

**The
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and
Philological
Works
of the Late
Mr. John Toland**

Elibron Classics

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MR. JOHN TOLAND,
BEING A
SYSTEM
OF JEWISH, GENTILE AND MAHOMETAN
CHRISTIANITY**

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 THEOLOGICAL *and* PHILOLOGICAL
 WORKS
 Of the LATE
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 SYSTEM
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VIZ.

- I. THE True History of the Antient Gospel of *Barnabas*, to whom is attributed the Modern Gospel of the *Mahometans*, which Last is now First made known among *Christians*.
- II. THE Original Plan of CHRISTIANITY explain'd in a History of the *Nazarenes*, with a full Refutation of the Cavils of Dr. *Mangey* on this Subject.
- III. A Summary of the Antient *Irish Christianity*, and the Reality of the *Keldees* (an Order of Lay-Religious.)
- IV. *The Pillar of Cloud and Fire* (that guided the *Israelites* in the Wilderness) proved not to be a Miracle.
- V. THE History of *Hypatia*, a most Beautiful, Virtuous and Learned Lady, who was torn to Pieces by the Clergy of *Alexandria*, to gratify the Pride, Emulation and Cruelty of their Archbishop (undeservedly styled) St. *Cyril*.
- VI. AN Essay upon the *Philosophy of the Antients*, with a Collection of Problems, Historical, Political and Theological, concerning the *Jewish Nation* and Religion.

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(I)



A N
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
L I F E
OF
Mr. JOHN TOLAND.

In a LETTER to the Lord***

MY LORD,



THE *affectionate* Concern expressed by your Lordship, for the Loss of *our departed Friend* Mr. TOLAND, has made me with some Pleasure *attempt* the *Task* of giving a faithful Account of the

B

Mr

Man from his own Works; tho' I know myself very unequal to it, being sensible that the Writer who pursues this *Attempt*, should be *animated*, (as a late *Biographer* observes*) with a *Portion* of that *Genius* which made the *Person*, whom he draws for the Knowledge and Imitation of Posterity, *famous in his Generation*. But the Reputation of our Author hath received so great a Brightness from his own Pen, that it needs no auxiliary Light to increase its Lustre; and his Character is so secure from his own *Works*, the *immortal Monuments of his true Worth*, that I am the less concerned for my own Inability to embalm his *Memory*: especially since I hope the *Subjects treated of* will make some Amends for those Defects that may arise from the manner of handling them.

As to the trifling Aspersions cast upon his *Memory* since his Decease, we ought to look on them (as he would have done, had they been said of any other Person) with the utmost Contempt, being warranted so to do from a Race of Men now amongst us, and those too of the Ecclesiastical Function, who have *lampooned*

* See Mr. Nelson's *Life of Bishop Bull*, p. 3.

their Creator for making them rational . Such Men, continues the same judicious Writer, seem perfectly distracted at the just Disappointment they have met with, in the Loss of their Interest and Reputation among their Friends ; and to revenge themselves, having prepared a Composition of Rage, Malice, and Uncharitableness, and lighted it with a blind and burning Zeal, they draw Clouds and Darknes all around them, put themselves into a wild Confusion, and scatter their Indignation, (the Overflowings of a disturbed Imagination) at random †.

I shall make it my utmost Endeavour to copy after Mr. Toland upon a like Occasion ||; “ Observing in this Performance
“ the Rules of a faithful Historian, being
“ neither provoked by Malice, nor bribed
“ by Favour, and as well daring to say
“ all that is True, as scorning to write
“ any Falshood ; I shall not be too minute
“ in relating the ordinary Circumstances
“ of his Life, and which are common to
“ him with all other Men. Writings of
“ this Nature, should, in my Opinion, be
“ designed to recommend Virtue, and to
“ expose Vice ; or to illustrate History,

* See Mr. Morgan's *Treat*, entitled, *The Absurdity of opposing Faith to Reason*, 8vo. p. 2.

† See his *Life of Milton*, 8vo. p. 6, 7.

|| See his *Nature and Consequences of Enthusiasm*, 4; 8.

“ and to preserve the Memory of extraordinary Things. In the Characters of Sects, and Parties, Books, or Opinions, I shall produce his own Words, as I find them in his Works; that those who approve his Reasons, may owe all the Obligation to himself, and that I may escape the blame of such as may dislike what he says”. In order to such an impartial Procedure, I shall lay before your Lordship the Account which Mr. Toland gives both of himself and his Adversaries, at the beginning almott of his commencing an Author.

We are informed by himself*, that he was born on the 30th Day of *November*, 1669, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. At what Time he left his native Country, I cannot exactly determine; but it appears by his Writings to have been not long after the *Glorious Revolution* of 1688. It is plain that the Confusions in his own Country, obliged him *to retire hither*, for in *September* 1698, he thus concludes his *Life of Milton*, addressed to *Thomas Rawlins of Kilreag, in Herefordshire Esq;* (whom he stiles his *best Friend*;) “ And now, *Sir*, I end with you with whom I begun, not doubting but this small Present, both from the Dignity of the

* See his *Preface to Mr. Harrington's Works*.

“ Subject, and your Favour to the Wri-
“ ter, will be kindly accepted. It may
“ indeed be the more plain and unpolished,
“ but not the less useful or sincere for
“ coming out of a *Country Retirement*.
“ The most knowing Persons acknow-
“ ledge that Divine Philosophy herself
“ was begot in the Woods, where agree-
“ ably passing her Infancy, and growing
“ up in the neighbouring Fields, she be-
“ came gentle in Time, and so ventured
“ to come into Towns and Cities; but
“ being quickly wearied there with the
“ Tumult of Business or Faction, and
“ longing for her former Tranquillity,
“ she straight retired into Gardens or
“ Groves, to her Fields and Woods again.
“ ’Tis probable that you (as well as I, or
“ any other) may disapprove of *Milton’s*
“ Sentiments in several Cases; but, I am
“ sure, you are far from being displeased
“ to find them particularized in the Hi-
“ story of his Life: for we should have
“ no true Account of Things, if Authors
“ related nothing but what they liked
“ themselves; one Party would never suf-
“ fer the Lives of *Tarquin*, or *Phalaris*,
“ or *Sylla*, or *Cæsar* to appear; while
“ another would be as ready to suppress
“ those of *Cicero*, of *Cato*, of *Trajan*, or
“ *Brutus*. But a Historian ought to con-
“ ceal or disguise nothing, and the Rea-
“ der

“ der is to be left Judge of the Virtues
 “ he should imitate, or the Vices he ought
 “ to detest and avoid, without ever loving
 “ his Book the less; for (as the Lord Ba-
 “ con truly said) *a forbidden Writing, is*
 “ *thought to be a certain Spark of Truth,*
 “ *that flies up in the Faces of them who*
 “ *seek to tread it out.* But your extra-
 “ ordinary Judgment and Candour, joined
 “ to the best Learning, and an exact
 “ Knowledge of Men and Affairs, render
 “ my farther inculcating of these Maxims
 “ very needless; and therefore I shall on-
 “ ly put you in mind, *Sir*, that my Desire
 “ of gratifying your Curiosity, conquer’d
 “ my Aversion to write any thing during
 “ this pleasantest Season of the Year.”

I have recited the whole Conclusion,
 to shew with how much Caution he
 proceeded in Writing the Life of that
Great Man, notwithstanding which he
 met with many Cavillers *, in Answer to
 whom, he published in the beginning of the
 Year 1699, AMYNTOR: or, a *Defence* of
 MILTON’S *Life*. In the beginning of
 which Work he thus addresseth his
Friend: ‘ The Public (*says he*) is so sel-
 ‘ dom interested in the Debates of private
 ‘ Men, and I am so little concerned at
 ‘ the Malice or Mistakes of my Adversa-

* Dr. Blackall, late Bishop of Exeter. Mr. Wagstaff, &c.

‘ ries,

' ries, that, without some better Mo-
 ' tive, I would never presume to trouble
 ' the World with any thing merely Per-
 ' sonal. But if the Subject in Question
 ' be of extraordinary Weight and Conse-
 ' quence, and that on the certain Decision
 ' of it, should depend the Tranquillity of
 ' a considerable Number of People; then I
 ' think a Man is indispensably obliged to
 ' appear for the Truth: and so, while he
 ' is endeavouring to serve others, nobody
 ' will say he ought to neglect his own
 ' Defence.——When I undertook to
 ' write the Life of the most celebrated
 ' *Milton*, I was far from imagining that
 ' I should ever be obliged to make an
 ' Apology in Justification of such a Work,
 ' both harmless in itself, and greatly de-
 ' sired by the World.——Instead of any
 ' *real* Objections, I am expressly told,
 ' that I ought not to meddle with *Mil-*
 ' *ton's* Books, nor to revive his Senti-
 ' ments, or the Memory of those Quarrels
 ' wherein he was engaged; which is only,
 ' in other Words, that I ought not to
 ' write his Life at all. For what, I
 ' pray, is the principal part of a Learned
 ' Man's Life, but the exact History of
 ' his Books and Opinions, to inform the
 ' World about the Occasion of his Wri-
 ' ting, what it contained, how he per-
 ' formed it, and with what Consequen-
 ' ces

‘ ces or Succes? ——— Ay but, say
 ‘ these Gentlemen, you have made an
 ‘ Inroad on our Persuasion, and directly
 ‘ attacked the sacred Majesty of Kings,
 ‘ the venerable Order of Bishops, the
 ‘ best constituted Church in the World,
 ‘ our holy Liturgy, and decent Ceremo-
 ‘ nies, the Authority of Councils, the
 ‘ Testimony of the Fathers, and a hun-
 ‘ dred other Things which we profoundly
 ‘ respect and admire!——For the trivial
 ‘ and scurrilous Libels of mercenary Fel-
 ‘ lows, I shall never regard, they being
 ‘ already sufficiently neglected by the
 ‘ World, and making themselves as little
 ‘ by this Practice, as any of a more
 ‘ vindictive Temper could desire: ——
 ‘ But when I am openly accused before
 ‘ the greatest Assembly in the World,
 ‘ let the Charge be never so frivolous
 ‘ in it self, or to be slighted on any other
 ‘ Occasion, yet such a Respect is due to
 ‘ the Dignity of those to whom it was
 ‘ exhibited, that I hold my self obliged
 ‘ to convince them of my Innocence;
 ‘ and to remove all Suspicion far from
 ‘ me, of what in its own Nature is ac-
 ‘ knowledged to be Criminal, or by
 ‘ them might be reputed Indecent. The
 ‘ Matter of Fact is this: On the 30th
 ‘ of *January*, (16²⁸/₂) Mr. *Offspring*
 ‘ *Blackall*, who styles himself *Chaplain*
 ‘ in

‘ *in Ordinary to his Majesty*, preached
 ‘ a Sermon before the Honourable House
 ‘ of Commons ; wherein, after exclaim-
 ‘ ing against the Author of *Milton’s Life*,
 ‘ for denying *Icon Basilike* to be the
 ‘ Production of King *Charles* the First,
 ‘ he pursues his Accusation in these
 ‘ Terms. We may cease to wonder, says
 ‘ he, 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 enough, even
 ‘ in Print, and in a Christian Country,
 ‘ publicly to affront our Holy Religi-
 ‘ on, by declaring his Doubt, that several
 ‘ Pieces under the Name of Christ and his
 ‘ Apostles (he must mean those now re-
 ‘ ceiv’d by the whole Christian Church,
 ‘ for I know of no other) are suppositi-
 ‘ tious; 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.

‘ Here is indeed (*says Mr. TOLAND*) a
 ‘ Charge of a very high Nature, I will not
 ‘ say in his own mean Language, an *impu-*
 ‘ *dent* and a *shameless* one ; tho’ if it be
 ‘ not better proved, I cannot hinder others
 ‘ from calling it what they please, or the
 ‘ thing deserves. But before I proceed

‘ to make Observations on it, I shall insert
 ‘ the entire Passage (out of the Life of
 ‘ *Milton*) which he has taken the liberty of
 ‘ abridging, and so joining the Words of
 ‘ *two* widely different Assertions, as if they
 ‘ were but *one*.

‘ After stating the Proofs therefore
 ‘ that Dr. *Gauden*, and not King *Charles*,
 ‘ was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*,
 ‘ I added a very natural Observation in
 ‘ the following Words. “ When I seriously
 ‘ consider how all this happened among
 ‘ ourselves within the Compass of Forty
 ‘ Years, in a time of great Learning and
 ‘ Politeness, when both Parties so narrow-
 ‘ ly watched over one another’s Actions,
 ‘ and what a great Revolution in Civil
 ‘ and Religious Affairs was partly occa-
 ‘ sioned by the Credit of that Book *; I
 ‘ cease to wonder any longer how so ma-
 ‘ ny supposititious Pieces under the Name
 ‘ of *Christ*, his Apostles, and other great
 ‘ Persons, should be published and ap-
 ‘ proved 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 re-
 ‘ proach one another, which yet they
 ‘ often did; when Commerce was not
 ‘ near so general as now, and the whole
 ‘ Earth entirely overspread with the

* *Icon Basilike*.

“Darkness of Superstition. I doubt rather the Spuriouſness of ſeveral more ſuch Books is yet undiscovered, thro the Remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the Death of the Perſons concerned, and the Decay of other Monuments, which might give us true Information †.” Here then, in the firſt place, it is plain, that, I ſay, a great many ſpurious Books were early fathered on Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other great Names, part whereof are ſtill acknowledged to be genuine, and the reſt to be forged: in neither of which Aſſertions I could be juſtly ſuppoſed to mean any Books of the New Teſtament, as I ſhall preſently evince. But Mr. *Blackall* affirms, That I muſt intend *“ thoſe now received by the whole Chriſtian Church, for he knows of no other.* But had Mr. *Blackall* been diſpoſed to deal ingenuouſly with me, he might ſee, without the help of the Fathers, that I did not mean the Books of the New Teſtament, when I mentioned Superſtitious Pieces under the Name of Chriſt, ſince there is none aſcribed to him in the whole Bible; nor do we read there that ever he wrote any thing, except once with his Finger on the Ground, when he acquitted the Woman

† See, The Life of *Milton*, pag. 91.

‘ taken in Adultery, *John* viii. 5, 6. And,
 ‘ for aught appears to the contrary, Mr.
 ‘ *Blackall* may deny that to be any
 ‘ Writing, because he knows not what it
 ‘ was; yet some *German* Divines, as well
 ‘ read as himself, have presumed to tell
 ‘ us the Contents of it, and came almost to
 ‘ excommunicating one another in their
 ‘ solemn Disputes about this weighty
 ‘ Affair. To this Negative Argument
 ‘ from the Silence of the New Testament,
 ‘ we may add the Positive Testimony of
 ‘ St. *Augustin* and St. *Jerom*, whereof the
 ‘ former affirms, That the Lord himself
 ‘ wrote * nothing; which makes it neces-
 ‘ sary we should believe those who have
 ‘ written of him: And the latter says,
 ‘ That † our Saviour left no Volume of his
 ‘ own Doctrine behind him, as is extra-
 ‘ vagantly feigned in most of the Apochry-
 ‘ phal Pieces.

‘ 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 Uncharitableness
 ‘ of Mr. *Blackall*’s Assertion, ——— *the*

* Dicit Augustinus (de Consensu Evangel. l. i. c. 7.)
 quod ipse Dominus nihil scripserit, ut aliis de illo scri-
 bentibus necesse sit credere.

† Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium
 dereliquit, quod in plerisq; Apochryphorum deliramenta
 confingunt. Hieronym. in Commentar. ad Ezechielis,
 cap. 44.

*Reader is referred to a large Catalogue
' of Books anciently ascribed to Jesus
' Christ, his Apostles, their Acquaintance,
' Companions and Contemporaries *.*

*† After exhibiting this Catalogue of
Books, Mr. Toland thus proceeds :*

*' Here's a long List for Mr. BLACKALL,
' who, 'tis probable, will not think the
' more meanly of himself for being unac-
' quainted with these Pieces ; nor, if that
' were all, should I be forward to think
' 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 denied the
' Scriptures ; which Scandal however, be-
' cause manifestly proceeding from Igno-
' rance, I heartily forgive him, as every
' good Christian ought to do.*

*' 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 ; partly
' by designing Men to support their pri-
' vate Opinions, which they hoped to ef-*

* See, *Amyntor*, &c. pag. 1, 6, 7, 9, & seq. to
pag. 18.

† See *Amyntor*, from p. 20, to 42.

‘fect by virtue of such respected Authorities: and some of ’em, I doubt, were ‘invented by *Heathens* and *Jews*, to impose on the Credulity of many well-disposed Persons, who greedily swallowed ‘any Book for Divine Revelation, that ‘contained a great many Miracles, mixt ‘with a few good Morals: while their Adversaries laughed in their Sleeves all the ‘while, to see their Tricks succeed, and ‘were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices, ‘by the greater Superstition of such Enthusiasts.’

For the farther Prosecution of this Debate, (in which I am certain every impartial Person will allow *Mr. Toland* to have manifestly the better of the Argument) I must refer to his Defence*. He concludes this Point with a remarkable Quotation from ‘the famous *Mr. Dodwell*, ‘who alone, *says he*, tho a Layman, understands as much of Ecclesiastic History, ‘as the Divines of all Churches put together†. *Mr. Toland then reciting the unfair Treatment of his Adversaries*‡, thus ends the Debate: ‘I shall not be in ‘great pain how such People apprehend ‘me, if I have the Happiness to please

* See Amyntor, *fr m* p. 43, to p. 69.

† Ibid. *fr m* p. 69, to p. 79.

‡ Ibid. p. 83.

‘ the moderate and discerning Part of
‘ Mankind.’

The rest of *Amyntor* is taken up with the *History of Icon Basilike*; which, in my Opinion, is a Dispute of so little Importance to the Publick, that I will not load these Pages with the Recital of it. Nor would Mr. *Toland* himself have embarked in this Controversy through the Merits of the Cause; for says he, ‘ I have
‘ not undertaken this Work out of Affec-
‘ tion or Opposition to any Party, nor to
‘ reflect on the Memory of that unfortu-
‘ nate Prince, whose officious Friends are
‘ much more concerned: but to clear my
‘ self from a Publick Charge, and to dis-
‘ cover a pious Fraud, which deserves not
‘ to be exempted from Censure for being
‘ the Contrivance of a Modern Bishop,
‘ (Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exeter*) no more
‘ than those of the ancient Fathers of the
‘ Church *. † There was never any poor
‘ Prince more notoriously abused by many
‘ of those he took for his best Friends than
‘ CHARLES the First. They put him
‘ on all those unhappy Measures which
‘ proved his Ruin in the end. And as they
‘ made use of his Temper to serve their
‘ own Purposes when he was alive, so

* See *Amyntor*, p. 55.

† Ibid. p. 100.

‘ they

‘ they did of his Name for the same Reason after his Death. They were not concerned so much for his Honour, as their own Interest ; and having contrived this Forgery to carry their Cause, they thought themselves afterwards obliged to support it.’ Now, my LORD, since there have been so many Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, about the Earl of *Anglesey’s Memorandum*, here is another *Bone of Contention*, which, when *thrown* among the *Loyal Squabblers*, will, I doubt not, raise a *new Ferment*. The Matter of Fact is this: At an Auction of Books which was held at *Button’s Coffee-House*, in *Russel-Street, Covent-Garden*, about *Christmas* last, I bought Mr. *TOLAND’s Amyntor*, or, a *Defence of MILTON’s Life* ; in the Hundred-and-twentieth Page whereof, is written, by one *Dr. Thompson*, the following *Memorandum* :

Mr. John Wilfon, Barrister at Law, Author of The Treatise of Monarchy, 8vo. and of The Vindication of Icon Basilike, against Milton, told me in Person, that he bought the Icon Basilike, Jan. 31. 1648. for Ten Shillings, the very next Day after the King was beheaded.

Fra. Thompson D. D.

What

Mr. JOHN TOLAND. 17

What this *Memorandum* will prove, I know not, unless it be that *Icon Basilike* was to be had the next Day after the Martyrdom, whereas Mrs. *Gauden* declares that the Book was *not finished till some few Days after his Majesty was destroyed*. But as it came in my way, I freely give it up to the Use of the Disputants in this Cause, to make their best of it; for which Purpose, the Book is left in the Hands of the Publisher, Mr. *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane*, who will readily produce it for the Satisfaction of any curious Person who desires to see the same.

After this short Digression, I must observe, that Mr. *Blackall* published a very weak Rejoinder to the *Amyntor*, and some others attacked that Piece; but Mr. *Toland* prudently kept the Resolution he had made: ‘Notwithstanding, *says he*, I may not answer every Scribler, yet I will be misrepresented and abused by no body worth my Notice.*’

I cannot, my Lord, leave this Article, without reciting a Passage or two of Mr. *Milton*’s against *Prelacy*, which certainly drew on the most *Episcopal Inveteracy* against him. ‘Our Author, *says Mr. Toland*†, carries his Resentments, no doubt,

* See *Conclusion of Amyntor*, p. 162.

† See *the Life of Milton*, p. 47.

' too far, when the following Words could
 ' drop from his Pen: *There be such in
 the World, and I among those, who no-
 thing admire the Idol of a Bishoprick;
 and hold that it wants so much to be a
 Blessing, as that I deem it the meekest,
 the falsest, the most unfortunate Gift of
 Fortune; and were the Punishment and
 Misery of being a Bishop terminated only
 in the Person, and did not extend to the
 Affliction of the whole Diocess; if I would
 wish any thing in the Bitterness of my
 Soul, to an Enemy, I should wish him the
 biggest and fattest Bishoprick.* ' If Milton
 ' had been such a Saint as never missed of
 ' a favourable Answer to his Prayers, I
 ' question not but at this rate more would
 ' cover to be his Enemies than his Friends.
 ' Another Mark of his Good-will to the
 ' Prelates, is this unpardonable Simile:
*A Bishop's-Foot (says he) that has all its
 Toes, mangle the Gout, and a Linen
 Sock over it, is the aptest Emblem of the
 Prelate himself; who, being a Pluralist,
 may under one Surplice hide Four Bene-
 fices, besides the great Metropolitan Toe,
 which sends a foul Stench to Heaven.*
 ' And in another Place he calls them,
*The Gulphs and Whirlpools of Benefices,
 but the dry Pits of all sound Doctrine.*
 I shall draw no Conclusions, let Mr. Mil-
 ton look to this!

The

The next Instance your *Lordship* will find of Mr. *Toland's* Labours for the Good of his Country, was at the latter end of the Year 1699, when he published Mr. *Harrington's* Pieces in one Volume in Folio, (under the following Title; The OCEANA of *James Harrington*, and his other Works, some whereof are now first published from his own Manuscripts. The whole collected, methodized, and review'd, with an exact Account of his Life prefixed, by *John Toland*.) This judicious Undertaking he performed in his beloved Retirement at *Canon*, near *Bansted* in *Surrey*, from whence he tells us that the Task he had imposed on himself, was, *to transmit to Posterity the worthy Memory of JAMES HARRINGTON, a bright Ornament to useful Learning, a hearty Lover of his Native Country, and a generous Benefactor to the whole World; a Person who obscured the false Lustre of our Modern Politicians, and that equalled (if not exceeded) all the antient Legislators.*

After having given this just Character of Mr. *Harrington*, he as frankly confesses the *Public Censure* that would fall upon himself for *this Undertaking*, that they would *not fail, with open Mouths, to proclaim that this is a seditious Attempt against the very Being of Monarchy,*

chy, and designed to introduce a *Republican Form of Government*: after this, as he very well remarks, 'Tis strange that 'Men should be cheated by meer Names! 'yet how frequently are they seen to admire under one Denomination, what, 'going under another, they would undoubtedly detest! Which Observation 'made TACITUS lay down for a Maxim, 'That *the Secret of setting up a New State, consists in retaining the Image of the Old.*—What I have performed in 'the History of his Life, I leave the Readers to judge for themselves; but in that 'and all other Studies, *says he*, I constantly 'aimed as much, at least, at the Benefit of 'Mankind, as at my own particular Reputation. As for myself, no Employment 'or Condition of Life, shall make me disrelish the lasting Entertainment which 'Books afford'*.—He then concludes the Life of Mr. *Harrington*, with these most excellent Observations, *viz.*

1. That all the Attempts which have been used for introducing Arbitrary Power, have proved as unfortunate as the Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*; whereby it appears, at least, that the Character which TACITUS gave the *Romans* of his Time, may as well agree to the People of

* See the Preface to Mr. Harrington's Works.

England; and it is, that *They are able to bear neither Absolute Liberty, nor Absolute Slavery.*

2. As to the Whole of this History, tho it be managed with due Moderation, and contains nothing but bare Matters of Fact, or such Observations as they naturally suggest; yet I was sensible before I wrote it, that I could not escape the Displeasure of three sorts of Persons: such as have resolved to be angry at whatever I do; such as neither rightly understand what is written by me, nor any body else; and those who, without any particular Spite against an Author, yet to get a Penny, will pretend to answer any Book that makes a considerable Figure. But as I am far from thinking myself exempt from all the Indiscretions of Youth, or the Frailties of Human Nature; so I am not conscious of entertaining higher Thoughts of my own Performances than are becoming, or meaner of other Men's than they deserve.

3. I know that to enterprize any thing out of the common Road, is to undergo undoubted Envy or Peril; and that he, who is not before-hand resolved to bear Opposition, will never do any great or beneficial Exploit: yet it is no small Encouragement to me, that from the beginning of the World, to this Time, not a single Instance can be produced, of one who either

ther was, or would be eminent, but he met with Enemies to his Person and Fame.

Mr. Toland closes these Remarks, *my Lord*, with a Declaration of the Injury he suffered by a *most scandalous and unchristian Calumny* at this Time raised against him, and to *disabuse several People who (as I am told) says he, are made to believe that in the HISTORY of SOCRATES, I draw a Parallel between that Philosopher and JESUS CHRIST.—That I have been some time about it, I freely avow; yet not in the manner those officious Informers report, but as becomes a disinterested Historian, and a Friend to all Mankind, as will more fully appear to the World whenever the Book itself is published.* All these Difficulties did he encounter before he had reached the *thirtieth Year of his Age*; and as he has hitherto appeared to us only a *Biographer*, and a *Philologist*, the next Light we are to view him in, is that of a *Politician*.

