to her Ladyship from the imputation of being her admirer (which I wou'd not do to any other woman on earth) is the main design of this long Letter; I need not (I suppose) give you any further trouble, than only to tell you, that I am, with as much gratitude for your information, as esteem for your friendship,

MADAM,

Your most faithful and obedient servant.

T O T H E S A M E .

ILately made you my confidante, MADAM, so far as to own I have a Mistress: and, tho' lovers are commonly liars, yet you may safely take my word for it, when I say, I am so well pleas'd with the choice, that I continually bless the day, the hour, the place, where so sweet and charming a creature had the secret (and 'twas no small one) to make her self the sole object of all my care and wishes. 'Twas no distrust of you, but want of leave from her, that made me shy of telling her name: but having communicated her Character to you then, I now send you her Picture, to see whether you judge as truly of the one as you did of the other. When you know the Lady, you'll swear I
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have

have not flatter'd her ; but nevertheless, MADAM, I assure you the piece is surprizingly like, for the impressions she has made, are too deep and lively ever to be forgot. Yet if the copy should not reach the original (as indeed it cannot) my skill in drawing must not be blam'd, but her unparallel'd perfections, which are inimitable as they are innumerable.

To represent her therefore in miniature, her person is absolutely unexceptionable, as being the golden mean between two very disagreeable extremes; not approaching that monstrous tallness which presently begets aversion, and as far from that lowness of stature, which generally occasions contempt. Her carriage is graceful without affectation, and easy without neglect, which makes an undress or any kind of dress equally becoming her: but so, that in whatever manner she appears, it's always thought by others to be out of design, as finding it for that time and occasion the most proper. Her shape is exactly proportion'd to her person, neither ridiculously molded into nothing with squeezing engines, nor yet in the least over-grown for want of care: but just as it shou'd be, enough to convince a man that he embraces a delicate woman, and is not vainly grasping at an airy phantom. Her hair is incomparably fine, extremely thick, and of a light ash-colour, which makes it the greatest ornament in the world, as partaking at once of
whatever

whatever is enflaming in the brown and softening in the fair. Her teeth are as even and white, and her hands as taper and genteel, as one of the correctest fancy cou'd wish in his own mistress, and the nicest wou'd not expect to find more in any other. Her lips are the native seat of all the smiles and the graces; insomuch that the Bee (which she gave me for a device) wou'd take 'em for the most beautiful flower in nature, it wou'd gladly dwell in the pretty dimples of her cheeks, and suck honey from her sweetest mouth for ever. Her complexion is, in my opinion, wholly divine, and what of all others I infinitely prefer; fresh as the glories of the spring, and fair as the pride of autumn. Lilies and Roses are but faint poetick resemblances of those colours in her lovely face, which so admirably express all the charms of blooming youth, all the symptoms of perfect health, and all that mixture of fire and phlegm, without which Love were but a lazy dream, and life it self a burthen. In her dear eyes shine all that's ingenious, gay, or engaging. No magick is half so enchanting. No magnetick power is near so attractive. No shafts can hit more sure or deeper; as at the same time no art can bring a more ready cure, nothing but themselves having the virtue to heal those wounds they occasion: nor does their colour put me less in mind of heaven than their glory. Her forehead, her chin, her eyebrows, and all the rest of her features, are
exactly

exactly regular; and singly or united are capable to charm the whole world, making young men mad, old men fools, and all women envious. 'Tis better to say nothing of her breast than not to say enough, or in some proportion to the transporting subject, those heaving adorable twins of the most refin'd and unspeakable delights. But this is much better expressed by imagination, and is a bliss to be touch'd, but never to be thoroughly describ'd. Nor do I question the excessive perfections of those other beauties, which the troublesome disguise of garments hide from my longing eyes; and which as I have not seen I cannot pretend to paint, nor wou'd if I were able, since it is the highest ambition of my heart, that these may be only seen, admir'd, and possess'd by my self. This inestimable blessing wou'd quickly render me the happiest man alive; as she wou'd become the happiest of women, if a thorough knowledge of her worth, and the most disinterested affection for her person, cou'd possibly make her so.

These, MADAM, are but the external lines, and only the cover of a yet fairer soul, whence (according to old observation) the valuable-ness of the jewel may be guess'd by the richness of the case. Her good breeding, good humour, and good sense, I have already describ'd in her Character: and, where these are, no other good thing can be wanting.

Now

Now I hope you'll own, that in sending you this rough draught of my Mistress's Picture, I have sent you at the same time a sufficient justification of my own passion; having inviolably resolv'd to love her only to my last breath (which she alone can hinder) with all the ardor of the youngest man, and with all the constancy of the oldest philosopher. In short, MADAM, that Mistress alone I wou'd make a wife, of whom I think in this manner; and she (I think) ought to make that Lover alone her husband, who thus thinks of her: for tho' other things may render Matrimony splendid, 'tis only this can make it happy. I have nothing more to add, but that her name is A, B, C, D.

T O

Mr.

* * *

S I R,

IN answer to yours of Saturday last, be pleas'd to know, that the Seven Provinces coming to a stricter Union than that of Utrecht (the foundation of their Republic) it was unanimously agreed in the year 1583, that the exercise of the Protestant Religion alone shou'd be publickly establish'd, while other Sects should be onely tolerated, and Popery conniv'd at. This is the only Law, with

with relation to the religious qualification of Magistrates, that ever was made in the Provinces from that time to this: and that *Reformata Religio* did signify therein the Lutherans as well as the Calvinists at the time of making this Law, and that it is understood of the Arminians no less than of the Gomarists since that time, I shall have no difficulty to convince you; just in the sense, I say, that Reform'd Churches signifies all these in one Liturgy. For, tho' Reform'd or Calvinist, is now us'd commonly abroad in contradistinction to Evangelic or Lutheran; yet, at the time of making the Law aforesaid, it comprehend'd the whole body of those who made the Bible their only rule of faith, and who join'd in rejecting the Idolatry and Superstitions of Popery, together with the Supremacy of the Pope. As a proof of this, among abundance of others, several of the leading men, men of the greatest authority, and who had their share in making this very Law, were profess'd Lutherans: most of the cities of the Provinces were then full of Lutherans, who were admitted to Magistracy equally with the Calvinists: and Lutheranism, in short, was the prevailing profession of diverse places for some time after the enacting of this Law, particularly of the city of Worden; whose inhabitants came afterwards to change of their own accord, without any positive or negative discouragements to influence them.

As for the Arminians, or Remonstrants, who truly account themselves, and are no less accounted by others, to be Reform'd or Protestants; 'tis certain that they are by no means excluded from Magistracy, neither by the Law of the year 1583, when this distinction was not known, nor by any Law since: and at this very time many of 'em partake of the most considerable posts, being the prevailing Party in several places, as they are reputed to be so in the supreme Government it self; and, whenever you require it, I shall acquaint you with their names, being also willing to give you particular proofs of every other thing which I have hitherto asserted. Indeed at certain junctures, as, for example, under the late glorious King WILLIAM, (to whom the Arminians were no friends, by reason of their aversion to any Stadtholder) they were prudently kept out of offices, but not excluded by any Law: as those of the Church of England, who are disaffected to the present Settlement, are very justly kept out of places, tho' otherwise qualifying themselves by the sacramental Test. This, and no other, has been precisely the case of the Arminians in Holland: and the Anabaptists (who are unquestionably Protestants) are no otherwise excluded, than as they exclude themselves by their notions of Magistracy and the use of the sword; several of 'em being employ'd where their Consciences will permit 'em to serve, and particularly in
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the city of Amsterdam. I speak all this time of civil offices, for all the public Churches are to be only serv'd by Ministers who subscribe the Synod of Dort; with liberty, as I said, to others, who pay their own Ministers.

To His Grace

My Lord Archbishop

O F

CANTERBURY.

May it please Your Grace,

MONsieur DUBOURDIEU gave me an account how favourably your Grace was pleas'd to receive the Book I took the liberty to send you; which I esteem not only as an extraordinary obligation; but (considering my character in the world, which is not what at present I deserve) I look upon it as a demonstration of that Christian goodness and greatness of spirit, with which you are acknowledg'd by all good men, to support and adorn your high Station in the Church. The same reverend person, who was not wanting to me at several times in his friendly and charitable admonitions, has further acquainted me with what he promis'd on my behalf to your Grace, and which I shall always,

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by

by the help of God, endeavour to make good; being firmly resolv'd in this laudable purpose both by principle and engagement. He has been a witness for two years past of my ordinary conversation, which he'll own to be very different from what it has formerly been, and is still represented to be by those who do not know me, or are not willing I shou'd make a better use of my reason and experience: for I am sorry to say what I cou'd not chuse but observe, that some people wou'd rather see a man, who is averse to their enslaving Politics, run the risk of working his own damnation and endangering the souls of others, than to be exempt from their censure or revenge on the score of Religion, when they cannot otherwise attack him. Whoever is loyal and orthodox in the State, is with them a Heretick or a Traitor in the Church, let his life and doctrine be ever so unblameable.

But if I can be so happy, My Lord, as to approve my self to the best, I shall reckon it no misfortune to meet with reproaches from the worst, which is a part of my duty no less to bear than to forgive. As I was born neither inspir'd nor infallible, so I shall be far from justifying any thing I may have hitherto done amiss: but this is no argument that I have never perform'd any thing worthy of commendation. And therefore, since the bounds of this Letter cannot contain what I have to say

say on either of these heads, I humbly beg the favour of you to permit me to wait on Your Grace, to offer that further satisfaction I am prepar'd to give, as well as to receive your paternal advice and directions, which, next to the sacred precepts of the Gospel, I shall esteem the most obligatory rules whereby to frame the future conduct of my life. I am, with all the sincerity and veneration imaginable,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's most faithful, dutiful, and obedient Servant.

*March the 6th,
1706-7.*

T O

THE REVEREND Mr. * * *

Reverend SIR,

TO hear of scandal, quarrels, and defamation, I am sorry, is no new thing; the world did always abound with them, and will continue to do so as long as envy, pride, or avarice deprave human nature. Notwithstanding there be a sovereign light plac'd by the Almighty in every man's heart as well to moderate his passions as to guide his actions; yet lest we shou'd be too partial in

affairs which concern our own persons, and so be apt to mistake our selfish inclinations for the dictates of unbiassed reason; we have public monitors and judges divinely establish'd among us, both to inform us of our duty, and to regulate our behaviour. Tho' it be a most wicked thing in any body to misrepresent another, yet the sin is more notorious in that man whose peculiar function obliges him to preach charity, peace, and forgiveness to others: for nothing he can ever say will have any great influence while his ill example seems to be so strong an argument that he believes not his own Doctrine.

'Tis but too well known in how many particulars I might apply this with relation to my self; but I'm so much accusom'd to the hard and undeserv'd usage of some men, that now it moves me not in the least; yet I was strangely surpriz'd to hear you censur'd by some of your brethren in the country, as if you had receiv'd a bribe to give me the Sacrament, which shews at once their ignorance and their malice: their ignorance in imagining you cou'd deny it me, and their malice in belying you after so base a manner. My charity wou'd never let me suspect that you were capable of being corrupted to commit any wilful iniquity, much less that you wou'd for a little money prostitute the most sacred ordinance of the Christian Religion. I wish my circumstances wou'd allow me to
make

make the poor acknowledgment, I yearly pay the Minister, a great deal more: you know it was but one Guinea to you last year, and given a long while before you publish'd your intentions of administering the Sacrament. As for my participating of it, there needed no other known qualification (I hope) than being dispos'd as the Rubric directs; and the bare act of receiving it ought to convince all charitable persons of my veneration for it: since I look upon it to be the public sign whereby we commemorate the death of **JESUS CHRIST**, the founder of our Religion, engage our selves to obey his Laws, and declare our hopes to enjoy the benefits of the same. Indeed I differ from you and others who think the Sacrament to be a means of conveying grace: which, if it be an error, has been profest to the world by many eminent Divines of our Church, and was never thought a sufficient bar to Communion.

It is a maxim with me never to believe a story which reflects upon any man's honor, till I have it from an unquestionable author: nor is it enough that it be one I esteem, if he knows no more of it than only by report; and therefore I need not tell you with what tenderneſs we ought to handle reputation, since the injury is commonly irreparable. I am a true well-wisher to all mankind, but I particularly desire the conversion of my enemies. I doubt not

your justice when occasion requires it, and you will not scruple my sincerity when I profess my self to be, Reverend SIR, your most humble servant.

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

WHAT you heard from your Cousin about the Book of which he tells you I am master, is actually true; and no story of his making (as you suppose) to set Doctor MORELLI's mouth a watering, nor any scheme of my contrivance to vent my own notions under such a disguise. The Volume carries in it self undeniable arguments of its age and authority: and, since you say your curiosity is so great and pressing, you shall by no means lose your longing; for I'll tell you the history of this piece in as few words as I can, yet omitting at this time all that I know concerning the person and circumstances of the Author.

In the Court of Queen ELIZABETH 'tis generally acknowledg'd, even by her enemies, that there was a set of very extraordinary men, and among them some, who understood every thing else as well as the Art of Government, and who saw further than any since
(or

(or perhaps before) into the mysteries of Priestcraft and the extravagancies of Superstition. This knowledge of the follies of some men, and the frauds of others, did not a little serve to make them such exquisite Politicians, enabling them to take every thing by the right handle, what safely to abolish, what necessarily to retain, how to govern all men by the springs of their own passions, and to manage the whole machine by the chains and weights of prevailing opinions. Private Conferences they usually had, wherein they talk'd of every thing freely and without a veil, being secure from the censure or mistakes of the prophane vulgar, and in those things true to one another, tho' not seldom at variance on other occasions.

The most remarkable instance of their liberty in thinking, and of their prudence in concealing their notions is this Book, which was written with the privacy of a certain number among them, who had the few copies that were printed, and the work was particularly dedicated to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, of whom the Author has given an excellent character, as he has done of the French Ambassador Monsieur de MAUVISSIER DE CASTELNAU, and of FULK GREVILL, afterwards Lord BROOK, three principal men in this learned Club of Courtiers: the rest being a mixture of young and old persons, as Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, Sir THOMAS SMITH, Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Sir AMBROSE PHILLIPS, the Earl of LEICESTER,

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and

and some others: but the Encomium of Queen ELIZABETH, for the justice of fact, delicacy of thought, and eloquence of expression, seems to ingage the Author's affections, wherever he has occasion to mention her.

In the Book is represented a Council of the Gods, owning, rehearsing, and exposing their ancient worship, or the Religion of the Heathens, in a most learned, long, and elegant Oration made to them by JUPITER, on the Festival in commemoration of their Victory over the Giants. But the Gods are no less scandaliz'd and offended at the present condition of things, which they conclude to be yet far worse than in the Pagan times, both in respect of private Virtue and of public Government. Having resolv'd therefore to make amends for their own past tricks and offences, and to destroy the succeeding impostures of others, they agree to act fairly for once, and to set up the intelligible, useful, necessary, and unalterable Law of Nature, against the mysterious, speculative, unpracticable, and changeable Institutions of all other kinds. But in order to this, finding no Letters so clear, universal, and durable, as the eternal fires of the Stars, they abolish the antient names of the Constellations: which, when understood, are but the histories of the tyranny, luxury, brutality, whimsicalness, and other defects of antient Princes or great men; or, where
not

not understood, many of them are fabulous, mostly obscure, and all unprofitable. Wherefore instead of these poetical fictions, they give the Constellations the names of the so long forgot and neglected moral Virtues, carefully marking, examining, confuting, and rejecting the opposite vices. All the antient Constellations, about forty eight in number, are successively arraign'd; and in exploding the Heathen story (as that of *Orion*, or the *Bear*, or *Aquarius*, for example) there is commonly a parallel or allusion made to some later Superstition, which is ironically handled, and admirably turn'd into ridicule, in a method peculiar to our Author. Immediately after this, the contrary Virtue is set off to full advantage, being proposed by some of the Gods, and decreed by JUPITER, to take up the room of the Heathen Fable; but in so grave and solid a stile, that one is tempted to believe, it is not always the same hand that writes. The counterfeit of every Virtue, and all the false pretenders to that name, are patiently heard in making their several pleas to obtain the honor of a Constellation; but are at last detected, condemn'd, and discarded, as the real Virtue is plac'd on its true foundation, and worthily presented with a becoming Seat in the Heavens. The Law of Nature being thus methodically reduc'd to certain heads, and the Constellations bearing the titles of so many Virtues, as of Truth, Prudence, Tempe-

rance, Justice, Fortitude, and the like; this they call'd *the Book of Nature*, being equally legible and open, at all times and to all persons.

The project was pretty enough; for in less than the space of a fortnight, any body may become master of the celestial Sphere; so that even boys at school might be taught this part of Astronomy with no small pleasure; and by giving such names to the Constellations, they wou'd become the best monitors and most obvious memorials of their duty to all manner of people. It serv'd this purpose for Religion among the Heathens, which shews the thing is not impracticable another way. But our Author never dreamt of publickly establishing it, but chose it for a plan that serv'd at once to expose the Priest-craft of the Heathens and other people. However, this part of the Book is easily conceiv'd; and what is most singular in the whole, is the manner of exploding Superstition. In a word, it was a very uncommon thought, and incomparably perform'd: for tho' this Volume exceeds not 261 pages in Octavo, small print, besides the explicatory Dedication containing about a sheet; yet in one continu'd thread and contexture it contains the whole doctrine of the Sphere, the Learning and History of antient Superstition, the confutation of modern Imposture, and a compleat System of Ethicks; besides

besides various incidents and digressions. How the secret was kept, and this Book (which was probably the Queen's own) came to my hands, you shall be told another time, for this Letter is but too long already.

I am,

SIR,

your, &c.

To * * *

Prague, January 1708.

SIR,

I HAVE nothing to add to what I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency per post, but that the Countess of STERNBERG is not the only person at Prague to whom I am particularly oblig'd: for the very reverend Father Guardian, and the rest of the worthy members of the Irish Convent, were not more disposed to do me all the good offices of humanity, than they were forward to shew me the most zealous affection of Country-men. Yet I did not receive half that satisfaction from their many civilities to my own person, as I was charm'd with their putting round the Queen's health in full Refectory, where a great many strangers were present, and of several Nations as well as different Religions. Nor did I find 'em
less

less easy and well-bred upon this last article, than in other things; tho' I frankly told 'em my sentiments, and, perhaps, that I might sometimes, to improve by the discourse of ingenious persons, carry matters further than Reason or the Reformation will allow. But I must do that justice to the bearer of this Letter, Father FRANCIS Ô DEULIN, Lector of Divinity, as to own my self not a little pleased with his courteous behavior and good literature. The least I cou'd therefore do in return of so much kindness and friendship, was to recommend him, according to his own desire, to a person of your Excellency's extraordinary candor and capacity, not doubting by my own experience, but that during his stay at Vienna, you'll not only favor him with your protection (he being a good Imperialist, without which I wou'd not espouse him) and be ready to forward or countenance him in all lawful occasions. But I am confident his own merit will prevail farther than any thing I can say in his behalf.

I am &c.

A

Mr. T O L A N D.

Hanover, ce 30 d'Avril 1709.

MONSIEUR,

J'AY reçu à mon retour le present de vôtre Livre avec l'honneur de votre Lettre, & je vous en remercie. Mon absence a été longue ; autrement je vous aurois répondu plustôt.

Il y a plusieurs bonnes remarques dans tous vos ouvrages, & je vous avouë facilement, que TITE LIVE n'étoit rien moins que superstitieux. Monsieur HUET en appliquant les Fables des Payens à MOYSE, a voulu plustôt faire paroître son erudition que son exactitude, dont il a pourtant donné de bonnes preuves ailleurs ; & son Livre des *Demonstrations Evangeliques* ne laisse pas d'estre tres instructif, nonobstant qu'il s'y donne carrière, en se jouant des Mythologies. Vous avez fort raison, Monsieur, de donner des grands eloges à HERODOTE. STRABON est un auteur grave, mais lors qu'il parle de MOYSE, il paroist qu'il prend les actions & les sentimens de ce Legislateur selon les preventions & les chimeres des Grecs. Il n'en avoit apparemment que des notices confuses, & il se trompe manifestement

ment en croyant que le Temple de Jerusalem a été l'ouvrage de MOYSE, que les voisins des Hebreux avoient des coùtumes semblables aux leurs, & que la circoncision & la defense de certaines viandes auprès des Juifs a été postérieure à MOYSE.

Je ne say, si vous avez trouvé, Monsieur, dans la Langue des Coptes ou Egyptiens qu'elle convient avec celle des Pheniciens & des Arabes, comme vous dites p. 145. Feu M. ACOLUTHUS de Breslau la croyoit convenir avec celle des Armeniens: mais ses preuves ne me satisfaisoient point. C'est une Langue fort differente des autres, que nous connoissons.

Pour ce qui est de vôtre but, j'avouë qu'on ne sauroit assez foudroyer la Superstition; pourveu qu'on donne en même temps les moyens de la distinguer de la veritable Religion; autrement on court risque d'enveloper l'une dans la ruine de l'autre auprès des hommes, qui vont aisement aux extremités; comme il est arrivé en France, où la bigoterie a rendu la devotion même suspecte: car une distinction verbale ne suffit pas. Ainsi j'espere que vous serez porté à éclaircir la verité, comme vous avez travaillé à rejeter le mensonge.

Vous faites souvent mention, Monsieur, de l'opinion de ceux qui croyent qu'il n'y a point d'autre Dieu, ou d'autre estre eternel,
que

que le Monde, c'est à dire, la matiere & sa connexion (comme vous l'expliquez p. 75.) sans que cet estre eternal soit intelligent (p. 156.); sentiment que STRABON attribué à MOYSE selon vous (p. 156.), & que vous même attribuez aux Philosophes de l'Orient, & particulièrement à ceux de la Chine (p. 118.). Et vous dites même (p. 115.) qu'on y peut appliquer (mais par equivoque) l'Estre parfait, l'Alpha & l'Omega, ce qui a esté, qui est, & qui sera; ce qui est tout en tous, dans lequel nous sommes, nous nous remuons, & nous vivons, formules de la Sainte Ecriture. Mais comme cette opinion (que vous marquez rejeter vous même) est aussi pernicieuse, qu'elle est mal fondée; il eut été à souhaiter, Monsieur, que vous ne l'eussiez rapportée qu'avec une refutation convenable, que vous donnerez peut-être ailleurs. Mais il seroit toujours mieux de ne pas differer l'antidote apres le venin. Et pour dire la verité, il ne paroît pas que la pluspart de ceux des anciens & des modernes, qui ont parlé du Monde comme d'un Dieu, ayent crû ce Dieu destitué de connoissance. Vous savés qu'ANAXAGORE joignoit l'Intelligence avec la Matiere. Les Platoniciens ont conçu une Ame du Monde, & il paroît que la doctrine des Stoiciens y revenoit aussi: de sorte que le Monde selon eux étoit une maniere d'Animal ou d'Estre vivant le plus parfait qui se puisse, & dont les corps particuliers n'estoient que les membres. Il semble que STRABON aussi

l'entend ainsi dans le passage que vous cités. Les Chinois mêmes, & autres Orientaux conçoivent certains Esprits du Ciel & de la Terre, & peut-être même, qu'il y en a parmi eux, qui conçoivent un Esprit supreme de l'Univers. De sorte que la difference entre tous ces Philosophes (sur tout les anciens) & entre le veritable Theologien, consisteroit en ce que selon nous & selon la verité, Dieu est au dessus de l'Univers corporel, & en est l'auteur & le maistre (*intelligentia supramundana*) ; au lieu que le Dieu de ces Philosophes n'est que l'Ame du monde, ou même l'Animal, qui en resulte. Cependant leur Tout ($\pi\tilde{\alpha}\nu$) n'estoit pas sans intelligence, non plus que nôtre Estre suprême. Madame l'Electrice a coustume de citer & de louer particulierement ce passage de l'Ecriture, qui demande s'il est raisonnable que l'auteur de l'œil ne voye pas, & que l'auteur de l'oreille n'entende pas ; c'est à dire, qu'il n'y ait point de connoissance dans le premier Estre, dont vient la connoissance dans les autres.

Et à proprement parler, s'il n'y a point d'Intelligence universelle dans le monde, on ne pourra point le concevoir comme une Substance veritablement une : ce ne sera qu'un *aggregatum*, un assemblage, comme seroit un troupeau de moutons, ou bien un étang plein de poissons. Ainsi en faire une Substance eternelle, qui meritât le nom de Dieu, ce seroit se jouer des mots, & ne rien dire sous
de

de belles paroles. Les erreurs disparoissent, lors qu'on considere assés les suites un peu negligées de ce grand Principe, qui porte qu'il n'y a rien, dont il n'y ait une raison qui determine pourquoy cela est ainsi plustôt qu'autrement : ce qui nous oblige d'aller au delà de tout ce qui est materiel, parce que la raison des determinations ne s'y sauroit trouver.

Les deux ouvrages l'un en Latin l'autre en Italien que GIORDANO BRUNO a publié *de l'univers & de l'infini*, & que j'ay lûs autrefois, font voir que cet auteur ne manquoit pas de penetration. Mais malheureusement il est allé au delà des justes bornes de la raison. Il donnoit aussi dans les Chimeres de l'Art de RAYMOND LULLE. Je n'ay jamais lû son *spaccio della Bestia triomfante* : il me semble, qu'on m'en a parlé un jour en France, mais je ne le saurois asséurer : il y a trop long temps. Ne faudroit il point dire *specchio* au lieu de *spaccio*? M. DE LA CROSE m'a dit, que vous luy avez montré ce Livre.

Madame l'Electrice se porte encore bien, graces à Dieu. Elle vient de perdre sa soeur Abbessé de Maubuisson bien plus agée qu'elle, & qui s'est assés bien portée jusqu'à sa derniere année. Je crois que Monseigneur le Prince Electoral ira encore faire la campagne.

Au reste je suis avec zele,

*Votre tres humble & tres
obeissant serviteur.*

LEIBNIZ.

P. S. Mes amis m'ont pressé de faire mettre au net mes considerations sur la Liberté de l'Homme & la Justice de Dieu par rapport à l'Origine du Mal : dont une bonne partie avoit été autresfois couchée sur le papier pour faire lire à la Reine de Prusse qui le desiroit. J'y examine toutes les difficultez de M. BAYLE & tache de les resoudre, pendant que je rends justice à son merite. Car je n'aime pas d'accuser les gens sur des simples soupçons.

T O

Mr. L E I B N I Z.

Feb. 14, 1710. N. S.

S I R,

I Lately did my self the honour to send you the *Letter* I publish'd that very day, as an antidote against Dr. SACHEVERELL'S seditious Sermon ; and the Articles since exhibited against that Incendiary by the Commons, shew that I did not only rightly apprehend the scope of his writings, but that I no where stretch'd his meaning, and that his principal view has been the defeating of the Succession in the House of Hanover. I shou'd have sent you freely the Articles at large, whereof I have an authentick copy ; but that I suppose your Envoy at our Court wou'd not leave the Elector to the blundering

ing abstracts of Gazettes, in a matter that so nearly and essentially concerns himself and his Posterity.