I am therefore to acquaint your Lordship, that in the Year 1700, he wrote a Book intituled, *ANGLIA LIBERA, or, the Limitation and Succession of the CROWN of ENGLAND explained and asserted, &c.* This Piece was dedicated to the most noble *John Duke of Newcastle*; and in his *Epistle Dedicatory*, he acquaints us that
it

it was written, *first*, to convince our own People of their future Safety against Popery and Arbitrary Power; and that King WILLIAM not only made us a freer Nation than he found us, but also raised 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, were 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 were to succeed; what Confidence our People reposed in their Virtues from King WILLIAM's Recommendation; how alive they may command the Love of their Subjects, and when dead enjoy the Veneration of all Posterity. He begins the Work itself with laying down, 1st, *The true Principles of Civil Society*. 2dly, Gives us, *An Idea of Arbitrary Power*. 3dly, shows, *The Genius of Free Governments*. And 4thly, Thus beautifully describes *The Liberty and Government of England*.—"Of the 'Free Governments at this Time, and for 'some Hundreds of Years past, this of 'England is one of the most considerable.
 ' Its

‘ Its Populoufness, Commerce, Wealth,
‘ Politeness, Power, and Reputation, is
‘ wholly owing to *Liberty*. For the Soil
‘ and Situation of some other Countries
‘ are indisputably preferable, and *England*
‘ stood in the same Place when JULIUS
‘ CÆSAR discovered it, possess’d by a naked
‘ and savage People, with painted Skins, a
‘ Community of Wives, having only Bogg
‘ and Woody Fastnesses for Cities and For-
‘ tifications, and without any better offen-
‘ sive or defensive Weapons than most of
‘ the wildest *Americans*. But our *Liberty*,
‘ since the first Foundation of it, has not
‘ continued always in the same Condition.
‘ Great and various have been the At-
‘ tempts to ruin it; and nevertheless, it
‘ has not only subsisted, while most Coun-
‘ tries of *Europe* are over-whelmed with
‘ a Deluge of *Tyranny*; but of late Years
‘ it has prodigiously increased, and seems
‘ at present to be arrived at a Height
‘ which wants very little of Perfection.
‘ Our Histories are full of the Contests be-
‘ tween the King, the Clergy, the Nobil-
‘ ity and Commons, about their several
‘ Powers and Privileges, with their mani-
‘ fold and dubious Successes. But at length,
‘ by an insensible Progress in part, and
‘ partly from Causes visible to every Eye,
‘ the Over-balance of *Property* (and conse-
‘ quently of *Power*) fell into the Scale of
‘ the

‘ the Commons, where it seems to be now
 ‘ wholly fixed, and according to which the
 ‘ Government is in a manner new model-
 ‘ led (yet by unobserved Degrees) tho the
 ‘ antient Names and Customs generally
 ‘ continue the same.’ He then goes on to
 show what upon a former Occasion he
 advanced, that all the Attempts of *our*
Kings to grasp at an Arbitrary and Un-
limited Power, as the only Means to keep
their People in Subjection, and to secure
their own Authority, was a fatal and
mistaken Policy, as appeared by the
Ecent. ‘ I shall not mention, *says he,*
 ‘ what Progress was made by the Kings
 ‘ of the *Scottish* Race in this impious and
 ‘ accursed Design, nor the treacherous
 ‘ Assistance they received from several
 ‘ Orders of Men amongst us, who de-
 ‘ pended on their *Liberality* or *Power*;
 ‘ neither will I revive the odious Me-
 ‘ mory of those monstrous, absurd, and
 ‘ abominable Doctrines which were then
 ‘ coined, publickly spread with the grea-
 ‘ test Absurdity, and under the most aw-
 ‘ ful Impressions, to infect the Under-
 ‘ standings of the People, and to make
 ‘ them eternal Slaves by their own Con-
 ‘ currence as well as Consent.’ He adds,
 That he will *not insist on these or the like*
Miscarriages, but *discourse on the Hap-*
piness of our Condition at that Time;
 E which

which he does, by shewing the great *Miseries* we escaped in bringing about the late *Glorious Revolution*; assuring all the Lovers of their Country, 'That no King
' can ever be so good as one of their own
' making; as there is no Title equal to
' their Approbation, which, *says he*, is
' the only *Divine Right* of all *Magistracy*, for the VOICE of the PEOPLE, is
' the VOICE of GOD*.' The rest of the Book being taken up chiefly with recounting the *Proceedings in Parliament* upon that *important Occasion*, and the *Publick Rumours* from thence arising; I therefore recommend a thorough Perusal of it to all those who would willingly see the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *their Country* set in a *just Light*.

We must now, *my Lord*, regard Mr. *Toland* as a Traveller, for in the Year 1702, we find him at *Berlin*, from whence in a Letter dated *August* 18. N. S. to a Friend at the *Hague*, he communicates * *Some Remarks on the King of Prussia's Country, on his Government, his Court, and his numerous Houses.*

I must first, *says he*, satisfy the last Question you were pleased to propose to

* See *Anglia Libera*, &c. pag. 17.

† See his Account of the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hannover*, pag. 2. &c seq.

me, why the Inns and Publick Houses of Entertainment, on the great Roads in *Westphalia*, and some other Parts of *Germany*, are so ill provided with Beds, Provisions, and most things for accommodating Travellers and Strangers? The Reason of it is, that the Country is not near so well peopled, nor the Ways so much frequented by Passengers, as in *England* and *Holland*.

Now in these Parts of *Germany*, the Country not being peopled a fifth part, there being little or no Trade, and very few Travellers, there is not a prospect of Gain enough to make the Innkeepers furnish their Houses with Beds or Utensils, nor to lay up any store of good Provisions, nor ever to dress a bit of Meat beforehand; so that a Man is very happy if he meets with clean Straw whereon to sleep, without expecting Sheets or Coverings; and he has no great reason to complain, if he gets any thing to eat, tho without the Service of Plates, Forks, or Napkins. He must be content to have the Cows, Swine and Poultry for his Fellow-Lodgers, and to go *in* at the same Passage that the Smoak comes *out*, for there is no other vent for it but the Door; which makes Foreigners commonly say, that the People in *Westphalia* enter their Houses by the Chimney. But as to the

badness of their Entertainment, I must add, that the People of Condition who travel are very uncertain, having Relays of their own; and that those, who go by the Post-Waggon, are seldom at much Expence. But were there as many People on the Road, or that their Arrival were any thing regular, I make no manner of doubt, but that in proportion they would be as well treated as with us; which really happens in all parts of *Germany*, where the Country is more populous, or more frequented. But whether this mighty want of People, and consequently of all the Fruits of Industry, be owing to the badness of the Country, which yet is not the worst I ever saw, for 'tis a much richer Soil and better watered than *Scotland*; or whether it be owing to the arbitrary Administration of the Governours, who neither have any Concern for the Ease and Welfare of their Subjects, nor consequently any true Knowledge of Traffick, Improvement of Land, or Political Oeconomy: which of these, I say, or whether any of them be the Cause, I will not determine.

Having come to *Berlin* this Year by the way of *Hamburg*, as the last Year from *Hanover*; and having seen not only *Halberstadt*, *Magdenburg*, and *Brandenburgh*

denburgh on the one Side, but likewise several smaller Cities, Boroughs, and numberless Villages on the one and the other Side; I presently took notice, that (besides the Ways) all the Churches, as well of the Country as of the Towns, were kept in so good a repair as I never saw the like, being most of them newly whitened, or adorned in some other manner; the Church-yards being inclosed with durable Walls of Stone or Brick, the Gates generally large, and many new Steeples raised, not inferiour to the *old ones*: but whether in being lately built from the Ground, or in being repaired and beautified, I could not remark one Church that was defective in any thing. You may perceive, by this Instance, how great a regard the King of *Prussia* has to the Beauty of Publick Buildings, no less than for the Conveniencies of Publick Worship.

Excepting the Places about the Capital City of *Berlin* (which is situated in a very Sandy Territory, and too much covered with Woods) the Country is at least twice as well Peopled, and in many Parts a great deal more than *Westphalia*. The City of *Berlin*, which is indifferently spacious, but extremely fine, is divided into two principal Parts; whereof the first, which is the Old Town, is again subdivided

vided into three Wards, namely, *Berlin*, *Colen* and the *Werder*. The New Town, which is likewise begun to be fortified, is one part of it called *Frederickstadt*, and the other part *Dorothéeſtadt*, from the Names of the late Elector and Electreſs ; ſo that the whole City conſiſts of five Wards, not to mention the Suburbs. The Streets are very large and noble, and planted in moſt parts of the Town with Rows of Trees. There are fine Canals that croſs and ſeparate the ſeveral Wards, with Draw-Bridges after the Model of thoſe in *Holland*. The New Houſes are moſtly built after the beſt Taſte of Architecture ; the few Old Houſes that remain, being in *no* reſpect *to be compared with them*.

There are in this City, many things worthy the Curioſity of Strangers. In the Palace is a Library, the Books well choſen and numerous ; yet it wants much of being equal to the Library at *Wolfembuttel*. Near to the Royal Library is a Cabinet of Rarities, containing many wonderful Effects of Nature and Art, ſuch as are not eaſily ſeen in other Courts ; to which muſt be joined his Maſteſty's curious Collection of Medals, of which the Particulars may be found in *Monſieur Berger's Theſaurus Brandenburgicus*. The Moderns have produced nothing that exceeds

exceeds the Equeſtrian Statue, which, by order of the King, is elevated to the Honour of his Illuſtrious Father, on the fine Bridge of ſquare Stone, which his Maſteſty has cauſed to be built over a Branch of the *Spre*. The Man and the Horſe are one entire Piece, which was caſt at once; it weighs Three Thouſand Quintals of Metal, and coſt Forty Thouſand Crowns. The Peſedrian Statue for his Maſteſty reſembles him very much, erected in the *Area* of the *Arsenal*, in the Quarter called the *Werder*. It is a maſſy ſquare Building, where Architecture and Expenſe, where Convenience and Ornament have not been dealt by a ſcanty Hand, and it is ſtored with very fair Pieces of Artillery, and other Arms, which are kept in good Order.

Near to the *Arsenal* is a *Shuice*, formerly of Timber, but now wholly of wrought Stone, and accompanied with a large wet *Dock*, which may well be called the Port of *Berlin*, by reaſon of the great Number of Veſſels that are ſeen conſtantly there, either going up or coming down, without reckoning the Boats of the City; for this River is joined by an artificial Canal to the *Oder*, ſo that there is a free Navigation for ſmall Craft, from *Sileſia* a-croſs all *Germany*, till the *Spre* empties

empties itself into the *Havel*; and till this last flows at *Havelberg* into the *Elbe*, whereby it communicates itself with the Ocean.

All the Dominions of his *Prussian* Majesty, as well Inland as Maritime, are excellently watered with Navigable Rivers, as the *Rhine*, the *Maese*, the *Weser*, the *Elbe*, the *Hagel*, the *Havel*, the *Werter*, the *Oder*, the *Vistula*, the *Pregel*, and several others. Besides that his Kingdom of *Prussia*, and his Dutchy of *Pomerania*, take up a great part of the Coast of the *Baltick Sea*, and lie extremely convenient for Traffick, as they drive a pretty considerable one, which by right Management might be vastly improved.

But to return to *Berlin*; there is near the Wall of the Town a stately Amphitheatre, for the fighting and baiting of *Bears*, *Lions*, *Bulls*, *Urochsen*, which are the *Uri* of the Ancients, and of other wild and fierce Beasts, of which a good Number is always kept underneath in Dens. The Stables in the New Town may be properly called magnificent; they are divided into two Courts, and nine Pavillions, in equal Distances. Overhead is the Academy of the Painters, of the Learned, and of all the genteel Arts which are much encouraged here; and there is likewise raised a conspicuous
Obfer-

Observatory for Astronomers. Now of all the Curiosities of *Berlin*, the Principal, is the New *Royal Palace*; no Building can be more exact, commodious, or stately: some other Palaces of *Europe* may be more capacious, but then they are less regular. The Citizens, in imitation of the Father of their Country, go on with New Buildings every Day in all Quarters of the Town; and the great Number of Houses which his Majesty builds in several Places for his own Use, but especially in the Neighbourhood of *Berlin*, will, in a few Years, make it one of the finest Cities that can be seen.

For a particular Description of the King of *Prussia's Houses*, the Characters of that *Royal Family*, the Magnificence of his *Court at Berlin*, and the *Regulation* of his *Militia*, I must refer to the Work above cited*.

Mr. *Toland* concludes his *first* Letter, with the following Account of a Treatise published by him, during King *William's* Life, intitled, *The Militia Reformed*, &c. shewing how all our *Country*, and especially our *Garrisons*, would not only be secure during the absence of our Re-

* An Account of the Court of *Prussia*, from pag. 26. to pag. 39.

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gular Troops, but that, in case of need, we might recruit, or reinforce *them* by some of *these*: “Whereas such Princes “ (*says he*) as have but their ordinary “ Troops, are in danger of being ruined “ by the loss of one Battle, not being “ in a Condition for a long time to bring “ such another Army into the Field; “ while those who exercise their *Militia* “ have perpetual Resources of able Men, “ who already understand the *Theory*, “ and will quickly learn the *Practice*; “ as I have proved by the Examples of “ the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*.”

From *Berlin*, Sept. 23. N. S. 1702. he communicates to the same Friend, in a *second* Letter, the following Account of *Hanover*. He first acquaints him, that in his way from *Holland* to *Hanover*, the Year before, there occurred nothing remarkable; but that between the City of *Berlin* and *Hanover*, he was much affected with beholding the Ruins of that once Imperial, populous, large and free City *Brunswick*; and very pathetically laments the Causes of its Decay.

He tells us, * *Hanover* is situated in a sandy Soil, upon the River *Lainé*, which is navigable only by small Boats. It is

* See, An Account of the Court of *Hanover*, from p. 52. to p. 78.

regularly

regularly fortified, and divided into the New and Old Towns ; the Apartments of the Palace are very fine, and richly furnished. It was in old Time a large Monastery, but so well Metamorphos'd since, that no Footsteps remain of the Original. There is a pretty Theatre with handfom Boxes, for all Qualities ; for no body pays Money that goes to a Play there, the Prince being at all the Expence to entertain the Town as well as the Court. But the Opera-House in the Castle is visited as a Rarity by all Travellers, as being the best painted, and the best contriv'd in all *Europe*. The Elector's Chapel is also finely painted, and certainly nothing can be in greater Order and Method than whatever belongs to his Highness. The Court in general is extremely Polite, and even in *Germany* it is accounted the best, both for Civility and Decorum. The Vice of Drinking (for which that Nation is so much branded) is so far from reigning here, that tho' no body is a-bridged of his Pleasure in this Respect, yet I never knew greater Sobriety, nor a more exact Government in a private Family.—The Clergy seldom appear at Court either at *Hanover*, or *Berlin* : The Ornaments of the Altar in the Electoral Chapel are very fine, and all the Work of the late Princess *Sophia*.

Hernhausen is a Country House about an *English* Mile and a half from *Hanover*. The Garden is indeed delicate, the Water-Works great and noble, the Basins and Fountains extremely large, the Wilderness curiously contrived, and decked with a perpetual Verdure; the Walks are made firm with a sort of Gravel they get out of the River; the Orangery is counted one of the largest in all *Europe*; there are beautiful Cascades, and there is a perfect Theatre excellently cut out into green Seats, the Dressing Rooms for the Actors. being so many Bowers and Summer-Houses on each side, the whole set off with many fine Statues, most of them gilt, and an excellent Water-Work just behind. In fine, If the ancient *Romans* could return again to the World, they would be amazed to find Barbarism overspread all their beloved *Italy*, while the Arts and Sciences flourish in the midst of *Germany*, which in their time was little else but immense Forests and Marshes, the Receptacles of a savage and unpolished People, tho' war-like, brave and free. Mr. *Toland* concludes with observing to his Friend the grossness of a Calumny, at that Time set on foot by his Adversaries in *England*, that he had been Banished from the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hanover*; and that as to this latter Court, as well as of the

the *Royal Family*, in strict Justice he could give no other Account than he had done.

To the Account of the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hanover*, is subjoined the *Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges* of the *Royal Academy*, erected by his Majesty the late King of *Prussia*, in his Capital City of *Berlin*. From which FOUNDATION, says Mr. Toland, "What a happy
" Opportunity is there given of restoring
" Learning to itself, stript from all the
" Disguises of Pedantry, Jargon, and
" Chimeras, and freed from the servile
" Fetters of Systems, common Places,
" childish Ceremonies, and ridiculous
" Habits! The Prince of Orators, the
" freest Philosopher, the most accomplish-
" ed Gentleman, and the Supreme Ma-
" gistrate of the greatest Empire that ever
" existed; in one word, *Cicero* will
" herein be my Example and Voucher,
" who is not ashamed to own, that the
" Instruction of the *Roman* Youth was
" the main End of those immortal Wri-
" tings he has left behind him." * *For*

* Quod enim munus Reipublicæ afferre majus meli-
uſve poſſumus, quam ſi docemus atque erudimus Juven-
tutem? his præſertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus
ita prolapſa eſt, ut omnium opibus refrænanda ac coer-
cenda ſit, &c. *De Divinatione*, &c. l. xi. c. 2.

what greater or better Gift, says he, can we confer on the Commonwealth, than if we teach and instruct the Youth? Especially considering the present Manners and Times, wherein they are so corrupted, that all should join their Endeavours to restrain and reform them, &c. “His Prussian Majesty has the
 “Happiness to contrive, and likewise to
 “perform, what the Roman Consul could
 “only wish, or imperfectly endeavour, in
 “that corrupt and declining State of his
 “Country, when the Persons and Authority of good Men were exposed to
 “Contempt and Danger; and that it was
 “the Interest of prevailing Wickedness,
 “to make all Men whatsoever as bad as
 “the very worst of the most perfidious,
 “debauched, and ambitious Citizens;
 “those detestable Betrayers of their Honour and Liberty, who, by a prodigious Reverse of Nature, did vilely become
 “the Slaves of their Servants, and the
 “Equals of their Slaves.”

These Institutions of the King of Prussia's Royal Academy, are well worthy the Perusal of the Curious; and as Mr. Toland sent them, by way of Present, to a particular Friend in the Country, I shall close this Head with the agreeable Description he gives in his Letter (prefixed to them) of a *Rural Retirement*.

“Those

" Those various Pleasures (says he) the
 " Country yields, must certainly be the
 " most solid, because they are the most
 " innocent and safe. There, all Business
 " is Recreation, as all Diversion is Profit-
 " able: and as it was ever accounted the
 " fittest Scene for Retirement, Reading,
 " and Contemplation; so it is the only
 " Place where we can have a true Relish
 " of Select Company.—O happy Times
 " of ancient *Rome*! when her Consuls
 " were taken from the Pruning-Hook,
 " and her Dictators from the Plough;
 " when the most delicious Fare of her
 " greatest Senators were the unbought
 " Dainties of their own Grounds, the
 " welcome Rewards of their Industry or
 " Care: and when her conquering Ge-
 " nerals, instead of growing rich by the
 " War abroad, or plundering the publick
 " Stock at home, were solicitous to be
 " recalled (like *Attilius Regulus*) to cul-
 " tivate their moderate Farms for the
 " Support of themselves and their Fa-
 " milies."

The chief Motive I had, *my Lord*,
 for inserting this Passage, was to let the
 Publick into Mr. *Toland's* true Taste,
 who was so far from aiming at the Man
 of Bustle, that in many places of his
 Writings he has frankly declared, That,
 for

for *this sort of Life he ever had a strong Inclination.*

The next Piece in the same Volume, your Lordship will find to be the *Declaration* of the Elector *Palatine* * in favour of his *Protestant Subjects*. Mr. Toland, in his Introduction, informs us, that many worthy *Patriots* were truly concerned, that the Glory of such a Prince should be tarnished in any degree, with the invidious Character of being a *Persecutor*; “and I confess (*says he*) that this “Consideration did sway with me above “all other Motives, to examine the Circumstances of this Affair.” He first recites *Three very signal Services* the *Elect*or rendered at different Times to the *Common Cause* of *Europe*. The first of these was raising the Siege of *Rbynfeltz* in the Year 1695. The next was in the beginning of the late War, by his so timely seizing on the Boats of the Bridge, and other Materials, which the Enemy intended to lay over the *Rhine* at *Keyferswerdt*, for the Passage of their Army under the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Mareschal de Boufflers*, who had resolved to march strait forward to *Utrecht*, and so to force the States to

* *John William*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector of the *Holy Empire*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c.

accept of a Peace ; which had disconcerted all the Measures of the *Allies*, and laid *Europe* before this Time in Chains. The last is, that when the *Dutch* Troops were seized and made Prisoners of War in the great Towns of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, the Elector marched his Troops out of his own Territories, which were exposed to the Enemies Fury, into the most important Frontier of *Maeſtricht*, then without a sufficient Garrison : A Benefit the States will never forget.

The Publication of an entire Liberty of Conscience, was the first Step that the Elector made to ease and satisfy his Subjects; and to demonstrate his readiness to accept all reasonable Conditions, came to a Resolution of having this Affair adjusted at his own Court by his proper *Ministers*, and by those who were deputed for that end by his Majesty the King of *Prussia*, to avoid the usual dilatory Proceedings of the *Diet*, which gave small hopes of any speedy Accommodation. His *Electoral Highness* was not deceived in his Judgment herein; and perceiving what Progress was made in this *Treaty* in so little a time, principally by his own personal Care and Application, he did by his *Ministers* both at *London* and the *Hague*,

invite Queen *Anne* and the *States-General*, to send thither the (late) Earl *Stanhope*, and *Mynheer van Ghent*, that it might be brought to a Conclusion with the greatest Honour and Solemnity possible : but these Ministers were eased of that trouble, by the succeeding of the Accommodation sooner than was expected, on *Nov.* 21. 1705.

This, my Lord, is a succinct History of the Matter of Fact, as punctually as I could extract it from his Observations. It must be owned, that the *Protestants* in general are under a most sensible Obligation to his *Electoral Highness*, who came to an Agreement so advantageous to the Protestant Religion, as will demonstrably be proved by the Declaration it self. And I dare say your Lordship will allow, that the Elector has experienced the good Effects of this equitable Proceeding, both in the peopling of his Countries, which of consequence makes him Rich and Powerful, and in the Affection of his Subjects, whose Obedience is not half so well secured by any Set of *Notions* or *Doctrines* (be they what they will) as by *wholesome Laws*, and an *impartial Administration*.

Your Lordship will find an Account of many useful *Political Sentiments*, in a Treatise written by Mr. *Toland*, intitled,
The

The Art of Governing by Parties. This Piece is Dedicated to King *William*. and he assures his Majesty, 'That the chief Aim of the Author was to do the most acceptable Service to his Country at that critical Juncture, (*Anno 1701.*)' In the Work itself is considered, First, The great Influence of *Party-Concepts* in *Religion*; under which Article he very judiciously enforces an Observation made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in a Speech to the House of Lords, * *viz.* 'It is certainly, says that Noble Peer, a very uneasy kind of Life to any Man, that has either Christian-Charity, Good-Nature or Humanity, to see his Fellow-Subjects daily abused, divested of their Liberties and Birth-Rights, and miserably thrown out of their Possessions and Freeholds, only because they cannot agree with some others in Opinions and Niceties of Religion, to which their Consciences will not give them leave to assent, and which, even by the Consent of those who would impose them, are no way necessary to Salvation.' From a just pursuit of this Argument, he proceeds, Secondly, To the Trick of dividing the Laity in their

* See, *The Art of Governing by Parties*, pag. 16,

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Politicks. ‘It will be thought strange,
‘*says he,* that in our admirable Con-
‘stitution, any Persons should be found
‘endeavouring to strip themselves of
‘their Liberty, and to leave all their
‘Posterity enslaved; yet Experience will
‘not let us doubt that there is any thing
‘so absurd, into which some may not be
‘cheated or corrupted*. He concludes
with this Remark, That whenever our
Nation *was divided in their Politicks,*
the different Parties have been played
off one against another, the better to
subdue or destroy them†. Thirdly, The
Parliament next falls under his Con-
sideration; in which August Assembly,
he avers it is a known Maxim, *That we*
can never be destroyed but by their
Counsels. ‘Such Princes therefore as
‘aimed at Despotick Power, left no
‘Stone unturned to get a Parliament to
‘their Mind, knowing this to be the
‘certain means of pulling down our Con-
‘stitution at once: for the People have
‘such a Veneration for the Sanctions of
‘their Parliaments, and are so sensible
‘of the Protection they have always re-
‘ceived from them, that they think it
‘almost impossible they should mistake

* Ibid. pag. 34.

† Ibid. pag. 55;

‘ their true Interest, much less be guilty
 ‘ of such Ingratitude and Treachery, as
 ‘ to join in any base Designs against those
 ‘ who honoured them with being their
 ‘ Representatives.’ Tho King *Charles* the
Second, had very nigh accomplished by
Parties, Places and Pensions, what all
 the Sleight or Force of his Predecessors
 could never compass *. Fourthly, As
 for the *Bench*, ‘ You may learn, *says he*,
 ‘ the *Equity* of the *Royal Brothers*,
 ‘ (King *Charles* II. and King *James* II.)
 ‘ from the *Decrees* of their *Chancellors*,
 ‘ who were the Keepers of their Con-
 ‘ science. They culled out for their Pur-
 ‘ pose the most stupid, immoral and illi-
 ‘ terate they could rake out of the Inns
 ‘ of Court, and most of them were a
 ‘ Scandal to their Profession. The few
 ‘ honest Gentlemen they promoted at any
 ‘ time, to gain some Countenance to the
 ‘ rest, could do nothing to their Minds;
 ‘ and, if likely to live, were soon laid
 ‘ aside, as were all those who in any Case
 ‘ showed the least respect for the Laws,
 ‘ tho in other Matters they had gone ever
 ‘ so far. Thus was Justice made a meer
 ‘ Property, to be bought and sold, and
 ‘ all Judgments given according to Di-

* Ibid. pag. 57.

'rections from Court. They were rather
 ' *Parties* on the Bench than indifferent
 ' Judges, threatening, and scurrilously a-
 ' busing the Prisoners brought before them,
 ' or such as appeared on their Behalf.
 ' They spared no Man's Blood which the
 ' King or his Ministers had a mind to
 ' spill, or made any Bones of giving Judg-
 ' ment against all the Charters of the King-
 ' dom *.' Fifthly, He very freely declares,
 that the Spring, Management and Re-
 fuge of all *Party-making* and *Factions*,
 centers in the Ministers of State. Then
 shows the ill Effects of *Parties* on the
 People in general, the King in particular,
 and on all our Foreign Affairs. Proving
 in the End, That the only *Remedy* a-
 gainst all the *Mischief* of *Parties*, is a
Parliament equally constituted.

In the Year 1707, your *Lordship* will
 find published by Mr. *Toland*, a pretty
 large Treatise, in *English* and *Latin*,
 intituled, A *Philippick Oration* to incite
 the *English* against the *French*; but espe-
 cially to prevent the treating of a *Peace*
 with *them* too soon after *they* are
beaten, &c. In a *Preliminary Dissert-*
ation † to this *Piece*, he informs us,

* Ibid. pag. 83. & seq.

† Ibid. pag. 2, 6, 9, 10, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 40,
 & seq.

First, *That it is a Magnificent Encomium upon the English Nation and Government, that the Writer of it was a Foreigner*: And the better to understand the *occasion of Writing it*, we must know (*says he*) that in the Year of *Christ, 1508, Maximilian Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand King of Arragon, and Administrator of Castile, Lewis the XIIth King of France, and Julius the II, Pope of Rome, made a League against the Venetians by their Agents at Cambray*: and that the *Venetians*, the following Year, losing the fatal Battle of *Ghiaradadda*, lost also their whole Territories on the Continent, which were seized and shared by these several Potentates. Some fatal Differences which arose between these *Princes*, continued from the Year 1509, to 1514, when at length a *Peace* was concluded between them. After which, when it was found in good earnest, by *Maximilian and Ferdinand*, that our King *Henry VIII.* hearkened to the Agents and Emissaries of *France*, to which he was not a little disposed by the Wants or Inconstancy of the former, and the repeated Treacheries of the latter, they set all Engines at work to traverse the Negotiation. It was at that time, and for this very purpose, that the *Oration* was composed; it is addressed to the
Privy-

Privy-Council, but the *Peace* having been suddenly concluded, it could not afterwards be safely published, by reason it is provided in the very *Treaty*, that no Writing shall be suffered to come abroad reflecting on either Nation, their Princes, or Confederates.

It is to be observ'd, *my Lord*, that tho Mr. Toland published this *Speech* as the Work of an uncertain Author, yet he declares that he should sooner suspect Matthew Schiner, Bishop and Cardinal of Sion, than any other, he being stiled by *Jovius*, a Man of a terrible Genius, and extraordinary Eloquence; and Mezeray owns, that He moved the Switzers, as the Wind does the Leaves of Trees. *Jovius* in his Elogies says, That he himself had heard Francis the First affirm, 'That the invincible Force of the Cardinal of Sion's Eloquence cost him more Treasure, and occasioned him more Fear, than the pointed Spears of so many Legions from the same Nation.' A glorious Testimony generously rendered to his wonderful Ability, from so learned and martial a Prince! Now therefore (says Mr. Toland) considering his Antipathy to the French, his Affection for the Cause of the Emperor, his Power with the Switzers, his Intercourse with England, and especially considering his Polite Learning and Incomparable

comparable Eloquence, I confess I cannot help persuading myself that this *Oration* was of his Writing. It better agrees with his Character and Designs, than with *any other* then living. But I shall detain your Lordship no longer from the Pleasure of perusing the *Oration* itself, than only to lay before you a Transcript of the very remarkable and just Account of the Posture of our Affairs in *Europe* from its Dedication; viz. *To Queen Anne, the Pious, the Fortunate, the Triumphant, by whose Councils, Arms, and Treasure (bravely assisted by the Dutch) the French, with their Allies, are Vanquished, the Dignity of the Aultrian-Family in Germany, and their Title in Spain asserted, Italy and Flanders restored to Liberty, and the Britons crowned with Immortal Glory: This Oration, formerly designed against the French, but now at last most Seasonably employed, (being an exact Pattern, and a just Encomium of her Glorious Administration) is most humbly and dutifully consecrated, by John Toland.*

We must now, *my Lord*, change this Scene of *Eloquence*, to take a View of the *Theological Writings* of Mr. Toland. I shall begin first with that Piece which set the whole Body of the *Clergy*, and the ignorant part of the *Laitie* in Battle-
H Array

Array against him. This, your Lordship will easily perceive to be the *Treatise* intitled—*Christianity not Mysterious*: Shewing, *That there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above it: And that no Christian Doctrine can be properly called a Mystery.* In the Preface to this Piece *, Mr. Toland declares the Design of it to be no other, than to *rectify the narrow bigotted Tenets of Some, and the most impious Maxims of Others.* He thus proceeds, ‘ That the
 ‘ mistaken Unbeliever may not say I
 ‘ serve a Hypothesis in the Defence of
 ‘ my Faith, like some who first imagine
 ‘ or receive an Opinion, and then study
 ‘ Proofs to establish it; I solemnly declare
 ‘ the thing is much otherwise, and that
 ‘ I hold nothing as an Article of my Religion, but what the highest Evidence
 ‘ forced me to Embrace. For being educated from my Cradle †, in the grossest
 ‘ Superstition and Idolatry, God was
 ‘ pleased to make my own Reason, and
 ‘ such as made use of Theirs, the happy
 ‘ Instruments of my Conversion.—Now
 ‘ the best Method, I think, of communicating to others the Truth, is that by

* Pag. 7.

† Mr. Toland was born at London-Derry, where, tho near two thirds of the Inhabitants are Presbyterians, yet he was bred a Papist.

‘ which

‘ which a Man has *learnt it himself*.’ And he very frankly concludes his Preface in these Words; ‘ I have no Apprehension (*says he*) from the Sincere; and if the Designing Party discover their Concern by their Displeasure, it may well serve for a Mark to distinguish them, but will not be thought an Injury by me.’ Having thus represented to your *Lordship* the Design of this *Work* in the Words of the *Author*, I shall in the next Place produce the Sentiments of two very eminent Men concerning the *Author*, and the Usage he met with for the *Work* itself.

This Piece made a great Noise in the *Republick of Letters*, and was attacked by several very considerable Pens*. For in that *agreeable Correspondence* between Mr. *Molyneux* and Mr. *Locke*, the former of these Gentlemen writes thus; † ‘ I am told the Author of *Christianity not Mystrious*, is of this Country, and that his Name is *Toland*, but he is a Stranger in these parts; I believe if he belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not

‡ *Preface*, pag. 8, 9.

* Bishop *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Peter Browne*, Bishop of *Cork*, &c.

† See, *Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke, and several of his Friends*, 8vo. pag. 188, to pag. 237.

‘heard of any such *remarkable Man*
‘amongst us.’ And in his very next Letter to Mr. *Locke*, he thus farther proceeds,
— ‘Honoured Sir, In my last to you,
‘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 now understand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this
‘Country, but that he has been a great while abroad, and his Education was,
‘for some time, under the great *Le Clerc*.
‘But that for which I can never honour him too much, is his Acquaintance and
‘Friendship to you, and the Respect, which, on all occasions, he expresses for
‘you. 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 that 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
‘degree against him. And last *Sunday* he had his Welcome to this City, by
‘hearing himself harangued against out of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Country.’ Mr. *Locke*, in his Answer to
Mr.

Mr. *Molyneux*, thus declares his Esteem for Mr. *Toland*, (notwithstanding upon a particular Occasion there had been a little Coldness between them) *For the Man I wish very well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do so. And therefore I desire you to be kind to him; but I must leave it to your Prudence, in what way, and how far.—For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.* To this Mr. *Molyneux* was pleased to reply, *I look upon Mr. Toland as a very ingenious Man, and I should be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service, to which I think myself indispensibly bound by your Recommendation.* And this Gentleman, in another Letter to Mr. *Locke*, shortly after, gives the following Account of the vile Treatment Mr. *Toland* met with in *Ireland*. ‘He has had (says Mr. *Molyneux*) ‘his Opposers here, as you will find by ‘a Book which I have sent to 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*

† The present Bishop of *Cork*.

‘ up to Secular Punishment. This indeed
‘ is a killing Argument; but some will
‘ be apt to say, That where the Strength
‘ of his Reason failed 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 Pre-
‘ lates in this Place, the Presentment of
‘ some pernicious Books, and their Au-
‘ thors, by the Grand-Jury of *Middlesex*.
‘ This is looked upon as a Matter of dan-
‘ gerous 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 condemned. But the Example has
‘ been followed in our Country; and Mr.
‘ *Toland*, and his Book, have been pre-
‘ sented here by a Grand-Jury, not *one of*
‘ *which*, I am persuaded, ever read *one*
‘ *Leaf* in *Christianity not Mysterious*.
‘ Let the *Sorbonne* 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
‘ common Executioner? He was sensible
‘ of the Error, and said, *He wished it*
‘ *had*

‘*had never been done.*’ Mr. *Locke*, in his Answer to Mr. *Molynæux* concerning this Usage of *Authors*, thus expresses himself: *I think, with you, the Dissenters were best consider, That what is Sauce for a Goose, is Sauce for a Gander. But they are a sort of Men that will always be the same.*—— Not long after these Proceedings, my Lord, Mr. *Molynæux*, in another Letter to Mr. *Locke*, concludes his Account of our Author with the following melancholy Relation—— ‘ Mr. *Toland* is, at length, driven out of our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman at last wanted a Meal’s Meat (as I am told) and (*the universal Outcry of the Clergy run so strong against him*) none would admit him to their Tables. The little Stock of Money which he brought into this Country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing, and to compleat his Hardships, the Parliament fell on his Book, voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, 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. I did believe you might be a great while to come a Stranger to these Proceedings, unless I had intimated
‘ them

‘ them to you ; and that is one of my
 ‘ Designs in Writing this to you.’ I
 have, *my Lord*, been the fuller in these
 Extracts, for two Reasons : *One* is, that
 I hope the Character herein given of Mr.
Toland, will, in some measure, convince
 the Publick that he was not a Person of
 such a superficial Knowledge and mean
 Abilities, as the Clergy would insinuate,
now he is no more ; and the *other* is, be-
 cause Mr. *Molyneux* concludes his Account
 of Mr. *Toland*, with doing Justice to the
 Merit of a Gentleman, to whose real
 Worth your Lordship is no Stranger.
 ‘ I am here (*says Mr. Molyneux to Mr.*
 ‘ *Locke*) very happy in the Friendship of
 ‘ an honourable Person, Mr. *Molesworth*,
 ‘ who is an hearty Admirer and Acquain-
 ‘ tance of yours. We never meet but we
 ‘ remember you ; he sometimes comes
 ‘ into my House, and tells me, ’tis not to
 ‘ pay a Visit to me, but to pay his Devo-
 ‘ tion to your Image that is in my Di-
 ‘ ning-Room.’ And Mr. *Locke*, my Lord,
 expresses the due Sense he had of *this*
Esteem, in the following Words : ‘ I
 ‘ must beg you to return my Acknow-
 ‘ ledgments to Mr. *Molesworth*, in the
 ‘ civillest Language you can find, for the
 ‘ great Compliment you sent me from
 ‘ him. I have been not a little
 ‘ troubled, that I could not meet with
 ‘ the

‘ the Opportunities I sought to improve
 ‘ the Advantage I propos’d to myself, in
 ‘ an Acquaintance with so ingenious and
 ‘ extraordinary a Man as he is *.

Thus, *my Lord*, having seen the *very partial* Treatment both *Mr. Toland* and his *Book* met with in *Ireland*; I am next to acquaint your *Lordship*, that during his *Retirement* from this *Persecution*, he offered an *Apology* by way of *Letter*, to a Member of the *House of Commons*, in that Kingdom; written the Day before his *Book* was resolv’d to be burnt by the *Committee of Religion*. This *Apology* he subjoin’d to the *Second Edition* of his *Christianity not Myste-rious*. In which *Apology*, after a recital of the Proceedings we have already been acquainted with from the incomparable Pen of *Mr. Molyneux*, it is observ’d that *Mr. Toland* being thus made a *Heresiarch*, occasioned every body to hunt for his *Book*, which was then very scarce; and his Enemies also took that Pretext of denominating all his Acquaintance *Tolandists*, how different soever they were from him, or one another in their Sentiments †. But lest the broaching of sim-

* See, *Mr. Locke’s Letters*, *ut suprà*, pag. 260.

† See, An *Apology* for *Mr. Toland*, pag. 7.

ple *Heresies* should not serve the Turn, Mr. Toland must by all means be made *the Head of a Sect*, and of no ordinary one; for if you credit one of his *Antagonists**, he designed to be *as famous an Impostor as Mahomet*. To confirm this Character, which was well enough invented to amuse the People with vain Terrors, there was a ridiculous Story handed about, that in the 14th Year of his Age, he gravely declared he would be the *Head of a Sect* e'er he was 30; and before he was 40, he should make as great a Stir in the Commonwealth as *Cromwell* ever did. This Legendary-Report, some laboured to fulfil in part, that superstitious Folks might trepidly apprehend the Event of the rest. For, says Mr. Brown, *The real Design of this Man is plainly no other, than what he formerly declared, and what he openly affects to be, the Head of a Sect* †. The succeeding Step to this, was to make Mr. Toland a *Jesuit*; and if so, says the *Apology*, he's certainly the most dangerous of the Order, and began extremely betimes. He was not sixteen Years old when he perceived, and renounced the

* Ibid. pag. 10, 11.

† Mr. Brown, (now Bishop of Cork.)

Errors of *Papery*; for in 1687, he went from *Redcastle* near *Londonderry*, to the College of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*; and, upon his Departure from it, the Magistrates of that City gave him Recommendatory Letters, wherein they took particular Notice of his Affection to the *Protestant Religion*. The Day before the memorable Battle of the *Boyne*, he was created *Master of Arts* at *Edinburgh*, and received the usual *Diploma* or Certificate from the *Professors*. After this, he went to the University of *Leiden* in *Holland*, to perfect his Studies; and upon his return from thence, spent some Time at *Oxford*, and at length came to *London*, where 'tis well known his Company and Conversation were the farthest in the World from being *Jesuitical*. Notwithstanding the whole Series of his Education, as well as his own Genius, did thus run in the most opposite Channel to *Papery*; yet in *Ireland* that malicious Report gained upon some few, because he happened to be brought up a *Papist* from his Childhood, which was no more an Action of his own, than that he was born there. The last Effort, except the Charge of *Socinianism*, to blast him, was to make him pass for a rigid *Nonconformist*; so his Countrymen treated him in this respect like his Majesty's good

Subjects of *Guernsey*, who, when they are in *France*, are called *English Rogues*, and in *England*, *French Dogs*.

Tho *Mr. Toland*, my Lord, did frequently with the utmost Pleasure acknowledge his *Renunciation of Popery*, yet he as freely declared that he never would condescend to court *any Body of Men* farther than he saw Ground for it; and to this Principle he resolv'd to adhere, tho it should hazard the inevitable Ruin of his Fortune or Reputation with all Parties. But so warm were the Zealots who ordered *Mr. Toland's Book* to be burnt, that one *Sanquin-Christian* averr'd, *the Author ought to be burnt with it*; another said, *He should be made to burn his Book with his own Hand*, and a third desired it should be done before the Door of the House, *that he might have the Pleasure of treading the Ashes under his Feet*. And accordingly, it underwent that Fate.

I forbear making any Remarks, either upon the Design of burning *Books* in general, or *This* in particular; nor will I shew, how fruitless this sort of Proceeding has prov'd in all Ages, since the Custom was first introduced by *Popish-Inquisitors*, who always performed Execution on the *Book* when they could not seize the *Author*, whom they had

had destined to the Flames. Neither will I insist upon the great Stop and Discouragement which this Practice brings to all Learning and Discoveries : but without farther Digression, I shall now submit it to your Lordship's Consideration, whether such Treatment can be thought Equitable, which reduces the Mind, as well as the Body, to the most abject Slavery.

From the Fury of the *Irish* House of Commons, Mr. Toland retired to *Holland*, and came from thence to *England* about two Years afterwards ; upon his arrival here, (as he informs us in his * *Vindicius Liborius*, &c.) he heard that two † Books of his Composition were under the Consideration of a Committee of Convocation ; upon which he sent the following Letter to the *Prolocutor*, 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.

* Pag. 13.

† I. *Christianity not Mystical*. II. *Amyntor, or a Defence of Milton's Life*.

For the Reverend Dr. Hooper,
Dean of Canterbury, and Pro-
locutor of the Lower House of
Convocation.

Reverend Sir,

IN the Post, which you so deservedly
supply, 'tis no wonder if you are
often addressed by Persons (as I am)
wholly unknown to you, tho' Fame
has made me no Stranger to your
great Learning and Moderation. I
have been informed by several People,
that the lower House of Convocation
has ordered a Committee to examine
what Books have been lately written or
published against the Christian Religion
and the three Creeds, or to this Effect;
and that, among many others, two
Pieces, whereof I am the Author, are
now under their Consideration. That
in those Books there may be some sin-
gular Opinions, and such as are not
authorized by the common Approbation,
I will not deny: for I had not only the
same Liberty with all others of writing
in a free Country, but might also make
what new Discoveries I was able, to-
wards

wards the better understanding of Religion, of Law, of History, or any other Faculty. And indeed he trifles extremely with the World, who is not convinced, that, at least, he makes Things clearer than they were; if he explodes no vulgar Errors, detects no dangerous Fallacies, nor adds any stronger Light or Proof to what was generally received before. Those and such like are the real or pretended Motives of all Authors, of Divines as well as others; and they actually advance new Notions, Expositions, and Hypotheses in their Books every Day, without being decried for their Innovations, or suspected to undermine Religion. 'Tis not to be supposed therefore, that the Convocation is displeased with me for differing sometimes with others (which I can show the most eminent of their Members to have done) but for writing, as it's given out, against the Christian Religion or the Three Creeds. The Truth of this Charge I positively deny, or that there is Reason or Colour for it in any of my Books. Christianity not Mysterious cannot relate to the Three Creeds, since it does not treat particularly of any Article; notwithstanding that such as never saw it are made to believe it directly attacks the Trinity, and openly defames

defends the Socinian Principles, which the Author has always believed not only to be false, but also wholly groundless and ridiculous. As for the Christian Religion in general, that Book is so far from calling it in Question, that it was purposely written for its Service, to defend it against the Imputations of Contradiction and Obscurity, which are frequently objected by its Opposers. There is nothing blame-worthy in this Design, nor ought any Persons to be angry with me for professing that I understand the Christian Religion, how mysterious soever it may seem to them: and, I am sure, the better any Man comprehends a Thing, the more he has to say for it, and the greater Reasons to believe it. Some Passages in my Book, which were disputed, I have explained in an Apology apart: and were my Principle erroneous, or my Performance insufficient, yet my Intentions were Sound and Orthodox. As for Amyntor, every body knows how Mr. Blackall drew me in to write it, when no such Purpose had ever entered into my Head before. This Book consists of Matters of Fact, and some Observations on them. The Facts are all, or most of them, collected out of the Fathers of the Church, Men for whom the Clergy profess a great Veneration,
and

and the best Editions of their Works have been made or procured by Divines. What lies dispersed and scattered in those Volumes, is neither better nor worse, being extracted and laid together in their natural Order. But if the bare quoting of Facts be any Fault, I may pretend, I hope, to as good Quarter as Mr. Dodwell; not that I wou'd promote any Censure against that worthy Person, but that what is not reckoned amiss in him, may not be thought criminal in me. But the Facts, I may reasonably suppose, are not likely to be made an Objection to any body; and I have even convinced my Adversaries, that by the Spurious Pieces, mentioned in Milton's Life, I did not mean any Books of the New Testament. 'Tis confessed, I have shown some Consequences which have been drawn from the pretended Sacred Books, of which I have given a Catalogue in Amyntor; but that I approve of them there or any where else, does by no means appear. On the contrary, in the 65th Page, I affirm, that it had much more become Mr. Blackall's Profession to appear better acquainted with these Things, and commendably to spend his Time in preventing the mischievous Inferences which Hereticks may draw from hence, or to remove the Scruples of doubting but sin-

cere *Christians*, than so publickly to vent his Malice against a Man that never injured him, &c. And as to some *Remains of the Apostles, which the Fathers thought unquestionably theirs, and whereof I had so favourable an Opinion as to offer some Arguments to prove them genuine*; yet, in the 58th Page, I declare; that I shall not be too hasty to make a final Decision of this Matter with myself, lest I incur the dreadful Curse which the Author of the *Revelation* pronounces against such as shall add or take away from that Book. Let Mr. *Blackall* be assured, that, if he must needs have me to be a *Heretick*, I am not unteachable; tho I would not have it reputed Obstinacy, if I should not surrender without satisfactory Reasons. Instead therefore of *Confuting and Calumniating* (which ought not to be reckoned Virtues in any Order of Men, and least of all in the Ministers of the Gospel) let such as are better enlightened endeavour to extricate the Erroneous out of these or the like Difficulties, &c. This is what I thought necessary to suggest in general concerning these two Pieces of mine, which have been made the Occasion of so much Noise. I was but five and twenty Years old when I wrote the first, which ought to be excuse enough for any
unadvised

unadvised Expressions; and the less I was plainly forced to publish in my own Indication, having been openly traduced to the Honourable House of Commons. For many important Reasons I have firmly resolved, never hereafter to intermeddle in any Religious Controversies, but to keep myself (as now I am) very easy and contented; provided always I be not constrained (as before) to write in my just Defence, which I shall think myself more obliged to do in relation to the Animadversions of a publick Body, than against any private Person, how considerable soever. There is nothing less equitable or more ineffectual than condemning of Books by Wholesale, without assigning the particular Places which contradict Religion, the Laws, or good Manners. I could easily show the ill Effects of such Proceedings in Convocations and other Ecclesiastick Assemblies in all Ages, were I not sure that you understand the History of these Things much better than I can pretend to do. I have collected occasionally in my Reading, such Passages as relate to the expurging, castrating, suppressing, burning, or other Ways of censoring Books among the Heathens, Jews, Christians and Mahometans: And were such Materials digested into a Volume on this Subject, to

*represent the Matter at one View to the Reader, the World would be astonished at most of the Circumstances; which convinces me, that the less of this is practised, the better it is, and more for the Honour of Religion. This I say not with Regard to myself, being prepared for whatever happens; but were it becoming me to advise a Person so much my Superiour in all respects, I would desire you to countenance as little as may be against others, a Thing which has all the Appearance of Severity to make the Party odious that use it, and none of the intended Effects to reconcile or intimidate, but rather to provoke their Enemies. There are other Methods more just and reasonable to secure the Established Religion, of which I own myself a Member, as finding it, after due Consideration, to be the best in the World, tho' in many Respects coming short of Perfection. It will not be long before I have Opportunity to acquaint the Publick with my Reasons for this Profession, both to undeceive those who are pleased to question my Religion in general, and because I adhered to no peculiar Society before, but only occasionally joined with all Protestants indifferently, against the Superstition, Idolatry, and Tyranny of Popery. But
not*

Mr. JOHN TOLAND. 69

not to digress, (when this Letter is but too prolix already) tho the Convocation pretends to no Authority over Men's Persons, yet, if you think fit to intimate your Desire of any farther Satisfaction in these Matters, I shall readily wait on you wherever you please to appoint me. In the mean Time, I hope you'll attribute nothing I have said to any greater Assurance, than what I ought to have of my own Innocence, and your Justice. If I have been misinformed about the Proceedings of your House, I beg pardon for giving you this Trouble; but if the Matter of Fact be true, I have done no more than is necessary. Wishing therefore a happy Conclusion to the Determinations of that Assembly, where you make the greatest Figure, I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

‘ To this Letter the *Prolocutor* was
‘ pleased to send me a short Answer;
‘ containing, That my Information was
‘ true about the Committee, and that
‘ they had come to some Resolutions
‘ about

‘ about my Book, which they were expected to report suddenly : That his Buſineſs was to manage the Debates of the Houſe, and to moderate any Diſputes that might ariſe about wording their Queſtions ; in which Caſes, if he might be capable, he concludes with his Offers to ſerve me. As well therefore to juſtify myſelf from the different Reports about my firſt Letter, as to leave them no Colour or Pretence of not fully underſtanding my Deſign, I thought fit, after due Conſideration, to ſend him this ſecond Letter.’

Reverend Sir,

I Thankfully acknowledge the civil Offers in your Answer ; nor did I doubt before of your Juſtice, tho I could pretend no Title to your Favour either by Friendſhip or Merit. But you ſeem to miſtake my Deſign, for I wrote to you as a publick Perſon, in order to communicate my Letter to the Aſſembly over which you preſide, or at leaſt to the Committee ; that in ſo doing I might give them full Information and Satisfaction ; or, that if they proceeded to any Censure, it ſhould be a part of my Defence. My Reſolutions of Silence about theſe or the like Matters for the future are honeſtly meant, and were fixed

*fixed a long Time before the Meeting of the Convocation, as some Persons of great Worth and Honour can testify. This is all that could be expected from one who cannot be brought to recant those Errors which he never held, however uncharitably imputed to him by others. As the Deference I paid to the Convocation is no more than their Due, and the farthest imaginable from Soothing; so I hope no body takes for Rudeness, what I was obliged to say in my own Vindication. Flattery is as much below me, as it is above me to menace: but in dealing plainly within the Bounds of good Manners, I can never dispense with myself. The space of a Month shall convince the World of my Sincerity in performing what I promised you with respect to the Established Church, which I really think to be the best National Constitution on Earth and admirably suited to our Civil Government: and if my judgment in this or any other Case may be thought of any Weight, it is more becoming me to declare it now, than at any Time of my Life before. But, referring to what I shall * publish on this Subject, I desire the Favour of you to impart this and my former Letter to*

* In Anglia Libera, Sect. 14.

your House, if they continue resolved to Censure my Books. And for the rest, I question not but you, in particular, will act answerably to your great Character, in pursuance of your Trust for the Interest of Religion, the Honour of the Church of England, and with no ill Intentions towards,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

‘ Having received no Answer to this Letter (which I now understand was no more communicated to the *House* than the Other) I took it for granted that I had given them intire Satisfaction both as to my Writings and Principles.’†

But, my Lord, we find all Mr. *Toland*’s Endeavours proved ineffectual; for the *Lower House of Convocation* drew up a *Representation* against him to the *Upper House*, wherein following the Example of their *Irish Brethren*, they condemned *Christianity not Mysterious* as an *Atheistical Piece*; tho neither the whole Discourse, nor any part of it,

† See *Vindicius Liberius*, pag. 34.

can have any Sense or Meaning but as they are founded on the Being of a Deity. I dare say, your Lordship will concur with me, that People ought to be very tender and reserved in accusing a Man of any Thing that manifestly turns to his Disadvantage; but making one pass for a Traytor, a Parricide, or Murderer, are nothing, even in the Eyes of the World, to charging him with *Atheism*: for such a Person is not only justly looked upon as one that has no Reason or Reflection, but likewise as under no Ties of Conscience, of Obligations or Oaths, when he has an Opportunity of doing Mischief; and so not to be trusted in any private or publick Capacity. Besides that, a great many People, when they are confidently told by those on whose Judgment and Sincerity they depend (such as their Spiritual Guides) that any Man is an *Atheist*, they presently conclude him Guilty of all those Immoralities, which they take to be the Natural Consequences of his Opinion; and, without farther Examination, they actually charge him with all the ill Things that come into their Heads. This is taken on Trust by others; and so let the Person be Innocent as a Child, yet his Vindication will never probably reach so many as are prejudiced against him,

him, and his crafty Enemies thus securely gratify their Malice or Revenge. 'Tis no matter for Truth, calumniate stoutly, something will stick. I shall conclude this Article, with the Author's most solemn Protestation, submitting it to the Judgment of every Reader, to believe it real or feigned, as his Heart shall dictate to him—Mr. Toland's Words are these :

‘ I solemnly profess to the World, and
 ‘ make my Appeal to Heaven, that in
 ‘ writing *Christianity not Mystrious*, I
 ‘ neither doubted myself of the Wisdom,
 ‘ Goodness, or Power of God ; nor in the
 ‘ least intended to bring others into
 ‘ any Scruples about his Attributes or
 ‘ Existence ; and, whatever Errors or
 ‘ Mistakes there may be in that Treatise,
 ‘ yet I challenge all my Accusers to discover any Thing in the same, directly
 ‘ or indirectly, expressed or implied, as
 ‘ tending to Atheism, which I execrate
 ‘ and abhor from the Bottom of my Soul ;
 ‘ or if any of the *Lower House* thought
 ‘ me to be truly guilty of this most heinous of all Crimes, why would they not
 ‘ hear me at my own Request, when I
 ‘ might either vindicate myself from this
 ‘ foul Aspersions, or be thoroughly convinced of so dangerous an Error in such

‘ a numerous and learned Assembly of
‘ *Divines* ? ’

The Answer to this Question, my Lord, being only proper for the *Clergy* to give ; I shall next proceed to lay before your Lordship, his *Letters to Serena*, the Occasions of writing which, he thus severally accounts for: *viz.* The Subject of the First Letter, is, *The Origin and Force of Prejudices*, not from their Physical, but their Moral Causes. The Occasion was, upon producing that Passage of *Cicero* (lib. 1. *De Leg.*) where he says, ‘ * Neither Parents, or Nurse, or School-Master, or Poet, or Play-House, *depraves our Senses*, nor can the Consent of the Multitude *mislead them* : but all sorts of Traps are laid to *seduce our Understandings*, either by *those* whom I just now mentioned, *who* when they receive *us* tender and ignorant, *infect* and *bend us* as *they please* ; or else by that *Pleasure* which lies so deeply rooted in every one of our Senses, the *pretended Follower* of Good, but the *real Mother* of all *Evils*, corrupted by whose *Allurements*, we do not sufficiently distinguish *those Things* that are

* Sensus nostros non Parens, non Nutrix, non Magister, non Poeta, non Scena depravat, &c.