I then promis'd by the following post to send a larger packet concerning your self: but your Bookseller TROYEL, who offer'd me his service in this particular, was not prepar'd enough till now, that he has some sheets of yours to send. Some time ago, he told me he was printing your *Considerations upon the Liberty of Man, and the Justice of God, with relation to the Origin of Evil*; and that you were making some addition to it, upon the account of what Dr. KING, the Archbishop of Dublin, has written upon the argument. Tho' TROYEL, without your permission, would not let me read your Considerations, yet I was easily persuaded, that the most solid and accurate Monsieur LEIBNIZ wou'd reconcile those points infinitely better than that Prelate, who, since the publication of the other Book, has printed a *Sermon* likewise (which I may term his *curae secundae*) upon this very subject. But a friend of mine in England, a Lay-man like your self, and a Gentleman of a good estate, has just now publish'd a notable censure of this Sermon, which he has sent me with some other things, and which I thought wou'd not only be proper, but likewise agreeable to you at this juncture. I have therefore deliver'd them this morning to your Bookseller for

this purpose. A word now to your former Letter.

My *Adeisidaemon* will be reprinted at the Hague, as soon as I transmit thither an additional Dissertation, tho' upon a different subject. I shan't make the least alteration either in *Adeisidaemon* or the *Origines Judaicae*: since the attempts to answer or censure them appear to be as impotent as they were malicious, and therefore have confirm'd others no less than my self in the truth of my allegations; for their invidious consequences I utterly disclaim as illogical and false. The epistolar animadversions of my true friends, I take as kindly, as I have treated those of my envyers with contempt: but none of those whom I justly admire and revere, have been more pertinent and candid than your self, which indeed is your most laudable behaviour towards all mankind.

You frankly acknowledge that LIVY was nothing less than superstitious, tho' certain Journalists would foolishly endeavour, out of mere opposition, to produce the contrary; wherein they only shew the littleness of their spite, and the greatness of their ignorance, from which character I must needs exempt the Gentlemen of Leipstick, who have done me justice to my satisfaction.

I wholly

I wholly agree to what you say about carefully distinguishing Religion from Superstition, lest the one be unwarily involv'd in our censure of the other: and 'tis to your zeal for keeping inviolably to this rule, that I must attribute a few mistakes, that have slip't you in relation to the *Origines Judaicae*. After bestowing a just commendation upon STRABO, you add, that he represented the Actions and Doctrines of MOSES according to the prejudices and chimeras of the Greeks: whereas in almost every particular he gives a quite different account of him, from what the Greeks, or their Latin copiers, have left upon record; and the decision of this point depending upon fact, I need say no more about it, till the passages be produc'd that I have overlook'd or misunderstood. Where he had his materials is another question, of which, I have yet said nothing, but only shewn how fraudulently Monsieur HUET had misrepresented him. Neither does STRABO, SIR, (as you charge him) any where say that MOSES built the Temple of Jerusalem, but only that he conducted the Jews to the place where that Fabrick stood in our Author's time, και απηγαγον επι τον τοπον τειτον, οπερ νυν εστι το εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις κτισμα; and he afterwards very plainly ascribes the erecting of it, as a real Cittadel, tho' under the pretence of a Temple, to those Tyrants who had perverted the Mosaick Institutions. The Question is not

all this while how much STRABO was in the right, but what he precisely thought, whether in the wrong or not. As to the Rites he affirms were introduc'd after the time of MOSES, perhaps he's mistaken in those you specify: but in the *Respublica Mosaica* I shall unanswerably prove that many things, both rites and precepts in that abridgment we call the *Pentateuch*, are long posterior to MOSES; and this will I do after quite another manner, than SPINOSA cou'd, or LE CLERC wou'd have done. You add, that STRABO's manifestly mistaken, when he says that the neighbours of the Jews had many ceremonies and customs like to theirs. This he no where says, tho' I do; nor can any man doubt of it that reads their MAIMONIDES, or our SPENCER. From these and more antient Authorities I shall demonstrate this thing in the fore-said work, and not from the passage of STRABO, where *δια την ἐμιλιαν* ought to have been translated *by reason of acquaintance or commerce* (propter consuetudinem aut commercium) and not *of rites or manners*, as it is there. This is the only place where thro' inadvertence I have left him wrong translated; for from the third word *μιγαδων* I have corrected the version even to the end.

You own that Monsieur HUET, in applying the Pagan Fables to the Person or Doctrine of MOSES, intended rather to shew his learning than his exactness; and I agree with
with

with you, that in other things he has shewn himself exact enough. But this subject, methinks, requir'd more exactness than Romances either in Love or Philosophy; and his very title of *Demonstration* ought to have remov'd afar off every thing that was not of the utmost accuracy. But the truth of it is, that, whatever I may with you ascribe to his learning, there runs a large vein of Priestcraft throughout that tedious work, which has not charms enough to make any Infidel read it; and you, who have no superior in the Mathematical sciences, well know, that the very arrangement of his Propositions (to say nothing of what he alledges for proof of 'em) is far from being exact. This, as I understand from France, I shall be soon oblig'd to prove, which will cost me neither time nor pains, as having it ready cut and dry'd; and, in the mean while, I send you the character of his work from a very able man in Germany, and one you intimately know.

You doubt whether I have found any affinity between the Coptick Language, and that of the Phœnicians and Arabians. But I have neither in page 141, to which you refer, nor any where else, mention'd the Coptick Language; as believing that Jargon so call'd at this day, to have very few genuine remains of the ancient Egyptian Language: and so for ought I know, Monsieur ACOLUTHUS of
Breslau

Bresslau might have been in the right in comparing it with Armenian, which I don't understand. Yet, if your curiosity will require it, I am ready to shew you, that the Egyptian words preserved in the Bible, and those in other old writings (except some introduc'd under the great Kings) were as much of the same origin and construction with the Hebrew, as Arabick or Cadean ; and as Swedish or Islandish are with the present German, and any other Dialect of that with the old Gothick.

As to what you said with regard to two other points, the one of JORDANO BRUNO and his writings, especially his *Spaccio de la Bestia trionfante* ; and the other of the Pantheistick opinion of those who believe no other eternal Being but the Universe, I shall do myself the favor to write you in my next. Pray, let me have your thoughts of my printed Letter, with the liberty of reading what's printed of your work ; and be pleas'd to direct your answer to be left for me at TROYEL's. After my duty and service, where justly due, I am &c.

T O

Mr. LEIBNIZ.

SIR,

LAST post day I gave a Letter for you, and two small Books, to your Book-feller TROYEL; who promis'd to send them, with other things of his own, without delay. But that Letter was too long already to add any more to it, and therefore I shall do my self the honor at present to answer another point in your former Letter, concerning JORDANO BRUNO NOLANO, and his writings. Several besides you had a curiosity to see the *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante* (*Bestiae triumphantis expulsio*) and at last I found myself oblig'd to send as far as Vienna, a kind of Dissertation upon this subject, which is all that seems necessary in general, and which I enclose herein for your perusal. My Copier is indeed a very young Lad, but in reading over his transcript, I have corrected all his mistakes. I confess something more particular ought to have been said concerning the *Spaccio*, which of a printed Book, is I believe the rarest in the world. But on the other hand, 'tis not a secret to be communicated to every body. Yet as very few are masters of so much judgment and discretion

as Monsieur LEIBNIZ, 'twou'd be a derogation to both, as well as a breach of the honor and friendship I profess for him, if I did not impart what I have written to another excellent person on this same argument; which is first, a most circumstantial account of the Book it self, and secondly, a specimen of it, containing three articles out of forty eight. This you may depend upon receiving per next, and in the mean while, permit me to have recourse to you, as an Oracle in History, for the solution of a doubt that has long puzzl'd me about the Chinese Language, and which the late publication of some Books in Italy has strongly reviv'd.

I need not quote any particular Authors for what you have read in so many, I mean the extreme and almost insuperable difficulty of a foreigner's ever learning, to any tolerable degree, that Language, or even of a native Chinese to be perfect master of it under many years application. This proceeds in part (say they) from the hieroglyphical forms of their Letters, vary'd into numberless figures, but not so expressive of what they represent, as to make 'em easily intelligible; partly from the multifarious accentuating or different pronunciations of one and the same word or character, which respectively vary the significations thereof; and lastly from the infinite number of words, as well as from the most frequent use of figura-

figurative expressions. The Jesuits urge this difficulty at present more eagerly than ever in their famous Dispute against the Dominicans, and in certain *Reflections*, printed by them last year at Rome I have among others noted this passage in the 12th Reflection. *La lingua Cinese é così difficile e oscura, che per quanto studio ci ponga un Europeo, se in essa non si sia allevato da teneri anni, & non vi abbia con ostinato studio di molti lustri, & per vero desiderio di convertire quell' anime, tutta impiegata la forza d'un grand ingegno, non può giugnere a saperne quanto ne sappia il minimo de' Dottori Cinesi.* Thirty years study is the space they commonly allow an European, to be able to judge or decide any controversy arising from the genius of the Language. The contrary of all this, you may remember, was affirm'd to you, and by an Italian Augustine Friar, about three years ago at Wolfenbuttle, who afterwards repeated the same thing to me at Berlin; nor did I see any reason to question his veracity in this point, tho' I vehemently suspected what he said of the Compass. But I am yet more than ever perplex'd, by an *Answer* that has been lately publish'd to the said *Reflections* at Turin by a learned Dominican, who produces no contemptible testimonies against the assertion of the Jesuits, of which I shall here transcribe a couple. The first is cited out of the fourth part of Dr. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI'S *Giro del mondo*, Book the second, and Chapter

ter the 9th; this Author having travell'd over all China, was a great favorer of the Jesuits, and his words are these: *la lingua Cinese al parere de Missionari (Gesuiti) é la piú facile di tutte l'altre Orientali. Se per apprendere una lingua principalmente fa d'uopo memoria, quella lingua sarà piú facile che averà minor copia di parole; perche sempre é piú agevole ritenerne una picciola quantita, che molte: ora, la lingua Cinese é composta di sole 320 monosillable, quando la Greca & la Latina hanno una infinità di parole, di tempi differenti, nomi, & persone: adunque essa devo essere assai piú facile. Si aggiugne à ciò che non fa di mestieri altra memoria che degli accenti, iquali sono come la forma, da cui si distingue la significazione delle parole. Il popolo però pronuncia bene il tutto con somma facilità, senza sapere che cosa sieno tuoni ò accenti, che non sono conosciuti che da' Letterati. Non potrà di ciò dubbitarsi, quante volte si voglia por mente che li Padri Missionari, che vanno in Cina, con l'applicazione di due anni predicano, confessano, e compongono in quella lingua, come se fosse la loro propria; quantunque vadano in quelle parti già avanzati in età, onde hanno composti e stampati moltissimi libri, che sono ammirati e stimati da' medemi Cinesi.* But lest the Jesuits shou'd cavil against the Authority of GEMELLI, as being a Lay man, my Author produces an unexceptionable witness; namely father GABRIEL MAGALLIANS, a Portuguese Jesuit, most conversant in the

Chinese language, who lived thirty seven years in China, and twenty five of these in the capital city of Peking. This Missionary in the 96th page of his *Relation* has this passage: *La lingua Cinese é più facile della Greca, della Latina, e di tutte l'altre d'Europa. E certo che uno, ilquale studi con applicazione e buono metodo, può in un' anno molto ben' intendere e parlare in idioma Cinese. Ed in fatti vediamo che tutti li nostri padri, che presentemente faticano in questa missione, in capa a due anni fanno così bene questa lingua, che confessano, catechizzano, predicano, e compongono con tanto facilità, come se fosse la lor lingua naturale.* This is a plain contradiction to what the Jesuits have pretended ever since the Papal Decree appear'd likely to go against them; alledging that the other Missionaries had not sufficient knowldge of the Chinese Language, to determine whether the controverted Rites and expressions were atheistical and idolatrous or not. But the Franciscan and Augustine, as well as the Dominican Missionaries, very justly reply, that supposing the Chinese Tongue so difficult to them as is pretended, it must needs be as difficult likewise to the Jesuits; or else on the contrary, as easy to them as to the Jesuits. This is certainly true, and therefore the inquiry between you and me, is not how the several disputes or interests of these Gentlemen are or may be determin'd, but what is true in fact concerning the difficulty or facility of the Chinese Language,

guage, wherein by the concordant confession of both, there are contain'd such vast numbers of excellent Books, and containing a Philosophy especially very different from what obtains in our parts 'of the world. Wherefore I desire the favor of you, not only to communicate your thoughts to me on this subject, and such observations as I'm sure in a long tract of reading you have most judiciously collected, but to refer me likewise to such Books, as you shall think the most proper to give me due light and satisfaction.

After presenting my duty and service as before, I remain,

S I R,

Your most observant and devoted admirer.

A

Mr. T O L A N D.

Hanover ce 1. de Mars 1710.

MONSIEUR,

J'Ay reçu ce que vous m'avez envoyé contre le Docteur SACHEVEREL, aussi bien que le Sermon de M. l'Archeveque de Dublin, avec la refutation, dont je vous remercie. J'ay trouvé de bonnes choses dans

le Livre de ce Prelat sur l'*origine du mal*; mais je ne saurois goûter son sentiment, qui tend à nous faire croire, qu'il y a dans les substances libres une volonté ou election, qui n'est point fondée dans la representation du bien ou du mal des objects, mais dans je ne say quel pouvoir arbitraire de choisir sans sujet. Son *Sermon* aussi ne me satisfait pas, lors qu'il semble nier, que nous ayons de veritables notions des attributs de Dieu.

Il est vray, que STRABON est un bon Auteur : mais je crois pourtant, qu'on peut dire qu'il se trompe fort en parlant des Juifs. Il ne paroît point fondé d'avancer les points suivans : 1, que des Edomites chassés de l'Arabie, se sont joints aux Juifs & ont pris leur loix : 2, que les Juifs sont Egyptiens d'origine : 3, que MOYSE a été un Prêtre Egyptien : 4, que MOYSE a crû, que Dieu est le Monde : 5, que MOYSE a occupé les environs de Jerusalem : 6, qu'il a obtenu ce pays sans combat : 7, que le pays des Juifs estoit peu digne d'être matiere de combats : 8, qu'au lieu d'armes MOYSE a employé les ceremonies de la Religion : 9, que les peuples voisins se sont joints à luy : 10, que ses successeurs ont introduit la circoncision, & l'abstinence de certaines viandes. Je ne veux point éplucher le reste, mais je ne saurois dissimuler la faute qu'il a faite dans un fait voisin de son temps, en croyant qu'HERODE a été un des Prêtres ou Pontifes des Juifs. M. CASAUBON a remarqué

encore, que STRABON trompé par d'autres auteurs, a confondu le Lac de Sirbone avec le Lac Asphaltite, où le Jordan se perd.

La Langue Cophte garde beaucoup de l'ancien Egyptien, & des personnes y versées le croient bien different de l'Arabe.

M. HUET étant, sans doute, un des plus savans hommes de nôtre temps, merite qu'on parle de luy avec moderation.

Quant aux Chinois, je crois qu'il faut distinguer entre leur Caracteres & leur Langue. Les Caracteres en sont difficiles à apprendre, & les Jesuites ont raison de soutenir, qu'il faut beaucoup de temps pour qu'on soit en état de bien entendre les livres de cette nation; mais la Langue n'est pas fort difficile, quand on en a attrappé la prononciation: aussi est elle fort imparfaite; les savans ne la cultivant point, parce qu'ils s'attachent aux Caracteres. Le Pere GRIMALDI m'a dit, qu'il arrive quelque fois aux Chinois dans la conversation de tracer les caracteres en l'air ou autrement, pour se mieux expliquer.

Au reste je suis

MONSIEUR,

votre tres humble

& tres obeissant serviteur,

LEIBNIZ.

T O

Mr. * * *

York-buildings, Feb. 9, 1710-11.

S I R,

SOMETHING I was to finish for Prince EUGENE, with whom I hold a literary correspondence, and which I have transmitted to his Highness's last post, is the reason I have so seldom apply'd to you in person or paper (if I may so speak) since my arrival. But tho' I intend to do my self the honor of waiting on you to morrow, yet my duty obliges me to send you this Letter to day. I have, indeed, been very busy hitherto (which hurry is now over) yet I have been at times in all places and with all people. My long absence has given me a good pretext for an unaffected reserve, as seeming ignorant of every thing at home, which makes all men desirous to inform me on the foot of their own schemes and principles, being God knows sometimes extremely different, and frequently inconsistent.

That I never admir'd the late Ministry, to whom I was under no tie of affection or gratitude, you remember as well as any man; and you know, that by the Ministry,

I don't mean every man that was then in Employment: but that I neither disparage nor commend them now, any more than over-flatter the present Ministry, which I am likewise far from under-rating, is what you'll be doubtless inform'd of from the Coffee-houses, where you great men (be of what side you will) need have no spies in pay; since there are so many officious expectants in each of them ready to perform that service. I therefore hear and see every thing. I have the pleasure very often by cross questions, or a seeming compliance, to draw that out of some people, for which they wou'd be ready to hang themselves, if they thought I rightly understood them; tho', after starting their designs, to the best of my ability, their persons for me shall be always safe. Bantering and fooling, indifference and doubtfulness, are successful engines in this art of disburthening, which you know the French call *tirer les vers du nez*, and we English *pumping*. In short, I set up not pretendedly, but in downright earnest, for conversing with all men and about all things; which conduct I have exactly observ'd ever since my going last abroad, and shall ever continue it.

Let this serve as a preface, SIR, to whatever I may have occasion to write or say to you for the future, and in particular to what I am now going to tell you; which is, that a violent suspicion is strongly rooted in the
minds

minds of many, and indirectly affecting all, as if I know not what long-winded measures were concerted in favour of the Pretender's more easy access to the British Empire ; and consequently against the rightful and lawful claim of the House of Hanover. Believe me, this notion alone does the Court more harm, than all the artifices of all the men that are disoblig'd in the nation. I will not dispute but that the late Ministers and their creatures would gladly clog the wheels ; as some ill-affected, ignorant, or discontented Tories wou'd drive 'em much too fast. But other Whigs and Tories wou'd not be willinger to get more money than they have at present, than to improve by any hands the money they have got already, cou'd they entirely trust the Government. Nay, tho' I shou'd agree with your Projectors, that some keep up their money out of sullenness, and others in expectation of greater advantages when the Court is in greater distress ; let me take the liberty nevertheless to assure you, that there are a third sort, and those not the least wealthy or numerous, who for the reason given before (well or ill grounded) dare not at this juncture part with their money on any terms, tho' ever so inviting. Such people have with the greatest earnestness and sincerity beg'd me for a reason to set them at ease.

Now since by conquering this same point of Money, you conquer all other difficulties, I think it behoves the Court by some unaffected method (yet as much for their own honor as possible) to settle the minds of the subjects; and to act in respect to the House of Hanover with more openness and heartiness than they are hitherto observ'd to have done either there or elsewhere. Dry and general expressions will not do: friends must be confirm'd, and enemies put out of hope. I cou'd tell you the answers that men have ready in their mouths to that part of the Queen's Speech which relates to the Succession, and which (by the way) seems even to me not to be over-punctually follow'd by the countenance and preferment given since to certain persons whereof I saw a list, with whose former conduct and characters I am thoroughly acquainted, and who I have reason to believe are not chang'd by an oath, whatever they may be by a place. They cannot at least be said to be *zealous* for the Protestant Succession.

I am not a stranger to the principles and practices of certain Scots I can meet every day about Westminster, no more than to the peculiar construction they put on the Oath of Abjuration. I know what is further said in the world concerning the affected stile, or rather incoherent jargon of the late Ad-

dressés; nor want I explanations from some of the Addressers themselves. I am glad however on other accounts that such Addressés there were. But to pass over a thousand things of this nature and tendency, I must not forget that some of the Writers that wou'd distinguish themselves by their zeal for the present Ministry (as the *Examiner*, for example) have given but too much ground for these surmises by very odd and imprudent, if not disaffected and villanous expressions.

'Tis likewise prodigious to think, that LESLY, who deserves to be hang'd, was not as much punish'd at least for his *Good old Cause*, as Sir ROWLAND GWYN for his *Letter*, or GILDON for publishing and defending it. Tho' I don't mention 'em, I am not ignorant of other such Books that have pass'd uncensur'd, to the no small amazement of every body. There are so many scatter'd particulars of this kind, which tho' singly perhaps unheeded, yet collected and set fairly in one view, wou'd (I durst wager) bring down stocks lower than ever.

Certain informations now before the Attorney General against two Scots Officers, as also against a man from Exeter (to name no more) and the sham-plot of those two rampant St. German Priests LANGTON and HIGGINS, against some honest Gentlemen in Ire-

land, whereof I have a very particular account, from one of the Gentlemen themselves, cannot but make people remember and dread the days of King CHARLES and King JAMES. 'Tis ever an ill sign when Informers are encourag'd.

I will not insist on the choice of Ministers to the Court of Hanover, almost from the beginning: nor on certain, I was going to say childish, ways of treating them, of which they'll be the last themselves to tell you; and I own that I am far from being commission'd to do so, or any thing like it. I am however afraid, and I wish I may never have occasion to shew, that you have all of you a wrong notion of that place, where you may depend upon it that there are neither Whigs nor Tories; and where as Mr. H*** (if he has any faith in me) is the highest in their esteem for a Politician, so he may be the first in their confidence as a friend, without forfeiting any of his duty to his present Royal Mistress, whose true interest and theirs are, in their opinion, inseparable. Never, I am sure, were heirs apparent or presumptive less dispos'd to make the possessor uneasy, or less in haste to leap at a Crown, being already so easy themselves. Yet this is far from rendring them indifferent, as some shallow monsters have misconstrued their discretion; the Elector's language being unvariably this, that he'll always do by the Queen, as he wou'd
have

have his son do by him. The late Ministers, we may naturally imagine will not be wanting (if possible) to ruffle this their tranquillity, as well as improve the mistrustful dispositions, and, I hope, ill-grounded jealousies of the people.

As to Credit (which is the main point at present) the very persons in the City, who abhor the thoughts of any design for the Pretender in Court or Parliament, yet finding those that believe such designs keep up their money, will likewise keep up theirs for fear of the worst: since the least confusions on this account must ruin a world of men. 'Tis in your will, I am persuaded, and for God's sake let it be in your power, to obviate the malicious designs of your own and the Nation's enemies. A method may be easily found out: tho' I have known a boat overfet, because the skipper wou'd not slacken his sail at the desire of a passenger. Our British Court must often condescend to satisfy the doubts or desires of the People, nor does even the French King always neglect it.

Pray, SIR, mistake me not; as if I had the English spleen or a German pension. I own it is impossible for any man to be more in the interests of that most illustrious Family than I am; and as I hope to out-live every man alive that's older than my self but you, so I have a real and hearty concern for what's

to come. But for all that, you may safely rely upon it, that this Memorial is deliver'd out of perfect good will to you, most sincerely intended for your service, and I doubt not but so you'll understand it. I am in my self entirely secure as to the event. Tho' time and things have taught me to be cautious of every body, yet I am convinc'd that too much jealousy is as bad, if not worse, than none at all. Were I sure, as I am certain of the contrary, that every man and woman they suspect was imbark'd in such a Plot, yet I shou'd not much fear for the Succession's blowing up or sinking their ship. Nay were the Pretender landed at Leith or in the Downs (which is believ'd to be the meaning of the hieroglyphical Almanack from Christ-Church, where the allegorical health is *Confusion to Philosophy*, that is to SOPHIA and her *friends*) should this happen, I say, I shou'd not despair of his being quickly driven out again; and in this case foreigners, I fancy, wou'd inter-meddle whether we wou'd or no. But 'tis better he shou'd not come at all, lest you or I shou'd fall in the scuffle.

For the rest, I do assure you, Dear SIR, that what I have laid before you is not wholly pick'd from common fame, nor yet the language of tools or factious fellows; but that of entire trust in me from some of the most considerable men in the Nation and
 City,

City, the apprehensions of Tories as well as of Whigs, many of whom have ever despised those whom you may be apt to suspect of putting such notions in their heads, or such words in their mouths. But to conclude, I have besides a demonstration to my self that a majority of the nation does more or less believe the matter that has occasion'd this Letter. The Jacobites give out they are cocksure of it, the Whigs fear it may be too true, and many of the Tories know not what to think: but I know in such a case with whom some of them wou'd be most likely to join. The October Club, if rightly manag'd, will be rare stuff to work the ends of any party. I sent such an account of those wights to an old Gentlewoman of my acquaintance, as in the midst of fears will make her laugh. I am with my head, with my pen, and with my heart,

SIR,

*Your most faithful
and obedient servant.*

T O

T O

Mrs. * * *

MADAM,

IF we corresponded in all things as punctually as we have done this week, in interchanging the good news, no pair in history cou'd exceed us. But by yours before the last (for both which I return my heartiest thanks) I find that a Lady of your acquaintance and my self, differ very much in our notions about Solitude, which I take to be quite another thing from Retirement. I am ready to own that without Retirement one is in a perpetual hurry: it reiterates all our enjoyments by recollection; and furnishes us with materials as well as desires for new pleasures, when we produce our selves again upon the theatre. Solitude, on the contrary, not only deprives us of both the past and the future, but always inclines the present hour to joyless melancholy, which sooner or later ends in something intractable, Timonean, (pardon the word) or perhaps more fatal. And if this be true of the meanest and most thoughtless peasants, tho' little differing from brutes in all they do; how much more must it be so of such elevated genius's, whose ready and just conceptions of things, whose
proper

proper but unaffected expression, and whose engaging affability ever join'd to discretion, make them the only Angels, capable to render others happy, and to be so themselves, in conversation, friendship, love, or affairs, or all together.

This is exactly the Character of the Lady, who pleads for Solitude; and who you tell me looks upon the Book of Nature, as sufficient to employ and divert her. Pray acquaint her from me, that no man in the world admires that same Book, more than my self, but that it is still only in Retirement; and I fancy I shou'd understand it better, were she there to tell me the names of the flowers, or I to tell her their virtues: besides that, after all, we peruse the Book very imperfectly, if we do not frequent the beau monde, please and be pleas'd, hear and relate; all which being natural, are so many agreeable pages of that infinite volume. I should be very angry at what your acquaintance says of *her time of day*; were not their proper person the only thing, wherein Ladies of her sense are allow'd to speak by contraries. Persuade her therefore to come to town, and assure her, that whoever looks upon her with my eyes, must allow the Picture I send you to resemble her in every particular. I never read it, but I thought so, and consequently thought of herself.

T O

Mr. * * *

SIR,

I Had the honor of receiving your Letter yesterday by the hands of Dr. F***, The Motto you sent, being one of five I had since collected for your choice, is already set in the frontispiece: for in subjects of this nature, I have as just a deference for your taste and judgment, as ever VIRGIL or HORACE had for VARUS. I likewise acknowledge your criticism, as to narration in general, to be right, where we ought to be very sparing of Epithets, except when they are absolutely requisite: for they only, and their cousin Adverbs, make all the distinction of things, nor can any writing be without them. But on the other hand, I admit not your French *Telemachus*, nor any other the most correct French Author for a Rule in Language: for their own is neither a good original, nor capable of imitating such. What Frenchman can say the *all-permeating Aether* or *swift-footed ACHILLES*? tho' words of this kind be as essential to Pastorals (whether in prose or verse) as to Tragic or Epic Poetry.

There

There may be however a vicious affectation of these in such Pieces as most require them. Nor do we Authors (and 'tis only laziness or a more unpardonable modesty that keeps you from being of our number) always print every word we write in the first heat of our imagination. This sort of pruning is call'd by our friend HORACE *ambitiosa recidere ornamenta*; and the Recitation of the Antients to their judicious acquaintance (a thing wholly neglected by the Moderns) was principally design'd for this purpose. Mine was so to you: but I had done it in vain, if you had not used a liberty wherein nothing is to be blam'd, but the excuse you make for it. If you don't send me word that you have business or better company to morrow, I shall have further discourses with you on this subject. In the meantime, believe me to be in the strictest sense,

SIR,

*Your most true
and faithful servant.*

T O

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

SINCE you cannot read the *Memoirs* of Monsieur CASTELNAU in the original, I send you a translation of his *Character of Queen ELIZABETH*, which, in my opinion, is a master-piece. He had long resided Ambassador at her Court from France, and was very much in her favour, tho' in Religion Popish; and, as such, hath often misrepresented the Protestants, especially those in France: which is an undeniable argument for not suspecting his sincerity when he speaks well of them.