‘good by Nature, because they want
‘this *Softness* and *Titillation*.’ Upon
this Passage Mr. Toland has drawn an
agreeable and lively Picture, of the
Prejudices in all Conditions of Men.
‘We no sooner see the Light, says he,
‘but the grand Cheat begins to delude
‘us from every Quarter.’ The very
Midwife hands the Child into the World
with superstitious Ceremonies, nor is the
Priest behind hand, to initiate him be-
times into his Service, by pronouncing
certain *Forms of Words* as so many *power-
ful Charms*, &c. thereby securing him
as his own Right and Property for the
future. This shows how early those
about him begin to infect him (if they
could) with their own Mistakes, and
how industriously every one with whom
he has afterwards to do, endeavours to
deprave his Reason from the very begin-
ning; so that not remembering when, or
where, or how he came by many of his No-
tions, he is tempted to believe that they pro-
ceed from Nature itself, and is astonished
to find that any should call the Truth of
them in Question. Nay, so far does the
Seducement reach, that, when he is
transmitted from the *Nurse* to the *School-
Master*, being dinned in the Ears with
Stories of *Demons*, *Witches*, and *Appa-
ritions*, he is brought to *Think*, when
he

he is *but puzzled*, that he is *convinced*, and *greedily swallows* what he cannot *comprehend*. From *School*, he is attended to the *University*, and from *thence*, enters the *Publick Scenes* of *Life*; in passing through which, (as is observed in the conclusion of this Letter) every one is wholly secured by a *right Use* of his *Understanding* against all *Illusions*, and content with what he *already knows*, and pleased with *New Discoveries*, without thinking himself concern'd in things *inscrutable*; not led like a *Beast* by *Authority* or *Passion*, but *giving Law* to his *own Actions* as a *free* and *reasonable Man*.

The Second Letter contains *The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens*; occasioned by recommending to a Lady the perusal of a *French Translation* of *Plato's Phædo*. She wondered that the reading of that Book could add any Force to *Cato's* Resolution of laying violent Hands on himself; acknowledging that she found little cogent Evidence, and a world of precarious Suppositions, throughout that whole tedious *Dialogue*. Mr. Toland assured her, that Divine Authority was the surest Anchor of our Hope, and the best, if not the only Demonstration of the *Soul's Immortality*. In this Letter, he ascertains

ascertains the Time when this Opinion begun among the Heathens, and shows the gradual Progress of it through all the Parts of the Earth then known, together with the true Original of the Poetical Fables concerning the *Elysian* Fields, the Rivers, Judges, Gates, and Ferry-Man of Hell, of Souls being disquieted for want of orderly Burial, and manifest Proofs that the ancient *Egyptians* were the genuine Fountains of all Learning and Religion to the Heathen World. He has likewise proved, that the Opinion of *the Soul's Immortality* had not its beginning from the Philosophers, as making such an Inference from the Spontaneous Motions, Reasoning, or Speech of Men; but, on the contrary, he has shown this Notion among the Heathens to have been first taken up by the Mob, popular Traditions often becoming the Doctrines of Philosophers, who strive to support by *good Reasons* what the others begun with *none, or very bad ones*. 'The *Druids* (says he) who taught the *Transmigration of Souls*, borrowed their Letters from the *Greeks*, and probably their Philosophy, as *Julius Cæsar* in express Words informs us.' This might easily be done by means of the most ancient *Greek* Colony of *Marseilles*, famous for Arts and Learning

ing. They might have a Communication with those of the *Grecian* Country and Religion behind them in *Italy*. And from their Neighbours the *Germans*, (who are often comprehended under the Name of *Celts*, as well as themselves) they might likewise receive the Doctrine of *Zoroastrianism*. But, however this could happen, *Lucan* in the first Book of his *Pharsalia*, sings of the *Druids*, and those Nations in this manner.

*The Druids now, while Arms are heard no more,
Old Mysteries, and barb'rous Rites restore:
A Tribe who singular Religion love,
And haunt the lonely Coverts of the Grove.
To these, and these of all Mankind alone,
The Gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown.
If dying Mortals Dooms they sing aright,
No Ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful Night:
No parting Souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent Shades below:
But forth they fly Immortal in their Kind,
And other Bodies in new Worlds they find.
Thus Life for ever runs its endless Race,
And like a Line, Death but divides the Space,
A Stop which can but for a Moment last,
A Point between the Future and the Past.*

*Thrice happy they beneath their Northern Skies,
Who that worst Fear, the Fear of Death, despise;*

Hence

*Hence they no Cares for this frail Being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed Steel ;
Provoke approaching Fate, and bravely scorn
To spare that Life which must so soon return.*

ROWE.

This was the Notion of the *Soul's Immortality*, among those People who were not illuminated by Divine Revelation. They had several Disputes about the *Soul's Pre-existence, Duration, Essence*, and the *Manner and Time of its coming into the Body, its leaving of it, and their Union together*. Nor have the *Modern Philosophers* succeeded any better than the *Ancients*, and among *both* of them, scarce any *Two* were of a *Mind*; 'where-
'as, in my Opinion (says Mr. *Toland*) the
'*Moderns* have not the same right to ex-
'amine this Matter as the *Ancients*, but
'ought humbly to acquiesce in the Autho-
'rity of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, who
'brought Life and Immortality to light.'

In the Third Letter, your Lordship will find *The Origin of Idolatry*, explained after a very different manner from what is commonly received. There also we may read the first Causes of the Heathen Temples, Priests, and Altars, their Feasts, and Sacrifices; of Images, Statues, and Tutelary Powers; of Ghosts, Spectres, Oracles, Magick,
and

and Judiciary Astrology; with the Reasons how People came to imagine that Heaven (or the Palace of the Good) was over their Heads, and that Hell (or the Prison of the Wicked) was under their Feet; why they look up when they Pray, and several other Things of this Nature, for which it is generally imagined no Account can be given besides Custom, or that in the Abyſs of Time, and under the Ruins of proper Monuments, such Originals are irrecoverably buried. Reasons are likewise given in this Letter for the principal of the Heathen Rites, the odd Descriptions they have made of their Deities, the ungodlike Histories they relate of their Actions, and other Particularities which have been long regarded as the Fictions of Poets, or the Extravagancies of Human Imagination, but no way to be probably reduced to the Exactness of History. And last of all is explained the Threefold Division of the Heathen Theology into Natural, Civil, and Poetical, with the Allegorical Interpretation of their Mysteries, and a Parallel of their Practices with the Corruptions of Christianity; whereby it appears, that in all Ages, *Superstition is actually the same, however the Names of it may vary.* From what he had before observed concerning the *Origin* of
M Ghosts

Ghosts and Astrology among the Heathens, he now produces this beautiful Passage of *Lucan*, to show that they were addicted to all manner of *Divination* and *Magick*.

*Of all the Flitting Shadows of the Slain,
Fate doubts which Ghost shall turn to Life again.
At her strong Bidding (such is her Command)
Armies at once had left the Stygian Strand ;
Hell's Multitudes had waited on her Charms,
And Legions of the Dead had ris'n to Arms.
Among the dreadful Carnage strew'd around,
One, for her purpose fit, at length she found ;
In his pale Jaws a rusty Hook she hung,
And dragg'd the wretched lifeless Lead along ;
Anon, beneath a craggy Cliff she staid,
And in a dreary Dole her Barthen laid ;
There evermore the wicked Witch delights,
To do her Deeds accur'd, and practise hellish
Rites †.*

ROWE.

This whole Dissertation is a memorable Proof and Instance to what an astonishing degree of Extravagance human Nature is capable of arriving. But if any should wonder how Men could leave the direct and easy Path of Reason to wan-

† Quis labor hic superis, &c. — *Lucan*. Lib. VI.
der

der in such inextricable Mazes, let him but consider how in very many and considerable Regions the plain Institution of *Jefus Chrift* could degenerate into the most absurd Doctrines, unintelligible Jargon, ridiculous Practices, and inexplicable Myfteries: and how almost in every corner of the World, Religion and Truth could be changed into Superftition and Prieftcraft.

The other Pieces in this Volume, are two Philofophical Letters. The Firft was fent to an exceffive Admirer of *Spinoza*, one wholly addicted to his Principles, and reputed the beft of any to underftand his Syftem. This Gentleman having been affured by Mr. *Toland*, that the whole *Fabrick of that Philofophy* was without any *folid Foundation*; of which he laying immediate hold, ‘would never (*fays he*) let me be quiet, till, getting leifure enough in a lonely Country-Retirement, I wrote this Letter. Being a Perfon of extraordinary Candour, he freely acknowledged *Spinoza* to be defective in that Point, and confequently in all that depended on it; tho he had never obferved fo much before, and fome other *Spinozifts* fhewed the fame Ingenuity.’ But he freely acknowledges the diflike your Lordfhip expreffed of the latter part of that Letter,

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wherein he declared his own Opinion, that *Motion is essential to Matter no less than Extension*, and that *Matter* neither ever was, nor ever can be, a sluggish, dead, and inactive Lump, or in a State of absolute Repose.

To the several Objections, my Lord, you were pleased to make, he (informs us that he) returned distinct Answers in the *Second Letter* upon this Subject, and thus argues from it.——‘ For the *Apo-*
‘ *logies* I make about maintaining a
‘ Notion so flatly opposite both to the
‘ Ancients and Moderns, *the Reader* will
‘ be convinced that my Opinion is not
‘ chargeable with any of those ill Con-
‘ sequences to which at first Sight it
‘ may seem obnoxious: for I fancy I have
‘ made it very clear, that *Motion* is but
‘ *Matter* under a *certain Consideration*,
‘ tho it does not imply or exhaust the
‘ whole Idea of *Matter*, no more than
‘ *Extension* does.——Indeed it would
‘ be a Contradiction that *Motion* was es-
‘ sential to *Matter*, and yet that only
‘ *some parts* of *Matter*, and on *certain*
‘ *Occasions*, were endowed with a Power
‘ of *moving themselves*; whereas *Matter*
‘ may as well be sometimes without *Ex-*
‘ *tension* as without *Motion*, if there be
‘ any weight in my Allegations; tho nei-
‘ ther *this*, nor *that*, nor any other par-
‘ ticular

‘*ticular* Direction of its *Motion* be *essential* to it, but left to the *ordinary Determinations* of the *mutual Action* of Bodies on one another, or to the *immediate Power*, and *most wise Purpose* of Almighty God. But to say that God may take *Motion* from *Matter*, tho it were *essential* to it, is to say, that he can make it *no Matter*.’

He well observes in the Conclusion of his Preface, that there is nothing *in these Letters* ‘but what may be read without Passion by those of all Parties, Sects, and Factions. These are only innocent Researches into the venerable Ruins of Antiquity, or short Essays in Philosophy not calculated to offend any, but to please all; and to Divert, if they are not capable to Instruct.’

The High-Church Clergy having again attacked Mr. Toland, I shall close this Article, my Lord, with his true Character of Dr. Sacheverell (who had very injuriously traduced him in a Libel, intitled, *The Character of a Low-Churchman*) That Person, says he, *has pleased so very few by his furious and intemperate way of Writing, not to speak of his want of Knowledge as well as want of Civility, and indeed the very Design of his Libel was so extremely wicked, to oppress SOME, and to divide us ALL,*
that

that without regard to him, or those of his Kidney, I may venture to declare myself a Low-Churchman at Home, and an Occasional Conformist with the Protestants abroad.

Upon all Points of Controversy, your Lordship knows Mr. Toland's usual Declaration to have been, That he never was over confident of his own Judgment 'I shall ever pay, *says he*, all 'reasonable Deference and Submission to 'the deliberate, serious, prudent, impartial and peaceable Deliberations of any 'Society of Men; but yet without they 'enlighten my Understanding, and convince my Judgment, it is impossible for 'me to give them my Assent in perplexed 'or dubious Matters, much less to be 'sway'd in any Thing by their bare Authority against the clear Persuasion of my 'own Mind.'

Such were the Sentiments of the *Immortal* Tillotson! who, in his admirable Sermon concerning *Stedfastness in Religion*, declares, that *it is neither Immobility, nor a culpable Singularity, for a Man to stand alone in the Defence of the Truth.* For, adds that venerable Prelate in the same Discourse, — *If all the great Mathematicians of all Ages, Archimedes and Euclid, and Appollonius, and Diophantus, &c. could be sup-*
posed

posed to meet together in a General Council, and should there declare in the most solemn manner, and give it under their Hands and Seals, that twice Two did not make Four, but Five, this would not move me in the least to be of their Mind. Nay, I, who am no Mathematician, would maintain the contrary, and would persist in it, without being in the least startled by the positive Opinion of these great and learned Men: and should most certainly conclude, that they were either all of them out of their Wits, or that they were biassed by some Interest or other, and swayed against the clear Evidence of Truth, and the full Conviction of their own Reason, to make such a Determination as this. They might indeed over-rule the Point by their Authority; but, in my Inward Judgment, I should still be where I was before. And to show that a Man ought not to be put out of Countenance by the Name of a Church, or be borne down by the Number of a Council, the concurring Judgment of Mr. Hooker with Archbishop Tillotson, cannot be enough deservedly admired. Altho Ten Thousand General Councils (says that most learned Divine) should set down one and the same Definitive Sentence concerning any Point of Religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative Reason alledged, or
one

one Testimony cited from the Word of God himself to the contrary, could not chuse but overſway them all: inasmuch as for them to be deceived, is not ſo impoſſible, as it is that demonſtrative Reaſon, or divine Teſtimony, ſhould Deceive. And again, That the Authority of Men ſhould prevail with Men, either againſt or above Reaſon, is no part of our Belief. Companies of learned Men, tho they be never ſo Great and Reverend, are to yield unto Reaſon, the Weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the Simplicity of the Perſon which doth alledge it; but being found to be ſound and good, the bare Opinion of Men to the contrary muſt of neceſſity ſtoop and give place †. This he conceives to be the Judgment of the Church of England as well as his own; ſo did Cranmer, Jewel, Chillingworth, with the moſt applauded and reſpected Writers ſince the Reformation.

The next Pieces, *my Lord*, which fall under Conſideration, are his *Nazarenus* and *Tetradymus*; but the Objections to the former of them being ſo recent, and the latter being the Subject of a Controverſy now on foot, I ſhall leave the Points therein treated of, to be debated by the Parties

† See, *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, pag. 25, 26, & ſeq.

Mr. JOHN TOLAND. 89

diately concerned: Nor dare I venture to give any other Account of the *Pantheisticon*, than barely a recital of the Title of it, (in the Catalogue of Mr. Toland's Works hereunto annexed) lest I should be stigmatized with the opprobrious Name of a *Free-Thinker* in the Ecclesiastical Sense of that Denomination; tho I shall ever be proud to own it as an honourable Characteristick among those of your Lordship's unerring Judgment.

Having thus, *my Lord*, gone through the most considerable of Mr. Toland's Writings, there yet remains about half a dozen small *Political Pamphlets*, most of which, as they relate to some Points he afterwards more largely discussed, I have thought the bare mention of them sufficient: And as I was out of Town for some Months before his late violent Indisposition, I must refer your Lordship to the Account I received from our sincere Friend Mr. ———, who was with him at the Time of his Departure. I am,

My Lord,
With the profoundest Respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient
humble Servant, &c.

London, May 19. 1722.

N

To



To Mr. * * * * *

S I R,

St. James's,
March 15. 17th/₂₂.

POOR *Toland* has breathed his last—
and on the 13th Instant, his Re-
mains were decently Interred in the
Church-yard of *Putney*. He had, as I
am told, for about four Years past, lived
a recluse Life at a *Carpenter's* House in
that Village. A severe *Rheumatism* had
hung long upon Him, which turning to
the *Black-Faundice*, attended with a
Fever, proved Mortal to him about three
of the Clock on *Sunday* Morning, the
11th Instant, in the 53^d Year of his
Age.

He behaved himself throughout the
whole Course of his Sickness with a
Philosophick Patience, an entire Resig-
nation to the Divine Will, and was tho-
roughly sensible of his approaching Dis-
solution: For, upon his appearing some-
what more than ordinary chearful, the
Day before he died, and my telling him
that *I hoped he was better*; he replied
quick upon me, *Sir, I have no hopes*
but

but in God *. A few Minutes before he expired, looking earnestly at some Friends that were in the Room, and being asked *if he wanted any thing*, he answered with the greatest Resolution, *I want nothing but Death*. He had some Hours before his Departure delivered the Keys of his Trunk to our valuable and worthy Friend Mr. W——, and before Witness consigned to Him all his printed Books both there and elsewhere, together with his Manuscripts, as a small Token of his Gratitude for the many Favours he had received from Him. His Landlady told me, that Mr. W—— had been so very kind to promise the Discharge of his Debts, had ordered the Ground to be marked where he was buried, and expressed his Intention of putting a Stone over him. As you have often remarked, the Clamours

* *Agreeable to this Expression, was his Declaration in his Nazarenus, pag. 69. 'For my own part, (says he) I readily acknowledge, that no Man can merit any thing of God by his good Works, be they ever so many or great; and that whatever hereceives, is by meer Grace and Mercy, even the best of us being, strictly speaking, Unprofitable Servants.'*

And in another Place, 'I appeal (says he) to all moderate, serious and learned Divines not biased, whether I have ever shown by any of my Writings that I am an Enemy to Religion, tho' allowed so to Superstition, Religion pure and perfect, as it was originally taught, without the corrupt Additions and Alterations of ignorant or interested Persons, I both profess and recommend. Preface to Tetradymus, pag. xvii.'

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against his Writings, were wholly undeserved, and proceeded chiefly from those Upstarts who envied his Learning, from some insolent conceited Priests, or from those bigotted Enthusiasts who never read them, or could not have understood them if they had.

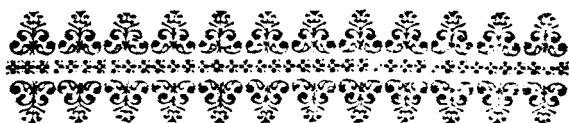
I heartily wish, that all those Persons who so readily give into the vile practice of Calumniating the Memories of such as differ from them in their narrow confined Notions of Things, would seriously lay that most excellent Scripture Caution to heart, *Let him that is free from Sin, cast the first Stone.*

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.



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Mr. Toland's Works in their
true Order, as they are mentioned
in the History of his Life.*

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Exceptions

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III. The History of the Canon of the New Testament.

IV. *Respublica Mosaica* or, The Commonwealth of *Moses*. (These two last in *Nazaremus*.)

V. A Treatise concerning *Tradition*. (In *Tetradymus*.)

How many, or which, of these Designs are executed, we know not. He was likewise about writing *the History of the Druids*, the Introduction to which is finished, and in the Hands of that Worthy Nobleman the Lord *Molesworth*.

There was found upon his Table when he died, a small *Latin Tract*, intitled, *Diatriba contra Medicos*, chiefly levelled against the Use of *Oils* and *Emetics*, so much of late in Vogue.

F I N I S.



P R E F A C E

T O

Mr. D. S.

S I R,



SINCE you are determin'd to continue in town this whole Winter, and that I know none of my friends to be a nicer judge of exact Printing, I must beg the favor of you, to convey (during my necessary absence, for some time, in the country) the inclos'd DISSERTATION to the Press, and to see it every way correctly finish'd: tho I hope to be with you again, before you have half done. But tis good to provide against all chances. I design to publish it next spring, for the same reason that all books are or ought to be publish'd: namely; that I may inform others of what I know, which in many things I apprehend to be my duty; or that, if misinform'd, I may be set right by those, who show themselves rather lovers of Truth than of Contention.

A 2

They

They are, for the most part, easily distinguish'd: tho, thro some men's management, even Truth does often wear the badges of Falshood. I have in the first chapter so farr declar'd the Contents of the first Letter, as to render any other Preface (I once thought) entirely unnecessary, at least a very long one. But the better nevertheless to prepare you for the reading of it, as also of the second Letter, especially since they are both swell'd beyond their original bulk; and that you may not possibly ly under any mistake by that too short Introduction, I shall reduce the sum of what you are to expect to the following heads: not thinking it needful to indicate every particular, no nor every general subject, in a work of so moderate a size.

I. *IN the first place you'll find the succinct history of a NEW GOSPEL, which I discover'd at Amsterdam, in the year 1709. It is a Mahometan Gospel, never before publicly made known among Christians, tho they have much talkt about the Mahometans acknowledging the Gospel. I strait sent an account of this discovery to his most serene Highness, the ever victorious PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY, to whom I had the honour of writing sometimes, by the way of his Adjutant General the Baron de HOHENDORF, who comes behind very few in the knowledge of all curious and useful books: and tis really surprizing how much the Prince himself has read, how minutely, how critically, in how many languages; considering his perpetual series of action as well in the Court as in the Camp. He's now master of this book, as may be seen in the Appendix. But our Turkish Gospel being father'd upon BARNABAS, and all Christians agreeing that MAHOMET acknowledg'd the Gospel; I have shewn by unexceptionable authorities, that Ecclesiastical writers did antiently attribute a Gospel to BARNABAS,*

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NABAS, whether there be any remains of it in this new-found Gospel, or not: and therefore upon this occasion I have given a clearer account, than is commonly to be met, of the Mahometan sentiments with relation to JESUS and the Gospel; insomuch that it is not (I believe) without sufficient ground, that I have represented them as a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither, tho' farr from being the best.

II. BUT happening to spend that summer in the delicious gardens of Honslaerdyk (a palace formerly belonging to King WILLIAM of immortal memory) from which I cou'd easily make an excursion to Leyden, upon any occasion of consulting the public Library, I was naturally led by the Gospel of BAR-NABAS to resume some former considerations I had about the NAZARENS; as being the Primitive Christians most properly so call'd, and the onely Christians for some time. Their History I have here set in a truer light than other writers, who are generally full of confusion and misrepresentation concerning them; making them the first, if not the worst, of all Heretics: nor did they want their mistakes, to be sure, any more than the Apostles themselves, who were often reprehended by their master and by one another. One of their mistakes, in common with the Apostles for some time, was a gross and worldly notion of the person and spiritual kingdom of CHRIST; which, with some opinions falsely imputed to them, and others as falsely held by them, are not the immediate subject of their History (these requiring too nice a discussion for this place) but tis the very groundwork of the Christian Economy, of which I shall presently give you the detail. I was long before directed to my materials by the celebrated FREDERIC SPANHEMIUS, when I study'd Ecclesiastical History under him at Leyden, tho' I differ

widely from my master in this point. But the Bible and the Fathers, the Hebrew and the Grec Originals, being what he ever exhorted his disciples to consult as their fountains, without giving up their judgements to any thing short of truth; I have follow'd his excellent advice to the best of my power, and tis for the able and equitable readers to decide, how I have profited by it. They who have read the same history and languages in the same Class with me, have not (that I can see) receiv'd any such change of organs or understanding from any of the Professions they have since espous'd, as to capacitate them for comprehending these things better than one without any Profession: and therefore the more likely to be freer from prejudices, as he has more leisure maturely to consider; neither being ty'd down by Articles upon Oath, too frequently productive of perjury, nor cramp'd by any other partial or politic restraint. But such reflections not being always so justly made as they ought to be, men of candor will accurately judge of the things themselves, without regarding whether he be a Clergyman or a Layman that delivers them.

III. FROM the history of the NAZARENS, and more particularly from the evident words of Scripture, I inferr in this discourse a distinction of two sorts of Christians, viz. those from among the Jews, and those from among the Gentiles: not onely that in fact there was such a distinction (which no body denies) but likewise that of right it ought to have been so (which every body denies) and that it was so design'd in THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY. I mean that the Jews, tho associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own Law thro-out all generations; and that the Gentiles, who became so farr Jews

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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, and in that part of Christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philosophers, requires the sanctification of the spirit, or 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. In comparison of the New Creature, Circumcision and Uncircumcision are as nothing: which yet no more takes away the distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, than the distinction of sexes; since it is likewise said in the same sense, and in the same place, that in CHRIST there is neither Male nor Female. Rom. x. 12. Gal. iii. 28. Col. iii. 11.

This fellowship in Piety and Virtue is the Mystery that PAUL rightly says was hid from all other ages, till the manifestation of it by JESUS; and this Union without Uniformity, between Jew and Gentile, is the admirable Economy of the Gospel. Now, Rom. xvi. 25. Ephes. i. 9, 10. & iii. 3, 5, 6, 9. Col. i. 26 this Gospel consists not in words but in virtue; tis inward and spiritual, abstracted from all formal and outward performances: for the most exact observati-
 on of externals, may be without one grain of religion. All this is mechanically done by the help of a little book-craft, whereas true religion is inward life and spirit. So that something else besides the Legal Ordinances, most of 'em political, was necessary to render a Jew religious: even that FAITH, which is an internal participation of the divine nature, irradiating the soul; and externally appearing in beneficence, justice, sanctity, and those other virtues by which we resemble God, who is himself all Goodness. But the Jews generally mistook the means for the end: as others, who better understood the end, would not only absurdly take away the means; but even

those other civil and national rites which were to continue always in the Jewish Republick (as I particularly prove) thus confounding political with religious performances. From this doctrine it follows (its true) that JESUS did not take away or cancel the JEWISH LAW in any sense whatsoever, Sacrifices only excepted; but neither does this affect any of the Gentile Christians now in the world, who have nothing at all to do with that Law. It follows indeed that the JEWS, whether becoming CHRISTIANS or not, are for ever bound to the LAW OF MOSES, as now limited: and he that thinks they were absolv'd from the observation of it by JESUS, or that tis a fault in them still to adhere to it, does err not knowing the Scriptures; as did most of the converts from the Gentiles, who gave their bare names to CHRIST, but reserv'd their Idolatrous hearts for their native superstitions. These did almost wholly subvert the TRUE CHRISTIANITY, which in the following Treatise I vindicate; drawing it out from under the rubbish of their endless divisions, and clearing it from the almost impenetrable mists of their sophistry. So inveterate was their hatred of the Jews (tho indebted to them for the Gospel) that their observing of any thing, however reasonable or necessary, was a sufficient motive for these Gentile converts to reject it. They wou'd neither fast nor pray at the same time with them, where they could possibly avoid it. They had no other reason for changing the time of Easter, to the dividing and distracting of all Christian Churches; but that they might have nothing in common with the Jews, as being so expressly commanded by CONSTANTINE the great, which we are told by EUSEBIUS in the 17th chapter of the 4th book of that Emperor's Life. And all Christians are enjoin'd by the 11th Canon of the 6th General Council (in Trullo) to have no familiarity or commerce with the Jews, not to call for their assistance when sick, neither

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ther to receive any physic from them, nor to wash in the same bath with them. I do here teach a very different doctrine, more consonant (I am persuaded) to the mind of CHRIST and his Apostles, as tis more agreeable to the Law of nature and the dictates of Humanity. As for what I think of Christianity in general, contrary to the malicious suggestions of wicked men (whose Godliness is Gain) I refer you to the perpetual tenor of this present book. Let they are in the right of it, if they mean that I disbelieve their sort of Christianity; which no good man can approve in practice, no more than any wise man can understand in theory. Tis Paganism or Policy, but not Christianity or Humanity. This will be evident from the account I give of CHRISTIANITY in general in the first Letter, and after a more particular manner in the second Letter.

IV. *VARIOUS difficulties, and such as have hitherto exercis'd many Pens to no purpose, or to the bad purpose of needlessly divideing mankind, are readily solv'd by this healing and uniteing SCHEME; not that I have arbitrarily contriv'd it, tho for so good an end, as several Systems have upon other occasions been merely coin'd for accommodation: but I maintain it, because I judge it to be most right and true, the genuin primary Christianity; and therefore produceing the promis'd effects of the Gospel, GLO-* Luc. ii. 14.
RY TO GOD ON HIGH, PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD-WILL TOWARDS MEN. Among those seemingly insoluble difficulties clear'd by it, is that of eating blood, and things strangl'd, and things dead of themselves; which I have brought (I fancy) to be no longer a subject of doubt or scruple to any one. I have moreover prov'd, that the distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, and this distinction onely, reconciles PETER and PAUL about Circumcision and the other Legal Ceremonies, as it does PAUL and JAMES about Justification by Faith

or by *Works*; it makes the Gospels to agree with the Acts and the Epistles, and the Epistles with the Acts and one another: but, what is more than all, it shows a perfect accord between the Old Testament and the New; and proves that God did not give two Laws, wherof the one was to cancel the other, which is no small stumbling block to the opposers of Christianity, as the resolving of this difficulty is no sign, I hope, of my want of Religion. Many are the salutary fruits I foresee from the obtaining of this SCHEME in the world, and but one sad consequence; I mean the turning to waste paper an infinite number of volums, particularly on Justification in the modern sense, on the several meanings of the Law (a thing, by the way, inconsistent with all Law) on the calling of the Jews to quit the Religion they receiv'd from MOSES, and the utter exploding of those forc'd or unintelligible Allegories, which have no manner of foundation in the Scriptures; but are the precarious inventions of fanciful or worse men, fit only to puzzle the curious, to amuze the indifferent, and to distract the ignorant. One main objection against Cartesianism in its infancy, was, that a great many booksellers wou'd be undone, and cart-loads of books become useless in Libraries, shou'd this pernicious sect prevail. But they need not be alarm'd.

V. I SHALL mention here no other difficulty remov'd by the SCHEME I espouse, but onely two more, which I have barely toucht as I go along: for the master-key being once found, tis easy opening all the doors. The first of these regards the controversy about the Seventh day, or Saturday-Sabbath; and the second, that of anointing sick persons: points which some of late have labor'd to introduce, and which I have no less clearly than briefly terminated. I might have instanc'd several others, cou'd the circumstances of my writeing this

DISSER-

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DISSERTATION have admitted it: nor am I willing to enlarge it at present so very much beyond its primitive size, tho several things I have occasionally added, amounting at least to a third part of the whole. Whatever may be the reception of this piece at the beginning, I doubt not but after a while the most judicious and moderate will approve of those *Explications*, which appear to be the most singular in it: for this is not the first time I have known them, who were the forwardest to write against me, afterwards to fall in themselves with the same sentiments; which has not pass'd unobserv'd by the public, especially with regard to certain late compounders for *MYSTERY*. Yet I might hazard to prophesy, that some of these same gentlemen may now be among the foremost to contest my explications; merely because they are mine, or rather because they are not originally theirs: as others will oppose them, because contrary to some of the receiv'd opinions, or not precisely suting with their interest. I only desire that in doing this they wou'd deal cautiously, and not commit such mistakes, as *Dr. BLACKHALL* did formerly, expos'd in *Amyntor*. I made no objections then, nor do I make any now, to invalidate or destroy, but in order to illustrate and confirm the Canon of the New Testament; wherof I have written the History in two parts, to be publish'd in convenient time. And as for my being so particular in relating, what the *Nazarens* or *Ebionites* objected against *PAUL*, besides that my subject manifestly requir'd it; tis likewise as manifest that it was to show their mistakes, which I have done, and that they had unjustly charg'd him with abolishing the Law. Let others make his *Apolo-*
gy better if they can.

VI. *THIS* much I had to say to you, Sir, in relation to the first Letter of the book you are to see printed. But, as to the second Letter, be pleas'd

to understand, that in the beginning of the same year 1709, I discover'd at the Hague a manuscript of the four Gospels (then lately brought from France) all written in Irish characters, which were mistaken for Anglo-Saxon, but yet the whole text in the Latin tongue. Some little thing in Irish it self is here and there mixt among the NOTES, which are very numerous, and other passages in the Irish language occur also elsewhere. Of what age or importance this book may be, and what Father SIMON has said about it, with my censure of him; you'll find so particularly discuss'd in their due place, that I need say no more of these things here. However, besides doing justice on this occasion to the Learning and flourishing Schools of the ANTIENŒT IRISH, while the rest of Europe continu'd distracted by wars and overshadow'd with ignorance; I have set in its true light, beyond what most others had an opportunity of doing, the Christianity originally profess'd in that nation (whereof I have given a distinct SUMMARY in 17 paragraphs) and which appears to be extremely different from the religion of the present Irish. I mean the posterity of the aboriginal Proprietors, to whom, as my countrymen and fellow-subjects, I do most earnestly recommend the impartial consideration of this matter. If they are fond of antiquity, this Religion is much ancients than the Popery which most of 'em now profess: it having been the peculiar honor of Ireland, as they'll find in perusing this Letter, to have asserted their Independency more strenuously against the usurpations of Rome, and to have preserv'd their Faith unpolluted against the corruptions of it longer, than any other nation. But truth being what people ought to value more than either country or kindred, as I have not been wanting to commend whatever I thought deserving; so I have never palliated what I judge blame-worthy in Ireland, no more than in any other country: nor
have

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*have I any where exceeded the reverend Dr. PRI-
DEAUX's expressions, who (in the 241st page of the* The 189th
page of the
folio edition.
*first part of the 2d volume of his excellent perfor-
mance, The Old and New Testament con-
nected) says, that, in the ages I mention, Ireland
was the prime seat of Learning in all Christen-
dom. What he has said I have prov'd, and this
from Authors unexceptionable, many of 'em contem-
poraries, and none of 'em Irish. I shall dispatch
with the APPENDIX, which consists of three
small pieces. The two PROBLEMS (whereof
the first piece consists) are preparatory to a Treatise
concerning the REPUBLIC OF MOSES, a-
bout which few men have hitherto written common
sense: not excepting SIGONIUS, or CUNEUS,
or even HARRINGTON the author of Oceana;
who, tho the best of 'em, is yet very defective, and in
many things erroneous. Next follows an account of the
TURKISH GOSPEL by Monsieur DE LA
MONNOYE (to whom the Baron DE HOHEN-
DORF shew'd it, after the owner had parted with
it to PRINCE EUGENE) and which I have ad-
ded, as a further illustration of the book; and withall
as a confirmation of my own description of it, which
I am persuaded the Baron did not show to that inge-
nious Academician. Lastly, come certain QUE-
RIES I drew up for my private satisfaction, and
that of some others; having already sent diverse
copies of them to Asia and Africa, as well as to
Greece.*

VII. *IN the marginal NOTES I have com-
monly express my self in Latin, the obvious-
est language on such occasions: besides that it is intelligible
to all who are conversant with such passages, and a-
bout which others must rely on the skill of those they
can trust. But my text is plain and perspicuous e-
nough, even to the meanest capacity; having, after
the*

the great example of the antients, interwoven those passages into my own discourse in a continu'd thread: and not onely being of opinion that the simplest Stile (not incompatible with the politest) is in teaching the best; but that every man, who clearly conceives any subject, may as clearly expresse it. Witty conceits and harmonious florishes are for another-gueſs sort of writing: but obscurity is to be avoided in all sorts; and nothing to be affected but not to be misunderstood; if too great a care of being intelligible, can be reckon'd affectation. In the Greec NOTES at the foot of the page, I shou'd have avoided ligatures and contracti-ous, which are no more useful in this Tongue than in the Latin; or rather they are still as troublesome and deform'd in the one, as they were once in the o-ther. I admire therefore that WETSTEIN's ex-ample is not more follow'd by other printers. For the same reason the Greec is printed without Accents, which are a useless, perplexing, and no very ancient invention, on the foot they now stand. But let it be specially remember'd, with regard to all citations of Authors, that I give them onely for what they are; having always had recourse to the Originals, whether quoted by others or not, except where I hint the contrary for want of such Originals, and neither wilfully curtailing, garbling, or misrepresenting any of them: produceing Fathers as Fathers, Heretics as Heretics, Antients and Moderns for just such; and therefore not answerable for any thing they say, unless where I expressly approve it, as I may proba-bly disapprove them on other accounts. I answer in others for no more than what I say with them, which is nothing the worse for what they may elf-where say against it. Their judgement of things can-not alter the nature of them. I allow all of 'em to be judges of the opinions of their own times as to fact (if they be any thing fair or accurate) but not al-ways to reason for me, much less implicitly to lead me.

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me. The PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE I hope will be read at length, in the few places where I have not quoted them so, particularly those in the beginning of the twelfth chapter: and I have taken care in general not to overburthen the reader with citations of any sort, contenting my self to prove or illustrate my allegations by no more authorities than are necessary; tho I often abound with others, which I judge needless, or reserve against Answerers.

VIII. *THESE Answerers naturally put me in mind of Cavillers, whom I wou'd not have to run away with a notion, as if I thought FAITH did every where signify the Christian Institution; because, in the 16th chapter of the first Dissertation, I say it does so whenever oppos'd to the Works of the Law: or as if I maintain'd WORKS did every where signify the Levitical Rites, because I say they do so, whenever oppos'd to Faith. The various meanings of these words are obvious to every reader, as Faith (for example) in the 6th verse of the 1st chapter of JAMES, signifies a full persuasion: but in the 1st and 5th verses of the second chapter, it signifies the whole Christian belief. So does it in the 14th verse of the same chapter, as Works there betoken the Levitical Rites: and the instance of Charity in the 15th and 16th verses is plainly a simile, of what is inforc'd in the 17th verse. The examples of ABRAHAM and RAHAB in the 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th verses, show that works here betoken the positive, not the moral Law. For Christianity is by the same Apostle, in the 21st verse of the 1st chapter, most properly stil'd the engrafted word able to save their souls, engrafted I say on the Law of MOSES, not sanctifying the inward man; yet for most wise reasons to be perpetually observ'd by the Jews, and wherof Christianity is the spirit: for as the body without the breath is dead, so Jam. ii. 26. Faith without Works is dead also; yea and by Works*

Ibid. v. 24. Works a man is justify'd, and not by Faith onely. This is literally true of the Jews, and had LUTHER understood this distinction, he wou'd never have rejected (which he once did) the Epistle of JAMES as stramineous and contrary to the doctrine of PAUL: which stands upon the same foot with that of JAMES, as in our first Dissertation one running may read.

John i. 17. The LAW was given by MOSES, but GRACE and TRUTH came by JESUS, who has confirm'd that Law. I hope no small advantage will accrue to Christianity from the system advanc'd in the said 16th and 17th chapters of this Dissertation; in which, as well as by the SUMMARY OF CHRISTIANITY contain'd in the second Dissertation, tho not onely the reality, but (as I am reasonably to hope) the soundness of my Religion sufficiently appears: yet seeing learned disquisitions are not for every body's taste or capacity, however grateful to the curious, and necessary for the proof of things; I shall hereafter (God willing) give a more distinct account of my Religion, stript of all literature, and laid down in naked theorems, without notes of any kind. I promise you (Sir) before-hand, that it will not be a mechanical and artificial Religion, consisting more in a stupid respect for receiv'd forms, and a lifeless round of performances by rote, than in a reasonable worship or unaffected piety. There will be more objects of practice than of belief in it; and nothing practis'd but what makes a man the better, nor any thing believ'd but what necessarily leads to practice and knowledge: yet nothing that does not concern people to know, or that they cannot possibly know at all. It will contain nothing fabulous or mysterious, nothing hypocritical or austere; nothing to divert people from their employments, or tending to beget idleness and licentiousness: nothing, in short, that contributes to enslave their minds or bodies, nothing to serve the purposes of Princes or Priests against the interest of mankind. This you'll say, after what I have already

dy perform'd in the following book, seems to be superfluous: but, by that time the year comes round, you'll find reason for your self to change your mind, and for me to publish that System of Religion.

FREQUENT complaints are deservedly made about the want of PIETY, wherof the cause nevertheless is known but to very few: for the little effect of Religion procedes in most places from the too great influence of the CLERGY, who make that to pass for Religion which is none, or quite the reverse, as they make Piety often inconsistent with Probity; and this they do to serve their own private ends, which in such places are ever opposite to the public good of the people. But let it be always understood, that I mean corrupt and interested PRIESTS, the bitterest enemies to good MINISTERS, for whom I both have, and shall ever retain the highest veneration. The functions and views of the latter I shall specify on another occasion. The practices and pretences of the former are too flagrant to be deny'd. Every day yields fresh instances of the ambitious and traitorous designs of degenerate Clergymen,

Whose lives make Atheists, and whose doctrine Slaves.

The ultimate designs of such men are to procure to themselves Riches, and consequently Power and Authority; as, in order to secure both, they train up their hearers in Ignorance, and consequently in Superstition and Bigotry. Their constant Preaching will be made an objection to this assertion: but constant Preaching is not always effectual Teaching. If the things preach'd be metaphysical riddles, or mythological tales, or mystical dreams; if they are Politics instead of Faith and Repentance, the People are as farr from being taught, as if they heard nothing: but with this difference, that they

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imagine they know something, while they only make
 good the character of ever learning, but never be-
 2 Tim. iii. ing able to come to the knowledge of the Truth.
 7. The most libertine Priests, the most illiterate Mendi-
 cants, can easily make what impressions they please
 upon a People thus previously dispos'd; who believe,
 when those Empirics are maliciously blackening the
 lovers of Truth, that they are strenuously asserting
 the cause of God against the servants of the Devil:
 and thus they are commonly workt up to become the
 mortal enemies of such as are pleading their own
 cause; and who wou'd generously set 'em free, from
 the bondage of their spiritual Task-masters. They
 are accusom'd to look upon them no longer with
 eyes of Humanity, no nor to believe their own senses
 concerning them; for once they know 'em to differ
 from their Leaders (whose human Inventions they are
 taught to be the Oracles of God) they abhor 'em as
 the most licentious and abandon'd Libertines, be their
 lives and conversations ever so irreproachable: not
 being able to conceive how one, who is not right in
 his notions, that is, in their notions of things, can
 be just in his actions; even tho such notions shou'd
 not relate to practice at all, but end in pure specula-
 tion. The GENTRY in some countries know
 little more than the VULGAR, being industriously
 molded to their own purposes by the CLERGY, to
 whose care their Earliest Education is preposterously
 committed: or if in some other countries they happen
 to be more discerning, yet out of a sordid principle of
 Interest, to which they basely sacrifice Truth and
 Virtue, they affect to be more credulous than the ve-
 ry VULGAR; and this with a view of being
 recommended to the PRINCE by the CLER-
 GY, who preach up his absolute Power over the Peo-
 ple, that their own Authority may become arbitrary
 both over these and him too. But having nothing
 to apprehend in this last respect (our British Throne
 being

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being happily fill'd with a Prince no less discerning and judicious, than just and magnanimous, and abhorring Tyranny as much as he despises Superstition) I shall, in spite of all discouragements, openly profess the Religion I believe to be most for the instruction and benefit of mankind; for what is not so, can never be true; much less divine. This Religion, I say, I shall fairly deliver: and to the present reward, which the consciousness of doing my duty necessarily brings along with it, I shall add the certain prospect I have, that the few in all ages who are wise and good (which qualities ought to be inseparable) will do justice to a man who dar'd to own his affection to Truth, the beauty whereof had set him above all fears and expectations.

I AM farr from being ignorant of the ARTS, which those corrupt Clergymen whereof I have spoken, and such onely of the Clergy, daily use, to decry their Antagonists; experience as well as observation having abundantly discover'd to me those Mysteries of iniquity, and convinc'd me of this maxim that all curious Enquiries and useful Discoveries wou'd be for ever stop't; shou'd men put a stop to their Pens for fear of Obloquy, or any other Opposition. The most learned and universally celebrated Mr. LE CLERC has written an entire Dissertation (Argumentum Theologicum ab Invidia ductum) to expose the Calumnies of Divines, when other Arguments fail them. Every little Chaplain's transforming himself into the Catholick Church, and making Christianity (forsooth) to suffer by the exploding of his whimsies, ought no more to terrify us from appearing for Truth; than we shou'd be scolded or buffoon'd out of it by others, who write, as if they had the high office of being the Church's Jesters and Merry-Andrews. To speak against any one of these, if you take their own word for it, is to be an enemy to all Clergymen, to disbelieve the Christian Religion,

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and

- and not to own the being of a God. Numberless are the wiles and artifices of such mercenary Priests, to puzzle the cause, or to discredit the person of an Adversary; whereof I think it convenient here, to specify the most principal. They are sure, in the first place, to misrepresent the state of the Question, and to make it more or less important than it is, as may best suite their ends; their implicate followers being ever ready to asquiesce in their report of the matter,
2. without once daring to think for themselves. They commonly deliver the Sense of the man, whose book they oppose, in their own words instead of his; under pretence of setting it in a clearer light, when indeed they design to involve and perplex it: or if they produce the words of the Original, they are always disjointed and imperfect; and their observations upon them, for fear their sophistry might be detected, are
 3. equivocal, industriously confuse, and obscure. They conceal his chief Reasons and strongest Arguments, loudly insisting at the same time upon Incidents either not essential or foren to the subject; and nibbling at unguarded expressions or inaccuracies of Stile, into which, thro more attention to the matter than to the words, the correctest writers are sometimes apt to
 4. fall, especially in a work of any length. Unfairly dropping the main Question, they attribute Designs to their opponent the most remote from his views, and from the evident scope of his whole writeing: judging of others by themselves, as if there were a trick at the bottom of every thing men did; and that, upon a proper occasion, they wou'd make no scruple of saying one thing and meaning another.
 5. This puts me in mind of another of their main artifices, for so impotent is their malice, that almost in the same breath they make the same man equally stupid and cunning; telling you in this page, that his whole Performance is so insuperably dull and incoherent, as scarce to deserve animadversion: which in
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the next page they contradict themselves, not only in the oil and sweat they expend to confute him; but in laying his plot so deep for him, and reporting his skill so formidable, as to call for abler hands, nay sometimes for the Magistrate, to take him to task. They draw invidious Consequences from his positions, 6. which either follow not by any Logical deduction, or are disown'd by him as wrested and unforeseen; yet by them popularly imputed to him, as if he had actually intended and maintain'd them. They never 7. fail to accuse him of Innovation, which, if not his greatest merit (as new Reformations ought to be substituted to old disorders) yet his greatest crime is many times the reviving of some obsolete unfashionable Truth, a novelty not to be endur'd by men who live upon error. But what do I talk of Truth? to 8. which they are so little us'd, that they ever charge their Antagonist with not believing what he affirms, and as wringing onely out of Singularity, or vainly to get a Name; not considering with what greater probability it may be retorted upon them, that the sincerity of their own belief is much more justly to be call'd in question, since it is rewarded with Riches, Fame, and Authority: which is the reason, that the real Infidels are (in appearance) the most zealous Professors and Persecutors in all national Churches, ever over-acting their parts; it being visibly absurd, that an Atheist shou'd be a Nonconformist, or that any man who does not care for Truth wou'd suffer for what he does not believe. No, no: such people can bawl Orthodoxy, and never fail going to Church. If the Style of the man they love not, be chaste and 9. unaffected, stript of the enthusiastic cant of the Fathers, the barbarous jargon of the Schools, and the motly dialect of later Systems, then his Principles are vehemently suspected; and by how much more they are intelligible, judg'd to be by so much more dangerous. If the dispute be about matters of Fact, 10.

- and that a man produces *Authorities* no less apt than numerous, this they call a *show of Reading*, or *borrow'd Learning*: endeavoring to depreciate what they cannot disprove, and sanctifying their illiberal Scurrility with the name of *Zeal*: for of all men they are the most bitter and foul-mouth'd against an Adversary; which the Popish Jesuits commend as meritorious, and which the Protestant Jesuits practise as if it were so; meaning by these last, such as act like
11. the first. He must, among other epithets, be branded with the odious denomination of some ancient or modern *HERESY*, which often happens to be only a nickname for *Truth*: and, whether he will or no, he's made to agree with those in every thing, with whom he happens to agree in any one thing; as if every *Sett* did not hold some truth, were it but to
 12. countenance their falsehoods. If neither any nor all these methods can run down his *Doctrine*, they will next attack his *Person*, running away with every idle story they can catch, and poorly rakeing into the frailties of his life, tho he shou'd be less obnoxious to censure than the best of his neighbors; and charging him even with the actual guilt, of what they pretend to follow from his *Notions*: never hesitating at the vilest insinuations, to the end some calumny may stick; for, of all men, they have the quickest knack of circulating *Scandal*. Yet they wou'd do well to assign the time, when a *Layman* is not to be twitted with the follies of his childhood, or reproach'd with the excesses of his youth (shou'd he be guilty of any) since they will not admit it fair to accuse a *Clergyman*, of anything he did before *Ordination*, or rather before he's *Doctor'd* or *Dignify'd*.

THESE are some of the ordinary *ARTS* of *Corrupt Clergymen* (of which alone I speak, to say it once for all) and by these marks you shall know them: but by none more than the charge of *ATHEISM*,
which

which, in their passion or malice, they bully out against any person that presumes to contradict them: and, what extremely contributes to the scandal of Religion, and to make Atheists in good earnest, they commonly lay this aspersions on men of the clearest sense and the soberest lives; while they bestow the appellation of **GOOD CHURCHMEN** on the most ignorant fops and rakes, if they but appear devoted to their persons or their interest. The **PRIEST-RIDDEN LAITY** imitate more or less these practices of their Clerical Guides, till at last a man becomes an **INFIDEL** for differing from another about the meanest trifle in nature. It becomes a Spirit that haunts them, and they meet it every where. Of this a notable example is furnisht us by the author of the Builder's Dictionary, who inveighing (in the 5th page of his Proem) against the despisers of Architecture, I must and will tell such men (says he) the plain truth, that they must certainly be **INFIDELS**, and do not deserve the title of a Jew, and much less of a Christian: for which his weighty reason is, that if they were Jews, they must have been acquainted with the buildings appointed in the Old Testament; and that if they were Christians, they must have read the books of the Jews. But it happens unluckily for him, that Heathens and Infidels have been much better Architects, than either Jews or Christians. He concludes the page by telling us, that **CHRIST** was pleas'd to exercise this art of Architecture, and to be a Mechanic, even a Carpenter; which I must needs tell you (adds he) is no small honor to the Mechanics and to Architecture: and I must needs tell him, that he might as well conclude a man an Infidel for being merry with his neighbors, or having a house of his own; since we read that **JESUS** had not a hole wherin to lay his head, and that he wept but never laugh't that we know. 'Tis seldom that Divines fix their accusa-

tion of Atheism more conclusively, which makes it as contemptible as the Pope's Bulls at Constantinople. Nay Hell-fire it self, in their mouths, has lost much of its ancient terror; since they assign no less a punishment than eternal damnation, to the rejecting of certain chimerical notions about Priesthood and Schism, alembick'd out of the Fathers: and to the disbelief of certain Doctrines of their own coining, which they neither practise nor believe; and therefore ought to pass for counterfeit with all others, such, for example, as Passive Obedience, Indefeasible Hereditary Right, and the like, whether impiously father'd upon GOD, or MOSES, or JESUS. These however are the stratagems against which I am to guard, against which my Readers, being forewarn'd, ought to be forearm'd; but which piece of justice, owing to themselves as well as to me, I am not to hope they will be all judicious and equitable enough to observe.

WHEREFORE, after all these necessary precautions, I yet expect to be unmercifully pelted by those; who are the least able to confute me, should I happen to be any where in the wrong, as no person on earth is infallible. This answering for answering sake, whether the thing be answerable or not; and the allowing of nothing where anything is thought fit to be deny'd, is so vulgar and customary a practice, that all wise men do as much despise as they detest it: and, for my own part, I have, without pretending to be one of their number, resolv'd beforehand to receive all that sort of fire unmov'd; and to repel at the same the attacks of my enemies, tho not with the like stink-pots to those they may throw at me. Of this I gave a specimen in Amyntor. The only favor I desire is, that as I wrote my book alone, I may answer alone for it; and that MEGALETOR be not made to adopt the contents of all the Letters he receives, no more than of all the Books in his Library.

brary. But being a forener, he's happily out of the reach of their spite. I say as much however on the behalf of my other Friends at home; for it is an artifice peculiar to certain folks, to hook in every one they dislike, to what they first proclaim a crime. Besides, that in other respects, the thing is very unfair: for if the Book be good the true Author ought not to be rob'd of the praise he deserves; and if it be bad, no others ought to suffer for a fault, they did not commit. Thus (for example) have I my self been, by more than one, no less confidently than falsely reported, to have had a hand in the Discourse of Free-thinking; of which charge, nevertheless, I am quite as clear as themselves. I never club brains, I do assure them. But my Adversaries thought it enough, that I am well acquainted with the writer of that book, who is a very worthy Gentleman and a staunch Englishman. With such I shall ever think it a happiness to be acquainted, let their speculative Sentiments be what they will; for which I am no more bound to be accountable, than they for mine. Otherwise I shou'd have a fine task indeed on my hands, being intimate with Turks and Jews, with Christians of most denominations, with Deists and Sceptics, with men of wit or worth in every nation of Europe, and with some out of it. I wish I were with more so every where. This was the laudable manner of the Antients, this I take to be the way to solid Knowledge, this I am certain is true Humanity: and as I set no value on the judgment of peevish narrow-sou'd Bigots of any kind, by whom no Improvement is to be made, cramping on the contrary all generous Researches; so I am persuaded, that whatever is afraid to trust it self alone abroad, is not able to stand alone at home. A good Cause dares bear the worst that can be said against it, having no distrust of its own Worth. I dare venture my Belief with any man. If tis right he may come into it, if wrong he may convince

since me, and if he'll do neither he's at his liberty : it breaks no squares at all, provided he's master of any Art, or Science, or other good Quality, by which I may reap any benefit or entertainment.

*ALL the arts of defamation I have enumerated, are now jointly put in practise in this nation against one man; for being nobly engag'd in the cause of Mankind, in the cause of Christianity, in that of the Reformation, and in that of the Laity. By this account every one must conclude, I mean the right reverend the Bishop of BANGOR: who, tis to be hop'd, will not be deserted by the Laity; whose privileges as men and Christians, as Reasonable creatures and Protestants, he does with no less honesty than courage assert, against the encroachments of the Popishly affected part of the Clergy. The malice of Devils is set at work, and the tongues of wicked men are set on edge against him, for the stand he makes against Popery; which is the heaviest curse that can light on any nation, the greatest unhappiness that can befall men, with respect to their civil or religious Liberties. They who are for setting up themselves instead of God (no matter under what name) and erecting a Political empire over the understandings and consciences of others; cannot bear with a man, who preaches that as CHRIST is King in his own Kingdom, so his Kingdom is not of this World, nor Religion consequently to be propagated or promoted by secular Rewards and Punishments. Or if for mere shame, because the words are in Scripture, some of his Antagonists own, that CHRIST's Kingdom is not of this World; yet it is in such a manner, as to be content with nothing less than the whole World for their possession: and favoring or distinguishing the household of Faith, is in their sense to rob others of their Rights, to make religion a Monopoly, and to confine
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XXV

the Gospel to their Peculium, instead of giving it a free passage over all the earth. This Antichristian spirit is the source of infinite evils, that will certainly attend this Church and Nation; unless, in behalf of Christian Liberty, other able persons do seasonably interpose, after the example of this magnanimous Bishop, whom, tho unknown to him, I profoundly reverence for his main Principle: however he may differ from me in any thing of less importance, or that I may possibly differ from his Lordship in many of the things I advance in this very book.