T H E

C H A R A C T E R

O F

Q U E E N E L I Z A B E T H.

“ THO’ this Princess was possess of all
 “ the great qualities that are neces-
 “ sary for reigning a long while, which she
 “ likewise did; yet, however good her un-
 “ derstanding

“ derstanding might be, she wou’d never
“ either decide or undertake any thing of
“ her own head, but always imparted every
“ thing to her Council. What happen’d in
“ the time of AUGUSTUS, when the Tem-
“ ple of JANUS was shut as a sign of the uni-
“ versal Peace of the Empire, might be as
“ truly said of her reign; for the Queen
“ of England having avoided all wars, by
“ studying to fix them upon her neighbours
“ abroad, rather than to draw them upon
“ her own Kingdom, and to feed them at
“ home, she preserv’d her subjects by this
“ means in very great tranquillity. Nor was
“ it with any justice that she was taxt by some
“ with avarice, for not having made any consi-
“ derable liberalities(forsooth) which not only
“ load those with envy on whom they are
“ conferr’d, when excessive; but very often
“ are the cause of censure upon those who
“ bestow them without reason, and unless the
“ gift be a work of charity or necessity.
“ A further and sufficient defence against this
“ unjust charge of being govern’d by avarice,
“ is, that the said Queen did entirely dis-
“ charge all the debts of her Predecessors,
“ and put her finances into so good order,
“ that no Prince of her time did amass so
“ great riches, and levy’d with so much
“ equity, as she did, without ever laying
“ any extraordinary taxes or new-invented
“ imposts to squeeze her subjects. This ma-
“ nagement is the reason that for the space of

“ eight years she never demanded the ordi-
“ nary subsidies and free gift, which the Eng-
“ lish are accustom’d to grant their Princes
“ from three years to three years: and, what
“ is more, her subjects having offer’d her in
“ the year 1570 the usual sum without her
“ asking of it, she not only thank’d them
“ without accepting thereof; but likewise
“ assur’d them, that unless absolute necessity
“ requir’d it, she wou’d never raise a crown
“ upon them, but what wou’d be just
“ necessary for supporting the government.
“ This single action deserves the highest
“ praise, and may well entitle her to the
“ reputation of being extremely liberal.
“ But yet further, she neither sold the of-
“ fices of her Kingdom, nor made money
“ of them any other way, tho’ other Princes
“ are wont to give them to the highest bid-
“ der: a thing that ordinarily corrupts ju-
“ stice and policy, with all humane and di-
“ vine Laws. Besides her maintaining of
“ her subjects in peace and tranquillity, she
“ continually built a great number of Ships,
“ which were the fortresses, the bastions,
“ and the ramparts of her State, causing a
“ new man of war to be launch’d once every
“ two years; and such Ships they were, as
“ made account to meet with nothing on
“ the seas capable to resist them. These
“ were the buildings, these were the Palaces
“ that the Queen of England begun from
“ her

“ her very acceſſion to the throne, and
 “ which ſhe delighted to continue ever
 “ after. She exercis'd withal another ſort
 “ of prudent Liberality, which is, to ſpare
 “ no expences in order to know the ſecrets
 “ of foreign Princes: and this was particu-
 “ lar to her, that ſhe choſe rather to lend
 “ without intereſt, than to borrow her ſelf
 “ on any conditions, tho' ever ſo gainful.
 “ She has been indeed moſt baſely calumni-
 “ ated with certain Love-Intrigues, which I
 “ can affirm with much ſincerity to have
 “ been mere inventions, and ſtorics not on-
 “ ly ſpread by malecontents at home, but
 “ likewise forg'd in the cloſets of Ambaſſa-
 “ dors, to make thoſe Princes averſe to her
 “ alliance, to whom her friendſhip might be
 “ of the greateſt advantage. Had ſhe had an
 “ inclination for the Earl of LEICESTER
 “ (as it was poſitively reported) and that ſhe
 “ had preferr'd him not only to all her own
 “ ſubjects, but likewise to thoſe foreign Prin-
 “ ces that courted her, what cou'd hinder
 “ her from marrying him? eſpecially, ſecing
 “ that the three eſtates of her Kingdom,
 “ and the neighbouring Kings and Princes,
 “ did often beg it of her with great earneſt-
 “ neſs, or to marry any other, even of her
 “ ſubjects that ſhe might beſt like. But ſhe
 “ was pleas'd to ſay to my ſelf an infinite
 “ number of times, and long before I had
 “ the honor to reſide in her Court, that were
 “ ſhe ever diſpoſed to marry, it ſhou'd only

“ be to a Prince of a great and illustrious
 “ Family, and of Royal lineage, not inferior
 “ at least to her own; and this more for the
 “ good of her Kingdom, than for any parti-
 “ cular affection: nay, and that if she thought
 “ any of her subjects were so presumptuous
 “ as to desire her for a wife, she wou’d
 “ never admit him afterwards into her pre-
 “ sence, but, contrary to her natural dispo-
 “ sition very opposite to cruelty, she wou’d
 “ play him some ill turn; so that there re-
 “ mains no reason to doubt, but that she was
 “ always no less chaste than prudent, as the
 “ effects do plainly demonstrate. What serves
 “ for a further good proof of what I here
 “ allege, is, the curiosity she had to learn
 “ so many Sciences and Languages, besides
 “ her continual application to affairs of state
 “ foreign and domestic, that she cou’d scarce
 “ have any leisure to think of amorous pas-
 “ sions, which are the offspring of Idleness
 “ but not of Letters: a thing well under-
 “ stood by the ancients, when they made
 “ PALLAS the Goddess of wisdom, to be a
 “ virgin, and without a mother, and like-
 “ wise the nine Muses to be so many chaste
 “ virgins. For all this, I know the Courti-
 “ ers will say, that Honor consists only in re-
 “ putation, and principally the honor of
 “ women, who are happy if they have but
 “ a good name. Now if I have been carried
 “ somewhat too far out of my road to de-
 “ scribe the praises of this Princess, the par-
 “ ticular

“ ticular knowlege I had of her merits will
 “ serve me for a lawful excuse; as the re-
 “ hearsal of them seem’d also necessary, that
 “ the Queens , who shall come after her,
 “ may take the example of her virtues for
 “ their looking-glass.

Read now all the Histories that expressly or occasionally relate the Actions of this incomparable Princess, and you’ll find that this Character might well serve for argument to them all: so judiciously cou’d the French Minister crowd immense matter into a very narrow room. When I write on that subject, which I hope to do e’er it be long, I am resolv’d to take it for my text; and to enlarge on the following heads, viz. That she was,

1. Basely envied by the Scotch race, and her day abolish’d by King JAMES II.

2. Maintaining the ballance of power abroad, and the head of the Protestant interest every where.

3. No single Ministry, but the results of a wise Council.

4. Preserv’d peace at home by keeping the war abroad (1), where she always entertain’d sufficient forces, both to assist her allies, which she never abandon’d; and to maintain military Discipline in her Kingdom.

(1) Bellum foris, pax domi.

5. Not prodigal of the public money to worthless favourites. The Popish Libels on that subject against a time of need.

6. She did discharge the public debts in reality, and not in idea; as the public credit was held up by effects and not by a vote.

7. When she forbore receiving the usual taxes, she was at the same time engag'd in foreign wars. This was liberality to her People.

8. Never rais'd money to enrich favourites, and supply the luxury of a Court.

9. No selling of offices after the basest manner; that is, bestowing them as bribes to the turbulent or corrupt, and not as favours to men of merit; and splitting them among many to make the more voices, or quartering those you dare not employ on those you do.

10. Her care of augmenting the Fleet, and how it dwindl'd under her Successor, the ships she built rotting in the Docks.

11. By paying well for the secrets of Princes, she was not at a loss what measures to take, nor ever shamefully forc'd to change her schemes with every wind.

12. Never borrow'd at excessive premiums, a sure sign of mismanagement.

13. Marry'd only to her Kingdom, and not changing her Ministers with her Lovers. Steady, and not saying and unsaying, denying and affirming, as she was bid; a sign that those who do so, either know not what is a doing at all, or no judges when they do know it.

14. Her

14. Her prodigious knowledge, her affability, her polite Literature, not mewing her self up, but filling all foreigners with admiration of her wit as well as her wisdom.

15. Scorn'd to misally her self with the sprouts of the Law or the Gospel.

16. Her example to be follow'd by Kings as well as Queens.

17. Sometimes changing Ministers, but never measures; so that her motto of *semper eadem*, her own choice and no imitation, was not a satyr but a panegyric upon her conduct.

CASTELNAU, who liv'd in England 23 years, was admirably well acquainted with her genius; and, knowing by our constitutions, that other Queens might probably reign here before time cou'd abolish his *Memoirs*, he drew up this Character for a guide, an encouragement to their good conduct.

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

THE following abstract of a French Letter writ from Carolina, in the year 1688, being fall'n into my hands, I thought the account it gives of the honest Indians of that Country, would not be unacceptable to you.

D d 4

An

An Account of the Indians at Carolina.

I had but little knowledge of Mankind, whilst the only means I had of judging was from the Books of Morality, and the Conversation of those, amongst whom I then liv'd. All things are so order'd and so compos'd there, that 'tis very hard to make a sound Judgment of what a Man is. The submission one owes to Princes, to Justice, and to Ecclesiastical Power, do keep men so strongly within the bounds of a certain duty, as well as the prevailing custom of yeilding obedience to some persons more powerful than themselves, and more capable of doing them harm; that it is almost impossible ever to see Man in a state of pure nature: but in this Country, where he seems to be free from all these tyes and obligations, one sees him in his true light, and without a mask. And truly one may say, that the apparent exaggeration of the Prophets in the Old Testament, did never carry farther the deformity of the Jews character, then can be made that of the Christians: so far are they from having the marks of a Christian that hardly have they of a rational creature. One sees them daily exclaiming against one another, without zeal towards God, without piety or affection, not helping one another, having no other God but their riches, without confidence in divine
Providence,

Providence, murmuring always against him upon the most trifling vexation, as if God Almighty were ungrateful in giving so small rewards and encouragements to those who make profession of being Christians.

This is it that teacheth me to know what Man is in his depraved state. But on the other hand, God has been pleas'd to grant me a sight of Man such as he ought to be, and thereby has made me understand, that in creating us, he has not left us unprovided of natural abilities to avoid the evil for its ugliness, and to search after the good for its beauty only; without the fear of punishment attending the one, or the hope of recompence to induce us to the practice of the other. Would you imagine, SIR, that the example should be seen and found amongst these Indians, of whom you seem so unwilling to believe any such matter? Yes, SIR, it is these very Indians that have made me blush for shame to be a Man, and yet so little reasonable; and to carry the name of a Christian, and yet so remote from the practice of an Evangelical life. We know our Saviour's precepts without observing them, and they observe them without knowing him: were they to have all the Gospel word by word by heart, they could not practice it with more exactness and strictness than they do it already.

One sees so wonderful an union amongst this People, that you never hear of any disputes or quarrels among them. They are an industrious and laborious Nation; submissive to superior Powers, but without being their slaves; obeying without repining or grumbling their Sovereign's orders: never minding their own particular Interests, when the Publick has need of their service or endeavors; never suffering their neighbour to be in want, whilst they have where-withal to make them sharers with them; hospitable, religious observers of their word and promise; never lying, never taking away from another what belongs to him; no ways dissolute, luxurious or debauched; the marry'd women being modest and vertuous, as to every thing that looks like gallantry, as well as the unmarried; civil and obedient to their husbands, according to the advice of St. PAUL: all of them courteous, affable, and obliging towards strangers, no ways savage nor morose, no ways ungrateful, and never forgetting a good office; valiant and proud in war, tractable and mild in peace, hating thieves, robbers, lyars, and all such as break their word. This is the true Character of the Indians, with whom I conversed most. I must needs own to you, SIR, that after having liv'd among them some weeks, I could not but admire and be amaz'd at the lives of other men, and how
we

we toil and labor for superfluities that we may very easily be without. It was amongst them that I learn'd to seek after what is necessary, and to undervalue the great hurry of business of the world, in which, there is nothing but anguish and vexation of spirit. Good God! What sensible difference I found betwixt the happy quietness and repose I enjoy'd amongst them, and the trouble I meet with daily amongst people, a thousand times more savage then they. But, O SIR, if this People were Christians, what pleasure would there be never to part from them? 'Tis true they are not Christians, and 'tis to be fear'd will never be. When I discourf'd them upon it, they gave me such an answer as made me hold my tongue for shame. " You would (say they) have us become
 " Christians? well, to what end and purpose?
 " Is it to make us better than really we are,
 " or is it not rather to make us as wicked
 " and vicious as your selves, to render us
 " Adulterers, Whore-masters, Lyars, Mur-
 " therers, Robbers, without faith, honor, or
 " honesty, minding nothing but how to de-
 " ceive one another, and to destroy you up-
 " on pretence of Justice? Is this a party to
 " choose, and to oblige us to renounce the
 " simplicity of our manner of life, and the
 " sweet tranquillity of mind we now en-
 " joy?" When I attempted to represent
 to them, that 'twas not our Religion that
 made us such as they painted us; since

it taught us to lead better lives: they reply'd, " that all the Indians that became
 " Christians, were fallen into the same vices
 " and irregularities, that are practic'd amongst
 " us; and that therefore they would not
 " run the hazzard of it.

To * * *

Dear SIR,

HAVING waited a fortnight after the publication of my Book, and no Answer coming out in that time (as I see not what can be reply'd to such plain facts, besides railing, which will never pass for reason) I thought my self bound to attend no longer, and so came down hither at the earnest request of a Gentleman, to whom I owe very many obligations. In one word he's neither King-ridden nor Priest-ridden. I shall not however during my small stay, waste time in merely seeing the country, or indulging the pleasures it affords: but on the contrary, I spend an hour or two every morning on a Piece that will make a much greater noise, and raise a far nobler spirit than *Dunkirk or Dover*. I am perswaded it will be reckon'd a very acceptable service by all true lovers of their Country.

But

But 'tis very hard on the other hand, that while I thus incur the odium of the French Party in power, I should be neglected by those whose English principles, and I may also say whose private interests, I so heartily promote. I do all this, its true, from the unalterable love I bear to Liberty ; but while they find their account in it, methinks, they should not be the less thankful. I hope at least they will now see, how unjust their Suspicions were, that I had still a secret understanding with my Lord * * * whose Spy they us'd approbriously to stile me ; tho' I expostulated with him more, and spoke more plain truths to him, concerning the destructive measures I saw he was taking, than any one of them has done. I neither desire nor expect my word should be taken for this: for I have authentick Proofs of it in the copies of several Writings or *Memorials* on that subject, to every one of which, the person who entertains me here is a witness, as having been privy to the same ; and in particular to the last Letter I wrote his Lordship about two years ago, wherein upon certain (as he thought) ambiguous words he let drop about the House of Hanover, I utterly renounc'd his friendship, and consequently all the advantages one in my circumstances might hope from his Protection. Since that time I never spoke nor wrote to him more : and thus while I behav'd my self as if I had the

most plentiful fortune to support me against his resentments, yet am I shamefully abandon'd as if I were his Creature in the worst sense.

I should not have taken the liberty, SIR, to be so particular with you, if I were not thoroughly convinc'd that you are not only upon the firmest Principles engag'd in the noblest cause in the world; but likewise because I found you always inclin'd both to justify and favour me, as knowing well that I neither was, nor cou'd be any thing but a Whig. Indeed a person who has so nice a taste of polite Literature himself, cannot but patronize a lover of Letters in a lower degree than I am: and hence therefore it is, that I throw my self on your generous care, not doubting but you'll take some pains to set me right with those who know me not so well, and so dispose 'em to put me in a condition of writing as freely as I think. Being resolv'd to set out for London next monday, there's no need of honouring me with an Answer, and in the mean time, I am, with the profoundest respect and sincerity.

S I R,

Your, &c.

T O

T O

Mr. * * *

London Jan. 22. 1713-14.

Dear SIR,

THE Book I do my self the honor to send you by next munday's carrier will sufficiently inform you, how I have been spending my time for some weeks past at Epsom; and the distance of that place from London, as well as my continual attention to a thread of ancient and modern facts, will excuse the interruption of Correspondence. Yet the loss to me has been in some measure made up by the assurance I receiv'd from time to time of both your healths and kind remembrance.

I flatter my self that in the foresaid Book you'll meet with more novelties, than in the ordinary course of postage I cou'd' have sent in that time; and I am sorry on the other hand, that you are too sure to find in it many things that will be no news to you. Discourfing of Liberty, nay, asfertaining and maintaining it, I cou'd not but act with the greateft freedom, and indeed it wou'd not only be improper, but, in my opinion, ineffectual

effectual to do otherwise : since the principal art of persuasion is to appear persuaded your self; and, to tell you the truth without disguise, it is impossible for a soul that's really fir'd with the love of his Country, not to express in the most pathetic terms a detestation for Tyranny, a contempt for Slaves, an aversion to Traytors, and resentment of injur'd Trust. But all this while I have not acted without caution likewise, expecting little assistance from many of those that will be the loudest to applaud me : and therefore, the coming out of the Book being fixt to next Tuesday, I have provided my self with a privacy where I fancy I may be safe enough till the first fury be overpast, if they think it adviseable to make any prosecution. Clipston is too far off, or it were the securest place in the world.

But leaving the event to time, you are to understand, that, without any regard to these things, I am in about three weeks time bound for Germany ; tho' first for Flanders, and next for Holland. I believe I shall be pretty well accomodated for this Voyage, which upon many accounts I expect will be very short. Lord! how near was my old Woman being a Queen! and your humble servant being at his ease! All is not over yet, and some symptoms are promising enough. I have been the bolder upon this presumption, nor am I alone, since all the Princes in Europe take their measures on the same foot.

You'll receive Mr. STEELE's *Crisis* by the same carrier that delivers you my *Art of Restoring*. I think it a very good Book, but it does not answer the expectation of many others, who are good friends to him and the Cause.

Our naval armament goes on very slowly; and whether design'd to reduce Barcelona, Copenhagen, or London, either of these, or all three in conjunction with the French, is yet a secret to the body of our People, but none to me, as per next I shall irresistibly convince you.

I am, SIR,

your &c.

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

Pau 23 July 1714. N. S.

Dear SIR,

IT is about five weeks since I came to this place, but was not settled till very lately in a house fit for my purpose, with Stable, Coach-house and Garden. The Town is but small, and full of Persons of Quality, which makes good houses so scarce, that I thought

I should have been forc'd to go somewhere else. I have taken one for a year at least, and think I shall stay longer, finding the place very pleasant and very healthy, as far as I am yet able to judge. The City is surrounded with very fine walks, either for coach, horse, or foot, and the Country much the most fruitful of any part of France, thro' which I pass'd. The people of condition are extremely civil, by whom we have been visited univcrsally, with promises of much friendship and service. I have been visited but once with the Gout since I left England, with a very moderate fit since I left Paris, which is more than has happen'd to me for several years past. It might possibly have been so, if I had stay'd in England, but I had rather impute it to the exercise of my journey, and the warmth and goodness of the air. I go out sometimes on horse-back, but for the most part in the coach, where I seldom fail of meeting twenty or thirty more belonging to this little Town. We got hither by easy journies without meeting any misfortune; and, tho' we pass'd a great deal of bad way, my horses perform'd so well, as to lose no flesh when they came hither, and are as good and fresh as at first.

The Country we pass'd thro' is sufficiently miserable, wanting almost all necessaries for a comfortable subsistence; the peasants scarcely may be said to live, and those they
call

call Gentlemen are proportionably in a worse condition. The fields are very much deserted, whole towns abandon'd, and the houses fallen down as if they had been visited with an earthquake; servants for manufactures are much wanting, and those that remain are very idle and avoiding labour, which together with the diminution of money, and the late universal plague amongst their sheep and cattel, makes their wool scarce, and their manufacturing dear. And yet they reckon'd this a blessed condition in comparison of what they felt in the time of war, and look upon the peace as no less than a restoration of their beings, which were reduc'd to their last gasp. It must needs be a long while before the country can recover the damage and desolation caus'd by the war, and in all likelyhood they will never be able to do it: and if the Bill of Commerce passes, I do not see how any Province will get by it, except such who deal in wines and brandies.

Every body here talks very confidently of an Invasion of England with a considerable force, but deny that their King is any way concern'd in it, disguising all under the Emperor's name: many stick not to affirm openly, that the Queen is expected shortly in France, and preparations are making for her reception. No doubt if she quits her Kingdom upon any account, she will find a welcome here.

The state of Learning in this Kingdom is very low, and ignorance and barbarity creeps insensibly upon the people of all conditions: the Priesthood being eas'd of their studies and pains in confuting adversaries, will be sure to take care to keep the lay people as ignorant as they can. And we may expect if things continue in the present state, to see this nation over-run with witchcrafts and apparitions, miracles, and all the barbarities of the 12th and 13th Centuries.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

T. RAULINS.

TO

Mr. THORESBY.

London Sep. 29, 1715.

SIR,

MR. DES MAIZEAUX, the Gentleman who publish'd Monsieur BAYLE's *Letters*, and who has oblig'd the learn'd world with several of his own Productions, was so taken with your *Ducatus Leodiensis*, (as all persons of curiosity and judgment must necessarily be) that he sent an account of it to a foreign Journalist, with whom he keeps a
correspon-

correspondence. After having mention'd your Book, he adds, in relation to your self (1):

“ M. THORESBY avoit été élevé pour le
 “ commerce, & il y faisoit de fort bonnes
 “ affaires; mais la passion violente qu'il
 “ avoit pour toute sorte de Curiositez & de
 “ Raretez lui fit abandonner cette profes-
 “ sion pour suivre son inclination naturelle.
 “ Le Catalogue des Raretez de son Cabinet
 “ n'est pas moins curieux qu'instructif: il se-
 “ roit à souhaiter que tous ceux qui possèdent
 “ de semblables tresors voulussent imiter
 “ Mr. THORESBY.

Of this I knew nothing till I saw the Journal, and then Mr. DES MAIZEAUX own'd he had transmitted that Paragraph, which will make the Book enquir'd after beyond the seas. In effect, a famous Bookseller in Holland, has upon this notice sent for some copies.

I thought my self so much interested in what concerns the fame of an honest man, tho' not long happy in his acquaintance, that I cou'd not refrain sending you this account. The justice done in it to your merit, ought to be imitated by all those of your Countrymen, who do not envy you, for there are no parties in the Republic of Letters: and

(1) Nouvelles Litteraires du Samedi 28 Septembre 1715.

if foreigners are so highly pleas'd with perusing your Antiquities of a place they never saw; I think the Town of Leeds, which you have not only rendred illustrious, but even immortal, shou'd after their example (of which I cou'd give many instances) in gratitude erect your Statue, accompany'd with a most honorable Inscription.

You may remember, SIR, that Mr. DES MAIZEAUX inserted his name in your *Album* the day I took leave of you. He forgets not his promise of furnishing you with some hands. I shall likewise add others, to those you have already been pleas'd to accept. In the mean time, I beg the favour of you to lend or procure me an account of such Traditions, concerning the *Druids*, as may possibly obtain in your northern parts: what Monuments are ascrib'd to them there, or that are likely to be theirs, tho' vulgarly taken otherwise: and what places (if any) are evidently, or conjecturally, call'd after them. Such an account, in whole or in part, will lay a singular obligation upon,

SIR,

*Your most faithful
obedient servant.*

Mr.

Mr. THORESBY'S

A N S W E R.

Leeds Octob. 12, 1715.

SIR,

I Take the opportunity of the very first post to acknowledge the favour of your most obliging Letter, with the inclos'd Paragraph out of the *Nouvelles Litteraires*, wherein I perceive that Mr. DES MAIZEAUX has done me the honor to mention the *Ducatus Leodiensis*. My humble service and thanks to that learned Author: but his and your candor hath, I fear, been too extensive as to any thing of my performance, who being bred a Merchant, want the advantage of an Academic Education; but *la passion violente* he justly observes in me, did me in that respect a kindness, and made me give over in time before the gentleman in Holland I was in partnership with, run himself aground.

I am sorry I cannot more effectually answer your request as to the *Druids*, we not having any traditions, &c. relating to them in these parts. They seem to me to have retired with the Britains to Wales: whatever I have been able to procure relating to them,

E c 4

(mention'd

(mention'd p. 493.) being procured from thence. Only I have often thought that *Bard-say* near Wetherby in these parts receiv'd its name from the Bards their contemporaries; 'tis even yet a private retired place near the forest, proper for contemplation.

I am particularly pleas'd with one expression in yours, that *there are no parties in the Republic of Letters*, for I am (as you kindly observe) an *honest man*, (let me add simple and plain hearted) and can converse with great ease and satisfaction with both high and low, (tho' I cou'd wish all distinctions were laid aside) and have correspondents of both denominations. But you will pardon me for wishing that a Gentleman of so much humanity, learning, and curiosity, was, in one point, more of the sentiments of the Catholick Church. Pardon, SIR, this single expression as proceeding from the affectionate desires of a simple recluse in his country cell, where he prays for peace and truth, and the welfare of all mankind. I shall not for the future disturb you with any thing of this kind, but most readily serve you in any thing that lies in the power of,

SIR,

Your most faithful humble servant

RALPH THORESBY.

T O
Mr. T O L A N D.

Brussels July 31, 1716.

S I R,

I Will not now make any excuse for troubling you with an account of what I shall see abroad, since it is only in obedience to your commands that I do it.

I set sail from Dover to Calais about twelve of the Clock on the the 12th of July O. S. and arriv'd there five hours after, which was the 23d N. S. (which you know is used almost all over Europe). As soon as I landed, the Soldiers of the Garrison told me I must go before the Governor, and the *Intendant de la Marine*, before I could go to the Inn, which I accordingly did; there I was ask'd my name, who I was, what I came there for, and how long I intended to stay, and as soon as I had answer'd their questions they told me I might go.

Calais is but a small town, much about the bigness of Dover, but more compact; the harbour is well fortify'd, but that part of the fortifications which is towards the land, is old and out of order. You are not ignorant

norant that this Town belong'd formerly to the English, and it's the most part built by them, for the three principal Churches, and almost every thing that is ancient, had its origin from our fore-fathers. Here is a Garrison of a thousand men.

On the 25th I went for Dunkirk, which is eight leagues from Calais, I din'd in the way at Graveline, where there is a Garrison of fifteen hundred men. This town lies upon the coast, and I was told the French King had once a design to make this a sea-port, but Dunkirk was afterwards thought more convenient: it's just four leagues from Calais and three leagues from Mardyke, which last place is but one from Dunkirk. When I came by Mardyke I got out of the coach to go and view the Canal, which is a prodigious work and very large, for it's wide and deep enough to receive a first rate man of war, and capable now of containing even beyond the sluice two hundred or two hundred and fifty ships; so that it may in time (that is whenever our enemies think there is occasion) be as prejudicial to us as Dunkirk, or perhaps more, since it's so much nearer the streights of Dover and Calais, as it's remov'd from Dunkirk, which last place, I think one of the prettiest towns I ever yet saw. Though there is nothing very magnificent, yet there is nothing looks mean or poor: it's built most of brick, which upon
account

account of the colour resembles very much our stone; the streets are large and well pav'd, which gives a good air to the place. I went to view the bason and fortifications, which though ruin'd, yet the remains give a man an idea of the vastness of the work, which I believe is the greatest the last age has produc'd: there are two vast moles which seem to rise like mountains a considerable distance in the sea, upon which forts were built, and form'd the mouth of the harbour. Whether it's so far demolish'd as that we may have nothing to fear from it, is of little consequence, since Mardyke will as well serve their turn.