BUT to conclude this Letter, the first of these DISSERTATIONS (which I made a secret to no body, since in the Year aforesaid I sent it to MEGALETOR) did, upon a mistaken notion of the Subject, probably occasion the alarm that was sounded four or five years ago, by the ingenious author of the Clergyman's thanks to PHILELEUTHERUS LIPSSENSIS; as if a new Gospel were to be foisted, I know not how, into the room of the four old ones. But now I hope his fears will abate, and that, for all this same BARNABAS of Turkey, MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, and JOHN, may still make good their posts. And so, my Friend, the Letters I wrote in that time of warr, and sent by the post under the feign'd name of PANTHEUS, I communicate to you this day without any disguise, in order to publish them to all the world. I am, with perfect respect,

Dear Sir,

Jan. 20. 1718.

Your most obedient servant,

J. T.

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N A Z A R E N U S:
O R,
Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan
CHRISTIANITY.

L E T T E R I.
C H A P. I.



IN my last Letter I promis'd to send you a *Dissertation* upon a subject altogether new (most illustrious M E G A L E T O R) and now I design to be as good as my word. But first I must make one or two reflections, which however will not lead us much out of our way. You know what vast sums have been publicly promis'd, and I have known much ampler rewards privately propos'd to be given that man, who shou'd recover the remaining parts of the incomparable historians,
L I V Y

N A Z A R E N U S.

LIVY and TACITUS. Yet I am persuaded, from the present practice of mankind, as well as from several instances that have formerly happen'd of this very nature: that if any person were so happy, as to discover those or the like valuable manuscripts; he wou'd, contrary to his own and the world's expectations, be left to the mercy of the booksellers, or the generosity of subscribers. Do we not find all the books of the learned fill'd with complaints, that the ancient Egyptian language and letters, with the means to decypher their Hieroglyphicks, are irreparably lost? What labor, what expence do they not profess they wou'd lay out, to obtain those hidden, and therefore by them reckon'd inestimable, treasures? cou'd they perceive the least probability, or even possibility of succeeding. But for all this, THOMAS HYDE, the late Bodleian library-keeper at Oxford, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of Christ-Church, and Professor of the Oriental languages, after publishing to the world that he was become a perfect master of the ancient Persian literature, that he understood their language and letters, which are suppos'd long ago extinct; nay, and that he cou'd prove the genuin works of ZORCASTER, with several other books of the Mages (containing their history, religion, government, agriculture, and the like) were still extant: after asserting all these particulars, I say, and giving various specimens of their characters, in whole passages of his *Latin*¹ *history of the Religion of the ancient Persians*, tho reserving the Alphabet a secret to himself; yet he cou'd neither engage the public of any sort (applying to Whig and Tory ministers by turns) nor a sufficient number of pri-

1. *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum*, &c. Oxoniæ, 1700.

vate benefactors, to enable him to print the books of that kind he had already procur'd, nor to purchase those others which he knew were now in being. He was at the charge of casting a sett of thole ancient Persian letters, and he once show'd me one of the books, by means wherof he attain'd the interpretation of the rest, written in alternate lines; the one red and the other black (if I remember right) the one in the old, the other in the modern character: which sorts of writing had not the least affinity or similitude together, no more than the two languages. Tho I confess I never had any extraordinary opinion of Dr. H Y D E's judgement, when he took upon him to reason in matters of philosophy or theology; yet I generally found him a competent judge of facts in his most peculiar profession, and cou'd not therefore forbear wishing he had receiv'd due encouragement: that, after his translating of those books, we might likewise judge for our selves, and see how farr what the present ² fire-worshippers in Persia, with their exil'd brethren the Pertees in the East-Indies, believe with so much zeal, and conceal with so much industry, might agree with what the Greec and Roman authors have recorded concerning ZOROASTER and his Magcs, the Persians themselves, their customs, language, and religion. Nor is it less to be wish'd, that some body, out of the Malabar language, wou'd publish the *Shaster*, now lying useleis in the ³ Bodleian library at Oxford; and which contains the Religion of the present Indian Bramans, transmitted to them from the ancient Brachmans, who affirm'd they receiv'd it from heaven. It

2. So they are commonly, tho erroneously nick-nam'd (as the Mahometans likewise call 'em: Gueurs. Heretics or Unbelievers) from their respecting the fire as a symbol of the Divinity.

3. MSS. Bodl. supra P. 3. Art. num. 2861.

signifies nothing how fabulous, contradictory, or mysterious such books may prove; since they serve not only to discover what the modern Indians believe, but to illustrate what old authors have deliver'd concerning the Indian Religion and Philosophy. But that I may not wander too far, I cou'd never admire at our ignorance about things contain'd in dead languages, or the concerns of nations quite abolish'd, when we are so shamefully at a loss in the affairs of a people, that have flourish'd far and wide for above a thousand years, that are contemporary with our selves, that are diversify'd into numerous sects and dialects, and with whom we not only daily converse and traffic; but who are also in some places polite and extremely subtil, abounding with men of letters in their way, and a great variety of books. Nevertheless, tis but very lately that we begun to be undeceiv'd about MAHOMET's pigeon, his pretending to work miracles, and his tomb's being suspended in the air: pious frauds and fables, to which the Musulmans are utter strangers. The truly learned and candid Mr. RELAND, the celebrated professor of the Oriental languages at Utrecht, has exploded not a few vulgar errors relating to the Alcoranists; as others in other articles have, with that moderate Divine and finish'd Scholar, Dr. PRIDEAUX Dean of *Norwich*, done 'em the like justice. But the subject of this *Letter*, Sir, is a point not yet clear'd, if indeed touch'd by any: and tho the very title of *Mahometan Christianity* may be apt to startle you (for *Jewish* or *Gentile Christianity* shou'd not sound quite so strange) yet I flatter my self, that, by perusing the following *Dissertation*, you'll be fully convinc'd there is a sense, wherein the Mahometans may not improperly be reckon'd and call'd a sort or sect of Christians, as Christianity was at
first

first esteem'd a branch of Judaism; and that consequently, shou'd the GRAND SEIGNIOR insist upon it, they might with as much reason and safety be tolerated at London and Amsterdam, as the Christians of every kind are so at Constantinople and thro-out all Turkey. You'll further see reasons here to persuade you of a great paradox, namely; that JESUS did not, as tis universally believ'd, abolish the Law of MOSES (Sacrifices excepted) neither in whole nor in part, not in the letter no more than in the spirit: with other uncommon particulars, concerning THE TRUE AND ORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY. Finally, you'll discover some of the fundamental doctrines of Mahometanism to have their rise, not from SERGIUS the Nestorian monk (a person who has hitherto serv'd for a world of fine purposes) but from the earliest monuments of the Christian religion. And tho for the most part I am only a historian, resolv'd to make no Reflections but what my facts will naturally suggest, which facts are generally collected from the *Bible* and the *Fathers*; yet I am not wanting, when there's occasion for it, to chalk out the methods, whereby the errors of simple or designing men may be seasonably confuted: as particularly, by showing the most material difficulties they object; and by exhorting our Divines, with all others that are equal to the task, to prove the authenticity, divinity, and perfection of the *Canon of Scripture*, the best means to silence all gainsayers. Concerning the *new Gospel* I discover, you'll receive due satisfaction in the next chapter; and in those immediately following it. In the mean while, we may (I hope) be as reasonably allow'd to lay out some portion of our time and diligence about the Mahometan doctrine (wherin we are not wholly unconcern'd) as in explaining the old Heathen Mythology, which

makes so great a part of our studies, both at school and in the university. So much by way of Introduction: now to our subject.

CH A P. II.

AMONG the numerous *Gospels*, *Acts*, *Epistles*, and *Revelations*, which were handed about in the primitive Church, which since that time have been pronounc'd apocryphal by the majority of Christians, and wherof some remain entire to this day, as the *Gospel of JAMES* for example (tho we have only a few fragments of several others) among these, I say, there was a *Gospel* attributed to BARNABAS, as appears from the famous *Decree of GELASIUS* 4 Bishop
of

4. *Hujus Decreti verba huc spectantia, cum variantibus quorundam codicum lectionibus, sic se habent.* Itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli, quod appellatur sancti Clementis, libri octo [*potius decem*] apocryphum: Actus, nomine Andreae apostoli, apocryphi: Actus nomine Philippi apostoli, apocryphi: Actus nomine Petri apostoli, apocryphi: Actus nomine Thomae apostoli, apocryphi: Evangelium, nomine Thaddaei [*ut & Matthiae*] apocryphum: Evangelium, nomine Thomae apostoli, quo utuntur Manichaei, apocryphum: Evangelium, nomine BARNABAE, apocryphum: Evangelium nomine Bartholomaei apostoli [*etiam nomine Jacobi minoris*] apocryphum: Evangelium, nomine Andreae apostoli [*ut & Petri*] apocryphum: Evangelia, quae falsavit Lucianus, apocrypha: Evangelia, quae falsavit Helychius, apocrypha: liber de Infantia Salvatoris, apocryphus: liber de nativitate Salvatoris, & de Sancta Maria, & de Obstetrice Salvatoris, apocryphus: liber qui appellatur Pastoris, apocryphus: libri omnes, quos fecit Lenticus [*potius Lescius, Charinus scilicet*] discipulus Diaboli, apocryphi: liber, qui appellatur Actus Theclae & Pauli apostoli, apocryphus: Revelatio, quae appellatur Thomae apostoli, apocrypha: Revelatio, quae appellatur Pauli apostoli, apocrypha: Revelatio, quae appellatur Stephani, apocrypha: liber, qui appellatur Transitus Sanctae Mariae, apocryphus: liber, qui appellatur Sortes Apostolorum, apocryphus: liber, qui appellatur Laus Apostolorum, apocryphus: liber Canonum Apostolorum, apocryphus: Epistola Jesu ad Abgarum regem, apocrypha—

of *Rome*, who inserts it by name in his roll of apocryphal books. Yet GELASIVS, who only augmented and confirm'd it, is not generally allow'd to be the first author of this *Decree*; but DAMASVS before him, as it was augmented again by HORMISDAS after him. The *Gospel* of BARNABAS is likewise quoted in the *Index of the Scriptures*, which CÔTELERIVS has publish'd from the 1789th manuscript of the *French King's library*. Tis further mention'd in the 206th manuscript of the BAROCCIAN collection in the Bodleian library, and is follow'd by the *Gospel according to Matth*: which, to be sure, signifies MATTHIAS and not MATTHEW; since not only in some copies of the *Gelasian Decree* there is a *Gospel* attributed to MATTHIAS, but also by ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, JEROM, and AMBROSE, as may be seen by the Catalogues

Apud Gratian. distinct. 15. can. 3. & in tome 4. Concilior. ac alibi passim.

5. Indiculus Scripturarum, in *Judicio de Constant. Apostolic.*

6. Catalogus hinc Barroccianus, cui nostras observationes uniuersim inclusas interspergemus, sic se habet in prædicto codice post Damascenorum de mensibus Macedonum. Αδαν (libri nimirum Adamo olim a Judæis affecti, speciatim parva *Genesis*) Εσθρ (scilicet prophetia) Λαμεχ (itiadem prophetia) Πατριάρχαι (Testamentum dædæicum Patriarchatum) Ιωσφο πρεσβυτην, Ελδα (scilicet Metad) Ελδα & Medad) Διαδνη Μοyses (legitur & alius liber dictus Ανανσις Μοyses) Ψαλμοι Σαμουελος (vel Ωδαι Σαμουελος) Ηλκ Αποκαλυψις (vel prophetia) Ησθρ Εσθρ (alias Ανανσις) Σορον Αποκαλυψις (habetur & Ζαχαρι Αποκαλυψις patris nempe Joannis Baptistæ) Εσθρ Αποκαλυψις, Ισθρ Ισθρ Πέτρο Αποκαλυψις, Πέτρο και Διδαχαι Αποκαλυψις (Petri nempe, Pauli, Joannis, Thomæ, & ceterorum) Βαλδα Επιστολη, Παυλο περιε, Παυλο Αποκαλυψις, Διδασκαλια Κλημεντος, Ιγνατιο Διδασκαλια [Πολυκατο Διδασκαλια] ΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΝ, ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘ. Ησθρ & inter apocrypha in Nicæni Concilio (vel potius in Synodis eadem additis) Thomæ Evangelium, Clementis prima & secunda Epistola, Ignatii Epistolæ omnes, cum Hermæ pastore.

of such as have written concerning the Apocryphal books of the *New Testament*. However we must not conceal that in the foreſaid *Index of COTELERIUS*, which is the very ſame with that of the Bodleian library, MATTHEW is printed at length; whether it be erroneouſly expreſſed ſo in the manuſcript, or that the tranſcriber has from MATTH, unaware of this diſtinction, made MATTHEW. But notwithſtanding ancient teſtimonies, there appears not one ſingle word or fragment of the *Gospel of BARNABAS*, printed by any author under this title: yet in the 39th *Baroccian*⁷ manuſcript there is one fragment of it in the following words. *The Apoſtle BARNABAS ſays, he gets the worſt of it, who overcomes in evil contentions; becauſe he thus comes to have the more*⁸ *ſin*. BARNABAS is here call'd an Apoſtle, as he's more than once ſo term'd by⁹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, and indeed by LUKE himſelf, or whoever was the writer of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. But no particular work of BARNABAS being quoted in the *Baroccian* manuſcript, I know (Sir) that a perſon of your exactneſs will preſently ask me, how I come to affirm that this Saying did belong to his *Gospel*? ſince it can be no ſufficient proof hereof, that it is not to be found in the *Epistle* extant under his name. The objection muſt be granted to be pertinent, becauſe he might have written other books to us unknown; and therefore I promiſe a ſatisfactory anſwer in a few words,

Acts xiv.
14.

7. *Vite Græci Spicilegium Patrum*, tom. 1. p. 302.

8. Βαρναβας δ' αποστολος εστιν, εν ἀμιλλαις πονηρειας αδελφω-
της ο' νικησας; διουτι επερχεται, πλεον εχων της αμαρτιας.

9. Stromat. lib. 2. Sic etiam audit apud plerosque Patres, & pa-
rum acceſſi quin Epistola ipſi tributa, a quibusdam hodieque habeatur
Canonica.

which

which will appear in a better light further on in this *Letter*, the longest I ever sent you. As for the *Epistle* ascrib'd to BARNABAS, and which is still extant, it has been prov'd long since to be spurious by several able hands: but let it be of what authority you will, the modern *Gospel*, of which we shall speak presently, cou'd not be written by the same person; seeing the *Epistle* is purposely directed against the Judaizing Christians.

C H A P. III.

AFTER giving this account of the ancient *Gospel* of BARNABAS, or rather a bare proof that formerly there was such a *Gospel*, I come now to the *Gospel* of the Mahometans, which very probably is in great part the same book with that of BARNABAS; and so not yet extinct, as all Christian writers have hitherto imagin'd. But here I know you'll be surpriz'd, that I shou'd talk of any *Gospel* of the Mahometans at all. You'll cease your wonder nevertheless, when you consider how the Mahometans believe, as a fundamental article, that there have been six most eminent persons, who were the authors of new Institutions; every one of these gradually exceeding each other in perfection, tho in substance it be still one and the same religion. These six are ADAM, NOAH, ABRAHAM, MOSES, JESUS, and MAHOMET; wherein all Christians (excepting only as to this latter) agree with them, reckoning up in their several Systems so many ¹⁰ periods or dispensations, and calling the

10. *Trium est illud Theologorum, genus scilicet humanum ab Adam ad Noachum fuisse sub lege Naturae, a Noacho ad Abrahamum sub praeceptis Noachicis, ad Abrahamum ad Moysen sub Circumcisione, a Moysen ad Christum sub ritibus Leviticis, &c. sic inde sub Evangelio usque ad Millennium, vel secundum alios ad futurum Judicium.*

whole GOD's ECONOMY. Nor are there wanting who continue subdividing such periods to the end of the world; and, according to some, there's but one period and a piece of one yet remaining: so exactly they know the beginning, the end, the measure of time and things! Now, altho the Mahometans do hold by tradition that ADAM, NOAH, ENOCH, ABRAHAM, and other patriarchs and prophets, had several books divinely sent 'em (even to the number of 104) containing the reveal'd will of God; yet the only obligatory ones are, according to them, these four, viz. the *Pentateuch* of MOSES, the *Psalms* of DAVID, the *Gospel* of JESUS, and the *Alcoran* of MAHOMET. Of all and every of these books they pronounce in this manner, nay and in these terms: *whoever denies these volumes, or doubts of the whole or part, or any chapter, verse, or word of the same, is certainly an infidel*. I cou'd allege for this formulary many undeniable authorities; but shall content my self at present to refer you to the third chapter of *The* ¹¹ *compendious Mahometan Theology*, translated, illustrated with *Notes*, and publish'd five or six years ago by the eminent Professor ADRIAN RELAND, before mention'd. In the meantime you may perceive, that the Mahometans are not only more careful in preserving the integrity of their sacred books, than the Christians have generally been; but that they are likewise, as many of 'em assert, more consistent with themselves: since if any book be divinely inspir'd, say they, every line and word of it must necessarily be so; and therefore no room left, one wou'd imagine,

11. Adriani Relandi de Religione Mahommedica libri duo, pag. 25.

N A Z A R E N U S.

II

for *various Readings*, or such other Criticisms. The minute the learned may alter, add, or substitute, what to them shall seem most becoming the divine spirit, there's an end at once of *Inspiration*, (according to these gentlemen) and the book becomes thenceforth their own: meaning, that it is then the production of different times and diverse authors, till nothing of the original be left, tho the book continues as bulky as ever. But it must be carefully observ'd, that the Mahometan *system* of *Inspiration*, and that of the Christians, are most widely different: since we do not so much stand upon words, phrases, method, pointing, or such other niceties; as upon the matter it self, and the design of the whole, tho circumstances shou'd not be always so exact. 'Tis here we cast our sheet-anchor, and tis here we are confirm'd by matter of fact; notwithstanding the 30000 variations, which some of our Divines have discover'd in a few copies of the *New Testament*: nor have the copies of the *Alcoran* escap'd such variations (which is impossible in nature for any book to do) whatever the Mahometans pretend to the contrary, and even some of themselves have produc'd such different readings.

C H A P. IV.

TIS for the abovesaid reason, no doubt, of joining the *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, and the *Gospel* to the *Alcoran*, that I have heard some *Arabians* call Mahometanism the Religion of the four books, as the Christian Religion that of the two books. Nor is there any thing more evident to those who have taken pains in this matter, than that the Mahometans openly profess to believe the *Gospel*: tho they charge our copies with so

much corruption and alteration, that our *Gospel* is not only no longer certain or genuin; but, according to them, the farthest of all books in the world from being divine. About this charge, and the four books which they acknowledge divine, may be particularly consulted *The historical Compend of* ¹² LEVINUS WARNER. But why shou'd I mention WARNER, or any other? since the *Alcoran* it self does so often referr to the *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, and the *Gospel*, the inspiration and authority wherof it always allows. This cannot be disputed. That the four books constitute the foundation of their Religion, is so much their general and constant belief, that one might as well be at the trouble of quoting authors to prove the Christians receiv'd the *Old* and *New Testament*. But since in a late conversation certain persons, who ought to know better, appear'd surpris'd at this; I desire that, over and above the now-mention'd *historical Compend of* WARNER, and the *Mahometan Theology of* RELAND, they wou'd please to read the formulary or profession of JACOB BEN SIDI ALI, produc'd by the Maronite ¹³ GABRIEL SIONITA. Beyond exception is the testimony of the celebrated Divine ALGAZEL, in his *Exposition of the faith of the Sonnites*, or the Turkish Mahometans, in contradistinction to the *Schafites*, or the Sect of the Persians; where, in the article of the word of God, he thus speaks: *we are bound to believe that the Alcoran, the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and the Psalms of DAVID, are books*

12. Compendium historicum eorum quæ Mahommedani de Christo, & præcipuis aliquot Religionis Christianæ capitibus tradiderunt.

13. De nonnullis Orientalium urbibus nec non indigenarum religione ac moribus. Tractatus brevis: auctoribus Gabriele Sionita & Joanne Hebronita, Maronitis e Libano. cap. 14.

given by God, and reveal'd to his Ambassadors. Whoever has a mind to see the original Arabic passage, may read it in the 89th page of the third part of MARACCI's *Prodromus to the Alcoran*. In another Mahometan formulary, quoted in the 94th page of the same third part by MARACCI, you have the names of those Ambassadors in these words: *the Pentateuch was sent to MOSES the Son of AMRAM, and the Gospel to JESUS the Son of MARY, and the Psalms to DAVID, and the Alcoran to MAHOMET*. It were superfluous to add the concurrent testimonies of others. But still that *Gospel* is not ours, which, as I said, they decreetorily brand with falsification. Every traveller almost will tell you, that where JESUS ^{John xiv. 16, 26. & xv. 26. & xvi. 7.} promises to send the *Paraclete* to complete or perfect all things, the Mahometans maintain the original reading was ^{xxiv. 49.} *Periclyte*, or the famous and illustrious, which in Arabic is *Mohammed*: so that their prophet was as much, in their account, foretold by name in the *Gospel*; as CYRUS is believ'd by the Jews and Christians, to have been foretold by name in the *Old Testament*. Here's one instance of Mahometan Criticism; not less subtil or more slightly grounded, than abundance of such discoveries hammer'd out of sounds or letters by Jews and Christians: and I own that I have always admir'd so few other examples of various Readings or Interpolations were produc'd by learned travellers (tho some they do) since the Mahometans have so different an account of the person of JESUS CHRIST, of his ministry on earth, and the circumstances of his ascent into heaven. I was sometimes temted to fancy, that the excessive veneration of the Mahometans for the *Alcoran*, made them suffer their *Gospel* to perish by neglect: but

14. Περικλυῖς, & non Παεχλληῖς.

corrected that thought again, when I found such multitudes of citations out of it in their writings, over and above those contain'd in the *Alcoran*; the passages sometimes agreeing with those in our *Gospels*, often with those we count apocryphal, and oftner with neither. Hence I concluded, that since they counted the *Gospel* a divine book, and had more knowledge of it than their *Alcoran* furnish'd, they must needs have a *Gospel* of their own; tho' I was always astonish'd (as I said) at the negligence of travellers, or whatever other reason it might be, that hinder'd 'em from producing that *Gospel*, and yet so positively talk of its variety from ours. Nay, some of 'em have directly deny'd the Mahometans had any such *Gospel* now remaining; and Mr. R E L A N D, in his fore-mention'd Treatise, adopts their ¹⁵ opinion: not to speak of M A R A C C I, and divers other Writers of most Christian communions.

Page 23.

C H A P. V.

BUT at length (Sir) after wholly despairing of ever having a better account, it was my good fortune, instead of other information, to light on the *Gospel* it self; and translated into Italian, by or for the use of some renegades: for it is most certainly the performance of a Mahometan scribe. Yet knowing a more particular account will not be ungrateful, be pleas'd to receive it as follows. The learned gentleman, who has been so kind as to communicate it to me (*viz.* Mr. C R A M E R,

¹⁵. But having better information since that time, he does in an edition he has made of his book this very year, affirm, that the Mahometans have a *Gospel* of their own (page 23) and I suppose he means those of Barbary, because he says this *Gospel* is in Spanish and Arabic.

Counsellor

Counsellor to the King of *Prussia*, but residing at ¹⁶ *Amsterdam*) had it out of the Library of a person of great name and authority in the said city; who, during his life, was often heard to put a high value on this piece. Whether as a rarity, or as the model of his religion, I know not. It is in the very first page attributed to BARNABAS, and the title of it runs in these ¹⁷ words: *The true Gospel of JESUS called CHRIST, a new prophet sent by God to the world, according to the relation of BARNABAS his apostle.* Here you have not only a new Gospel, but also a true one, if you believe the Mahometans. But how honest soever they may be represented, this is a topic where none are to be credited without the utmost caution; since, tho every Gospel forbids lying, yet never are more lies told than about the Gospel. The first chapter of it begins ¹⁸ thus. BARNABAS an apostle of JESUS of Nazareth, called CHRIST, to all those who dwell upon the earth, wisheth peace and consolation. Whatever may become of the truth, this is the Scripture-stile to a hair. The book is written on Turkish paper delicately gumm'd and polish'd, and also bound after the Turkish manner. The ink is incomparably fine; and the orthography, as well as the character, plainly show it to be at least three hundred years old. I ever chuse to speak rather under than over in such cases. Any proper name of God, and the appellative word DIO it self, are constantly writ in red letters out

16. He's dead since the writing of this LETTER.

17. Vero Evangelio di Gesù chiamato Christo, novo profeta mandato da Dio al mondo, secondo la descrizione di Barnaba Apostolo suo.

18. Barnaba Apostolo di Gesù Nazareno, chiamato Christo, ha tutti quelli che habitano sopra la terra, pace he consolazione desiderata. Chiarissimi.

of respect, and so are the Arabic *Notes* in transverse lines on the margin. The contents of the chapters are likewise written in red letters, and reach about the twentieth; a void space being left for the rest before each chapter, but no where fill'd up. The author of these summaries was a zealous Musulman, who charges the Christians all along with falsification, from this his only authentic *Gospel*. But they'll be nothing behind hand with him, whenever his *Gospel* comes to be better known. Much care and ornament was bestow'd upon the whole, and the Arabic word ALLAH is in red letters superstitiously interlin'd over DIO, for the first three times it occurs. The Story of JESUS is very differently told in many things from the receiv'd *Gospels*, but much more fully and particularly; this *Gospel*, if my eye has not deceiv'd me, being near as long again as any of ours. Some wou'd make this circumstance a prejudice in favor of it, because as all things are best known just after they happen; so every thing diminishes, the further it proceeds from its original. But in this case the rule will be found not rightly apply'd, till the Book is prov'd to be the genuin issue of BARNABAS. MAHOMET is therein expressly nam'd for the *Paraclete*, as we have been told that he's so esteem'd, by all the historians of the Mahometan Religion: the Musulmans accusing our *Gospels* of corruption (as I noted before) in the 16th and 26th verses of the 14th Chapter of JOHN; and pretending further that MAHOMET's name was struck out of the *Pentateuch* and the *Psalms*. MAHOMET is nam'd again or foretold in some other places of this book of BARNABAS, as the design'd accomplisher of God's economy towards man. 'Tis, in short, the ancient Ebionite or Nazaren System, as to the making of JESUS a mere man (tho not with them the Son of JOSEPH, but divinely

See also
John xv.
26. & xxi.
7. compar'd
with Luke
ixiv. 49.

divinely conceiv'd by the Virgin MARY) and agrees in every thing almost with the scheme of our modern Unitarians; excepting the history of his death and resurrection, about which a very different account is given from that in our *Gospels*: but perfectly conformable to the tradition of the Mahometans, who maintain that another was crucify'd in his stead; and that JESUS, slipping thro' the hands of the Jews, preach'd afterwards to his disciples, and then was taken up into heaven.

C H A P. VI.

HOW great (by the way) is the ignorance of those, who make this an original invention of the Mahometans! for the Basilidians, in the very beginning of Christianity, deny'd ¹⁹ that CHRIST himself suffer'd, but that SIMON of Cyrene was crucify'd in his place. The Cerinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next (to name no more of those, who affirm'd JESUS to have been a mere Man) did believe the same thing; that it was not himself, but one of his followers very like him, that was crucify'd: so that *the Gospel of BARNABAS*, for all this account, may be as old as the time of the Apostles, bating several interpolations (from which, 'tis known, that no *Gospel* is exempt) since CERINTHUS was contemporary with PETER, PAUL, and JOHN, if there be any truth in ²⁰ *Ecclesiastical history*. Thus PHOTIUS tells us, that he read a book, entitul'd, *The Journeys of the Apostles*, relating the

19. Iren. lib. 1. cap. 23, &c. Item Epiphan. Haeref. 24. num. 3.

20. Iren. l. 3. c. 3: Euseb. Hist. Ecclef. l. 3. c. 28: item l. 4. c. 14: Epiphan. Haeref. 28. n. 2, 3, 4. Idem asserunt Augustinus, Theodoretus, cum reliquis,

acts of PETER, JOHN, ANDREW, THOMAS, and PAUL: and among other things contain'd in the same, this was ²¹ one, *that CHRIST was not crucify'd, but another in his stead, and that therefore be laught at the crucifiers, or those who thought they crucify'd him.* Some said it was JUDAS that was executed. This laughing of JESUS at the Jews was also affirm'd by the Basilidians, as you may see in the place I quoted about them just now out of EPIPHANIUS. Tis a strange thing, one wou'd think, they shou'd differ about a fact of this nature so early; and that CERINTHUS, who was contemporary, a countryman, and a Christian, shou'd with all those of his Sect, deny the ²² resurrection of CHRIST from the dead: tho we cou'd easily solve the difficulty, were this a proper occasion for it; and I may, in convenient time, send you my observations on this subject. But they who deny'd his crucifixion, deny'd also his Genealogy, as it stands according to MATTHEW. In an Irish manuscript of the four *Gospels* (of which I shall give you an account in my next Letter) the Genealogy of JESUS is insert'd apart, among certain preliminary pieces; and the first chapter of

Ver. 18. *Matthew* begins at these words, *Now the birth of JESUS CHRIST was on this wise.* The Ebionites, according to EPIPHANIUS, had not the ²³ Genealogy in their *Gospel*; which makes it needless for him to say ²⁴ elsewhere that the Cerinthians rejected it, whose *Gospel* was the same. But yet EPIPHANIUS, who confounds every thing

21. Καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ σταυρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἕτερον αὐτ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελῆν διὰ τὸ τοῦ σταυρωτῶν. In Bibliotheca, cod. 14.

22. Hæref. 28. n. 6.

23. Hæref. 28. n. 5. & 30. n. 3.

24. Hæref. 28. n. 5.

(as particularly this *Gospel of the Hebrews* with that of MATTHEW) tells us that CERINTHUS and CARPOCRAS wou'd needs prove by this very GENEALOGY, that JESUS was the ²⁵ Son of JOSEPH and MARY. Nay, he farther acquaints us, how in the fourth Century, while CONSTANTINE the great reign'd, this Genealogy, with other curious pieces in Hebrew, was found by a certain JOSEPH in a cell of the treasury at Tiberias, which he honestly broke open to ²⁶ steal some mony; and that this odd accident was the chief reason of his becoming a Christian. But whether the word ²⁷ there signifies the Genealogy by it self according to PETAVIUS, or the whole *Gospel of MATTHEW*, according to FABRICIUS, tis certain that TATIAN left the Genealogy out of his *Gospel*; which so impos'd on the Orthodox themselves, that THEODORET affirms he had ²⁸ remov'd above 200 of those *Gospels* out of public Churches, and plac'd others in their stead. So that the want of this Genealogy in the Irish copy of MATTHEW is not so strange a thing, as it may seem at first sight; which is all the consequence I shall now draw from it, referring the further discussion of it to another time, as it particularly relates to our Irish Manuscript.

25. Haeref. 30. n. 14.

26. Ibid. n. 6.

27. Το κατά Ματθαίου Εβραϊσμός πλῆρης.

28. Haeret. fabul. l. 1. c. 20.

C H A P. VII.

BUT that I may not forget, what I promis'd above concerning the fragment of BARNABAS in the *Baroccian* Manuscript, I found it almost in terms in this *Gospel*, and the sense is evidently there in more than one place; which naturally induces me to think, it may be the *Gospel* anciently attributed to BARNABAS, however since (as I said) interpolated. I had not time to see if it contain'd the four sayings, or rather discourses of CHRIST, inserted by LEVINUS WARNER out of Mahometan books, into his *Notes* on the *29 Century of Persian Proverbs*, which he publish'd at the end of his *Historical Compend*, cited before. I found many sayings ascrib'd to JESUS by ³⁰ KESSEUS (as I read his *Lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets* cited) and by other Mahometan writers, express'd in this *Gospel of BARNABAS*: tho I have not yet examin'd all of that kind I have observ'd, no more than any of those in the *Alcoran*, the grossest of all impostures. But from what I have already had opportunity to do, two discoveries naturally result; which cannot, Sir, but be agreeable to you.

- I. The first is, that we now probably know, whence the Mahometans quote most passages of this kind, they have concerning CHRIST: some having for this very reason rashly charg'd 'em with forgery, and others gravely asserting, that they took them all out of the known Apocryphal pieces; as if they had kept these with more care than the Christians, and without ever naming or producing any of the Apocryphal books they cou'd so easily suppose.

29. *Ad proverb.* 61. in *Appendice Compendii historici*, pag. 30

30. Abu-Mohammed Abd-Alla.

N A Z A R E N U S.

21

The Gospel of the Infancy of CHRIST, publish'd some years ago out of Arabic, appears not only from the invocation of the Trinity to be no Mahometan imposture; but from *Ecclesiastical history*, and the extant original Grec Manuscripts, unknown to Mr. SIKE the editor of it, to be long anterior to MAHOMET. This is as true of *the Gospel of JAMES*, which boasts of being the first of all the *Gospels*, or the PROTOEVANGELION: nor is it less true of *the Gospel of NICODEMUS*, which last is only extant in Latin; and seems by diverse of its expressions and doctrines, to be one of the latest of all those spiritual cheats. I deny not, that the Mahometans have borrow'd some of their fables from these and the like *apocryphal Scriptures*: I only deny it of all such, as believing most of 'em to be cull'd out of their own *Gospel of BARNABAS*. They are not ignorant however, either of the existence or imposture of the just mention'd *Gospel of the Infancy*, which AHMED EBN EDRIS cites by name, calling it also *the fifth Gospel* (as you may see in the 2d Chapter of the first part of MARACCI'S *Prodromus*) but *redundant*, says he, *in many things, and in many things defective*. Our next discovery II.

is, that the Mahometans not only believe, as is well known, many things recorded of JESUS in our *Gospels*; but that they have likewise a peculiar *Gospel* of their own, tho probably in a few hands among the learned, from which perhaps some passages in ours may be farther illustrated: for very ancient books, tho never so spurious, always speak the language, often express the traditions, and commonly allude to the customs of their own times. I would here add, as a third discovery, III.

that we have at length found out the *Gospel* father'd of old upon BARNABAS, tho not in its original purity. But I had not the perusal of the

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book

book long enough, to form any peremtory decision in this case; notwithstanding the force of those presumptions, I have already alledg'd. I know how difficult a thing it is, to come at any *Alcoran* it self; and how few have it in their hands, even in Turkey: Yet I have taken the most proper measures to gain all the further light about *the Gospel of BARNABAS* that can possibly be procur'd; as you'll perceive by some **QUERIES** I have drawn up, and which I shall do my self the honour to ³¹ communicate to you in a few days.

C H A P. VIII.

NOW, as I have before given the first words of this *Gospel*, I shall add the last words of it in this place. *JESUS being* ³² *gone* (that is into heaven) *the Disciples scatter'd themselves into many parts of Israel, and of the rest of the world: and the truth, being hated of SATAN, was persecuted by falsehood, as it ever happens. For certain wicked men, under pretence of being Disciples, preach'd that JESUS was dead, and not risen again: others preach'd that JESUS was truly dead, and risen again: others preach'd, and still continue to preach, that JESUS*

31. See the Appendix, num. III.

32. Partito Gesù, si divisse per diverse parte de Iisrahelle he del mondo li dissepoli; he la verita, hodiata da Sattana, fu persheguitata dalla Bugia, chome tutavia si trova: perche alchuni mali homeni, sotto pretesto di dissepoli, predichavano Gesù essere morto he non risuscitato; altri predichavano Gesù essere veramente morto, he risuscitato; altri predichavano, he hora predichano, Gesù essere solo di DIO, fra li quali he Paulo ingannato. Noi pero, quanto habia sciuto, predichiamo ha cholloro che temono DIO, azioche niano salvi nello ultimo giorno dello judicio di DIO; Amen. Fine dello Evangelio.

is the Son of God, among which persons PAUL has been deceiv'd. We therefore, according to the measure of our knowledge, do preach to those who fear God, to the end they may be sav'd at the last day of his divine judgment; Amen. The end of the Gospel. Tis plain that the writer of this book has known of the dissention between BARNABAS and PAUL, recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*: and it will be said, perhaps, that this quarrel set BARNABAS a writing. PAUL had likewise no little contest with PETER, about his manner of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. Neither do I doubt but tis the Apostle of the Gentiles, that is aim'd at in an *Epistle of PETER to JAMES*, prefixt by COTELERIUS to the *Clementines*. The words of PETER (after entreating JAMES not to communicate his *Preachings* to any Gentile, nor even to any Jew without previous examination) are these. For if this be not done, says he, our speech of truth

Acts xv.
36, 37, 38,
39, 40.
Compare
Acts x. with
Gal. ii. 11,
12.

33. Επει εαν μη ούτως γένηται, εις πολλας γραμμας ο τις αληθείας ημων διαβεβησεται λεγῶν. Τοῦτο δε συγ' ὡς ὁ πρεσβυτης ὦν ἐπισαμαι, ἀλλ' ἡδὲ αὐτὲ τε κακῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄρων. Τινες γὰρ τὸν ἀπο εἰδὼν, το δὲ ἐμοῦ τοιμὸν ἀπίθο-
κίμασαν κερύγμα, το εἶδον ἀθρώποις αὐτοῦ τίνα καὶ οὐκ ἀ-
ρῶδ' ἢ πρεσβυτικῶς διδάσκωντα. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ
τῷ ἐπεχρησάν τινες τοιαύτως τισιν ἐρμηνεύει τις ἐξ ἐ-
μοῦ λόγους μέγαληματίζεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Νόμου καθ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ
ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ οὕτω μὲν φερεῖται, μὴ ἐκ παρησίας δὲ κερύτ-
σοι: ὅπερ ἀπεπ. Το γὰρ τοιοῦτο ἀντιπεχόσταν εἰς τὴν τε
δεξ νομῶ, τῷ δια Μούσεως βεβηντι, καὶ ὥς το κινεῖν ἡμῶν
μαρτυρηθέντι φεῖ της αἰδίου αὐτοῦ διακρίσεως, ἐπει οὕτως
εἶπεν: ὁ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελευσθήσεται, ἵνα ἐν ἡ μίᾳ κρείσσ-
ου μὴ παρ' αὐτὴν ἀπο τῶ νομοῦ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐρρήκει, ἵνα τὰ
ταῦτα γινήσκει. Οἱ δὲ, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς, τὸν ἐμὸν τὸν ἐπ' αὐ-
γαλλομένοι, ὅς ηκούσαν ἐξ ἐμοῦ λόγους, ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐ-
αῖς φρονιμώτερον ἐπεκκεῖσθαι ἐρμηνεύειν: λεγόντες τοῖς ὅτι
αἷον καθ' ἡγουμένοις τοῦτο εἶναι το ἐμὸν φερεῖται. ὁ ἐγὼ οὐδ'
ἐνεδουμην. Εἰ δὲ ἐμοῦ εἰς πρεσβυ: τοιαῦτα τὰ μαρτυρῶν κα-
ταβεβησάμ. τοσφ γὰρ μάλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ τοῖον ὅτι μετ' ἐμοῦ
τοῖον. Tom. i. Patr. Apostolic. pag. 621.

will be divided into many opinions. Nor do I know this thing as being a prophet, but as seeing even now the beginning of this very evil: for some from among the Gentiles have rejected my Legal preaching; embracing the trifling and Lawless doctrine of a man, who is an enemy. And these things some have endeavor'd to do now in my own life-time, transforming my words by various interpretations to the destruction of the Law; as if I had been of the same mind, but durst not openly profess it, which be farr from me. For this were to act against the Law of God spoken by Moses, and which has the testimony of our Lord for its perpetual duration, since he thus has said: heaven and earth shall pass away, yet one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law. And this he said, that all might be fulfill'd. But these, I know not how, promising to deliver my opinion, take upon them to explain the words they heard from me, better than I that spoke them; telling their disciples my sense was that, of which I have not so much as thought. Now, if in my own life-time they dare feign such things; how much more will those, that come after me, do the same? This most remarkable and incontestably ancient piece, with others at least as ancient, which I cou'd cite were it needful, do manifestly show; that this notion of PAUL's having wholly metamorphos'd and perverted the true Christianity (as some of the Heretics have exprest it) and his being blam'd for so doing by the other Apostles, especially by JAMES and PETER, is neither an original invention of the Mahometans, nor any sign of the novelty of their Gospel: but rather a strong presumption of its antiquity, at least as to some parts of it; since this was the constant language and profession of the most ancient Sects, as I shall convince you beyond any room for doubt.

See Gal. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Mat. v. 18. Luke xvi. 17.

See Gal. as above.

C H A P. IX.

TO set this matter therefore in the clearest light, it is to be noted, that the Ebionites call'd PAUL an *Apostate from the Law*; and rejected all his *Epistles*, as those of an Enemy and an Impostor. This is recorded by ³⁴ ORIGEN ³⁵ and EUSEBIUS, which shows that EPIPHANIUS (whose testimony we shall produce hereafter) is neither the only, nor the first, nor without an author, that said this of the Ebionites, as the acute Mr. N Y E has too positively affirm'd in his *Judgement of the Fathers*; denying this of O-^{Page 35.} RIGEN by name, whom I have this moment quoted for it. The like charge against PAUL is acknowledg'd of the Nazarens, who were the same people under another name, or rather this of NAZARENS is the only name they own'd: and both of 'em, if they must needs be made two, were the first converts among the Jews to Christianity; that is to say, the first Christians, and consequently the only Christians for some time. Mr. SELDEN, never to be mention'd without honor, shows, that at least for the space of seven years after the death of CHRIST, none of the Gentiles embrac'd his doctrine; all his followers, till the conversion of CORNELIUS the ^{Acts x. 47.} Centurion, who was a profelyte of the gawe, hav-^{48.} ing been of the Jewish ³⁶ nation and religion.

34. Contra Cels. l. 5.

35. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. Ὅσοι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀποστολὴν πᾶσας τὰς Ἐπιστολάς ἀρνήσας ἤγουν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκαθάρσις αὐτοῦ τὸ νόμου. Item Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4. Videatur & ejusdem l. 5. c. 12.

36. De Synedrüs, l. 1. n. 8.

- Ibid.* x. Now, these Jewish converts were term'd Nazarens from JESUS of Nazareth, as it appears that
 38. & iii. all the first Christians were so; since PAUL him-
 6. & iv. 10. self is, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, call'd a ringleader of the Heresy of the Nazarens. EPIPHANIUS
 161. xxiv. 5. not only affirms, that all Christians were at ³⁷ first by the Jews term'd Nazarens, and even by the Apostles themselves, PETER saying, JESUS of Nazareth, a man approv'd of God, &c: but also that the NAZARENS took this name to ³⁸ themselves, but not that of JESSEANS after JESUS, nor of CHRISTIANS after CHRIST; and that all Christians whatsoever were then stil'd Nazarens,
Ibid. ii. 22. before they were call'd Christians at Antioch. TER-
 & x. 38. TULLIAN speaks to the same ³⁹ purpose. They were likewise call'd by way of contempt EBIONITES or beggars (just as the first Protestants in Flanders *Gueux*) which is very evident, not only from the silence of IRENEUS concerning any such person as EBION, but also from the express testimonies of ⁴⁰ ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS, that they were thus nick-nam'd because of their mean condition: and even from the Hebrew word *Ebion* it self, which signifies *poor*, and was a most proper epithet of the first Christians; as

עביון

37. Ναζωραίων, ὅ ἐστι χριστιανῶν, ὁ κληθεὶς ἐν ὀλίγῃ χρεῖ-
 νῷ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων χριστιανισμῷ, καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων,
 λεγόμενος Ἰησοῦς τῶν Ναζωραίων, ἀνδρᾶ ἀποδελεγ-
 μένον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, &c. Haeref. 19. n. 4.

38. Ὅτις γὰρ [οἱ Ναζωραῖοι] ἐαυτοῖς ὀνομαπεθέντες, οὐχὶ
 χρεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίων; καὶ πα-
 τὴς δὲ Χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι τότε ὅσῳ τῶς ἐκαλεῖτο. Id Ha-
 eref. 19. n. 1. & *ibid.* n. 6, 7.

39. Nazaraeus vocari habebat, secundum prophetiam, Christus
 creatoris: unde & ipso nomine nos Judaei Nazaraeos appellant per
 eum. *Contra Marcion.* l. 4. c. 8.

40. Origen, contra Celsi l. 2: & Philocal. c. 1: Euseb. Hist. Ec-
 clast. l. 3. c. 27.

JAMES asks the question concerning them, *has* Jam. ii. 5. *not God chosen the POOR of this world, rich in faith*; and as CHRIST order'd JOHN to be told, *that the Gospel was preach'd to the POOR*; Mat. xi. 5. or, to say it in Hebrew, to the *Ebionites*. Yet לַעֲבֹיֹנִים afterwards some persons, that were equally ignorant of the Jewish language and of the Christian history, ridiculously invented a certain EBION (of whom they tell very formal stories) to be the author of the Ebionites; as they saw several other Sects had peculiar founders, of whom they deriv'd their appellation. But we ought much sooner to believe the Ebionites themselves about their own name of Nazarens, and nick-name of Ebionites, than JEROM, or EPIPHANIUS, or any other of their enemies; who either did not know them enough, or wilfully and maliciously misrepresented them. Others again, who cou'd no more digest this very gross account, than content themselves with the lovely simplicity of truth, insinuated that those first Christians were call'd Ebionites from their ⁴¹ poor and low notions of CHRIST's person: a derivation as far fetcht as any other, and which diverse learned men have deservedly exploded. Nevertheless, whatever confusion and diversity may be observ'd concerning them in IRENEUS, JUSTIN MARTYR, EUSEBIUS, EPIPHANIUS, AUGUSTIN, THEODORET, and others of those they call the old *Fathers*, tis constantly agreed among them, *that the Nazarens and Ebionites affirm'd JESUS to have been a mere man, as well by the father as the mother's side, namely the Son of JOSEPH*

41. Εβιωναῖοι τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἀγαποῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ μητρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξαζοντας. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 27.

‘ and MARY; but that he was ⁴² just, and wise,
 ‘ and excellent, above all other persons, meriting to
 ‘ be peculiarly call’d THE SON OF GOD, by
 ‘ reason of his most virtuous life and extraordinary en-
 ‘ dowments: and that they join’d with their Chri-
 ‘ stian profession, the necessity of circumcision, of
 ‘ the observation of the sabbath, and of the other
 ‘ Jewish ceremonies; which necessity must be un-
 derstood only of the Jewish Christians, for the
 reasons I shall produce by and by. EUSEBIUS
 says, that some few of ’em in his time (that is, in
 the fourth century) believ’d, like the Gentile Chri-
 stians, the mother of CHRIST to have been a
⁴³ Virgin; and that he was conceiv’d by virtue of
 the Spirit of God, tho still but a mere man (which
 is just the Socinianism of our times) but that they
 enjoin’d the observation of the Legal ceremonies,
 as strictly as the others. There were diversities
 of opinion among ’em, no doubt, no less than a-
 mong other societies, as this same distinction is as
 old as ORIGEN’s time: yet tho these latter were
 a quite different sort from the former, as the best
 Critics fairly acknowledge; they rejected PAUL’s
Epistles equally with the others, and were as high-
 ly irritated ⁴⁴ against him. But the *Fathers* acted
 with inexcusable confusion and injustice, to call
 men professing two such contrary sentiments by
 the same name of Ebionites, if such a Heretic as
 EBION had ever existed; which some of ’em,
 as I said, did most ignorantly averr, especially JE-
 ROM and EPIPHANIUS: tho the Ebionites

42. Iren. l. 1. c. 26: Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27: Epiphan.
 Haeref. 7. n. 2. 28 n. 1. & 30. n. 2. 18: Theodoret. Haeret. fab.
 l. 2. c. 1, 2. cum reliquis.

43. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 27. *Idem dicunt* Origen. contra Cels. l.
 2: Hieronym. in Epist. ad Augustin: & Theodoret. in loco jam
 notato.

44. Origen. contra Cels. l. 5.

themselves (as even EPIPHANIUS ⁴⁵ confesses, who yet will not believe them) deny'd any such EBION; and glory'd in their name, alledging their poverty was occasion'd by the laying of all ^{Acts ii.} their substance at the Apostles feet, for the first ^{14. 45. &} and most powerful support of Christianity, by a ^{iv. 34. 35. &c.} community of goods. These Nazarens therefore or Ebionites were mortal enemies to PAUL, whom they stil'd an *Apostate* (as we saw just now) and ⁴⁶ a *transgressor of the Law*: representing him as an intruder on the genuin Christianity, and, tho a stranger to the person of CHRIST, yet substituting his own pretended Revelations to the doctrines of those with whom CHRIST had convers'd, and to whom he actually communicated his will. This is the sum of what we certainly know concerning them; for in other things, one or two points excepted, the *Fathers* are not of accord. Moreover, the Christians are to this day by the Arabians and Persians call'd NAZARI, and NOZERIM by the Jews, who call'd them at the beginning (as I suppose upon occasion they do still) MINEANS or Heretics: מִינִיִּים since all sectaries, of all sorts, are so nam'd by them; and that Christianity was then reckon'd but a Jewish Heresy, tho it was rather truly and properly their Reformation. The Nazarens or Mineans, whose Churches flourish'd over all the ⁴⁷ east, us'd to be curs'd by the Jews in their synagogues, at morning, noon, and evening pray-

45. Haeref. 30. n. 17.

46. Hieronym. in cap. 12. Matth.

47. Usque hodie per totas Orientis Synagogas inter Iudaeos haereticus est, quae dicitur MINAEORUM, & a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur, quos vulgò Nazaraeos nuncupant. Hieronym. in Epist. ad Augustin.

ers, under this very name of ⁴⁸ Nazarens; as being excommunicate persons, and apostates from their body. In effect, they were commonly confounded together by the Heathens, even a good while after the Gentile converts made another Church: nor is SELDEN the only person, that, in later times, has asserted CHRISTIANITY to be no more than ⁴⁹ REFORMED JUDAISM; the true religion being one and the same in substance from the beginning, tho in circumstances the Institutions of it at different times be different, and consequently more or less perfect. But we must not forget how his adversaries us'd the Apostle of the Gentiles.

C H A P. X.

NOR does PAUL deny the charge of the Ebionites, that he did not learn *his Gospel* (a phrase familiar to him) from those who were immediately taught by CHRIST himself. For he tells the Galatians plainly, that *the Gospel which he preach'd was not after man; for I neither receiv'd it of man* (says he) *neither was I taught it but by the revelation of JESUS CHRIST: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia and Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see PETER, and abode with him fifteen days; but other of the Apostles saw I none, save JAMES the*

Rom. ii.
16. & xvi.
25. Gal. i.
11. & ii.
2. 2 Tim
ii. 8.
Gal. i. 11,
12.
Ver. 17,
18, 19.

48. Uique hodie perseverant in blasphemiiis, & ter per singulos dies in omnibus Synagogis, sub nomine Nazaræorum, anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. *Id. in Isaiam, cap. 5. ver 18.*

49. Nec disciplina illa apud eos alia, quam Judaismus verè Reformatus, seu cum fide in Messiam, seu Christum, ritè conjunctus. *De Synedr. l. 1. c. 8.*

Lord's brother. And so he went on preaching this Gospel to the Gentiles, as he informs us in the same *Epistle* and elsewhere; expressly absolving them (and, as tis now generally believ'd, the Jews themselves) from Circumcision, and all the Levitical ceremonies, against which he strenuously argues every where. Then he declares, how that *fourteen years after he went again to Jerusalem, and communicated unto them that Gospel,* ^{1, 2.} *which he had preach'd among the Gentiles; yet but privately to them who were of reputation, for fear* ^{ver. 2.} *of those who did not approve of the liberty he preach'd from the Jewish ceremonies.* Next he tells of what pass between him and the other Apostles, *who, tho they seem'd to be somewhat, in* ^{ver. 6, 7.} *conference added nothing to him: but contrarywise,* ^{8, 9.} *says he, when they (that is, JAMES, and CEPHAS, and JOHN, who seem'd to be pillars) saw that THE GOSPEL OF THE UNCIRCUMCISION was committed unto me, as THE GOSPEL OF THE CIRCUMCISION was unto PETER, and perceiv'd the grace that was given unto me; they gave to me and BARNABAS the right hands of fellowship, that we shou'd go unto the HEATHEN, and they unto the CIRCUMCISION.* This content of JAMES, PETER, and the rest, the Ebionites flatly deny'd; maintaining, that if these had approv'd of PAUL's practice, they wou'd as well have gone in that manner to the Gentiles themselves, which cou'd be no less than the duty of some of them: and that his rivalling of PETER and JAMES for superiority, being ambitious to be the head of a party, is undeniable from these his own declarations. They further objected that he gave only his own word for his revelations: and that some few miracles recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles* were no demonstration of

his

- his mission, for a reason we shall alledge presently, which reason consists in the opinion they had of this book. But to go on with PAUL's account,
- Ver. 11. *when PETER (says he) was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blam'd; since he had already, it seems, departed from the forefaid consent, recorded also in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: for before that certain came from JAMES (adds PAUL*
- Ver. 12. *here to the Galatians) he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the CIRCUMCISION. This account the Ebionites again rejected as contradictory, since JAMES was one of those, that according to PAUL himself, had approv'd of his preaching to the Gentiles: and yet now they were those, who came from JAMES, that made PETER withdraw from the Gentiles. There's but one way in the world of reconciling these things, which we shall see a little further, and firmly hope it will satisfy the most incredulous. The Nazarens or Ebionites (for I use these words promiscuously) wou'd likewise probably say, it was this very misrepresentation of his sense, that PETER meant in his fore-cited Letter to JAMES. And tis indeed more than probable, when PETER says there, that certain took upon them to explain his words better than himself, giving out that he was of their mind, but durst not openly profess so much; tis pritty plain, I say, that the author of this Letter had that passage in his view, where PAUL, as we saw just now, charges PETER with not daring to own his opinion, for fear of them*
- Ver. 13. *which were of the Circumcision: adding, that the other Jews dissembled likewise with them, insomuch that BARNABAS was carry'd away with their dissimulation. But we ought not slightly to run*

run over this passage, since from the history of the Nazarens we shall take occasion (and a very natural occasion it is) to set THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY in its proper light; the want of which made it a Mystery to both Jew and Gentile, before the declaration of it by JESUS: but since that declaration it ceases to be longer a MYSTERY to any, but to such as love darkness better than the light; or that take upon them to teach others, what they profess not to understand themselves. Whereas, after the manifestation of it by the *Gospel*, nothing is more intelligible or conceivable, as nothing is more amiable or interesting, than the true and genuin Christianity: so plain and perspicuous indeed, that it was preach'd at the very beginning to men of the most ordinary capacities; who were not puzzl'd but enlightn'd, not banter'd but thoroly instructed.

C H A P. XI.