On the 27th I left Dunkirk and travell'd on the sand of the sea almost to Newport, which is five leagues and a half: it's a small but very clean town. This is the first place out of the dominions of France: here is a Garrison of seven hundred men paid by the Emperor. From hence to Bruges is six leagues, which is a very large place and pretty well built, but prodigiously crowded with Monasteries; and now upon the road one cannot travel in any common carriage but one is sure of the company of two or three fat Priests. As I staid but one night at Bruges, so I had little time to inform my self of any thing remarkable here. From hence to Ghent is eight leagues, which I pravell'd by a boat drawn by horses. Ghent is the capital of
Flanders,

Flanders, and is very large and well built, but the walls take up a much greater circumference than what the houses fill up. I was here to see several of their Churches which were very fine, as indeed almost all the Churches in Flanders are. I was at a little Chappel, where they told me the Virgin MARY had cur'd a great many blind people, and the Pictures of them who had been cur'd were hung up in the Church; amongst the cur'd they shew'd me one who they said was an English Countess. But I could not learn her name. In the Town-house there are several very good Pictures containing the history of CHARLES the fifth, who you know was born here, and they shew the Chamber he was born in. On the 29th I left Ghent and came here: the road from Ghent to Brussels is all pav'd with stone, and it's ten leagues or thirty English mile long; here on each side the way is as fine a Country as ever I saw in my life, and I never saw more plentiful crops of corn, or a finer soil. I observ'd they did not mow the Barley as we do, but reap'd it with a Sicle and set the corn up in Sheaves as we do wheat: I could not but wonder to see them plowing the lands before the corn was got off of the ground, which we never do in England, but a considerable time after harvest. I din'd at a place call'd Aloft, just half way to Brussels: it's upon the road from Ghent that you have the best view of Brussels, which stands
upon

upon a hill that descends gradually. I shall say no more of Bruffels now, but shall conclude, SIR, your most humble Servant.

T O

Mr. C * * *

Putney, Jan. 26, 1718-19.

My Dear Friend,

TH O' you well know my heart, yet I cannot forbear putting you to a penny charge, to receive my most sincere acknowledgments for all your favours of all sorts, for which you shall never want at least the payment of gratitude.

As for the rich uncharitable company, in which, you tell me you were t'other day, I freely forgive them; looking upon men of their disposition, as much more requiring pity than my self. They are Lovers: and all such, we know, have their judgments no less blinded, than their taste vitiated. Money is the sole object of their affection, and whatever is so to any man, in that he places his chiefest happiness: so that 'tis natural for him not to consent any way to its diminution, but to endeavour by all means possible the increase of it; and in this pursuit he'll consequently persevere, without reflecting

flecting on the uncertainty of the future, whether his treasure will ever descend to those for whom he destines it, or whether whoever enjoys it may not be both unthankful to him, and also in other respects unworthy of such a possession. I need not speak of those accidents in life, which are as common as unforeknown. But the man who can distinguish the use of money from the abuse of it, who makes it is his servant and not his mistress, takes incomparably more pleasure in what he contributes to make easy his friends in distress, to relieve the poor and the needy, or to promote undertakings of public benefit, than in what he saves and hoards over and above the rules of prudent foresight. For I wou'd not be so understood, as if every man was not to look to the main chance, and to preserve his estate clear and intire: whatever any body does inconsistent with this, is neither generosity nor charity, but prodigality and profuseness. A man of sound understanding on whom Heaven has bestow'd a liberal mind, will easily perceive where the medium lyes, what he can spare, and what he ought to lay up.

Dear HARRY, a lecture of this kind wou'd be receiv'd as an affront, by the muck-worms you had lately in your company, and by their brethren every where; as one, whose sins happen to be touch'd in a Sermon, thinks the preacher did particularly aim at him, tho' he

he was not at all in his thoughts: but to such as your self, that have done a thousand generous, kind, and charitable offices, (which are far from being lost, tho' the receivers may prove unthankful or otherwise undeserving;) to such, I say, this Doctrine sounds agreeably, and is truly relish'd by them, being ever accompany'd with the inward satisfaction, that necessarily flows from all good actions.

I can tell you however for your comfort, as every thing rejoices in its like; that you are not the only rich man, who knows how to do handsom things: for, as I wrote to you not long since, that we must ever thankfully publish the beneficence of our friends; so, since the receipt of yours, Sir W * * * S * * * (to whom I neither wrote nor sent and who only accidentally heard of my indisposition) sent a servant to see how I did, with a very affectionate Letter, and five Guineas inclos'd in it. The manner of doing this has made a deeper impression upon me, than if another had presented me with five hundred Guineas in a disobliging way: as most certainly the circumstances of giving are sometimes no less disobliging, than those of denying.

After my service to your brother and all friends, I mean such as are truly so, were they even poorer than my self, (for real friend-

friendship knows no disparity of conditions)
I am with all the faculties of my soul,

Honest Dear HARRY,

*Your most oblig'd and most
faithful Servant.*

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

Plymton, July 10, 1720.

S I R,

YOUR *Nazareus* fell into my hands
but very lately, which must be my
apology, if I should happen to answer the
two Problems you have propos'd, a little of
the latest.

The first Problem is thus:

“ WHETHER, without having recourse to
“ miracles, or to promises drawn from the
“ *Old Testament* (which is the same thing, if
“ you don't take those promises for wise
“ foresight) it can be demonstrated by the
“ intrinsic constitution of the Government
“ or Religion of the Jews, how, after the
“ total subversion of their State for almost
“ seventeen hundred years, and after the dis-
“ persion of their nation over the whole
“ habitable earth; being neither favour'd
“ nor

“ not supported by any potentate, but rather
 “ expos’d to the contempt and hatred of all
 “ the world: they have nevertheless pre-
 “ serv’d themselves a distinct people with all
 “ their ancient rites, excepting a very small
 “ number of ceremonies, they were necessa-
 “ rily enjoin’d to practise within the bounds
 “ of Judea, and which they are no longer
 “ permitted to do? while that in the mean
 “ time the Institutions of the Egyptians, Ba-
 “ bylonians, Greeks, and Romans (nations
 “ that were much more powerful) are long
 “ ago entirely abolish’d, and brought to no-
 “ thing: and that the names only of certain
 “ celebrated Religions subsist yet in History;
 “ without even so much as the names re-
 “ maining of some other worships, that
 “ doubtless were neither less believ’d, nor
 “ less extended.

This Problem I find answer’d, as it seems
 to me, to satisfaction, in SPINOZA’S *Tracta-
 tus Theologico-Politicus*, towards the end of
 the third Chapter p. 61. of the octavo edi-
 tion, printed 1674. Whose argument I shall
 only enforce by saying, that it seems pretty
 evident, when a man has once suffer’d any
 mark in his flesh, which cannot be defac’d
 or repair’d, purely upon account of his Re-
 ligion, he will not be inclin’d to be per-
 suaded out of it by any thing less than a de-
 monstration; or else some great temporal
 advantages.

And that the Jews are not altogether impregnable to fair usage, notwithstanding Circumcision it self, we have an instance in the above cited page.

The second Problem, you express in this manner :

“ WHETHER a sufficient reason can be assign'd, drawn from the nature and frame of the Jewish Republic or Religion (without alledging miracles, or promises not accounted miraculous, as aforesaid) why, during the time that they were the independent Lords of their own country, and that their Government subsisted in a flourishing condition ; they were perpetually inclin'd to the most gross Idolatries, always in suspense whether they should follow BAAL or JEHOVAH, and having a strong propensity to mix or marry with the women of other nations, contrary to their fundamental Laws ? whereas, since their actual dispersion among these same nations, they are obstinately careful to keep their race entire, without corruption or mixture : and that, notwithstanding the most agreeable temptations or the most exquisite tortures, they abhor beyond all expression Idolatry of every kind ; but particularly the adoration of dead men (from which they are evidently exempt) as they are surprizingly

“prizingly uniform in their worship and
“doctrine, which is not deny’d, by any body.

As to the first part of that Problem, this too is in a great measure answer’d by the same Author p. 293, and several of the following pages.

To which I add, that as the mind of man, especially of the vulgar, seems of it self to be prone enough to Idolatry, that is, to worship the Deity under sensible Images, and perhaps by degrees the Images themselves, they might easily in the time of the Judges, slide into that Idolatry, partly thro’ conversation with the idolatrous nations that were intermix’d, and a fondness of being like their neighbours, tho’ enemies, who were probably more polite than themselves; and partly thro’ ignorance, which might be occasion’d by want of copies of the Law; which ignorance I guess to be MICAH’s case in the Appendix to the Book of Judges: for MICAH seems to be a person that meant well, Judges xvii. 13: and partly perhaps thro’ laziness or an unwillingness to go up to worship at the proper place. Judges xviii. 31.

As for the Kings, the same Author shews that they had sufficient reason not to be over fond of the Levites. If so, I add, that ’twas easy for the Kings to persuade themselves, there was no great matter in ceremonies,

that God might be worship'd in one place as well as another, either with or without representations: on the same principles as JEROBOAM did, thro' another motive. See JOSEPHUS p. 506 of L'ESTRANGE'S OCT. edit. and as easy to persuade the people thro' the scarcity of copies of the Law. Which Law was found in JOSIAH'S time after it had been long lost.

As to the second part of the second Problem; I answer: 1. All that are in a state of persecution, are industrious to fortify themselves and their children in the principles of their Religion, and more careful than at other times, in the practice of it.

2. Add to this, that if any one transgresses amongst his own brotherhood in a foreign country, he has neither numbers nor great men to keep him in countenance, as he might have had perhaps upon many occasions in his own country. They are already shun'd by strangers, to be shun'd too by their own fraternity would be absolutely intolerable.

The foundation of the whole seems to be Circumcision: without Circumcision probably they would not have continued a distinct people, nor without being a distinct people, been so obnoxious to the hatred and contempt of others, nor consequently have had
that

that temptation, or rather that provocation to adhere so strictly to their ancient rites.

An answer to this will be a very great favour to

S I R,

*Your admirer and unknown
humble Servant.*

S * * * R * * *

T O

Mr. * * *

S I R,

TH O' the last *Independent Whig* (1) be an incomparable Paper; yet, as it sometimes happens to the most accurate compositions, there is a slip of memory at the conclusion of it.

The *Tribe of LEVI* had not an equal *share* of Land with the others, nor an equal *right*; but only certain Cities with their suburbs, scatter'd throughout all the Tribes, for their more convenient attendance every where. Yet the Tribes, with respect to their possessions,

F f 3

(1) Numb. ix. Wednesday, March 16, 1720.

sions, were still in number twelve; that of JOSEPH, having been divided into two, namely, those of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH. The Tythes and Offerings were given the Tribe of LEVI, instead of their share of the Land. *The Lord spoke unto Aaron* (Numb. xviii. 20.) *thou shalt have no inheritance in their Land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part, and thine inheritance, among the children of Israel.* This is often repeated and inculcated elsewhere. Yet, for all this, the Tribe of LEVI was far from being in a worse condition than their brethren. There was, on the contrary, much better provision made for them than the rest, and with little or no labor to themselves.

1. Thus, all the sin-offerings of all kinds were theirs, except such as were made in their own name or that of the whole Congregation, with those particular portions, which were to be consum'd by fire. See the entire 4th and 6th Chapters of Leviticus.

2. They had the like right to the trespass-offerings, with the like exceptions, as may be seen, Levit. vii. and elsewhere.

3. The same is as true of the peace-offerings, which were many and of various kinds, Levit. xxiii. & *alibi*.

4. Theirs was the oil, that was offer'd by persons infected with the Leprosy, Levit. xiv.

12, 13.

5. Also

5. Also what remain'd of the sheaves of the first-fruits, whereof Levit. xxiii. 10.

6. The two wave-loaves, with the good things accompanying them, Levit. xxiii. 17.

7. The twelve huge loaves of shew-bread, renew'd every week, Levit. xxiv 9.

8. The remainder of the meat-offerings, Levit. vi. 16.

9. The skins of all sacrific'd beasts (no small income) except such as were wholly consum'd with fire, Levit. vii. 8.

10. The breast and right shoulder of all the peace-offerings, and the heave-offerings, Levit. vi. 30, &c.

11. The cakes and the loaves, offer'd with the sacrifices of thanksgiving, Levit. vii. 12, &c.

12. The like things accompanying the ram, offer'd by the Nazarites, Numb. vi. 17—20.

13. The first-born of all clean beasts, that is of all beasts good for any thing, without redemption, Numb. xviii. 15.

14. The first-fruits of all manner of grain and fruits, Numb. xviii. 13.

15. All the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine, &c. in first-fruits, Numb. xviii. 12.

16. The tythe of the tythes, paid by the Levites to the Priests, Numb. xviii. 28.

17. A cake of the first dough from every family, Numb. xv. 20.

18. The first-fruits of wool, from every one that had sheep, Deut. xviii. 4.

19. All devoted things living or dead, particularly fields or farms not redeem'd before the year of Jubilee, Lev. xxvii. 16, 20, 28, &c.

20. Every trespass, that had none to claim it, Numb. v. 8.

21. The shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw of all beasts kill'd for daily use, Deut. xviii. 3.

22. The mony given for the redemption of the first-born of men, Numb. xviii. 15.

23. The like for the redemption of the first-born of unclean beasts, Num. xviii. 15, 16.

24. The tythes of every kind, which alone were an immense Revenue, *Passim*.

25. The forty eight Cities with their suburbs or liberties, Numb. xxxv. 2, &c.

Now, if the particulars of these and such other heads be consider'd, as several sums of mony from all masters of families, a general poll-tax, bullocks, heifers, rams, lambs, ewes, goats, kids, doves, spices, oil, wine, corn, fruits, wool, skins, stuffs, flower, loaves, cakes, firstlings, wood for the Altar, and diverse other species too tedious to enumerate (besides that mony was to be given in exchange for many of them) the revenues of the Priests might be truly call'd Royal; and, in effect, by virtue of these, they seiz'd on the Royalty it self at last. But several unanswerable reasons may be given, why no set of men among Christians, can derive the least claim from the Priests and Levites,
 who

who were peculiarly adapted to the Jewish Theocracy ; and were the Ministers of JEHOVAH the King of Israel, attending in his Palace, &c : whereas there was no manner of Priesthood instituted by JESUS CHRIST or his Apostles, the Elders, whereof we read in the New Testament, having been all Lay-men ; and either the proper Magistrates of the Jewish corporations and communities, or such others set up by the first Christians in imitation of these, for the management of their own private affairs. Nothing in the world can be more easily prov'd than this. Priest, Altar, Sacrifice, &c, are as contrary to original Christianity, as Idolatry, Immolation, Augury, &c. Wherefore, the writer of *the Independent Whig* did very well, in calling the Christian Clergy, the pretended successors of the Jewish Priests: but it was a mistake to say, that the Tribe of LEVI had a right to the twelfth part of the lands, and that the incomes of the Priests were moderate. However, he's safe enough in the ignorance of his adversaries. I am with grateful respect,

S I R,

*Your most faithful obedient
Servant.*

T O

T O

The Right Honourable
THE LORD SOUTHWELL.

London April 27, 1720.

MY LORD,

IF I am guilty of any fault in not doing my self the honor to write to you before now, my Lord MOLESWORTH must answer for it, who told me you waited for the coming of a yacht from Ireland: and I was of opinion my self, that a Letter directed to Mr. SMITH at the Custom-house, before your Lordship's certain arrival, might occasion some mistake, which is easier prevented than excus'd. But this apprehension being now remov'd by advices from Chester, I gladly make use of the liberty you were pleas'd to allow me of writing to you, as I shall regularly continue to do, till I understand from your Lordship that you are weary of the correspondence.

Before all things I earnestly intreat you to accept of my sincerest thanks (the only return my gratitude enables me to make) for the happiness of your acquaintance; which

as well on account of the honor it reflects on me, as the real improvement I have receiv'd by it, I shall ever infinitely value. I thank you especially for making me known to so many of our Countrymen, to whom I was a greater stranger before, than to most Nations of Europe. Tho' I dare not say, that Philosophy has eradicated all prejudices in favour of my native soil, nor that indeed it ought to produce this effect (since one may be no less a citizen of the world, than of any particular place, by embellishing one quarter, and delighting in it, more than another) yet I can faithfully assure your Lordship, that in the small efforts whereby I have endeavored to serve Ireland, I was acted rather by those principles which teach me what is due to all mankind, than by any byas to that Kingdom, in which I have spent so little of my time. Those eternal notions of Liberty and Slavery, I imbib'd with the first milk I suck'd from the Muses; those notions, I say, which were fortify'd in me by the conversation and writings of the ablest men in England, and which were absolutely perfected by the same means in Holland, as they shall direct my actions during the whole course of my life: so I neither know by the impulses of nature, nor was taught by the precepts of my masters, to restrain the blessings of them to any time or place; much less to make Ireland a single exception, and still by a greater absurdity to make acquiescence to be a conquest,

conquest, or that the conquerors shou'd be as ill treated, if not worse, than the conquer'd. Wherefore you may depend upon it, that I shall lose no time, nor spare any pains to go on with the Work, which your Lordship's desires and my own inclinations have encouraged me to undertake. Materials flow in on me as fast as I can wish: but on this subject I shall have the honour to entertain you more particularly in my next.

I heartily congratulate you on the no less surprizing than agreeable revolution, that has happen'd here since your departure: but as well for your sake as my own, I do not think it proper to enter on the particulars either of the motives or the means, the present effects or the conjectural consequences of this happy Reconciliation of the Royal Family, till I am certain that my Letters come safe to your hands. The same reason must hold as to all other news, public or private; and I hope you'll think it none, that, with the justest sentiments of obligation and respect, I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

most faithful obedient servant.

so intimate with that great man, but to have had a hand in the first forming of his mind to virtue. There are other great Ministers now living for whom I endeavoured as much, but as they have forgot it, so will I. The Lord SHAFTSBURY was of a different temper, and carried on his friendship to my sons, the eldest of which did him signal service in Italy, where (at Naples) he died.

I will consult friends here before I determine any thing touching the reprinting the Irish Pamphlet which I sent you: and if they think it proper I will send you word. You may believe it to be S***'s; for he was here with me to get me to use my interest that no hardship shou'd be put upon the Printer, and did in a manner own it. I believe it was writ in haste, for persons do not always write alike.

I am glad to hear your Book is likely to swell to the bulk you speak of. In Sir JOHN DAVY'S History of Ireland, how it came to pass that it was not thoroughly subdued till King JAMES the first's time (whose Attorney General here he was) you will plainly find that the Parliaments of England never intermeddled in the least with the affairs of Ireland from the first conquest to the time he wrote. I have that Book here, and if you find it difficult for you to meet with it there, I will contrive some way to send you mine.

In

In answer to the offer about serving me in any of the Subscriptions now on foot; I shou'd be glad enough to make one among them, and get a little money, (which I need to pay off some debts) in any honest Project. The time, I suppose, is over in the South-Sea Company. Sir T * * * J * * * whose judgment and honesty is to be relied on, is best to be advised with in this, and you may do it if you please in my behalf. I have good credit, having never yet, I thank my stars, forfeited it in any one instance, and shall be beholding to your good friend Sir T * * * (for so he has signally shewn himself to my very great pleasure and satisfaction) if he can put me into a like method.

And as to the Harburg Project, I do not understand what it is; but if I cou'd do it and become one of the undertakers, without great risk (or subscribers), you may speak to Sir A * * * of it. I am desirous of having my small oar in the public boat, and not too obstinately to refuse profit. Since the Nation is a sharing, I have contested long enough, and may now without imputation come in for my part of it; tho' I believe I am too late for any signal gain. However, this matter I refer to my friends, being only sure of one thing, that I have endeavour'd to deserve well both from Britain and Ireland. Adieu.

I am,

*Your most faithful
friend and servant*

MOLESWORTH.

T O

The Right Honourable

THE LORD MOLESWORTH.

London, June 25, 1720.

MY LORD,

THE last I had the honor to write to you was from the South-Sea house, where I never was before that time. Sir T*** has generously kept his word with me, adding a further promise, that on the next such occasion, about three months hence, he'll procure me the liberty of another Subscription, any body else laying down the money, and on that score going halves for the profit, than which there is nothing more common. I wish in the next you'll do me the favour to write to me, you wou'd please to mention him in a manner that may shew his kindness to me has oblig'd your Lordship, as several of my other friends have already thank'd him.

This will come the more naturally from your hands, not only as you are generally known to be my truest Patron, but likewise as your very name (ever auspicious to Liberty) has been made use of to secure this Subscription

scription to me: for the very day before, the Directors, by reason of the multitude that offer'd to subscribe, made a private order that no one person shou'd be in two Lists, and that none except a Parliament-man shou'd subscribe for a thousand pounds. Upon this, Sir T*** put in your name for mine, as being sure you wou'd not take it ill, since there was no time for asking your leave; and that most of the Lords and Commons, who had voted against them, did subscribe, without being supposed by so doing to have in the least alter'd their judgment. In a word, there was no way of securing my Subscription but by a Parliament-man's name, and I my self wou'd not be shelter'd by any name but yours, had he consulted me, for which he had not time.

I was offer'd a thousand pounds advantage three hours after the thing was done, and thirteen hundred this very day: but my benefactor assures me that at the opening of the Books it will be worth a great deal more. You may easily guess I will be govern'd by him in this point. Another such job will make me as easy and independent as I desire, without ever Stockjobbing more: since I may buy an annuity of two or three hundred pounds, tho' the purchase of land is got up to thirty years, and, if things go on at this rate, will mount much higher.

All things are in the utmost tranquillity. Private news I have none, and the public are only such as the papers contain.

I am, &c.

T O

Sir T * * * J * * * .

S I R,

WHENEVER any man profess himself my friend, or at any time did or design'd me a favour, I was always gratefully inclin'd to do him what service lay in my power, unless he became an enemy to the Liberty of our Country, in which case I hold all ties to be dissolv'd, and all obligations cancell'd. As I have known you for many years, not only under as fair a character as any Merchant in London, but likewise a most zealous friend to the British Constitution: so I cou'd not be unconcern'd to see you involv'd of late in the same difficulties with the rest of the South-Sea Directors, whom I cannot persuade my self to be all equally guilty. You in particular have frequently express'd to me your dislike of several measures, when the whole town madly applauded them. You condemn'd the too great power that was lodg'd in a few hands, and the arbitrary use they

they made of it; acting as it were by inspiration (these are your own words) and publishing their Resolutions but a very small time before they were to be put in execution.

I am not acquainted enough with the nature of mercantile Companies, to account why such as disapprove the conduct of their fellow Directors, do not enter their Protests, or signify their disallowance in some publick manner, so as to be matter of record. But observing your uneasiness at almost every thing from a little before the third Subscription, I have been urgent with you, ever since the Parliament took this affair in hand, to clear your self with the soonest, as believing you rather imprudent than criminal: for I shall never think ill of any one, of whom I once thought well, till matters of fact make it impossible for me to think otherwise. I have solicited you to be speedy and frank in confessing all you knew, (to which I found you well disposed) as the most certain way to shew a man's innocence, if he be really excusable: and having the honor to wait sometimes on the right honourable the Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH (whose sole view I am confident is doing justice to the Public, without the least prejudice against any particular person) I propos'd to you to wait upon him, and to be as candid as his integrity and your case requir'd. You readily agreed, provided his Lordship wou'd ad-

mit of it: and upon my reporting this to him, he did not think it adviseable to see you without some more of the Committee were present.

This, as far I can remember, was on Wednesday the 18th of January; and accordingly you met some of the Committee at his Lordship's lodgings the next day. To what past there I am an utter stranger, for I cou'd not be so impertinent as to ask his Lordship, what I was sure before hand he wou'd never tell me. All the discourse I had with your self that day was about your Treasurer, whose flight you much lamented, because he cou'd clear and prove what was in no other mortal's power, and that there wou'd be the utmost intricacy and confusion without him. You added, that you little thought of Mr. KNIGHT's intention to withdraw himself, when that very Saturday on which he fled, you were earnestly exhorting him (in conjunction, I think, with Sir ROBERT CHAPLIN) to give the Committee a full account of every thing; and that hereupon he said, *I know the other Directors will lay all upon you of the Committee of the Treasury, and that you'll charge me of course: but if it comes to that, and that I must be oblig'd to say all I know, I shall discover such things as will amaze the world,* or words to this effect. This declaration, you said, had taken from you all suspicion of his designing an escape, and this is the substance of what I remember;

remember; and I repeat these things now, to the end that if ever my name shou'd be mention'd on occasion of the service I heartily design'd you, whether effectual or not, you may be satisfy'd that I acted in all things according to the tenor of this Letter.

I wish you a happy issue out of all your troubles, and am, with the greatest sincerity,

S I R,

Your most faithful
obedient servant.

*A Letter written in the name of a
Member of the House of Commons
to another Member.*

S I R,

I AM very sorry I shou'd be oblig'd to go into the country at this juncture, when the public credit, and a considerable share of my private property, lie at stake. But domestic affairs indispensably require my absence for near a month. I am not, however in any pain about the issue, since most of the Members of our House are so deeply interested themselves, over and above their duty to the State, without whose flourishing condition, we must needs all be miserable. My

opinion concerning the Directors of the South-Sea Company, I'll give as frankly as you desire it, and the rather, because your worthy relation, of whose honour and ability I am equally convinc'd, is chosen one of the Committee to enquire into their conduct. Neither my gains nor losses by the South-Sea are so extraordinary, as to render me too severe or indulgent. But as my concerns requir'd, and my education enabl'd me to examine into this affair with the utmost application, both in justice to my self and my friends; so I have taken all proper methods to gain the truest information. Among other things, I have carefully read over the several Accounts and Papers which have been laid by the Directors before the House of Commons, and made the strictest enquiry, that I cou'd possibly, into the behaviour of those Gentlemen, especially with relation to the several steps they took in the execution of the Scheme which was intrusted to their management. The result I shall briefly and impartially now lay before you.

In the first place, it appears to me (and I believe will be so found upon examination) that the Scheme was form'd, and carry'd on without being communicated to the Court of Directors, or even mention'd to them, till after it was open'd to the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. About three millions of money were in this manner offer'd by the undertakers without their knowledge

knowledge or consent; which you'll own to be a pretty assuming way of proceeding, but perfectly of a piece with their subsequent management. In the sequel of this negotiation, the Bank intervening, and offering to take the Scheme, it was by some people judg'd proper, in order to defeat the proposal of the Bank, to have a power lodg'd in the Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor to offer whatever they should think fit: a power perhaps the greatest that ever was trusted to any two men, and for the consequences of which those only seem responsible, who were so forward to grant it, while others deem'd it unreasonable and dangerous. One of the many bad consequences was, that seven millions and a half of the Company's money, being very near two thirds of every man's property in that corporation, was given at once. If this be the case, as I have all the reasons in the world to believe it was, then I can not with any justice think, that such of the Directors who had no hand in these transactions, who knew nothing of the Scheme till it was brought into the House of Commons, and who probably dislik'd it as much as any others, when they understood how dear they were to pay for it, can be said to be the authors of the mischiefs, which this unaccountable undertaking has brought upon the Nation. Mischiefs they are with a witness, and which I am as far from extenuating, as in my station I shall be from screening the guilty: but I am also persuaded

that with me you will be for distinguishing those who may be innocent, and no less sufferers than the loudest accusers.

I do not find in the general Account of the Proceedings of the Directors, nor yet in their Minutes, any orders given for selling of Stock for the Company's account. If they who peculiarly prosecuted the Scheme, gave directions for the sale of the five hundred and odd thousand pounds, which were dispos'd of about the time of the passing of the Bill, without acquainting the other Directors with it (a circumstance that cannot escape the impartial attention of the Committee) how can that crime be in any justice imputed to those, who were entirely ignorant of it? In God's name let it rest where it ought—but, for reasons you may easily guess, I shall not dwell on this particular.

The Money Subscriptions were taken (as we all know) and hurry'd on in so incomprehensible a manner, that this way of proceeding cou'd not, I dare say, be the result of a number of men acting with cool and deliberate thoughts. 'Tis highly probable that the peculiar contrivers of the Scheme did in their private meetings concert all things beforehand, without the participation or concurrence of their brethren; and so impos'd what they pleas'd upon the rest of the Court, which conjecture of mine, I fancy, will
prove

prove to be matter of fact, when the Directors are examin'd by the Committee. In a word, what thro' the design of some, the stupidity of others, and the avarice of all, the success of the managers was so great, and the applause they met with so universal, that their authority became absolutely uncontrollable in the Court of Directors; nor had it been scarce safe to have oppos'd them, without the imputation of obstructing credit, even among those without doors, they were at that time so much in favor with the inconsiderate people. Thus every Director was oblig'd to submit to a small proportion allow'd him for himself and friends. So the bulk of these Subscriptions was left to the disposal of the Sub and Deputy - Governors, to serve persons of distinction, &c. This, I am credibly inform'd, occasion'd a great deal of murmuring among some of the other Directors, but to no purpose: for the pill must be swallow'd, and you are too well acquainted with the nature of such Courts in other Companies, to imagine that Protests cou'd be either practicable or useful.

No sooner did a good Sum of Money arise by the Subscriptions, but it naturally brought on the question, *what to do with it?* 'Tis rumour'd abroad, and has been privately told me with much assurance, that several of the Directors would have had this money apply'd to the paying off of *the Redeemables,*

deemables, and insisted hard upon it : but this suited not the designs of the Scheme, and so it was carry'd for lending money on Stock and Subscriptions. With what pernicious consequences this fatal resolution has been attended, too too many felt to their sorrow : but I can never be of the mind, nor I presume any of the Committee or the rest of the House, that those Directors who oppos'd it, are in this respect culpable, or ought any way to suffer for it.

You know as well as I or any man, that when Stock begun to fall, great crowds, and among them persons of the first Quality, were daily at the South-Sea House, pressing the Directors to buy. A Cabal is suspected to have then sold a vast quantity of Stock, which is a thing deserving the nicest enquiry. If they influenc'd counsels within, and the Company's money was made use of to buy their Stock, I take it to be a heinous crime in those who were the promoters of such a design. But they, on the other hand, who innocently gave their consent to it, in order to support the price, and hinder the sinking of the Stock, after Subscriptions had been taken at a thousand, and the Redeemables at eight hundred, do not, in my opinion, deserve any blame ; since they did it with a good intent, and cou'd not foresee the sudden and precipitate fall of the Stock.

Thus,

Thus, SIR, I have given you the best information I cou'd about this matter. I have learnt from my own and the experience of past times, not to be sway'd by popular obloquy, no more than by popular favor. There's always a mean in such cases, tho' the bent of the multitude is generally to extremes, being naturally more addicted to confound than to distinguish. Wherefore I cannot but think people are too severe in prejudging and condemning the Directors by the lump: for as I hope, and shou'd be very glad, to see the real Authors of our present uneasinesses brought to condign Punishment; so I shou'd be as sorry, that any honest well-meaning Director shou'd suffer for mismanagement he cou'd not help, and which 'tis very likely he disapprov'd. But these are reflections that cannot escape the wisdom or justice of the Committee, and I hope to be with you my self, before the matter is finally decided. I am, &c.

T O

Mr. * * *

May 21, 1721.

I Have just read over Dr. HARE'S new Piece (1). I see he has learn'd from Dr. S * * * to write scandal in his *Title-page*. But I am apt to believe, that, in the drawing up of the Answer it self, he study'd no pattern; and, least of all, his own. He has in my opinion condescended to the meanest of all abuses; and were I to draw up a charge against him, I wou'd do it in the words of SOCRATES, which PLATO (in his *Apology*) introduces him speaking against MELITUS. Ἄδικεῖν φημὶ ἄρεον, ὅτι σπουδῇ χαριεντίζεται, ῥαδίως εἰς ἀγῶνας καθίσας ἀνθρώπους, περὶ πραγμάτων προσποιούμενος σπουδάζειν καὶ κήδεσθαι, ὧν οὐδεν πώποτε τούτῳ ἐμέλησεν. It shews, I think, no great concern for truth to declare, as he does at his first setting out, that his (2) having promis'd to answer the Bishop was the only motive for doing it. 'Tis a happy expedient he has found out, of mixing his observations on real or suppos'd Atheistical Books and

(1) *Scripture vindicated from the Misinterpretations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor: in his Answer to the Dean of Worcester's Visitation Sermon concerning Church-Authority.*

(2) *Pref. Page 1.*

and Persons, with confutations of the Bishop. This is such an ungenerous insinuation, that (if I cou'd not otherwise guess at the Dean's temper) I must think it owing to the most virulent malice: as if there were something so agreeing between them, that they cannot well be separated. But perhaps he thinks himself qualify'd to be a Drawcansir in controversy. If so, I don't question, but the Bishop will soon prove him mistaken: tho' he is resolv'd, it seems, not to heed whatever is advanc'd against him for the future. Sure no man had ever less reason to insult his adversary with a Q. E. D. at the conclusion of a Paragraph; in which, as far as I am able to judge, whatever he dwells on, either makes for the Bishop, instead of refuting him, or is inconclusive, or entirely false. One manifest contradiction in it, I cou'd not help taking notice of. We are told (in page 6) that *Κύριοι*, when given to civil Governors, is an honourable appellation only; and that *Dominus* is the rendering, not of *Κύριος*, but of *Δεσπότης*. This he himself refutes in page 9, where he says *Κύριος* is equivalent to *Δεσπότης*, and signifies *a property of the Governor in the persons govern'd*.

As to his Quotations for settling the sense of the word *Πείθεσθαι*, I am not without some suspicion, that they will all recoil upon himself. ARISTOPHANES I am confident (to whom he chuses particularly to appeal, as writing

in the familiar stile) can't serve his purpose. This Author being a favorite of mine, I was easily induc'd to examine all the places, where he uses this word: and I assure my self it no where signifies *to obey*, in the strict sense of the word. It occurs three times in his **PLUTUS**:

Ἄλλοι δ' ἐπλούτουν Ἱερόσυλοι ῥήτορες,

καὶ συκοφάνται, καὶ πονηροὶ ΚΑΡ. πείθομαι. (3)
and again,

Ὅν ἐγὼ φιλῶ μάλιστα μετὰ σέ. ΠΛ. πείθομαι. (4)

and again,

Τί ἔν ἀν, τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶη; πείθεται καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ,
Χρεμύλῳ πεπληθῆκε ἕξαπίνης; ἔπειθομαι. (5)

And in his **NUBES**, where a stupid illiterate fellow is shewn a Map of the world,

Ἄλλη δὲ σοι γῆς περίοδος πάσης. Ὀρᾶς;

Ἄιδεσθαι μὲν Ἀθῆνας. ΣΤΡ. τί σὺ λέγεις; ἔπειθομαι. (6)

In all these places it is impossible the word shou'd mean any thing, but *I believe it is as you say, or I cannot be persuaded it is so*. The same sense is to be put upon it in this verse of his **ACHARNENSES**:

Κάκις'

(3) Ver. 30.

(4) Ver. 251.

(5) Ver. 335.

(6) Ver. 207.

Κάκισ' ἀπολοίμεν, εἰ τί τούτων πείθομαι. (7)

In the NUBES, where a father is endeavouring to prevail upon his son, to forsake a loose way of living, by all the arts of a mild persuasion, we have the following words :

ῬΩ παῖ, πιθῶ. ΦΕΙ. τί ἔν πιθῶμαι δῆτα σοι (8) ;
 ΣΤ. Ἐκσρεψον ὡς τάχιςα τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπους,
 Καί μάνθαν' ἐλθὼν ἄγ' ἐγὼ παραινέσω.
 ΦΕΙ. Λέγε δὴ τί κελεύεις ; ΣΤ. καὶ τί, πείσεις ;
 ΦΕΙ πείσομαι. (8)

After this, Justice is represented making use of several arguments to gain him over to her side : but Injustice shews him, to what reproach he will be expos'd, if he suffers himself to be persuaded by the other :

Εἰ ταῦθ', ᾧ μειράκιον πείσει πύτω, &c. (9)

The instance out of the VESPAE, upon which the Dean lays so great a stress, is far from declaring in his favour. An old fool is there represented, resolving to continue his practice of frequenting the Courts of Judicature :

(7) Ver. 151.

(8) Ver. 87.

(9) Ver. 996.

cature: and his son endeavouring by several arguments to dissuade him from it, the *Chorus* advises him to comply with his request:

Πιθῶν, πιθῶν λόγοισι, μήδ' ἄφρων γένη. (10)

Can it be said that the father (whose power over the son, according to the Dean, ought to be very great) is here bid to obey the son? The father all this while continues silent. The *Chorus* tells the son, this silence is owing to his being convinc'd of his mistake; and that he will now consent to do, what before he cou'd not be persuaded to:

"Α σοῦ παρακελεύοντος οὐκ ἐπέειθετο, (11)
 Νῦν οὖν ἴσως τοῖς σοῖς λόγοισι πείθεται,
 Καὶ φρονεῖ μεθιστὰς ἐς τολοιπὸν τὸν τρόπον,
 Πειθόμενος τὲ σοίγ' ———

The son continues to press him to a compliance,

"Ιθ', ὦ πατερ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ πιθῆ. (12)

To which he replies, τί πείθομαι σοί; and upon his son's telling him, not to concern himself with judicial processes, he answers,

(10) ver. 728.
 (11) ver 744.
 (12) ver. 757.

Τοῦτο δὲ (13)
 Ἄδης διακρινεῖ πρότερον, ἢ ἔγωγε πείσομαι.

In all these passages, which very unluckily for some body follow so closely in the same Scene, and which give light to each other, it is manifest that the word has not the sense the Dean wou'd make it confess; but only *to be or not to be persuaded, to comply or disagree*. In the AVES of the same Poet, where a person has a proposal to make, which, if accepted, he thinks will be of great service to the Republic of Birds, we meet with the following words:

Ἡ μεγ' ἐνορῶ βούλευμ' ἐν Ὀρνίθων γένει, (14)
 Καὶ δύναμιν, ἣ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ πείθεσθέ μοι.
 ΕΠ. τί σοι πιθώμεθ'; ΠΕΙ. ὅ, τί πίθοιοσθε; Πρω-
 τα μὲν, &c.

Here it can signify nothing, but *to follow advice*: and afterwards, where the same person seconds the *Chorus*, in desiring an interview with the Nightingale, it can't be said any obedience is demanded.

Ὡ τῶτο μὲν νῆ Δί' αὐτοῖσιν πιθῆ. (15)

(13) ver. 759.

(14) ver. 163.

(15) ver. 662.

Again we find this terrible word in his *LYSISTRATA*.

Κεῖδέποθ' ἔκουσα τ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ μῶ πείσομαι. (16)

This is the passage in which the Dean seems to triumph, when he observes, it is here us'd of unwilling obedience. But he's strangely mistaken in the meaning of it. The Athenians are supposed by the Poet to declare war against the Lacedemonians; and the women, not knowing how to spare their husbands, endeavour to oblige them to make peace. Till this is accomplish'd, they bind themselves by oath not to admit them to their embraces. *LYSISTRATA* in the name of the rest reads the oath, declaring she will suffer no man to caress her; that she will stay at home, and adorn her self as much as possible, to appear the more engaging in her husband's eyes; and, that when she has by these arts inflam'd him, she will refuse to satisfy his desire.

Κεῖδέποθ' ἔκουσα τ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ μῶ πείσομαι. (17)

'Tis strange the Dean shou'd interpret a modest expression for love-familiarity, to be obedience. His Lady, I believe, is of another mind. I forbear to mention, that the
phrase

(16) ver. 223.

(17) Ubi supra.

phrase οὐκ ἔκων πείθεσθαι does not mean to be unwilling to obey in any good author. In PLATO especially, who often makes use of it, it can signify nothing but *not easily to be persuaded*. Οὐκ ἔκων πείθεται, & ῥαδίως ἐδέλει πείθεσθαι, οὐ πάνυ εὐθέως ἐδέλει πείθεσθαι, are with him equivalent expressions. Those I have alledg'd are all or most of the places in ARISTOPHANES, where this same word πείθεσθαι is to be seen; in none of which, I fancy, will it be found big with that authority the Dean contends for.

As to the more serious part of the argument, where he does not refute himself (which I think is often the case) I see nothing but what the Bishop has already answer'd. I shou'd be glad to be inform'd; what relation a considerable part of his Book has to the present Controversy. He is very fond, I observe, of marginal notes; one of which (I mean his emendation of HORACE) I suppose was introduc'd to fix to himself the reputation of a judicious Critic. I was the more surpriz'd at this, because, in the *Post-script* of his *Sermon*, he promised the Bishop; that he wou'd not turn to any other subject to recover that character.

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

*Albemarle-street, January
the 5th, 1721-2.*

Saturday night about nine I received yours of that day, which gives me such a dismal account of your ill state of health, that I was extremely concern'd at the condition I found you were in, I doubt for want of necessaries.

I cannot forbear wishing you were in town, for I doubt you cannot easily get such broths and bits of easy digestion as I shou'd take care to procure for you. Your Landlady may be a very good woman, and have a great respect for you, but her poverty may prevent her from providing such sort of victuals and drinks, as are proper for a sick man reduced to so weak a condition as I find you are. Indeed I expected you every day in town after the Letter I wrote to you last week, not imagining you had been so much out of order: tho' I saw by your looks that a fit of sickness was growing upon you, which I hop'd your Vomits and Purges had prevented in a great measure.

I intend

barley, or (if you be enclined to a looseness) with rice boiled in it, is very proper. 'Tis a very sickly time: there is a rot among our Lords, five or six of them are dropt off with- in this week, yet little loss to the Public.

I am glad you got the Madera, and wish I had a stock of my own to send you more. I beg'd the bottle I sent you from Doctor WELWOOD, for the right sort is not to be bought. I writ the most moving Letter I cou'd invent to your stingy Peer, and he excused his writing an answer; but by word of mouth told my man, that he had already sent you something, meaning, as I suppose, the chetif present my Lady H*** mentions. 'Tis a sad monster of a man, and not worthy of further notice to be taken of him.

I wonder your appetite does not mend in that fine air: 'tis a sign your distemper has not done with you.

Adieu, let me hear from you now and then, since I am not able to see you.

Yours

MOLESWORTH.

To * * *

Putney, Jan. 28, 1721-2.

SIR,

AS I wou'd never serve my friends by halves, were I in a capacity to be useful to them; so I shall set no other bounds to my good wishes in their behalf, but what nature her self has irrevocably set: and therefore, that all the years of your life, and those of each in your hopeful family, may be attended with health and prosperity, is my very hearty and unfeign'd wish, this year and as long as I live.

The day after I had the honor to see you in London, I fell mighty ill, having been lingering before; and the Doctor that was call'd to me, made me twenty times worse, if possible. All acknowledge that he had like to kill me. I was brought hither the Saturday following (which was the next before Christmas) and have never since been able to go out of my Chamber, scarce to walk cross it for some time. From that day to this I never tasted a bit of meat, being solely confin'd to broths and other liquids; not by the Doctors, but my stomach, which refuses and throws out every thing else: *sit venia*. Had not my Lady H * * * flatter'd

H h 4

me

me more than once in her Letters, that you would be so kind as to call on me; I shou'd have given notice to you before, as to one of my best friends, of the condition I am in, tho' very perceptibly better than I was. I need say no more on this subject.

The last time I was at your house, seeing the young Ladies drudging at the longwinded and unweildy *Cleopatra*, I promis'd to accommodate them with entertainment of that kind, that should please them much more; and especially *Zayde*, the best understood of all Romances. I thought then to be the bearer my self, but since I cannot yet be so happy, I take the liberty to send it now; and, when they have done with this, I shall send 'em another.

I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant.

T O

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

Thursday, Feb. 8, 1721-2.

Dear S I R,

I Began to be very uneasy at not hearing from you for eight or ten days together, and had order'd my man to walk to Putney this morning, when I receiv'd your Letter last night.

The return of the spring, and your keeping to kitchen Physic, will restore you to health. I would not have you venture abroad too early, altho' I long to see you. Among other things, I wou'd shew you the most noble Collection of Papers, and authentic Records for the writing a History of the late Wars (from King WILLIAM's death to Queen ANNE's Peace) that you can possibly imagine. The Colonel L * * * and I would desire your assistance, and wou'd endeavour to make you find your account in so doing, for so much of your time and pains as should be employ'd that way. But 'tis time enough to talk of this, when you are restor'd to perfect health.

My Lady H * * * is a person very much beyond the rank of our modern Ladies. I have

always esteem'd her as such, and she has as constantly made good my opinion. You and I might give twenty instances of this. But none pleases me better at present than her kindness and charity for you.

I think'tis very wholesome for you not to be troubled with publick news, unless you were better. You will come into a new world when you get once abroad again, and every thing will be strange and diverting to you one way or other. Our weather is too good for the season of the year: but do you keep to a great fire side till March be far advanc'd. Our Parliament will be up in a fortnight, and I intend to sit in no future one.

Adieu.

Yours,

MOLESWORTH.

T O

The Right Honourable

THE LORD MOLESWORTH.

Putney, Friday-Noon.

MY LORD,

WHEN I seem'd to be in a fair way of mending, my old pains in my thighs, reins, and stomach, seiz'd me violently two days ago ; with a total loss of appetite, hourly reachings, and very high colour'd water. I take it for granted, that these are symptoms of approaching Gravel, and therefore I comfort my self with the thoughts, that when this Gravel comes, I shall together with it be discharg'd from my pains.

In my last, I told your Lordship, that tho' your resolution of serving in no future Parliament, might be beneficial to your self, it wou'd be detrimental to your Country : but if I had not been in haste to finish a long Letter, I should have added, that upon secret thoughts, even your Country wou'd be a gainer by a retirement from business at this age. My reasons and examples for supporting this assertion are numerous. Yet

considering my present unfitness for writing, I shall only trouble you with the example of **CICERO**, who during the seven year's space that he was forcibly kept out of business, wrote all those incomparable Books, which are much more useful to the world, than the whole course of his Employments. The great noise he made in the Forum has not contributed near so much to his Immortality, as the fruits of his Retirement, whereof nevertheless we have but the least part remaining. In like manner, **MY LORD**, that excellent work, wherein you have made such progress, and which seems to resemble so nearly *CICERO de Republica*, will be a nobler task, and more useful to mankind, than any Senatorial efforts: *nec aliud scribendi genus tam è dignitate vestra mihi videtur.*

I am, &c.

T O

Mr. T O L A N D.

March 1, 1721-2.

Dear TOLAND,

I Wonder I hear nothing from you or of you : you must needs be very ill, or careless ; I had much rather it were the last. I hope altho' I do not send you supplies (such small ones as I can afford) yet that you wou'd be so free as to ask me in case you wanted them, for I am one of those who with a friend desire freedom, and expect to be told when other resources fail. Pray let me hear from you often. I am sometimes very much indisposed, sometimes tolerably well in health ; now I am the latter, but that may not continue.

You will see that I am embark'd in a grand affair, no less than standing for Westminster. I have employ'd all my friends as solicitors and runners about, and great hopes are given me. I am sorry you are not in a state of health to do me service. Believe me, when I tell you, you shall fare as I do,
and

and if that be not extraordinary well, blame not.

*Your affectionate
friend and servant,*

MOLESWORTH.

Mr. T O L A N D ' s

A N S W E R.

Putney, March 2, 1721-2.

MY LORD,

I Was never a careless correspondent; or were I so to any, sure I am, it should not be of all mankind to your Lordship. Neither was it for not needing assistance of my friends, I have been so long silent; but by reason of almost incessant pains, and very extraordinary weakness. Two or three days before your servant call'd here last, I grew much worse than I was; and from a mending state (the vigour of my mind increasing, tho' with little influence on the infirmity of my body) I relaps'd again into all my former symptoms, more frequent and malignant than ever. This has oblig'd me to put my self into the hands of a Physician, who I believe to be an honest man, prepares his own medicines, and explains every thing he does to me. He has

has already put me to several little expences, some of them extremely useful to my poor corpuscle, as four dimitty waistcoats, which a visit from Sir T*** J*** enabled me to pay. I need not descend to more particulars, ready pence going necessarily out every day.

Since you will embark once more on that troublesome sea, I heartily wish you all good luck, and wish I had been able to run for you night and day, which with great ardor I wou'd. I am, with the utmost truth and zeal,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

*most humble and
most obedient servant.*

F I N I S.

AN
APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
SOME PIECES
FOUND AMONG
Mr. *TOLAND*'s
PAPERS.

VOL. II.

4



OF THE
IMMATERIALITY
OF THE
S O U L,
AND ITS
DISTINCTION
FROM THE
B O D Y:

BY

Mr. BENJAMIN BAYLY, M.A.

Rector of St. JAMES's in Bristol.

IN A

LETTER TO ***.

SIR,



It is with no small pleasure and instruction that I have read those Papers, that lately pass'd between you and the learned and reverend Mr. CLARKE, concerning the *Immateriality of the Soul*; and although it would be too great presump-

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tion in me, to pretend to determine on which side the advantage in that Controversy lay, yet certainly you engage me to you too powerly in some particulars, and if I may not say you demonstrate against Mr. CLARKE, yet I and the whole world must say, you demonstrate most evidently your own incomparable parts and understanding. So that if a man should fancy you worsted in that dispute, yet however it was not Mr. CLARKE that worsted you, tho a very learned and ingenious man; but that invincible thing, Truth, which at that time peradventure one might conceit your enemy. But let that be as it will, my intention is not to meddle in it, but rather to propose to you an Argument of somewhat a different kind, and which seems to me freer from exception. And as your great Candour and Ingenuity, and the general Reputation you have for a man of unspotted virtue, as these make you highly deserve any endeavours that can be used, to set you right in matters of an important nature; so the same virtues, I am sure, must render any such endeavours highly acceptable to you, from whomsoever they proceed, and how weak soever they should prove. 'Tis true, you profess to believe the Soul immortal, from the authority of divine Revelation, and because you profess to believe this grand principle of all Religion, it would be the utmost uncharitableness in any man to question it; especially, when no contradiction, but the highest agreeableness

ableness to this belief, is found in your life and conversation; but how to make this belief agreeable to your sentiments about the Soul, is verily a difficulty with me; and if I could have reconciled this, or made you consistent with yourself, I should not have troubled you on this point, notwithstanding you had held the Soul corporeal. I shall wave any farther introduction or ceremony to you, and lay before you the argument itself, which, if you please to consider, and give your thoughts on it, you will both shew me an extraordinary civility, and perhaps give some farther light to the subject, upon which you have been lately employ'd.

THE Argument is in PLATO (1); and as his writings you know are, it proceeds by way of Dialogue, between SOCRATES and ALCIBIADES. The substance of it, I shall endeavour to translate, and then make some remarks upon it.

“ *Socra.* Who is he that discourses
 “ with you? Is it not SOCRATES? And who
 “ is he that hears? Is it not ALCIBIADES?
 “ *Alcib.* Doubtless. *Socra.* And what is this
 “ business of discoursing? Is it any thing but
 “ a man’s using speech? Are not these the
 “ same? *Alcib.* It is not to be deny’d. *So-*
 “ *cra.* Is not then he that uses a thing, and

(1) PLAT. Alcib. 1st.

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“ the thing used, different, distinct from one
“ another? *Alcib.* How say you, *SOCRATES*?
“ *Socra.* To the purpose. Consider any handy-craftsman. Is he not different from the
“ tools and instruments that he uses in his
“ work? The thing that cuts from the person
“ that cuts with it? *Alcib.* Past question.
“ *Socra.* What? in regard to any musical Instrument, is not the thing the same? Is
“ not the Lute one thing, and he who plays
“ on it another? *Alcib.* Confess'd. *Socra.*
“ And this, *ALCIBIADES*, was the purpose of
“ my question to you just now, whether he
“ that uses a thing, and the thing used, do
“ not always appear different, distinct, things?
“ *Alcib.* They do so indeed. *Socra.* Very
“ good! And pray what does one of these
“ handy-craftsmen in exercise of his occupation use?
“ *Alcib.* He uses his instruments.
“ *Socra.* Does he not use likewise his hands?
“ *Alcib.* His hands likewise. *Socra.* And
“ his eyes? *Alcib.* I grant ye. *Socra.* And
“ was it not before granted, that he that uses
“ a thing, and the thing used, are different?
“ and consequently that the Musician, or any
“ other artist is different, not only from his
“ instruments, but from his hands and eyes,
“ those parts of the Body that he uses? *Al-*
“ *cib.* Very true. *Socra.* And does not a
“ man use his whole Body? *Alcib.* I think
“ so indeed. *Socra.* Carry this still along
“ with you, That the thing used, and he who
“ uses it, are different. *Alcib.* I remember it,

“ *SOCRATES*

“SOCRATES. *Socra.* I therefore conclude,
 “that what we call a Man is a thing entirely
 “different from his Body. *Alcib.* I cannot
 “deny it. *Socra.* What is it then in this
 “composition that we may most properly
 “call the Man? *Alcib.* Nay, in that you
 “must excuse me, SOCRATES. *Socra.* What!
 “know you not what it is that uses the Bo-
 “dy? *Alcib.* Full well. *Socra.* Is it any
 “thing but the Soul? *Alcib.* No, certainly.
 “*Socra.* And is not this what rules and go-
 “verns the Body? *Alcib.* No doubt.”

THIS, in my opinion, will furnish us with
 idea's, at least lay a foundation of proving (I
 had almost said demonstrating) the Soul's di-
 stinction from the Body.

AND in order to it, I shall first premise a
 few things, that my meaning may be the
 more clearly apprehended; and next, consider
 more exactly, the force of the preceding
 Argument.

Ist, IT is not my intention from this ar-
 gument, to conclude any thing immediately
 touching the nature of the substance of the
 Soul, not indeed whether it be perfectly im-
 material, divested of all the properties of mat-
 ter, (as I take it *immaterial* signifies) and con-
 sequently of extension, as well as others; al-
 though it be often retain'd by some who con-
 ceive the Soul immaterial and goes into its

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idea, which seems to me very disagreeable. For what is immaterial but a negation of all matter? And while men assert this of the Soul, they should still continue to it, the primeſt property of matter, if not repugnant, yet for certain is extremely incongruous, and the ground of endless difficulties and jargon. But with this, I have nothing to do here. By the Body, we underſtand this corruptible ſyſtem of matter, which is made up of divers parts, blood, animal ſpirits, &c. and a particular diſpoſition and organization of thoſe parts; and my intent is to prove the Soul none of theſe, no mode, quality, power or faculty of any of theſe ſeparately, neither the reſult of the whole taken together; but that which thinks in us is a ſubſtance, and a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body. And I rather chuſe to call the Soul a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body, than call it immaterial; becauſe many men have taught the Soul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body, and yet have diſcourſ'd of it as material (as did, I conceive, TERTULLIAN) but then their idea of this matter, of which they thought the Soul to partake, was vaſtly different from their idea of the Body: it was matter of a different kind, matter and matter differing in their language and idea's, almoſt as much perhaps, as Spirit and Body does now according to the moderns. With the rectitude of this way of thinking, I have nothing to do.

2dly, WHAT we understand here by the terms *substance, faculty, mode, &c.* By *substance*, we conceive something that subsists of itself, and that is the subject of what we term *properties, powers, faculties, modes, &c.* These latter cannot subsist, nor act of themselves, and this is what distinguishes between them : all powers and faculties must be powers and faculties of something, as Mr. LOCKE says somewhere, *to conceive of a thing as capable of acting, is to conceive of it as a substance* ; and therefore to conceive thus of any faculty, we depart from our idea of a faculty, and conceive of it as a substance ; and if we can for certain demonstrate any thing to act of itself, we demonstrate it to be a substance ; and if we can prove the Soul thus to act of itself, we prove it a distinct substance from the Body.

3dly, BY the *Soul*, I understand something that thinks within us. And this I say, on purpose to prevent any suspicions in you, that I endeavour to impose on myself or you, by taking that for granted, which ought to be proved ; as possibly might be imagin'd, when I say, *the Soul acts upon the Body, &c.* by which I do not suppose the Soul and Body two distinct substances, but Soul is equivalent with me to Thought, or the power of thinking, be it what it will.

4thly, WHAT I mean by *different or distinct substances*. Now it is certain, we may
and

and are very apt to fancy differences and distinctions as to things where there are really none. As for example; any system of matter, any common stone or pebble, is one distinct thing or substance, but yet it is made up of several parts; but from this distinction of parts, it would be a strange way of arguing, when the question is concerning any one Body or System of Matter, hence to infer it several distinct things or substances, because the thing itself consists of these several parts, in a peculiar way disposed and united. So in considering Man, I would not impose such a gross fallacy on myself, because in this composition, I can conceive it made up of several parts, hence to infer man compounded of several distinct substances. It avails nothing therefore, unless these parts can be proved of a different distinct kind. Thus you see I labour to free myself from all ambiguity of expression; and if I am impos'd on, I am sure it is not with my own knowledge and consent.

TO return to the Argument of SOCRATES, in which two things are carefully to be consider'd :

I. WHETHER the Soul acts upon the Body, or uses it as an instrument or organ.

II. WHETHER this demonstrates a real and substantial distinction between Soul and Body.

Ist, WHETHER the Soul acts upon the Body, or uses it as an instrument or organ. That is, when the parts of the Body are sound and rightly disposed, whether Thought or this thinking power doth not communicate motion to them, influence, direct, govern them. This every man experiences, at least of many parts of the Body; my hands, eyes, &c. I move according to the direction or determination of my will. The only doubt that can be started, is, whether Thought thus moves the whole body, or whether there are not some invisible parts, viz. the Brain, and animal Spirits, from whence this motion or influence is derived. I undertake therefore to prove this proposition, *viz.*

THAT the motions of the Body, such as we term voluntary, proceed not ultimately from the Brain, or any other invisible parts of the Body, but from Thought, or the power of thinking.

FOR example, my hand is at rest; by the determination of my will, I move it. What is that that moves my hand? According to the common hypothesis, immediately I confess it is the Muscles, animal Spirits, &c. But then what moves, or at least differently determines them? (for it must be granted, the muscles and animal spirits that immediately move my hand, must receive motion, or a different deter-

determination of motion, when my hand moves, from what they were in, when my hand was at rest) I say then, from whence proceeded this motion of the Nerves, animal Spirits, &c. that immediately mov'd my hand? We will say, from some parts or part of the brain. (And in this, we say no more than can be prov'd, what none that I know, deny.) But what moves, or at least gives a different determination of motion to this part of the brain, from whence this motion in my hand is derived? (for it must be granted again, that this part of the brain, from whence this motion to my hand is derived, must be at that instant put into motion, or some different disposition, or determination of motion, from what they were in when my hand was at rest. These parts of the brain cannot be in the same motion or disposition, when my hand moves, as when my hand was at rest.) Well! I say, what gives these parts of the brain this motion, or this different disposition or determination of motion? Must it not be resolved into thought or the power of thinking? for certainly here is nothing else to do it.

LET us examine 2dly, Whether this argues two distinct Substances in Man, whether this will infer that that thinks in us, to be a Substance different from the Brain, animal Spirits, &c. I think in truth, this is as demonstrable.

FOR certainly, If a Body at rest, moves, something must put it into motion; again, if a Body in motion, be differently determin'd in its motion, something must alter, or differently determine its motion, or else the Musician might be the same thing with his Fiddle, the Horse with his Rider, and the Tennis-ball with the Wall, that rebounds it. To be guilty of a little tautology. Here is a Body at rest. It is moved. Must it not be something that moves it? Again, here is a body moving in a strait line, it instantly changes from this to a circular one. Can this be without something that changes and guides its motion? The parts of the brain are at rest, or under some peculiar motion, or disposition; this thinking power gives these parts motion, or a different disposition or determination of motion. Must not this therefore be some real subsisting thing, different from the brain or the parts of it, that it moves or directs? I saw once a Physician by moving the nerves, at some distance from the hand, move the hands and the fingers in a Skeleton diverse ways. Was not the Physician different from the Skeleton? What the Physician did, Thought did in the living man more compleatly. Why is not then that which thinks in us a different thing from the body, that it moves? I know not, how other men think, but it seems to me, I have hardly about any thing more clear Ideas. But yet to examine this matter the most severely.

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I will therefore fancy to my self three Suppositions, whereby I will endeavour to solve this, without the assistance of a distinct Substance from the body.

1st, I will examine, whether some part or parts of the brain cannot move, or differently determine themselves.

2dly, WHETHER this may not arise from some peculiar organization, &c.

3dly, WHETHER a power of self-motion cannot be superadded by GOD to some peculiar part or parts of the brain. As I have not met with any thing very different from these, so I believe it is not easy to form any very different hypothesis.

1. WHETHER some parts of the brain, cannot move or differently determine themselves. The parts of the brain are matter, and whatsoever a man may fancy about the powers of matter, one can never fancy matter, when once at rest, capable of giving it self motion, or differently determining its own motion; no more than it can convert it self from a square to a round figure: which, if it could do, I know not what it might not do, it might give it self understanding and wisdom as well, and all other attributes of the Deity. And this is not only the case of Matter, but of
any

any other thing; to talk of giving itself that, which it had not, is a plain contradiction, because giving supposes the being already possessed of that, which is to be given, and yet the latter clause supposes, that it has not, that which is to be given. So that if by matter's moving it self, be understood of matter's giving it self motion, (and it must give it self motion, or another must give it, for motion cannot arise out of nothing) nothing can be more evidently absurd. But no body imagines so absurd a thing.

YES really, I think, he imagines the self same thing, who thinks, that matter at rest, be it the brain, or any other matter, can move itself, can stop or differently determine its own motion. For while matter is at rest, motion is not in it; while it moves in a right line, it moves not in a circular one. When it moves therefore here is an addition of motion made to it; when it moves from a strait to a circular line, its motion is changed. Whence is this motion in the first case, this alteration of motion in the second case? The force and interposition of another being, is disown'd. If therefore this motion be derived from it self, must not itself give it? for certainly here is something added, when motion is added, here is something that was not before; which must be derived from itself or some other being. But may it not have a
power

power of moving itself, although it doth not always actually move?

STILL we cheat our selves with terms. For what is this power of motion in matter? To me it is nothing but a capacity of being moved, and then still it will require some other thing to move it, as in many cases, a power in things, signifies nothing, but a capacity of being acted on; but in this case, I think it is clearly so. For if you take power here for something active in matter, I would ask you two things. First, when this power is brought into act, or influences the parts of matter, whether matter then is not passive, or receives not the influence of that power, (this it must surely do, or else matter would never move) and yet in regard this power of motion is a power of matter, I would ask you again, whether matter is not at the same time active. So that the same parts of matter, it seems, at the same time, are both active and passive. Can you reconcile this? that at the same time, matter should be both active and passive, or act and not act? To me again this has the face of a very gross contradiction. If you say, this power acts separately on matter, and so exerts itself on the parts of matter: I agree with you, but then this is evidently our Idea of a Substance distinct from matter.

2dly. SEEING in the present case of voluntary motions, this force that moves the
brain,

brain, and upon which the motion in my hand depends, I say, seeing this force is not actually exerted upon the parts of the brain, when I move not my hand (for if it were actually exerted, my hand would actually move) I would ask you what it is that actually exerts it, and again stops it. We all feel, it is done by the mediation of our wills; but willing is nothing towards moving or determining any parts of matter, unless some force or influence attends it. And the point is, to what belongs this force and influence: if you say to matter, you make the thing to be moved, and that which moves it, all one; and again you suppose, such a power in matter, that I dare say, is your own and every body's idea of a substance; and you prove to me that which thus acts upon matter, to be no substance, and I will prove to you, matter is no substance. But of this again hereafter. I suppose not this your opinion, that matter as such, can move it self; but rather the others remaining. I proceed therefore to examine,

II. In the 2d place, Whether this may not arise from some peculiar disposition of parts, organization, &c. Whether this way cannot be explain'd these voluntary motions. And I think, it is impossible. By disposition and organization of parts, I understand a sort of clock-work or mechanism, from whence we will suppose thinking to result. What sort of mechanism or disposition of parts, this as

you will not undertake to shew, so I shall not trouble you, nor my self about; whatsoever it be, I hope to prove clearly, voluntary motions can be the result of no such thing.

1. I suppose you will grant me that any mechanism whatsoever can produce nothing but necessary acts or effects, and if you suppose the Soul the result of any sort of organization or disposition of parts, in my present conceit I think my self able to maintain, this result, viz. the Soul, either a different substance from the mechanism, disposition of parts, or else man a necessary agent; for thinking here follows from this organization and disposition of parts, and consequently must not only be necessary in general, but in the several and particular acts of it; and choice and willing being particular ways or modes of thinking, these must be necessary, as necessarily as striking in a clock. So that here will be an end of all sort of Liberty and freedom in man; and because I believe, we have demonstration for these, we have certainly demonstration against thinking's being any result of mechanism and disposition of parts, &c. I take it here it is impossible you can defend any sort of liberty in man, if thinking be nothing but the result of mechanism. For the cause that produces thinking, acts necessarily, and hence that thinking should be free, is a perfectly unintelligible thing. For thinking is the effect, and that the effect should be

be free, when the cause acted necessarily, that produced it, is perfectly irreconcilable to itself; unless you take the effect, which the disposition of parts, &c. which is nothing but the power of mechanism, produced, for something disengaged from this mechanism, for something free, and that depends not upon the mechanism; then indeed you can defend freedom, but then this thinking power is no longer a power of the mechanism, an effect that mechanism produces, but a distinct thing and substance. And I most passionately long to have you arguing on this point, denying Liberty in man, or defending it on your principles; making thinking the result of mechanism or a disposition of parts, altogether a necessary effect, and yet a free thing. But what do I talk of a free thing? thinking is the result of mechanism of a certain organization and disposition of parts, doth not therefore this certain organization, disposition of parts, &c. produce thinking? And then what is thinking here but an effect? And to talk of an effect's acting, is ridiculous and contradictory, as if a man should talk of the striking in a clock's acting, when striking is conceived as nothing but an effect produced by the disposition of parts in the clock. 'Tis true, to say there is a power in the clock to strike, is well, because this is the cause of it: but to consider striking as the result of this power in a clock, as something arising out of it, and actually produced, this is to

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consider it as an effect; and to talk of an effect's acting, is either to consider an effect, as some real thing that can act of itself, or else is down right nonsense. And yet I have heard men discourse, that the power of thinking is the result of mechanism, of some disposition of parts, &c. of the brain, which, if this power be no real thing, is idly call'd a power, it is only a bare effect, and can no more act, than as I said striking in a clock can act; and if the case be so, if thinking flows from a disposition of parts, mechanism, power of the system, (for these words signify much the same) to me, there hath not been a greater cheat, a greater folly in all ages, than this notion of the Liberty and freedom of man.

TO make this yet clearer if possible. Thinking arises from matter organized, or disposed after some peculiar manner, that we know not, into a system. We must therefore affirm, if there be nothing in man but matter, that matter thus disposed, &c. thinks. I here ask you, whether it be not agreeable to your ideas, that if nothing guides matter thus disposed, there could be no such thing as freedom; for freedom implies in some cases, a power of acting or not acting; but you can never deduce this from any being, that has nothing in it, but matter disposed into a system. For there being nothing to hinder its operations, it would always act or operate, where the cause were sufficient; where the cause were not sufficient,

sufficient, no operation or effect would succeed. And hence, if I mistake not, Mr. HOBBS was obliged, from this principle to deny all Liberty in man. But I am sensible I tire you.

2dly, NEITHER is this supposition of thinking's resulting from matter organized, &c. less contradictory to the sense and experience of mankind, touching the force and energy that the Soul has upon the mechanism or system it self. Certainly our idea of any thing, that arises from the organization of matter, implies a necessity in that which is supposed to result from it, it is under a sort of subjection, and is a slave to that mechanism or organization, is made out of it. But now thinking is such a vigorous active thing, that it turns upon its very author, and lords over it, commands the system or machine it self, and how will you reconcile this to organization or mechanism? There is striking in a clock (I use this boldly, because it hath been your own illustration) which is a quality or effect resulting from the disposition of its parts; now should this striking be able to return upon the mechanism, rectify, alter, suspend its motions, would not this be a marvellous thing? Indeed it is senseless to suppose it. Does not thinking do this? Is it not by this, we move the whole machine of the body from place to place, that we guide, suspend, new determine many of its motions and operations? To me it is clear, if think-

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ing resulted from any disposition of parts, quite the contrary would follow: thinking could do nothing on the body; but here, a different disposition or motion of the parts of the body is produced by thinking. This is strangely contrary to my ideas.

III. I proceed to the 3d supposition, Whether a power or faculty of self motion, cannot be superadded by God to some peculiar part or parts of the brain. This was originally Mr. LOCKE's, and although no person has a higher esteem for that great man, yet I cannot but look on this notion as an error and slip in his writings.

THIS hypothesis differs from the former in this, viz. the former, supposes matter and motion under some certain disposition and organization of parts capable in it self of producing thinking: this, supposes matter and motion in itself, howsoever disposed and modify'd, entirely incapable of thinking; else there had been no need of recurring to the power of God. So that if we suppose the body of man framed exactly, as now it is, yet if this faculty of thinking were not superadded by God, it would be a machine indeed, a system, but would never think. I have two or three things to observe to you upon this.

1. THIS however is as unlikely to be apprehended and entertained by sceptical men, as the old common hypothesis, of God's introducing and superadding to the system of the body, an immaterial substance; because this as equally requires the immediate application of a divine power, to superadd this faculty as a distinct substance: and I believe, it is much the same with them, to suppose God superadding either faculties or substances; their hopes and expectations for certain, extending farther; that thinking might arise from bare matter and motion, without any act of a superior cause. But unquestionably you being not of that crew, which is for justling God out of the world; I own, the observation idle and impertinent.

HOWEVER, it hath been thought an objection to the supposition of two distinct substances in man, that it requires the constant and immediate application of the Deity, perpetual creations towards the propagation of mankind; and this requires something like it, a constant and perpetual superaddition of faculties to every individual man, nay if you allow (as I perceive you do) brutes to have sense, here must be a superaddition of a faculty of sensation to every one of them too, *to mice, and lice, and mites, &c.* which although not quite so absurd as the creation

of distinct substances, yet will I believe have such a share of it, as will not easily be digested. If you assert this superadded faculty communicated from father to son, &c. if I not greatly mistake, this will have likewise a plentiful share of absurdity.

2dly, ACCORDING to this doctrine of the superaddition of faculties, as well as according to the foregoing, I intreat you to consider, how to conceive the Soul of man immortal. You receive this principle from divine revelation. Granted. But yet you may so conceive of the soul, as to render that promise of immortality impossible to be fulfilled, as I believe, it is impossible, according to the preceeding Schemes. For immortal, I presume, you apply to the soul itself, not the body; for every one sees the body mortal and perishing. The soul therefore this promise concerns, and by its immortality, I presume, you understand that it exists, and acts, and thinks after the dissolution of the body; that it doth not remain in an estate of insensibility, till the resurrection. If this be your opinion of the immortality of the soul, which, I think must be of all such, as hold it immortal, I would fain know how you can reconcile this to your principles. For it is clear, if thinking naturally arises from such a disposition of parts, &c. and death destroys this disposition, it destroys the soul
and

and its thinking. One of these two things, must be said here. First, either that God preserves some parts of the body from dissolving at death, to which thinking more especially belongs. To this many things might be opposed, but all I shall say to it, is this: methinks it argues those parts so very peculiar from the rest of the body, that it looks like a distinct substance, and it seems extravagant for a man to deny the Soul a distinct substance, when he allows between the parts of the body such a vast distinction. Or else, 2dly, something more absurd must be said, viz. that God can preserve a meer mode of a body, without the body itself, without its subject, which is worse than *Transubstantiation*.

'TIS the same, according to the supposition of the Soul's being a faculty of thinking's superadded by God. If you say this power or faculty can be preserved without some subject, it is clearly to me a substance, it being entirely contrary to our ideas, that powers and faculties should exist of themselves, or be supported in being, even by the power of God. I must imagine therefore, while the argument lies under this view, many things that Mr. DODWELL asserts to a man of your understanding and clearness of conception, must appear strange paradoxes, because you seem to me to trust to Reason, as the principle
that

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that is to direct you in matters of belief; and I can never think you can reconcile the subsistence of Accidents and Modes, Powers and Faculties, whatsoever hard names are given to them, to your Reason. But this only by the by.

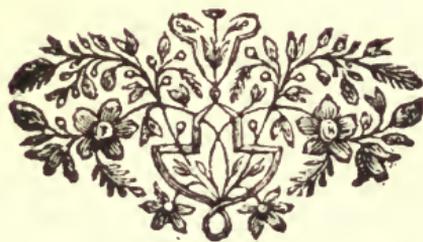
3dly, IT is suppos'd by this notion of thinking's being a faculty superadded to matter by the power of God, as before premis'd, that matter in itself, howsoever disposed, moved, and organized, would not think; and it is quite two different things, so to dispose matter, that matter thinks, and to superadd a faculty of thinking to it. In the first case, matter is made to think; in the latter, this thinking faculty thinks in it. There is as much difference between these, as between the second and last hypothesis, which indeed are your own; for how often do you distinguish to Mr. CLARKE, between thinking's being a power of matter, under such or such a texture, motion, &c. and a superaddition of a faculty of thinking to it by God? which must suppose some distinction between them: and the distinction is this, matter may be so disposed and moved as to think, or else may have a faculty of thinking superadded by God. Now, I say, our idea of this latter case supposes matter not to think, but the faculty superadded to think in it; for before this thinking faculty was superadded, although the
system

system of the body were just as it is, the body would not think: so that if in thinking, this thinking faculty any ways depends upon the disposition and motion of the parts of the body, or system, it is owing to the divine appointment; and if God had so appointed, this thinking faculty would have thought as well in a stone, a clod of earth, as in an organized body, nay, without any body at all. As 'tis plain: for according to our present supposition, howsoever the divine power had modify'd or dispos'd matter, thinking would never have proceeded from it. How therefore doth the bare system concur towards thinking? Nothing at all certainly in itself. And if it concurs nothing at all, (I mean any otherwise than God hath so order'd it) this thinking faculty is a substance. Again, it may think as well in any other body, as a system, or organized body. Lastly, as well without any body at all, as with it. All which confirms that this notion is the same with that it pretends to differ from; and if some understand the same by power as others do by substance, I have nothing to do to oppose them, provided they do not think themselves all the while far above others in point of knowledge and discovery of truth.

THUS, Sir, I have freely represented to you what my thoughts suggested on this subject,

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ject, and have no other aim in the world, but
a profound respect to you and truth, which
you so constantly profess in your Writings.
If I am under mistakes, it will be charity in
you to point them out to me, and shall be
ever most gratefully receiv'd and acknow-
ledg'd by

Your very humble Servant.



CRITI-



CRITICAL REMARKS

U P O N

Mr. T O L A N D ' s B O O K ,

E N T I T L E D ,

*Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and
Mahometan Christianity :*

C O N C E R N I N G

The Opinions of the Cerinthians,
Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Na-
zarens.

N A Z A R E N U S , c. 6. p. 17.

“  HE Cerinthians before them, (i.e.
“ the Basilidians) and the Carpocra-
“ tians next, (to name no more of
“ those who affirmed JESUS to have
“ been a meer man) did believe the same
“ thing, that it was not himself, but one of
“ his followers very like him, that was cruci-
“ fied.”

T H E

THE Author has not referred us to any ancient Writer for the confirmation of the account here given; and it is apparently different from that which IRENÆUS, and after him EPIPHANIUS, have given of CERINTHUS's opinions.

IRENÆUS's words are :

Cerinthus docuit fuisse eum Joseph & Mariæ filium . . . & post Baptismum descendisse in eum Christum, ab ea principali- tate, quæ est super omnia figura columbæ, & tunc annunciaſſe incognitum Patrem, & virtutes perfecisse; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, & Jesum pas- sum esse, & resur- rexisse: Christum au- tem impassibilem per- severasse, existentem spiritalem. Adv. Hæ- ref. lib. 1. c. 25.

Cerinthus taught that he (i. e. Jesus) was the Son of Joseph and Mary . . . and that af- ter his Baptism Christ came down upon him from that principality which is above all things, in the figure of a Dove; and then gave an account of the unknown Father, and wrought Miracles; but that at last Christ flew back from Jesus: and that Jesus suffered, and rose again; but that Christ continued incapable of suffering, being of a spiritual na- ture.

EPIPHANIUS's words are :

ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΚΗΡΥΤΙΕΝ . . . ΑΝΩ- ΔΕΝ . . . ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΩ ΘΕΟΥ

His Doctrine was . . . that after Jesus, who sprung

μετα το αδρυνηθηναι τον
 Ιησυν τον εκ σπερμα. ⑥
 Ιωσηφ κ̄ Μαρίας γ̄γε-
 νημενον κατεληλυθεναι
 τον Χριστον εις αυτον, τρι-
 τισι το Πνευμα το αγι-
 ον εν ειδει περισερας εν
 τῷ Ιορδανη· και απκα-
 λυψαι αυτῶ, και δι
 αυτη τοις μετ' αυτη τον
 Αγνωστον Πατερα· Και
 δια τῆτο, επειδη ηλθεν
 ἡ δυναμις εις αυτον ανω-
 θεν, δυναμεις επιτετελη-
 κεναι· Και αυτς πεπον-
 θοῖ ⑥ το ελθον ανωθεν
 αναπ̄ιηναι απο τῃ Ιησυ
 ανω, πεπονθοτα δε τον
 Ιησυν, και παλιν εγη-
 γ̄ρμενον· Χριστον δε τον
 ανωθεν ελθοντα εις αυ-
 τον απαθη αναπ̄αντα,
 οπερ εσι το κατελδον
 εν ειδει περισερας· και ε
 τον Ιησυν ειναι Χριστον.
*Haeres. 28. Edit.
 Heruag. Basil. p. 53.*

sprung from the seed
 of Joseph and Mary,
 was grown up to his
 full bigness, Christ
 came down upon him
 from above from the
 Father, i. e. the Holy
 Spirit, in the shape of
 a Dove in Jordan, and
 made known to him,
 and by him to those
 that were with him,
 the unknown Father :
 and that therefore, af-
 ter the power was
 come upon him from
 above, he wrought Mi-
 racles : and that when
 Jesus suffered, that
 which came upon him
 from above left him,
 taking its flight up-
 wards ; but that Jesus
 suffered and rose a-
 gain : whereas Christ
 who came upon him
 from above, descend-
 ing in the form of a
 Dove, was not capable
 of suffering, and fled
 back again ; and that
 Jesus was not the same
 with Christ.

THUS

THUS far EPIPHANIUS's account agrees with IRENÆUS's; but he afterwards gives a somewhat different account of his opinion, which contradicts the former, and seems highly improbable.

His words are:

‘Οὗτ' ὁ δὲ ὁ Κηρινθὸς...
 φασκεὶ παλιν πολμησας
 Χριστὸν πεπνυθεντα καὶ ε-
 σαυρωθῆναι, μηδὲ ε-
 γηγηρῆναι, μελλῆν δὲ
 ἀνισταθῆναι, ὅταν ἡ γεν-
 ῶσθαι γενῆται νεκρῶν
 ἀναστασις· ἀσυστατα τινῶν
 παύλα παρ' ἐκείνοις πα-
 τε ρήματα καὶ νοήματα·
ibid. p. 54.

This same Cerinthus has the confidence to say, that Christ suffered and was crucified; but that he is not yet risen, but that he shall rise at the general Resurrection of the dead. Therefore these thoughts and speeches among them are inconsistent.

BUT it seems clear that EPIPHANIUS does not take care to speak exactly in his account of this matter, he using the word CHRIST several times where he ought to use the word JESUS, (which was by no means proper to be done, when he was relating the opinions of one, who so carefully distinguishes between JESUS and CHRIST) of which carelessness of expression, take the following instances:

Ἐξηγήσῃ καὶ εἶπ' ἐκ
 Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ σπερ-

And this Cerinthus gives us to understand, that

ματῶ. Ἰωσήφ τον Χει- that Christ was born
 στον γεγεννηθαι. *ibid.* p. of Mary and of the
 53. seed of Joseph.

WHEN he proceeds to confute CERIN-
 THUS's opinions, he has these words :

Ουτε γδ εκ σπερματῶ. For neither was Christ
 Ἰωσήφ δ Χριστος κ. τ. of the seed of Joseph,
 λ. *ibid.* p. 55. &c.

NOW it is certain from IRENÆUS, that
 CERINTHUS did not say that CHRIST was de-
 scended from JOSEPH ; and EPIPHANIUS him-
 self knew it, and therefore unless we suppose
 him to put the word CHRIST instead of JE-
 SUS, he fights without an Adversary in this
 passage.

WHEREFORE it seems reasonable to
 me, to lay most stress upon IRENÆUS's ac-
 count, which is more clear and consistent
 than EPIPHANIUS's, and which has so much
 the advantage of it in point of antiquity ;
 and consequently there is no reason to think,
 that CERINTHUS disputed the matter of fact,
 that JESUS, who was crucified at Jerusalem,
 rose again from the dead ; and that ground
 of wonder is removed, which is suggested in
 those words of this learned Author, in p. 18.
 " 'Tis a strange thing, one would think, they
 " should differ about a fact of this nature so
 " early ; and that CERINTHUS, who was con-
 VOL. II. c " tempo-

“ temporary, a countryman, and a Christian, “ should, with all those of his sect, deny the “ Resurrection of Christ from the dead.” It is remov’d (I say) so far as CERINTHUS is concerned in it; as depending chiefly, if not only, on EPIPHANIUS’s careless and confused way of expressing himself, or his mistaken representation of the matter. And this learned Author himself, in the same page, informs, that EPIPHANIUS confounds every thing. AUGUSTIN’s words in this matter would have been more to the purpose, than the passage our Author refers to in EPIPHANIUS, had they had any good foundation. They run thus :

Cerinthiani à Cerintho . . . Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec resurrexisse sed resurrecturum asseverantes. lib. de Hæref. n° 8.

The Cerinthians from Cerinthus . . . maintain, that Jesus was only a Man, and that he has not already risen, but shall rise again.

BUT AUGUSTIN probably borrow’d from EPIPHANIUS; and his account is very imperfect, and in one part of it manifestly false, if IRENÆUS’s be true.

FROM none of these accounts does it appear, that CERINTHUS believed that it was not JESUS himself, but one of his followers,
very

very like him, that was crucify'd; but the contrary.

AS to CARPOCRATES and his followers, IRENÆUS in his account of them, *Haeres. lib. i. c. 24.* makes no mention of their denying that JESUS suffered, and saying that another suffered in his stead; but tells us, that they pretended to have an image of CHRIST made by PILATE, when JESUS was among men.

TERTULLIAN gives us this account of him :

Carpocrates . . . dicit Christum . . . hominem tantummodo . . . hunc apud Judæos passum : solam animam ipsius in cælo receptam, eo quod firmior & robustior cæteris fuerit : ex quo colligeret, tentata animarum salute nullas corporis resurrectiones. Tertul de Præscr. adv. Haeret. cap. 48.

Carpocrates . . . saith that Christ . . . was a meer man . . . that he suffered among the Jews : that his soul only was received into heaven, because it was more firm and strong than others : from whence he inferred, that the salvation of Souls alone being attempted, there was no resurrection of the body.

EPIPHANIUS saith nothing in his account of the CARPOCRATIANS (*Hæres. 27.*) about their denying that JESUS suffered, or asserting that another suffered in his stead; but men-

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tions their having images or pictures of CHRIST made by PONTIUS PILATE. AUGUSTIN tells us, that they deny'd the Resurrection of the Body, and worshipped the images of JESUS and others. *Lib. de Hæres.*

BUT in none of these accounts, nor in that given by EUSEBIUS, (*Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 7.*) is there the least hint, that CARPOCRATES supposed that JESUS did not suffer, but another in his stead. And TERTULLIAN asserts the contrary.

NAZARENUS, *c. 6. p. 18.*

“ THE EBIONITES, according to EPIPHAN-
 “ NIUS, had not the Genealogy in their Go-
 “ spel, which makes it needless for him to
 “ say elsewhere, that the CERINTHIANS re-
 “ jected it, whose Gospel was the same.

EPIPHANIUS indeed tells us, that the EBIONITES and CERINTHIANS did both use the Gospel according to MATTHEW, and that only: but he does also tell us, that they did not use that which was whole and compleat, but one that was imperfect and adulterated; and it does not appear, that MATTHEW'S Gospel, as used by them, was in all points the same; so that one of those sects might expunge or admit some passages which the other did not, tho as to the main body of the Gospel, it was the same. Therefore tho the Genealogy were want-

wanting in the MATTHEW of the EBIONITES, yet it might be let stand in that of the CERINTHIANS; and then EPIPHANIUS, without being guilty of confusion or inconsistency in this matter, might tell us, that CERINTHUS made use of this Genealogy to prove that JESUS was the son of JOSEPH and MARY. And that this was the case, according to EPIPHANIUS's representation of the matter, may be inferred from the following passages compared together.

OF the MATTHEW of the EBIONITES, he says :

Εν τῷ γένει παρ' αὐτοῖς
Εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματ-
θαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, ἔχ'
ὄλῳ δὲ πληρεσάτῳ ἀλ-
λα νεοθευμένῳ ἢ κη-
ρωτηριασμένῳ· Ἑβραϊ-
κὸν δὲ τὸ τοῦ καλοῦσιν
ἐμφερῆται, κ. τ. λ. *He-
ref.* 30. p. 64.

In their Gospel, ac-
cording to Matthew,
which is not compleat
and perfect, but adul-
terated and mutilated,
(they call it the He-
brew Gospel) it is
found, &c.

OF the CERINTHIANS, he says :

Χρῶνται τῷ κατὰ Ματ-
θαῖον Εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπο-
μέρως ἢ ἔχ' ὄλῳ, ἀλλὰ
διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν
ἐπισαρκῶν, ἢ ταυτὴν μαρ-
τυρίαν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ

They use the Gospel
according to Matthew
in part, but not com-
pleat (or not all of it)
but because of the Ge-
nealogy according to

Ευαγγελιῶν, πάλιν λέ-
 γοντες ὅτι ἀρκετεν κ. τ.
 λ. *Heresf.* 28. p. 54.

the flesh, and they (or
 they also) bring this
 Testimony from the
 Gospel, again saying,
 that it is enough, &c.

BUT in this place the construction is difficult, and our learned Author seems from this very passage to infer, that the CERINTHIANS rejected the Genealogy; which does not seem clear to me from the words of the Author, which run as above, and should (if they can) be interpreted so as to consist with what he saith elsewhere of their making use of the Genealogy. See his words relating to that matter:

Ὁ μὲν Κηρινοῦς καὶ
 Καρποκράτης πρὸς αὐτῶν
 χρωμένοι δήθεν παρ'
 αὐτοῖς Ευαγγελιῶν, ἀπο
 τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ Ματ-
 θαιὸν Ευαγγελιῶν δια
 τῆς γενεαλογίας βυβλον-
 τὰ παρῆσαν ἐκ σπέρμα-
 τος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας
 εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν. Οὗ-
 τοι δὲ ἀλλὰ πῶς δια-
 νοοῦνται, παρανοήσαντες
 γὰρ τὰς παρὰ τῷ Ματ-
 θαιῷ γενεαλογίας ἀρ-
 χονταὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ποι-
 εῖναι ὡς ποιεῖτον, λέ-

Cerinthus and Carpo-
 cras using the same
 Gospel with them (i.e.
the Ebionites) would
 prove from the Ge-
 nealogy in the begin-
 ning of the Gospel
 according to Matthew,
 that Christ was of the
 seed of Joseph and
 Mary. But these (i.e.
the Ebionites) are of
 another mind. For
 they cut off the Ge-
 nealogies in Matthew,
 and begin *the Gospel*,

ροντες, ὅτι εγενετο εν
 ταις ἡμεραις Ἡρωδ' κ.
 τ. λ. *Hæres.* 30. p.
 65.

as I said before, at
 those words (*Matth.* 2.
 1.) In the days of He-
 rod, &c.

FROM whence it is plain, that EPIPHAN-
 NIUS did not think that the Cerinthian and
 the Ebionite Gospels were word for word
 the same; tho they went under the same
 name, and might in most things agree. And
 this he might do consistently enough with
 what he had said before of the Ebionite
 Gospel, in those words :

Δεχονται μεν ἡ αυτοι
 το κατὰ Ματθαιον Ευ-
 αγγελιον. Τετο γαρ
 και αυτοι ὡς και οι κα-
 τὰ Κηρινθον και Μηριν-
 θον χρωται μνηφ. *Ibid.*
 p. 60.

They also own the
 Gospel according to
 Matthew, for they, as
 also the Cerinthians
 and Merinthians, use
 this only.

BUT it is probable he never saw this Go-
 spel according to the HEBREWS (which he
 imagin'd to be the same with that according
 to MATTHEW) as may be inferred from the
 following words :

Εχουσι δε το κατὰ Ματ-
 θαιον Ευαγγελιον πλη-
 ρεσατων Εβραϊσι. ουκ οίδα
 δε ει ἡ τας γενεαλογιας
 τας απο τῆ Αβρααμ

They (i. e. the Naza-
 renes, of whom he is
 there giving an ac-
 count) have the Gospel
 according to Matthew

αχει Χειρῶ περιειλον.
*Idem. Hæres. 29. ad
 finem.*

in Hebrew . . . But I do not know whether they have taken away the Genealogies from Abraham to Christ.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 26.*

“ EPIPHANIUS affirms, that the NAZARENS
 “ took this name to themselves, but not that
 “ of JESSEANS after JESUS, nor of CHRISTI-
 “ ANS after CHRIST, and that all Christians
 “ whatsoever were stiled NAZARENS.”

THIS account leads one to imagine, that EPIPHANIUS derived the name JESSEANS from JESUS, which he did not. His words run thus :

‘Ουτοι γαρ ἑαυτοις ονομα
 επεδεντο, οχι Χει-
 ρῶ, οτε αυτο το ονομα
 τῶ Ιησῦ, αλλα Ναζω-
 ραιων· Και παντες δε
 Χριστιανοι Ναζωραιοι το
 τε ὡσαυτως εκαλυοντο·
 Γεγονε δε επ’ ολιγω
 χρονῶ καλειδαυ αυτους
 Ιεσσαυς, πριν η επι της
 Ανποχειας αρχην λα-
 βωσιν οι Μαθηται καλει-
 αδι Χριστιανοι· Εκκα-

For these (the Nazarens) gave themselves the name neither of Jesus nor of Christ, but of Nazarens: and all Christians were then called Nazarens. But it came to pass, that in a little time they were called Jesseans, before the Disciples began to be called Christians at Antioch.

λεντο δε Ιεσσαιοι διχ
τον Ιεσσαοιμαι, επει-
δηπερ ο Δαβιδ εξ Ιεσ-
σαι κ. τ. λ. *Hæres.*
29. p. 55, 56.

tioch. They were cal-
led Jessæans, I suppose,
from Jesse; for as
much as David de-
scended from Jesse,
&c.

THE persons whom he, thro mistake, sup-
posed to be called JESSÆANS, were the ES-
SÆANS mentioned by PHILO (*vid. ibid. apud
Epiph. p. 57.*) who seem to me not to have
been CHRISTIANS, nor does it appear, that
they were, from PHILO's account of them, in
his Book concerning the contemplative Life,
but a sort of JEWS, who lived a Monastic
Life in Egypt.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 26.*

“ THEY were likewise call'd by way of
“ contempt EBIONITES or Beggars.

I know none of the Fathers that says EBI-
ONITES was a name given to all Christians on
account of the meanness of their Condition.

OUR Author proceeds and says (*ibid.*) this
“ is very evident not only from the Silence
“ of IRENÆUS, but also from the express
“ Testimonies of ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS,
“ that they were thus nicknamed because of
“ their mean condition: and even from the
“ Hebrew word *Ebion* (אביון) itself, which sig-
“ nifies

“ nifies *poor*, and was a most proper Epi-
 “ thet for the first Christians.

I do not see the force of this way of arguing; viz. IRENÆUS speaking of the Ebionites, whom he represents as a particular sort of Christians, who held doctrines different from other Christians, for which he ranked them among the Hereticks, does not mention any man of the name of EBION as their leader, nor indeed gives us any reason of their name; therefore not only they, but all Christians whatsoever, were called Ebionites from the meanness of their condition.

BUT it will be proper to consider the express testimonies of ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS, to which we are referred, as delivered in their own words.

ORIGEN'S words in the first place referred to, run thus: (they being part of his answer to CELSUS, who esteem'd the Jews ridiculous for suffering themselves to be so imposed upon by JESUS, as to leave their country-laws, &c.)

Μηδὲ τὸ κατὰ νόμον, ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστευοντες καὶ καταλελοιποῦσι τὸν πατρῷον νόμον· εἰσι γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπινομῶντι

Not considering that the Jews who believed in Christ did not leave their country-law. For they live according to it, receiving

της κατα την εκδοχην
 πτωχειας τε νομω γαγε-
 νημειοι. Εβιωντε γδ ο
 πτωχος παρα Ιουδαιοις
 καλειται. Και Εβιωναι-
 οι χρηματιζουσιν οι απο
 Ιουδαιων τον Ιησυν ως
 Χειρον παραδεξαμενοι.
 Και ο Πετρος δε μεχε-
 πολλω φαινεται τα κα-
 τα τον Μωυσεως νομον
 Ιουδαϊκα εδη τηρηκε-
 ναι, ως μηδεπω απο
 Ιησυ μεθων αναβαινειν
 απο τε κατα το γεγραμ-
 μενο νομω επι τον κατα
 το πνευμα οπερ απο
 των Πραξεων των Απο-
 στολων μαμαθησαμεν, κ.
 τ. λ. *Contra Celsum*,
 lib. 2. p. 56.

ing (or being call'd by)
 a name agreeable to
 the poverty of the
 Law, according to
 their way of under-
 standing it. For E-
 bion among the Jews
 signifies poor; and
 those of the Jews
 who received Jesus as
 Christ, are called E-
 bionites. And Peter
 for a good while ap-
 pears to have observ-
 ed the Jewish customs
 according to the law
 of Moses, as having
 not yet learned of
 Jesus to ascend from
 the letter to the spi-
 rit of the law, as we
 learn from the Acts
 of the Apostles (chap.
 10. 9.) &c.

IN the other passage referred to, he hav-
 ing mention'd those words of our Saviour (in
 Matt. 15. 24.) I am not sent but unto the
 lost sheep of the house of Israel, goes on
 saying,

Ουκ ελαμβανομεν ταυ-
 τα ως οι πτωχοι τη

We took not these
 words as those do,
 who

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δαιοια Εβιωναοι της
 πτωχειας της διανοιας
 επωνομι· (Εβιω γαρ
 ο πτωχος παρ' Εβραι-
 οισ ονομαζεται) ωσε υπο-
 λαβειν επι της σαρκινους
 Ισραηλιδας ωρηγυμε-
 νως τον Χριστον επι-
 δεδημηκεναι· κ. τ. λ.
Idem Philocal. cap. 1.
 p. 17.

who being of a poor
 understanding, receive
 the name of Ebionites
 from the poverty of
 their understanding ;
 (for a poor man is
 called Ebion in He-
 brew); so as to sup-
 pose that Christ came
 chiefly to the Israe-
 lites according to the
 flesh, &c.

IN both these passages there is nothing said of the Ebionites being poor or beggars as to their circumstances in the world, or their being nick-named from those circumstances ; but from their poor interpretation of the Law, which, as it was understood by them, answered the name which PAUL gave it of beggarly elements (πτωχα στοιχεια, Galat. 4. 9.) so that as far as appears from his own account, the antient Fathers seem rather to have taken an occasion from these words of PAUL, to determine the name of Ebionites to have been properly given them, than from their outward poverty.

BUT let us see whether EUSEBIUS's words are more to our Author's purpose :

Εβιωναοις ταυτης οικειως
 επεφημισον οι πατριαι

The ancients did pro-
 perly call those Ebio-
 nites,

πίτωχος καὶ ταπεινὸς πα-
 ρερετε Χριστὸν δογμα-
 τίζοντας καὶ δοξάζοντας.
 Λίτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν
 καὶ κρινον ἠγυντε. κ. τ.
 λ. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3.
 c. 27.

nites, who had a
 poor and mean opi-
 nion of Christ; for
 they esteemed him to
 be a meer and com-
 mon man, &c.

BUT he afterwards mentions one sort of
 Ebionites, who did not deny that our Lord
 sprung from the Virgin and the Holy Spi-
 rit; tho they did not own him to be God,
 the Word, and Wisdom; and did, as the first,
 adhere to the law of MOSES, and keep the
 Jewish as well as the Christian sabbath, re-
 jecting PAUL's Epistles; and goes on thus:

Ὅθεν παρὰ τὴν ποιω-
 τὴν εὐχειρῆσιν τῆς πείας
 δε λελογχασα ποροσηρ-
 ρίας τε Εβίων ὀνομασίῃ
 τὴν διανοίας πτωχεῖαν
 αὐτῶν ὑποφαινοῦσι.
 Ταυτὴ γὰρ ἐπεκλήθη ὁ
 πτωχὸς παρ' Ἑβραίοις
 ὀνομαζέται. *Ibid.*

Wherefore upon this
 account they got the
 name of Ebion, de-
 noting the poorness
 of their understand-
 ing; for by this name
 do the Hebrews call
 a poor man (or this
 word signifies poor in
 Hebrew.)

FROM which words it seems plain, that
 EUSEBIUS thought they received their name,
 not from their circumstances, but the nature
 of their opinions.

Now it appears hence, that whether this were the true reason of the name given the Ebionites or not, 'tis what ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS (as did also others of the antient Fathers who treat of this matter) give of it; and no proof of the contrary appears, unless you will take those Ebionites own account of it, which is recited in EPIPHANIUS, to which our author refers us, p. 27. But so far as I have learn'd of the character of those Ebionites in EPIPHANIUS, either from EPIPHANIUS himself or other ancient books, it does not appear clear enough to me, to induce me to lay much stress upon either their honesty or their judgment.

NAZARENUS, *c.* 9. *p.* 27, 28.

“ WHATEVER confusion and diversity
 “ may be observed concerning them in IRE-
 “ NÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR, EUSEBIUS, EPI-
 “ PHANIUS, AUGUSTIN, THEODORET and others
 “ of those they call the old Fathers, 'tis con-
 “ stantly agreed among them, that the Na-
 “ zarens and Ebionites affirmed JESUS to
 “ have been a meer man, as well by the Fa-
 “ ther's as the Mother's side, namely the son
 “ of JOSEPH and MARY, &c. &c.

I remember not where IRENÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR and EUSEBIUS give this account of the NAZARENS, as holding all the opinions here

here recited in common with the EBIONITES. Nor shall I believe it till some plain passages be produced out of them to prove it. IRENAEUS has not entred the NAZARENS into his list of Heretics; neither he, nor JUSTIN MARTYR, make mention of them under that name. EUSEBIUS, as far as I remember, is silent concerning them; his History furnishes no passage to support this account. TERTULLIAN indeed mentions the NAZARENS; but does not charge them with these opinions. I make it a question whether any one of the Fathers before the fourth Century mention the NAZARENS as Heretics, and agreeing with the EBIONITES in their sentiments; and if they do not, I see no reason for our Authors using the words EBIONITES and NAZARENS promiscuously, as if they signify'd precisely the same persons.

EPIPHANIUS has put the NAZARENS into his list of Heretics. He tells us they observed the law, but does not positively say that they held CHRIST to be a meer man descended from man, as well by the father's as by the mother's side.

His words are :

Περὶ Χριστοῦ δὲ οὐκ οἶ-
δα εἶπεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
τῶν περιηρημένων
περὶ Κηρίνθου καὶ Μιριν-

But as to Christ I cannot say whether they (i. e. the Nazarens) being led by the wicked-

τον μοχθηρια αχθεις,
ψιλον ανθρωπων νομιζου-
σιν η καρδος η αληθεια
εχει δια Πνευματι. Α-
γιω γεγενησται εκ Μα-
ριας διαβεβαιουται. *Har-
res. 29. p. 58.*

wickedness of the Ce-
rinthians and Merin-
thians hold him to
be a meer man, or
assert that he, as the
truth is, was (born
of) sprung from Mary
by the Holy Spirit.

AS to that passage relating to the reason
of JESUS's being own'd for the Son of God,
'tis not expressly assign'd by IRENÆUS, ORIGEN,
EUSEBIUS or TERTULLIAN in their account
of the EBIONITES as theirs; (THEODORET
I have not by me, and so could not consult
him,) and as far as I have yet been able to
find, EPIPHANIUS is the chief, if not the only
author, that has given us an account of the
EBIONITES assigning that reason; but it does
not at all appear even from him, that the
NAZARENS join'd with them in it. And ac-
cording to his account, that was not the on-
ly reason of his being call'd the Son of God
assign'd by them.

His words are :

Ιησυν γεγενημενον εκ
σπερματι. αιδεις λε-
γουσι κη επιλεχθεντα, κη
ετω κατ' εκλογην υιον
Θεω κληθεντα απο τε
αιωθεν εις αυτον ηγοντι.

They say that Jesus
was begotten of the
seed of a man and
chosen; and so cal-
led the Son of God
according to election
from
from

Χριστῶ ἐν εἰδὲι περισε-
ρας· ἔφασκεσι δὲ ἐκ
Θεοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸν γε-
γεννηθῆναι ἀλλὰ ἐκτισ-
θῆναι, κ. τ. λ. *Haeres.*
30. p. 66.

Τὸν Χριστὸν λεγούσι Περ-
φητην τῆς ἀληθείας· Καὶ
Χριστὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ
προφητην καὶ κατὰ συνα-
φειαν ἀναγωγῆς τῆς ἀνω-
θεν πρὸς αὐτὸν γεγενη-
μένης· Τῆς δὲ Περφητίας
λεγούσι συνέσεως εἶναι
Περφητίας καὶ ἐκ ἀληθεί-
ας· αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον εἶ-
ναι Περφητην καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πον καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ Χρι-
στον καὶ ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον,
ὡς προειπομεν, διὰ δὲ
τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰς ἠχοῖα εἰς
τὸ καλεῖσθαι υἱὸν Θεοῦ.
ibid. p. 67.

from Christ's coming
down upon him in the
form of a Dove. But
they do not say that
he was begotten but
created by God the
Father, &c.

They say that Christ
was a Prophet of
truth, and Christ the
son of God on ac-
count of his proficien-
cy and intimate ac-
quaintance with the
sublime knowledge
that came to him from
above. But they say
the Prophets are Pro-
phets of understand-
ing but not truth; and
that he alone is a Pro-
phet, and man, and
son of God, and Christ,
and a meer man as
we said before, but
that by a virtuous life
he came to be called
the son of God.

SO that if I understand him right, EPIPHAN-
NIUS suggests three particulars upon account
of which according to the Ebionites he was

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called the Son of God, viz. his being chosen and marked out by God by the descent of CHRIST in form of a Dove; his being favoured with a deep knowledge of divine mysteries, and his virtuous life; unless you rather suppose the two first to fall into one.

IN the Gospel according to the Hebrews which was used by the Ebionites, the Holy Spirit is called by our Saviour, his Mother, as appears from divers passages in ORIGEN and JEROM, as particularly that where ORIGEN has these words:

Εαν δὲ προσείηται τις το
καθ' Ἑβραίων Ευαγγε-
λιον, ενθα αὐτῷ ὁ Σω-
τηρ φησὶ· Ἀρτι ελαβε
με ἡ μητηρ μου, το ἅγι-
ον πνευμα εν μαρτων
τελων μου, καὶ απενεγχε
με εις το ορος το μεγα
Θαβορ κ. τ. λ. *Com.*
in Joann. Tom. 2. p.
58. D.

But if any one admit the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself saith, my Mother the Holy Spirit took me a little while ago by one of the hairs of my head, and carried me to the great mountain Tabor, &c.

BUT on what account the Holy Spirit was called his Mother, does not appear. By that descent he was endued with wisdom and knowledge, if JEROM'S conjecture be right, in his Commentary on Esai. 11. 2. On occasion of those words, "the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of understanding", he there cites a fragment

fragment of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarens, which I shall add here because the Spirit calls him there his first begotten:

In Evangelio, cujus supra fecimus mentionem, hæc scripta reperimus: Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis spiritus sancti, & requievit super eum & dixit illi: Fili mi, in omnibus Prophetis expectabam te ut venires & requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum.

In the Gospel above-mentioned (i. e. the Hebrew one) we find these things written: But it came to pass that when the Lord came up from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down, and rested upon him, and said to him, In all the Prophets I look'd for thee that thou mightest come, and I might rest upon thee. Thou art my rest, thou art my first born Son, who reignest for ever.

WHERE AUGUSTIN makes the Ebionites and Nazarens agree in all the particulars mentioned by our Author, I know not. In his Book of Heresies he mentions them as two sorts of Heretics, and tells us the Nazarens own CHRIST to be the Son of God, but does not say on what account; and that

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the Ebionites say CHRIST was only a
man.

AS to the passage referred to in EUSEBIUS by our Author, to prove that he made the Nazarens and Ebionites agree in all the particulars here recited, I find mention only of the Ebionites there; and he does not tell us that they affirmed that JESUS merited to be peculiarly call'd the Son of God, by reason of his most virtuous life, but only that he was justify'd on the account of it.

His words are :

Λιτον αυτον χη ηρινον
ηγεντο, κατα ωρθο-
την ηθως αυτον μονον
ανθρωπον δεδικαιωμε-
νον. *Hist. Eccles. lib.*
3. c. 27.

They were of opinion
that he was a meer
and common man,
but that being only a
man he was justify'd
upon account of the
excellency of his mo-
rals.

OUR Author himself observes, that in EUSEBIUS's time the Ebionites were divided in their opinion about the parents of CHRIST.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 28.*

“ EUSEBIUS saith that some few of them
(the Author had been speaking of the E-
bionites and Nazarens, whom he calls
Jewish

Jewish Christians) “ in his time, that is, the
 “ fourth Century, believed like the Gentile
 “ Christians, the mother of CHRIST to have
 “ been a Virgin; and that he was conceived
 “ by virtue of the Spirit of God, tho’ still but
 “ a meer man, &c.

THE placing those words, *believed like the Gentile Christians*, after this manner in this sentence, might induce one to believe that they were made use of by EUSEBIUS himself, which they are not; for

His words are :

Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους
 τῆς αὐτῆς οὐτὲς περὶ
 ἰουδαίας τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰ-
 ρημενῶν ἐκτοπὸν διεδι-
 δρασκὸν ἀτοπῶν, ἐκ
 παρθενῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας
 Πνευματῆος μὴ ἀρνημέ-
 νοι γεγονέναι τὸν Κυ-
 ριον· ἢ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοί-
 ως καὶ ἐστὶ περὶ παρῆναι
 αὐτὸν Θεὸν λόγον οὐτῶς
 καὶ Σοφίαν ὁμολογούντες
 τῆ τῶν περὶ τῶν περὶ
 εἰρεπόρῳ δυοσέβεια. *Hist.*
Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 27.

There were others be-
 sides these who went
 under the same name,
 who quitted the ab-
 surdity of those be-
 fore-mentioned, not
 denying the Lord to
 be sprung from the
 Virgin and the Holy
 Spirit. But these like
 the others not own-
 ing that he had any
 existence before, as be-
 ing God, the Word,
 and Wisdom, were in-
 volved in the impiety
 of the first.

WHERE it is proper to observe, that he speaks not here of the Nazarens but the Ebionites; that he does not say whether there were some few or many of this party of the Ebionites, nor makes any mention of the Gentile Christians; nor so much as hint to us any thing that should persuade us that it was an opinion peculiar to Gentile Christians before his time, to think that the mother of our Lord was a Virgin.

ADD to this, that these two different sorts of Ebionites were observed before EUSEBIUS's time by ORIGEN;

whose words are :

Ὅυτοι δ' εἰσιν οἱ διττοὶ
Ἐβιωναοὶ οἱ, ἢ τοὶ ἐκ
παρθενῶ ὀμολογῶντες ὁ-
μοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν,
ἢ ἔχ' ἔτιω γυγενηθῆαι
ἀλλ' ὡς τὰς λοιπὰς
ἀνθρώπων. *lib. 5. con-
tra Cels. p. 272.*

These are the two sorts of Ebionites, being either such as with us acknowledge Jesus to be born of a Virgin, or such as pretend, that he was not born so, but as other men.

THESE things considered, it must be own'd, that the account of our Author would have been more satisfactory, if he had distinctly told us which of the Fathers asserted one part and which the other, of those things he has

has put together in page 27, at the end of the page, and at the beginning of 28: it not appearing from the passages he refers to, that all those he mentions agreed in all the particulars.

NAZARENUS, c. 12. p. 40, 41.

“ NO other scheme can reconcile Christianity and the promises of everlasting duration made in favour of the Jewish Law: which are poorly, I will not say sophistically, evaded by making the words *eternal, everlasting, for ever, perpetual, and throughout all generations*, to mean only a great while; that the way of CHRIST'S *accomplishing the law*, was to abolish it; and that *till heaven and earth shall pass*, signify'd till the reign of TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

WITH respect to this passage one can hardly forbear observing that our Author's scheme may be reason'd against, by arguments drawn from these phrases, as well as that of those whom he opposes. For according to the Ebionite scheme JESUS came into the world to abolish sacrifices, and consequently that part of the Levitical Law relating to them is not now to be observed, as appears from a passage cited by EPIPHANIUS, out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was in use among the Ebionites.

His words are :

Ἐλθὼντα καὶ ὑφηγησάμε-
νον ὡς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς
Εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον
περιεχῆναι, ὅτι ἦλθον κα-
ταλύσαι τὰς θυσίας· καὶ
εἰν μὴ παύσηθε τὸ θυ-
εῖν, ἢ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑ-
μῶν ἡ ὀργή· *Heresis.*
30. p. 66.

But they say that he
came and declared, as
it is said, in what is
called the Gospel by
them, that I came to
abolish sacrifices, and
if you cease not from
sacrificing, wrath shall
not cease from you.

SO that one part of the business of JESUS upon earth was to declare those who continued to sacrifice to be under wrath. What then is become of the statutes made in favour of the eternal duration of the Jewish laws about Sacrifices? With respect to the orders given about the Paschal Lamb, the law says, "ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever", *Exod. 12. 24.* And again some parts of the sacrifices of the peace-offerings are given to AARON the Priest and to his sons by a statute for ever, *Levit. 7. 34.* So with respect to what the High-priest should do on the day of atonement, 'tis said "this shall be an everlasting statute unto you", *Levit. 16. 34.* and divers other such passages there are. For those phrases cited by our Author as favouring the perpetual duration of MOSES'S law, are as commonly made use of in reference to sacrifices as to
any

any ordinances whatsoever in the law ; when yet our Author owns the law to be changed with respect to these. Vid. *Nazaren.* p. 63, 64.

NAZARENUS, *cap.* 16. *p.* 62.

“ *Works* there (i. e. in JAMES's Epistle) signify the Levitical Law, as *Faith* is put for “ Christianity ;” and afterwards “ *Works* are “ interpreted to signify the Levitical rites.

OUR Author's sense of the word *Works* is not countenanced by the examples here made use of to prove JAMES's doctrine. “ Was not (saith “ JAMES) ABRAHAM justify'd by *Works*? *cap.* 2. “ 21. and was not RAHAB justify'd by *Works*?” ver. 25 : when yet ABRAHAM was dead some hundreds of years before the Establishment of the Levitical Law, and RAHAB was a Canaanite, and not obliged to the observation of it. And the *Works* by which they were said to be justify'd, were neither of them such as were bound upon them by that Law. So that according to this interpretation, JAMES insists upon it, that the Jews were to be justify'd by the *Works* of the Levitical Law, because their Father ABRAHAM and another person were justify'd without them.

WHEN I consider the titles given by JAMES to the Law, the observance of which is recommended as so necessary, which is called “ the ingrafted word which is able to save
“ souls

“ souls in cap. 1. 21 ; and the perfect law of
 “ liberty ver. 25 ; and the instances of obedience
 mention’d in cap. 2. as also the examples of
 obedience before mentioned, I cannot per-
 suade my self that by *Works* he only means
 the Levitical rites, if he do at all directly mean
 them. It seems more agreable to the tenor
 of his discoursè to suppose that he means by
Faith a firm and well grounded persuasion
 of the certainty of any truth made known
 to us by God, and particularly of the princi-
 ples of the Christian Religion ; and by *Works*
 such kind of actions as those principles are
 design’d and fitted to put us upon. And his
 design is plainly to teach us that if we en-
 tertain in our minds the best principles in
 the world ; as particularly those which the
 doctrine of Christ teaches us, yet if we do
 not act up to them we must expect to be
 condemned. And that of Christians he and
 he only who acts according to these his prin-
 ciples shall be accepted, acquitted, and pro-
 nounced righteous by God when his case comes
 to be try’d.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 16. p. 63.*

“ THAT *the Law was our schoolmaster*
 “ *to bring us unto Christ* is a phrase to
 “ be understood only of us Gentiles.

THIS I can by no means grant, when I
 consider the words immediately preceding
 and

and following those here cited. The words preceding (Gal. 3. 23.) are, *Before Faith (or the Faith) came, we were kept under the Law shut up unto the Faith, which should afterwards be revealed.* So that the law was the Schoolmaster only of those that were under it, which very persons were freed from this Schoolmaster by the coming of the Faith; as the words following inform us, ver. 25. *But after that (the) Faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.* Unless therefore we will suppose the Gentiles to have been under the Levitical Law before the Gospel was published, the words ver. 24. cannot reasonably be apply'd to them, especially not so as to exclude the Jews, who are own'd by all to have been under the law before that time.





ANNOTATIUNCULÆ

S U B I T A N E Æ

A D

L I B R U M

D E

Christianismo Mysteriis carente :

Conscriptæ 8 Augusti 1701 *.



LIBER Anglicana lingua scriptus, sæpe auditus mihi, nondum visus, *de Christianismo mysteriis carente*, cum nuper in manus meas venisset; non potui temperare mihi quin perlegrem statim, & more meo aliquas Notatiunculas in chartam conjicerem inter legendum, quod non rarò facio cum Libri occurrunt singulares. Hunc certè ingeniosè scriptum esse fateri oportet. Et, cum caritas non sit suspicax, ego mihi libenter persuadeo, scopum

* The celebrated Mr. LEIBNIZ is the Author of these Remarks.

scopum Autoris, viri doctrina & ingenio non vulgari præditi, & ut arbitror bene animati, fuisse ut homines à Theologia theoretica ad practicam, à disputationibus circa personam Christi ad studium imitandæ ejus vitæ revocaret; etsi via, qua ad hunc scopum ivit, non satis recta aut plana ubiq; videatur. Equidem Theologiam vere Christianam, esse practicam constat, & primum Christi scopum fuisse potius inspirare voluntati sanctitatem, quam intellectui immittere notiones veritatum arcanarum.

NON tamen ideò negari debet, per Christum nobis revelatas fuisse divinas doctrinas quas ratio perspicere non potest, & cavenda mihi videntur non tantum quæ sectarias opiniones Theologorum fovent, sed etiam multo magis quæ Clerum Reformatum plebi odiosum reddere aut in contemptum adducere possunt; quòd genus sectæ omnium periculosissimum foret, nam turbas dare posset, quibus alimenta subministrare alienissimum esse arbitror à mente autoris, qui ut virum probum decet suas cogitationes ad bonum reipublicæ dirigere velle profiteretur. Certè errores & abusus qui irrepsêre in Ecclesiam, non tam cleri artibus, quàm temporum vitio tribui debent; ipsamq; autoritatem Pontificum nimiam, paulatim enatam constat circumstantiis faventibus, & casu interveniente ut solet. Præterea illis temporibus quibus solus sapiebat clerus, cæteri verò omnes ingenui homines militares
erant;

erant; non absurdum erat, militare imperium sapientum, id est cleri, autoritate temperari.

TITULUS ipse Libri mihi videtur longius ire quam par est, nam ita habet: *Christianismus mysterio carens, hoc est Tractatus ostendens nihil inesse Evangelio contrarium rationi, nihil supra rationem; atq; adeo nullam Christianam doctrinam mysterii nomine proprie loquendo appellari posse.* Equidem omnes fatentur nihil inesse debere Theologiæ Christianæ quod sit contrarium rationi, id est absurdum; sed eidem nihil inesse quod sit supra rationem, id est, quod ratione nostra comprehendi nequeat, non video qua probabilitate dici possit; cum ipsa divina natura, quæ infinita est, necessario sit incomprehensibilis: quemadmodum & in omnibus substantiis aliquid inest infiniti, unde fit ut a nobis perfecte intelligi possint solæ notiones incompletæ, quales sunt numerorum, figurarum, aliorumq; hujusmodi modorum à rebus animo abstractorum. Fateor esse nobis, ut optimè observat autor, distinctam quandam infiniti (per se scilicet seu absoluti) notionem; sed non est nobis finito intellectu præditis, infinitarum varietatum distincta consideratio, qua tamen in rebus præsertim divinis comprehendendis persæpe opus foret. Itaq; miror initio statim Libri, in præliminari formatione status controversiæ, improbari eos qui dicunt: “adorandum esse quod nequit comprehendi;” quo tamen pronuntiato nihil mihi videtur esse certius: nisi scilicet

scilicet Comprehensionem, ut alicubi Cl. Autor facit, (*Seçt. 3. cap. 2.*) ita interpretemur, ut nihil aliud significet quàm cognitionem; qui tamen sensus non est usitatus, nec proinde in populari usu facile adhibendus.

AD SECTIONEM I.

VENIO ad Libri contenta primaria, & Sectionem quidem primam *de Ratione*; ubi *Capite 1.* autor ingeniosus ait *esse in nobis Facultates formandi ideas ac perceptiones rerum, affirmandi; aut negandi prout eas inter se convenire aut dissidere perspicimus; atq; inde amandi ac desiderandi bona, aut contra odio habendi fugiendi; mala.* Et legitimum harum facultatum usum esse *Sensum communem* aut *Rationem in universum*. Hanc ego Definitionem libenter concedam, quia bonum sensum admittit. Tametsi aliquid in ea desiderari possit, dum non explicat in quo rectus ille usus consistat. Quod tamen hoc loco facilius excusari potest, quia scopus autoris non est hæc tractare ex professo. *Ideam* definit *immediatum cogitationis objectum*, quod ab aliorum quoq; sensu non abhorret.

Capite 2. tractat in quo Ratio consistat; aitq; *Cognitionem esse perceptionem consensus aut dissensus idearum*: in quo non nihil hæreo. Videtur enim mihi id verum quidem esse in nostra cognitione rationali, nempe ex ideis sive definitionibus deducta, quam dicimus

cimus esse à priori, sed non in cognitione à posteriori sumta, sive experimentalis; ubi sæpe nullas distinctas ideas habemus, neq; adeò consensum aut dissensum earum percipimus: ita (ut exemplo utar) experimento quidem cognoscimus acida sirupum violarum rubro colore tingere, sed nullam perspicimus consensionem idearum, quas acidi & rubri & violacei distinctas nondum habemus. Solius DEI est omnia deducere ex mentis suæ ideis. Quæ adduntur de duplici *cognitione* (rationali scilicet) *immediata* & *mediata*, laudo; etsi altius penetrandum putem, ut res sufficienter explicetur, quod fateor hujus loci non esse.

Caput. 3. sine Annotatione transmittere posse mihi videor.

IN *Capite 4.* admittere possum *fundamentum persuasionis esse evidentiam*, modo abusus hujus doctrinæ absit. Etsi enim id de quo persuasi sumus non semper sit evidens; debet tamen evidentia intervenire in modo persuadendi. Verbi gratia, evidens esse nobis debet autoritas eorum quibus credimus aliquid contigisse, quod tamen quomodo factum sit non semper perspicimus. Ita qui ignorant quomodo Hydropota intra breve temporis spatium ex ore magnam copiam lactis, atramenti, cerevisiæ, vini rhenani, vini ex tellina valle, spiritus vini, aliorumq; liquorum in conspectu virorum perspicacium, & de propinquo intentorum emittere potuerit; rem tamen fac-
tam

tam esse, non tam mihi (qui bis Hanoveræ vidi) quam tot aliis mecum testibus oculatis credere possunt, eorumque errorem à scriptoribus nonnullis temere defensum deponere, quibus persuasum est non veros esse illos liquores sed simulatos tantùm & in speciem nescio quibus essentiis tinctos. Et hæc *Evidentia* in rebus fidei divinæ inest iis argumentis, quæ vulgò multi Theologi (minùs eleganter quidem) vocant *motiva credibilitatis*. Sed explicandum erat *Evidentiæ criterion*: multos enim vidi ad Evidentiam provocare ubi nulla erat. Itaque in Schediasmate quodam Actis Lipsiensibus inserto *De cognitione, veritate, & ideis*, pro parte supplere conatus sum hunc defectum scriptoribus communem.

AD SECTIONEM II.

CLARISSIMUS Autor *agnoscit neminem Theologorum quos norit, aliquid credendum docere, quod fateatur rationi contrarium; à plerisque tamen doceri, omnino fieri posse ut fidei dogma rationi contrarium saltem videatur*: quod ipse impugnat *Capite* I. ubi obiter annoto Evangelicis, quos (invitis ipsorum præstantissimis non paucis) *Lutheranos* appellat, non recte imputari *impanationem*, nec ab omnibus ipsorum Theologis admitti *ubiquitatem*, vel potius *omni-præsentiam* carnis Christi. Rectè verò culpari *Socinianos* quod *creatum quendam Deum introducunt divini honoris capacem*.

QUOD attinet *communes notiones* quibus congruunt aut non congruunt divinae veritates, jamdudum distinxere prudentes Theologi inter eas quæ sunt metaphysicæ necessitatis, ubi contrarium implicat contradictionem, à quibus dissidere nulla divina veritas potest; & inter veritates physicas, quæ haustæ sunt ab experientia atque ut sic dicam ex consuetudine mundi, cui derogare Deum nihil prohibet, cum etiam in naturalibus tale quid contingere sæpe videamus, ut ipse Cl. Autor infra agnoscit. Talis veritas est, massam ferream sua natura in aqua descendere; quod tamen cum non fiat, quoties ea arte in cavum lebetem formatur, quis dubitat multo magis Deo modos præsto esse idem efficiendi, dum naturæ arcana quadam ratione assistit?

SED hoc misso, inspiciamus an hîc res eodem redeat, ut ait Dn. Autor, *sive contradictio sit vera sive apparens*. Id vero ego mihi persuadere non possum. Equidem fateor, nobis regulariter sequenda esse quæ apparent; & verorum locum tenere; sed quoties plura apparent inter se contraria regulam necessario cessare; & expendendum esse quænam verisimilitudo magis sit sequenda. Ubi non tantum spectandum est quæ sententia sit probabilior, sed & quæ sit tutior. Veluti si major mihi probabilitas lucrandi quam perdendi proponatur; sed

sed lucrum sit futurum exiguum, damnum verò ingens; sitque multo major ratio damni ad lucrum quam spei ad metum, rectiùs proposita conditione abstinebo. Ita si verba Domini favcant uni sententiæ, & rerum species alteri, & verbo Domini potius stando rebus Domini nullum periculum creetur, à verbis autem recedendo periculum accersatur mihi, profectò rectiùs verbis inhærebo neque recedam ἀπὸ τῆς ῥητῆς prætextu τῆς διαβολῆς. Idque tanto magis verum est, quanto Dominus prudentior est & major; cum etiam in re militari miles non impune sit laturus, qui verba mandati ab imperatore suo profecti sine gravissima causa deserit. Cæterum *apparentem contradictionem* hic intelligo eam quæ re non satis discussa offertur; veluti si quis inspectis obiter tabulis rationum ab agente in rebus redditarum, videatur sibi errorem videre aut in calculo, aut in materia calculi: ille huic iudicio suo fidere non debet, nisi examine ut par est iterato & discussione absoluta confirmetur; cum nihil in rebus impeditis sit magis lubricum quam iudicium promptum.

QUOD verò hoc loco dicitur *neminem credere posse nisi quod animo concipit*, verum est, si non nimium extendatur. Verba sensum aliquem habere oportet, sed non temper necessarios esse conceptus distinctos, nedum adæquatos, experimenta ostendunt (qualium & supra memini) quibus fidem adhibemus tametsi de multis sensuum objectis im-

diatis, (veluti coloribus, odoribusque) distinctos conceptus non habeamus. Etiam in metaphysicis Cl. Autor noster cum plerisque aliis loquitur de *substantia* tanquam sustentaculo, de *causa*, aliisque multis; etsi distinctæ satis notiones vulgo fortasse desint. Immo ostendi alibi, esse quædam in ipsis primis Geometriæ notionibus non satis hæctenus à Geometris explicata. Et quanto quisque in meditationibus versatior est, tanto magis hos defectus agnoscit, animumque ad eam præsertim in sacris modestiam componit, quæ neque exigat nimium neque polliceatur.

Cap. 2. dicitur *Revelationem esse tantum modum informationis, non argumentum assensum extorquens*; cujus pronuntiati si is est sensus, Revelationem non plus habere autoritatis quam magistrum cui credimus tantum quia probat, aut quia rem per distinctos conceptus explicat, stare nequit. Nam Revelator non tantum habet personam magistri aut docentis, sed & testis imò judicis irrefragabilis; postquam scilicet constat, quod revelans sit ipse Deus. Itaque etiam in humanis non semper opus est *evidentia in rebus* (quam Cl. Autor requirit) modo sit *in personis*, ut de earum fide constet. Secus est in doctrinis quæ ratione constant, ut si magister me doceat Geometriam; ibi enim locum habet, quod Cl. Autor paulo generaliùs pronuntiare videtur, *fundamentum persuasionis meæ esse non autoritatem dicentis, sed claritatem conceptionis.*

tionis. Illud utique verissimum est, nihil esse in divina revelatione quod non sit dignum Deo, qui summa ratio est: sed scimus tamen etiam in oeconomia naturæ multa nobis visa esse absurda, ob nostram ignorantiam, quia in vero centro collocati non sumus, unde rerum pulchritudo spectari debet. Ita Alphonsus Rex, Astronomiæ studio insignis, ridicule credebat melioris Systematis ideam se daturum fuisse, si à creatore in consilium adhibitus fuisset. Cum tamen nunc, ex quo nos animo in solem (quem deprehensum est centrum esse hujus systematis) transferre didicimus; manifestum sit pulcherrimam esse rerum constitutionem.

Cap. 3. concedit Cl. Autor, ut par est, *miracula à Christo fuisse edita*: sed hoc ipso, si quid judico, etiam concedit esse aliquid credendum in Christiana Religione quod sit supra rationem nostram: quid aliud enim miracula sunt quàm operationes quæ ex naturæ creatæ legibus quas intellectus creatus quantæcunque capacitatis percipere posset, derivari non possunt. De cætero bene disputat contra eos, qui Evangelistas & Apostolos male & obscure scripsisse putant de rebus quas scire oportet.

Cap. 4. respondet objicientibus *corruptam esse rationem nostram.* Hic mihi videtur rursus non male disputare dum distinguit inter ipsam *Rationem* & *pravum* facultatis bonæ *usum*

usum, uti distinguimus inter artem & artificem. Interim non ausim dicere quod habetur §. 31. *omnes nostras cogitationes plane liberas esse*; arbitror enim in quantum nostra natura infirma vel corrupta est, in tantum nos servituti obnoxios esse. Et cum mox disputat pro omnimoda *arbitrii libertate*, vereor ne longius procedat quam res patiatur aut sit necesse. Sed ea quaestio hujus loci non est.

AD SECTIONEM III.

Cap. 1. Autor ostendit *Mysteria* apud Ethnicos significasse *ritus arcanos in quibus profani aut non initiati admitti non debebant*; adeoq; *mysterium* olim fuisse *rem non intellectam quidem, sed valde tamen intelligibilem si revelaretur*. Hoc non illibenter admisero. Gentilium enim Religio non tam in dogmatibus quam ceremoniis consistebat, quæ quisq; pro lubitu interpretabatur: unde fiebat etiam ut inter ipsos de religionibus non certaretur.

Cap. 2. observat *non statim Mysteria esse, quorum adequatas ideas aut omnium simul proprietatum notitiam non habemus*. In quo ipsi libens itidem assentior, alioqui enim etiam circuli & reliquæ figuræ forent mysteria. Sed illud jam quaeritur utrum aliqua sint *Mysteria* in natura? ubi aio si *Mysterii* voce intelligatur quicquid praesentem rationem nostram superat, innumera etiam physica mysteria deprehendi. Ita si quaeratur an aquæ interior cognitio
sit

fit supra nostram rationem, respondeo esse supra præsentem : nondum enim à quoquam ejus texturam satis expositam puto ; sed tamen non despero posse aliquando explicationem dari quæ phænomenis satisfaciât. Sunt etiam multa supra rationem humanam posita non nostram tantum, sed & posterorum, seu qualis scilicet non nunc tantum existit, sed & unquam erit in hac vita quam in terris degimus ; etsi fieri omnino possit, ut ab aliqua creatura nobiliore intelligantur, & nobis etiam in nobiliorem statum translatis aliquando sint futura intelligibilia.

SE D si quis *Mysterium* appellet quicquid est supra omnem rationem creatam ; ausim dicere, nulla quidem phænomena naturalia supra rationem esse, sed ipsas tamen substantiarum singularium comprehensiones creato intellectui esse impossibiles quia infinitum involvunt. Unde fit ut rerum universi perfecta ratio reddi non possit. Et talia nihil prohibet esse etiam dogmata quædam divinitus revelata, ut nulla rationis vi satis explicari queant etsi animo utcunq; attingantur atq; etiam à contradictionis accusatione rite vindicari possint. Porro *comprehensionem* appello non tantum cùm distinctæ interveniunt ideæ, sed & cùm adæquatæ ; id est cùm non tantum propositi termini habetur definitio sive resolutio, sed & quavis terminus eam ingrediens rursus resolutus habetur usque ad primitivos ; ut in numeris experimur.

Cap. 3. ostendere aggreditur etiam in Scriptura sacra & libris primæ antiquitatis *Mysterium* vulgari Theologorum sensu incognitum esse. Adducit tamen ipse locum Pauli 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10. ubi dicitur *nec oculum vidisse, neq; aurem audisse, nec in hominis cor intrasse, quæ Deus amicis suis paravit.* Ubi videtur aliquid intelligi quod nobis ignotum est, non ideò tantùm quia nobis non est dictum, sed etiam quia licet nobis diceretur, percipi non posset nisi exaltarentur sensus nostri & veniremus in rem præsentem per altiorem quandam experientiam: prorsus ut cæcus de coloribus judicare non potest, etsi ipsi colorum doctrina exponatur, nisi oculi ejus aperiantur.

CÆTERUM illud bene notat Autor noster, multa ignota fuisse Philosophis & nuda ratione obtineri non potuisse, non quod essent incomprehensibilia, sed quod penderent à re facti nonnisi per divinam Revelationem cognoscenda. In exemplum affert doctrinam de *lapsu Adami*, quæ difficultates tollat de causa peccati, quibus Philosophi exercebantur.

CÆTERUM quod ait §. 30. *nihil magni præstari si reveletur veritas incomprehensibilis*, non puto ac semper jure dici. Sic in naturalibus quoq; detectio acus magneticæ res magna est eritq; etsi operationes ejus perpetuò nobis inexplicatæ manerent. Eodem modo in Theologia veritas cujus ratio reddi nequit
magni

magni tamen ad salutis oeconomiam momenti esse potest.

IN 1 Tim. iii. 16. videtur *Mysterium* etiam aliquid amplius significare quam *rem ignotam quidem antea, sed revelatione facta facilem intellectu*. Nam cum dicitur *Deum manifestatum in carne, visum Angelis, receptum in gloria*, apparet intelligi quæ naturam creatam, viri q; rationis transcendunt.

OBITER annoto quod ait Dn. Autor §. 39. *veteres in pueritia mundi vixisse, & nos adultiore ætas ætate vivere, adeoq; præsentia potius vetera esse dicenda*; verissimum equidem esse, & autoritati antiquorum detrudere in iis quæ sunt scientiæ & experienciæ, sed non in iis quæ sunt historiæ ac traditionis. Manifestum enim est remotiores à fonte narrationes vel voce vel scripto propagatas fieri indies imperfectiores.

Cap. 4. Respondet objectionibus à locis scripturæ, item à natura fidei petitis, quibus nunc ut inhæream necesse non puto. Tantum annoto quod dicitur §. 54. *Fidem esse ex auditu, sed si quæ audiamus non intelligantur inanem imo nullam fidem fore*; esse quidem verissimum: sed multum tamen differre intellectum verborum & comprehensionem rei, ut etiam in naturalibus patet. Sæpe enim vel ideæ quas habemus, vel methodus ex ideis ratiocinandi quam habemus, non sufficiunt ad

con-

connexionem subjecti & prædicati intelligendam etsi aliquam subjecti & prædicati notitiam præstent. Etiam in Geometria non est cujusvis, theoremata demonstrare figurarum distinctè licet cognitarum, quamvis ea theoremata jam ab aliis sint inventa ac communicata.

Cap. 5. Cl. Autor sibi ipsi prudenter objicit, quod supra objeceram, *Miracula esse supra rationem*. Definitio *Miraculi* quam exhibet sic fatis ni fallor convenit communi doctrinæ Theologorum, ut scilicet sint *super leges naturæ ordinariasq; operationes*. Rectè tamen agnoscit esse *possibilia & intelligibilia*. Sed eo modo etiam *Mysteria* Theologis *possibilia & intelligibilia* sunt. Quis enim dubitat quin absit contradictio & verba intelligantur, etsi modus explicandi utrobiq; rationis nostræ vim transcendat. Itaque Vir Cl. objectioni mihi fatis fecisse non omnino videtur. Nihil refert, quod *mysteria sunt doctrinæ, & miracula sunt historiæ*; nam *miracula* sunt ut sic dicam *mysteria transitoria, & mysteria aliqua habent quodam modo miraculi durabilis naturam*.

QUÆ Cap. 6. dicuntur de *introductione Mysteriorum, & origine Ceremoniarum*, brevitatis causa non persequor, de re ipsa fatis fecisse contentus; nam quæ ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinent latius diffunduntur, quam ut brevibus tractari possint, neq; necessaria sunt ad scopum nostrum.

IN *Conclusione* sperare jubet Cl. Autor *explicationem intelligibilem doctrinae Novi Testamenti*. Talem ego quoque putem dari posse, imo, (etsi fortasse disperfam) jam haberi; si inferiore quodam intelligibilitatis gradu simus contenti. Sed cum id opus non prodierit, non est cur rei immorer hoc loco. Itaq; & ipse finio, tantumq; addo: Philosophos nostri temporis insignes multa in natura agnoscere supra nostræ rationis vires.

QUIDAM Cartesiani eximii unionem animæ & corporis pro miraculota habent; alii compositionem continui, aut conciliationem liberi arbitrii cum divina præordinatione negant comprehendi posse.

LOCKIUS, magni nominis Philosophus Anglus, cujus sententias Autor noster passim probat, cum olim docuisset omnia corporum phænomena posse explicari ex soliditate & extensione & harum modis; nunc in Responsione quadam ad celeberrimum Stillingfleetium, Episcopum nuper Wigorniensem doctissimum, retractat sententiam magna cum laude ingenuitatis, & profundissimi Newtoni persuasus argumentis Attractionem cujusvis materiæ partis admittit originariam & a mechanismo non derivatam, nec proinde ratione explicabilem.

EGO etsi sperem quædam ex dictis explicationem aliquam admittere, cujus & specimen dedi

dedi circa unionem animæ & corporis; aliter tamen agnosco interiorum naturæ incomprehensibilem sublimitatem ab influxu infiniti orientem, qui fons est idearum clararum simul & tamen confusarum (quales sensibilibus quarundam qualitatum habemus) quibus nulla creatura penitus exui potest, & quas in controversia inter eximios viros Stillingfleetium & Lockium non satis ab aliis discretas puto. Atq; hæc quidem omnia sanè ostendunt multo minus mirandum esse si in rebus divinis occurrunt, quæ rationis vires longe transcendunt. Quòd si ergo sunt quædam difficilia & impedita apud Theologos, non ideò aut ipsis insultandum, aut Theologica Systemata (id est ordinatam doctrinæ expositionem) rejicienda censeo, non magis quàm philosophica aut medica; sed tantùm cavendum (ut in medicina) ne nimium disputando praxin & salutem negligamus.

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