TO be *carry'd away* therfore here (MEGA-Gal i. 13. LETOR) must signify purely by opinion, or difference of sentiments, and not by any separation of company: or else it wou'd be a contradiction to the reason of the contest between PAUL and BARNABAS, that is given in *the Acts of the Apostles*; the time and the place, at Antioch, being unquestionably the same. For in the *Acts*, Acts ix. 26, BARNABAS (who first entertain'd and introduc'd 27. PAUL to the Apostles, whereas before none wou'd receive him, nor believe him to be a disciple) is represented all along as his fellow-Apostle to the Gentiles without showing the least scruple in this affair of the Levitical rites. He was deputed with him from the Church of Antioch, to represent the
state

state of this same controversy to the Apostles at Jerusalem; and came back again in his company with the determination they made in this case, wherein he's ever mention'd as of PAUL's side. Then follows this different account of the quarrel *ibid.* xv. 36, in these words. PAUL said unto BARNABAS, 37. &c. *let us go again, and visit our brethren in every City, where we have preach'd the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And BARNABAS determin'd to take with them: JOHN whose Surname was MARK: and PAUL thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other: and so BARNABAS took 50 MARK, and sail'd unto Cyprus; and PAUL chose SILAS, and departed.* This is quite another story, and we learn from it that BARNABAS now preach'd apart; which probably gave a handle to Impostors, of framing a *Gospel* in his name. But the Ebionites did not trouble themselves with this difference seeming or real, nor with any thing else in *the Acts of the Apostles*, which they reject-ed as a ⁵¹ spurious piece; not deserving the title, were the contents of it true: since nothing was said therein of many of the Apostles, and comparatively very little of PETER or JAMES, being almost wholly taken up about PAUL. Neither did the ⁵² Cerinthians (a branch of the Ebionites) any more than the ⁵³ Marcionites, acknowledge it: and the Ebionites had very different *Acts of the Apostles*, wherein it was recorded, among other

50. *His Sister's Son*, Col. 4. 10.

51. Epiphan. *Haeref.* 30. n. 36.

52. Philastr. *Haeref.* 36.

53. Tertulian. *contra Marcion*. l. 5. c. 2.

things,

things, *that* ⁵⁴ PAUL was of Tarsus, which he owns and denies not, says EPIPHANIUS. It was added, *that* he was originally a Heathen, from that passage where it is truly said by him, *I am a man of* Acts xxi: Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city; whence they con- 39. clude him to have been a Heathen both by the father and mother's side. It was further affirm'd in those Acts that he came to Jerusalem, stay'd there for some time, and had a mind to marry the High Priest's daughter; on the account of which he became a proselyte, and was circumcis'd (contrary to what Phil. iii. 5: he relates of himself in his Epistle to the Philippi- Acts xxiii. ans, as well as often elsewhere) but that afterwards 6. Rom. xi: 1. 2 Cor xi: 22, &c. not obtaining the young woman, he was angry, and wrote against Circumcision, against the Sabbath, and against the keeping of the Law. The Ebionites likewise retorted the charge of dissimulation on PAUL himself, not only in circumcising TIMO- Acts xvi. 7, THY, tho the son of a Heathen, because of the 2, 3. Jews that dwelt at Lystra and Iconium; but particularly as to his conduct on another occasion, which was thus. After he had gone up to Jerusalem, and declar'd to JAMES and all the Elders, what had past in his ministry among the Gentiles, *that* Acts xxi: they said unto him: thou seest, brother, how many 20—26. thousands of the Jews there are which believe, and they are ALL zealous of the Law (as we shew'd be-

54. Ταρσεὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγεῖται καὶ οὐκ ἀρνείται, λέγουσι: εἰς Ἑλλήνων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδείξαι, λαβοῖτες τὴν περὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς τοῦτε δια τοῦ φιλαλιδεῖς υἱοῦ φησὶν, ὅτι Ταρσεὺς ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀσίου πόλεως πολλήν. Ἐπεὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἑλλήνα, καὶ Ἑλλήνισθ' ἠνέχθη καὶ Ἑλλήνισθ' πατρὸς παῖδας: ἀναβιβάνηται δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ἐμμένειναι, ἐπιτεδουκῆναι δὲ διευατὲρα τῆς Ἱερῆς προθ' γαμοῦ ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ἕνεκα περιστάσεων γενέσθαι, καὶ περιτμηθῆναι: ἔπειτα μὴ λαβὼν τὴν κορυφαίαν, καὶ κατὰ περὶ τὸν γένος γενέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ σάββατον καὶ νομίδειας. Epiphanius, Haerel. 20 p. 16, 25.

fore

fore of the Nazarens) and they are inform'd of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake MOSES; saying, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the custom. So he's now understood, I am sure. *What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee. We have four men, which have a vow on them; take them, and purify thy self with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things, wherof they are inform'd concerning thee, ARE NOTHING; but that thou thy self also walkest orderly, and keepest the Law. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded, that they observe no such thing; save only that they keep themselves from things offer'd to Idols, and from blood, and from things strangl'd, and from fornication.* By the way; here is no restriction made as to time or place, either in the abstinence of the Gentile Christians from these four heads, or in the keeping of the Law by the Jewish Christians. But of this

Ver. 26. presently. Then PAUL took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them, enter'd into the Temple; to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, that an offering shou'd be offer'd for every one of them. It follows therefore irrefragably, that PAUL contended onely for the liberty of the Gentiles from Circumcision and the rest of the Law, but not by any means of the Jewish Christians: for if the matter was not so, how cou'd it

Ver. 24. be truly said, that those things were nothing, with which he was charg'd? namely, that he taught the Jews to forsake MOSES, and that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. And, upon any other foot, wou'd not the other Apostles be as great dissemlers

blers as he? this being, as I hinted before, the only way in the world to reconcile things; and reconcile them it absolutely does, without any doubt or difficulty. Abstruse and multiform are the windings of error; but the clew of truth is uniform and easy. Yet to what unaccountable shifts are most Commentators driven, to save their own precarious System, and withall the integrity of the Apostles! what loose maxims, incompatible even with ordinary morals, do they not authorize! when nothing can ever do, but the real distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians; who are ever to subsist in the Church, as in the sequel will be made evident. Neither am I altogether singular in this point: for this very passage of PAUL's justifying himself to his countrymen in this manner, appear'd so decisive to JAMES RHENFORD, Professor of the Oriental tongues in ⁵⁵ Francker, that he doubted not in one of his excellent ⁵⁶ *Dissertations* to maintain, that PAUL taught only the Gentile Christians (and never the Jewish, as is universally suppos'd) to abstain from Circumcision, and the observation of the rest of the Law. He confirms his opinion by these words of PAUL himself to the Corinthians: *but as God has distinguished to every man, as the Lord has call'd every one, so let him walk; and so ordain I in all the Churches.* ^{17, 18, 19,} *Is any man call'd being CIRCUMCIS'D? let him not become UNCIRCUMCIS'D: is any call'd in UNCIRCUMCISION? let him not become CIRCUMCIS'D.* ^{20.} *CIRCUMCISION is nothing, and UNCIRCUMCISION is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man*

55. He's dead since the writing of this Letter.

56. De fictis Judaeorum & Judaizantium Haereseibus.

abide in the same calling, wherein he was called. I repeat it again, that PAUL can never be otherwise defended against the Ebionites; tho I know at the same time, that this will be call'd contradicting all the Churches in the world: and I despair not of setting the argument here in its due light, as I said before, without making my *Dissertation* too bulky. Yet let Criticism and Reason be ever so clear in the case, let *Scripture* and *History* be ever so positive, or an Accommodation with the Jews be ever so much facilitated; some of the reigning Divines will be as fond of their errors as of their benefices, and sooner keep up an eternal warr between the Jews and the Gentiles, than own themselves to have been ever in the wrong. *No Innovation* is the word, when the question is all the while about reducing things to the *Old Foundation*.

C H A P. XII.

BUT waving what the Ebionites further urg'd, and, as you see, very unjustly concerning PAUL's dissimulation, let's now procede with incontestable matter of fact; and observe from the foregoing discourse of JAMES and the Elders to him, that all the Jews which became Christians were still Zealous for the Levitical Law. This Law they look'd upon to be no less national and political, than religious and sacred: that is to say, expressive of the history of their peculiar nation, essential to the being of their Theocracy or Republic, and aptly commemorating whatever befell their ancestors or their state; which, not regarding other people, they did not think them bound by the same, however indispensably subject to the Law of Nature. *Our teacher MOSES*, says

AGS xxi.
20.

Exod. xii.
26, 27. &
xiii. 8, 9.
*and in many
other places,
as Deut. iv.
5—10. &
vi. 2, 7, 8.
& xi. 18—
21. & xx.
25.*

says ⁵⁷ MAIMONIDES, did not deliver the inheritance of the Law and the Ordinances, but to the Israelites only; according to that of Deuteronomy, Moses commanded us a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of JACOB: and also to all those, who become Profelytes out of other nations; according to that of Numbers, as you are, so shall the stranger be. But no body, against his will, must be forc'd to embrace the Law and the Ordinances. Besides this, the Jews were perswaded of the Law's eternal duration, of Circumcision's being an everlasting covenant, and of the Sabbath's being no less plainly deem'd than call'd such a covenant, not to speak of the passover, &c, from the manifold express declarations and promises of the *Old Testament*: and all this without any other limitation, but that of *the days of heaven upon earth*, and the final period of *their generations*, or the utmost date of time. They were further rooted in this persuasion from the repeated words and constant practice of JESUS, who they believ'd came not as a diminisher or an abolisher, but (as he himself openly profess'd) an accomplisher or perfecter of the Law, the restorer of the same, and a reformer of the abuses which had gradually crept in upon it: for the Pharisees had almost wholly perverted, transform'd, and made it of no effect, by their Traditions, Explications, and even Dispensations; as all Institutions (tho ever so sacred) come to be corrupted and disguiz'd in time, by men of weak or worldly minds. Thus therefore the Nazarens, following the precept and example of their master JESUS, concluded they might be very good Christians, yet still observe their own country rites (Sacrifices excepted)

57. Tractat. de Reg. cap. S.

N A Z A R E N U S.

there not being one word in any *Gospel* concerning the abolition of them, but directly the contrary in all others, as well as in their own *Gospel of the Hebrews*, or of the *twelve Apostles*, as it was indifferently call'd. This is so manifest, that in the late disputes about *Occasional Conformity*, the example of JESUS and the Apostles has been alledg'd a thousand times, as continuing in the practice of the Jewish rites and worship, frequenting the Temple and the Synagogues, observing the solemn feasts and particularly the Passover, like the rest of their Countrymen. And this indeed is undeniable fact: the Apostles were so farr from condemning the Nazarens, that they confirm'd their doctrine by their own practice. But then I challenge any in the world to show me as plainly, that it was onely by way of prudential condescension for a certain season, as it is now taken for granted on all sides. I am as much as any man for *Occasional Conformity*, among Churches not differing in essentials; which was evidently the practice of the primitive Church most properly so call'd, and founded upon unanswerable grounds. *Toleration* also (in *Scripture*, among other names, call'd *Long-suffering* and *Forbearance*) is no less plainly a duty of the *Gospel*, than it is self-evident according to the Law of Nature: so that they who persecute others in their reputations, rights, properties, or persons, for merely speculative opinions, or for things in their own nature indifferent, are so far equally devested both of Humanity and Christianity. But the present case is nothing at all to the matter, nor can there be any solution given of it (otherwise than on the foot of our scheme) that will not appear perfectly precarious, if not subject to several great inconveniences: as no other scheme can reconcile Christianity, and the promises of everlasting duration
made

made in favor of the Jewish Law: which are poorly, I will not say sophistically, evaded, by making the words *eternal, everlasting, for ever, perpetual, and throout 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 CESAR*. Consonant to both the example and the doctrine of JESUS and his Apostles is the judgment of JUSTIN MARTYR, who is very exprefs, and repeats it over and over; that the Jews believing on CHRIST may safely observe their own Law, provided they neither persuade nor force the Gentile Christians to do the same. Nay and he highly disapproves such of these last, as ⁵⁸ made a scruple of having any commerce and conversation with the first, or even to live in the same house with them. Tis true, he's of opinion the Nazarens were no longer under the obligation of their country Law: but he's so farr from damning or excommunicating them for their observation of it, as did most of the other *Fathers*; that, notwithstanding this mistake, he acknowledges them for brethren, and teaches communion with them in all things else. *If they will needs*, ⁵⁹ says he, *out of a weak opinion, observe*

58. Κα μηδε κοινωνην ομιλιας η εςιας τοις τοιςυλοις τολμωνις, οίς εγω ου συναινθμι. In dialogo cum Tryphone Judaeo.

59. Αλλ' εαν αυτοι, δια το ασθενης της γνωμης, και τα οσα δυναμει νυν εκ των Μωσους (δ' δια το σκληροκαρδιον του λαου νοουμεν διαβιβαχθαι) μελα του επι τουτον τον χειραν ελπιζεν, και τας αγωνιους και φυσικη δικαιοσυρξιας και ευσεβειας συλασσην βουλωνται, και αιρωηται συζην τοις χειριστοις και πιστοις, ως περιειπον, μη πειδοντες αυτους μητε πειτεμεντες ομοιως αυτοις, μητε σαβρασιζειν, μητε αλλα, οσα τοιαυτα εσι, τηρειν; και περιλαμβανεωσ, και κοινωνειν απαιτω, ομως ομοσπλανχροις και αδελφοις, δειν αποφευγεωσ. Id. Ibid.

whatever they can of the Laws of MOSES (which we think were ordain'd out of regard to the hardness of the people's hearts) and add to these their hope in JESUS, with the practice of the eternal and natural virtues of Justice and Piety; being further desirous to make one society with Christians and Believers (as I said before) yet so as not to persuade them to be circumcis'd like themselves, nor to keep the sabbath, nor to observe any such other of their rites: I think they ought not only to be receiv'd, but likewise to be admitted to a communion of all things, as those of the same bowels and brethren. Tho I cannot approve his notion of their being in a mistake, yet I applaud his charity for bearing with them. AUGUSTIN, as we shall see hereafter, went further than JUSTIN; and maintain'd for some time the very notion that I now do, without any material difference: that the Christian Jews shou'd ever observe their own Laws, without imposing the Levitical ceremonies on the Gentiles. But the Jewish Believers did not in the least pretend, to oblige the Christians from among the Gentiles to the like things with themselves; as ma-

Acts xv. 1. ny wou'd infer from one passage in the *Acts of the Apostles*, rashly ascribing the opinion of a few private persons to the whole Church. For after it is there related that *certain men, which came from Judea, taught the brethren at Antioch, that except they were circumcis'd after the manner of MOSES, they cou'd not be sav'd*; and that some of the be-

Ver. 5. lieving Pharisees said, *it was necessary to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the Law of MOSES*: it was the sentence of the Apostles,

Ver. 19, 20. given by the mouth of JAMES, *that those shou'd not be troubl'd, which from among the Gentiles were TURN'D TO GOD*; but that we write unto them (says he) *that they abstain from pollutions of Idols, and from fornication, and from things strang'd,*

strangl'd, and from blood. Here is no setting of the believing Jews free from the Law, but onely of the Christian Gentiles: and the last were enjoin'd the observation of these, not indifferent, but *necessary things*; without which there cou'd be no tolerable communication or commerce between them and the first. The greatest endearment shou'd ever reign among brethren. And what is it, I pray, but the non-observance of these precepts, that makes society so difficult a thing even at this time between the Christians and the Jews, tho the latter are in a sort of slavery to the former? It is a known observation, that there can never be any hearty fellowship, where people don't eat and drink together. This was evidently design'd in the ancient Sacrifices, national, urbi- cal, and familiar; as it was practis'd likewise in their solemn Treaties of peace or friendship, and was instituted in CHRIST's last Supper. I need not mention the primitive Love-feasts. But in the Apostolical decree no accommodation is hinted in the least, no time is limited either unto the one for quitting the old Law, or unto the other for neglecting the four Precepts; as is positively taught in all our Systems or Catechisms. When PETER preach'd the Gospel to CORNELIUS, a Gentile proselyte of the gate; and publicly declar'd, contrary to the inveterate prejudices of many of the Jews, *that in every nation he that fears God, and works righteousness is accepted of him:* they were astonish'd at it, and expostulated with him for as much as eating with the Gentiles. But afterwards he gave full satisfaction to the Apostles and others at Jerusalem, as to his proceeding in this respect; and they were joyfully convinc'd, *that God had also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life:* this being the great MYSTERY, which

Rom. xvi. as PAUL says more than once or twice, had been
 25. Ephes. hid from ages and generations, till it was now
 i. 9 10. & manifested by the *Gospel*. But in all this account,
 iii. 3, 5, 6, there is not one word of PETER's subjecting
 9. Col. i. those converted Gentiles to the Mosaic Law,
 26, 27. nor of exempting the Jewish Christians from the
 observation of it: and tho he did eat with COR-
 NELIUS, it does not appear that he ate any
 thing prohibited by the Law; any more than
 those Jews do, with whom we eat, and who eat
 with us, every day. Thus therefore THE RE-
 PUBLIC OF MOSES might still have subsisted
 entire, such as it was, or rather ought to have
 been, in Judea, and yet the inhabitants be very
 good Christians too: requiring no more from
 their brethren of the Gentiles that liv'd among
 them (and agreed with them in the main article
 of the unity of the Deity, as well as in other
 important tho not so essential points) than a strict
 abstinence from the four things now mention'd,
 which were likewise originally prohibited by the
 Jewish Law to their *Profelytes of Justice*.

C H A P. XIII.

THIS Abstinence from blood and things
 strangl'd, was the undoubted sense of all
 the primitive Christians: and did not only conti-
 nue in all places (as it does still in the Eastern
 Churches) till AUGUSTIN's time; but, even
 till the eleventh century, in most parts of the
 Western Church. Cardinal HUMBERT, who
 wrote about the middle of that century, amply
 justifies the Latin against the Greec Church, as
 to

to this point; for retaining (says ⁶⁰ he) the ancient usage or tradition of our ancestors, we in like manner do abominate these things: inasmuch that a severe penance is impos'd on those, who, without extreme peril of life, do at any time feed on blood, or any animal dead of itself, either choak'd in the waters, or strangl'd by what accident soever. I admire how those persons can herein be satisfy'd in their consciences, or by virtue of what nice distinction they can coin to themselves a dispensation from this abstinence; who make the practice of the primitive Church to be the best commentary on *Scripture*, when the doctrine of it too is so express and uniform in this respect. But I have ever observ'd, that they, who make the loudest pretences this way, are either the farthest of all others from primitive practice, or the least acquainted with primitive history. What is it, I pray, that has the *Fathers*, that has Tradition and Succession more or as much of its side, as this very Abstinence? It was commanded in an assembly of the *Apostles*, without limitation of time. 'Tis injoin'd in the ⁶¹ *Canons* antiently attributed to them. 'Tis alleg'd as a proof of their innocence by the first *Apologists* of Christianity, to all whom, that mention it, I appeal without exception; which makes particular citations unnecessary, as they wou'd make my *Letter* too prolix. 'Tis confirm'd by the Decrees of several *Councils*; and has been defended by some of the

60 Antiquam etenim consuetudinem, seu traditionem majorum nostrorum, diligenter retinentes, nos quoque haec abominamur: adeo ut sanguine, vel quocunque morticino, aut aquis seu quacunque negligentia praefocato, apud nos aliquando vescentibus, absque extremo periculo vitae hujus, poenitentia gravis imponatur. In *bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. 4. pag. 202.

61. Can. 63, aliis vero 52.

most learned men in the last century. The citations, I say, wou'd be endless. Not to speak of HUGO GROTIUS, CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS, or GERARD JOHN VOSSIUS (what mighty names!) the great STEPHEN CURCELLEUS has written an elaborate discourse on this ⁶² subject, wherein he shows abstinence from blood to have continu'd in many places to almost his own time; and CHRISTIAN BECMANNUS made a Theological Exercitation to the same ⁶³ purpose before CURCELLEUS. They all maintain'd it was no part of the ceremonial Law of the Jews, but ⁶⁴ a Noachic precept, equally binding all the world upon a moral account. The words spoken to NOAH and his sons (and consequently, say they, to all mankind) in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*, are these:

Gen. ix. *every moving thing that lives shall be meat for you,*
 3. 4. *even as the green herb have I given you all things; but flesh with the life therof, which is the blood therof, shall you not eat.* This indeed is confirm'd in the Levitical Law, tho properly no part of the same according to those Gentlemen, a great many other moral duties being occasionally mention'd there; and they think it observable, that thro-out the whole *Pentateuch*, the Stranger as well as the Jew are forbidden to eat the blood of any manner of flesh (as being the

62. Diatriba de esu sanguinis.

63. Exercitat. 26.

64. The Jews maintain that NOAH and his children, did, before the flood, govern themselves by the six following precepts, as an abstract of the Law of Nature, viz. I. Not to worship Idols, or any other creature. II. Not to blaspheme God, or his holy name. III. Not to shed Blood, or not to kill. IV. Not to commit incest, or adultery. V. Not to rob or steal. VI To appoint Judges, who shou'd see these precepts duly executed: to which the Rabbins add a VIIth, as commanded after the flood, namely, Not to eat the member of any living creature.

life or soul therof) under the penalty of being *cut off from his people*, or, in plainer language, of being sent into banishment: for the deservedly famous Mr. LE CLERC has, in all the texts where it occurs, prov'd this ^{Gen. xvii. 14. & *abile* passim.} phrase of being *cut off from his people*, to signify disfranchising and banishing quite out of the countrey; but not to dy an untimely death, and much less to be eternally damn'd, in one or both which senses most people have absurdly learnt to understand it. This prohibition of eating blood, is repeated in several places of the *Pentateuch*; chiefly, as is suppos'd by those who allow not the moral reason, to create a horror against the shedding of human blood, as well as for the avoiding of unwholsom or infectious diet: and being in the *Apostolical decree* neither restrain'd to any time, nor counted an indifferent, but plainly *a necessary thing*; there are still many Christians here in the West who think themselves as much bound to refrain from things strangl'd and from blood, as from meats offer'd to idols and from fornication, which are join'd together as of equal obligation. I said, that I wonder'd by what distinction certain moderns cou'd justify themselves, in their eating of birds caught in gins, black puddings, and such other things; and yet a distinction there is, but on which neither they, nor the *primitive Apologists* cou'd ever hit, or at least wou'd never stick to it, by reason of their being utter strangers to the true constitution of the THE MOSAIC REPUBLIC: for the case out of Judea, or any place where the Jews and Gentiles don't cohabit in one society, is quite another

65. In Genesi suo. ad versum 14. capituli 17, & in Commentariis ad reliquos Pentateuchi libros.

thing. They are not all strangers indefinitely,
 Levit. xvii. but expressly *the strangers who shou'd sojourn among*
 10 — 14 *the Israelites*, that are forbid to eat blood: and so
 farr were these points concerning blood, or things
 strangl'd, from being parts of the moral Law;
 that the Jews were freely permitted to give or
 sell things that dy'd of themselves, to travelling
 Deut. xiv. strangers and aliens, *that they might eat them*:
 21. which wou'd be highly immoral, were their own
 abstinence from eating such things grounded on
 the Law of nature. And just as they granted
 this liberty to aliens, and to *Profelytes of the gate*;
 or those strangers, who, tho believing in one
 God, yet were not circumcis'd, but worshipt in
 the outer court of the Temple, not conforming
 to the *Jewish* Law: so the Egyptians, who, no
 less than the Jews, had the distinction of meats
 clean and unclean, us'd to sell the " head of the
 sacrific'd beast to strangers, it being to themselves
 an abomination and an accursed thing. But as
 for the *Profelytes of justice*, or those strangers,
 who not onely were settl'd among the Jews, and
 inhabitants of their cities, but also receiv'd Cir-
 cumcision as well as the belief of one God, and
 did in every thing conform to the Jewish Law;
 they were bound in all parts of social life (as in
 the feast of the passover, and in meat and drink-
 offerings particularly) to comply in the strictest
 sense with the establish'd Laws and Customs.
 Exod. xii 48, +9.
 Num ix. 14.
 Ibid. xv. 16.
One Law, says MOSES speaking of these very
 things, *and one Manner shall be for you, and for*
the stranger that sojourneth with you: which is
 there directly call'd *a perpetual ordinance*. To
 this purpose also MAIMONIDES, as above-

66 Κεραιη δ' ἐκεῖνου πολλὰ καταρυσσάμενοι, φέρουσι τοῖσι
 μὲν αὖ ἡ ἀγορὴ, καὶ Ἕλληνας οἱ ἐὰσι ἐπίδημοι ἐμποροῖς ὅι
 δ' ἐξερρίθης ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, ἀπ' ὧν ἐδίδως. Herodot. l. 2. c. 39.
 cited.

cited. of the same nature and necessity therefore Pag. 39.
 was the case of the Jewish and Gentile Christians, who, in the infancy of Christianity, made up one Church or society at Antioch; as it wou'd be again so, shou'd all the Jews become Christians, and be resettl'd in Judea: and upon a due examination the general prohibition in *Genz's* will be found to be no barr to this doctrine; as many other seeming generals there, were written nevertheless with special regard to the people of Israel, and to them onely. Of such general prohibitions, yet only meaning the particular usages of the Jews, *LE CLERC* will afford you many instances in his most learned *Commentary* before quoted. And therefore *PAUL* writing to the Pag. 47.
 Corinthian Gentiles, with whom the Jews were not so much intermixt, tells them that *meat com-* 1 Cor. viii.
mended us not to God; for neither if we eat are we the 8. 9.
better, neither if we eat not are we the worse: but take heed, lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak. This scandalizing of others (whether about eating of blood, or about meat offer'd to idols) was all that wise men had to avoid, as *PAUL* further acquaints the same Christians, saying, *whatsoever is* Ibid x.
fold in the shambles that eat, asking no question for 25. 26. 27.
conscience sake: for the earth is the Lord's, and the 28. 29. 32.
fullness thereof. If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, and you be dispos'd to go; whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake: but if any man say unto you, this is offer'd in sacrifice to Idols, eat not for his sake that shou'd it and for conscience sake 'for the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, Conscience, I say not thine own, but of the others; for why is my liberty judg'd of another man's conscience? — Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God. This regard to the Jews and to
their

their observations is so evident every where, that I wonder it cou'd ever become a subject of controversy: but the true reason is, the belief which so early obtain'd, that the Levitical Law was quite abolisht, and that the Jews were no more oblig'd to keep it than the Gentiles. This is the source of numberless errors, to the great depravation of Christianity; and this, with relation to the eating of blood in particular (after recommending the whole fourteenth chapter *to the Romans* to your perusal) may be easily made out against the *primitives Apologists* and *Fathers*, as well as against CURCELLEUS, Mr. WHISTON, and such others: who, for want of observing the said distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, have run into one extreme; as they, who limit the prohibition to a certain time, absolving all men and in all places alike, have run into another. But the first extreme is the more tolerable of the two, not onely for being the least mischievous in its consequences, and that the Jewish Christians are still oblig'd to this abstinence; but as being withall both innocent and wholesom, as well as easy enough in its practice. But to return, the fifteenth chapter of *the Acts* cou'd not but be a strong prejudice in behalf of the Ebionites, and the stronger, as being the testimony of a book they believ'd compil'd in favor of PAUL: besides

1 Pet. i. 1. that PETER in his *first Epistle* (indisputably address'd to the believing Jews) calls them *a chosen*

Ibid. ii. 9. *generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people*. He does not say they were formerly such, but shou'd be accounted so no longer; he desires 'em, on the contrary, *to have their conversion honest among the Gentiles*, from whom they were therefore to be distinct: so that they might still enjoy all the prerogatives and distinctions of their nation, no less than in Judæa (the Temple and

and Sacrifices excepted) as a separate people even among the Gentiles, and yet be very true Christians also.

C H A P. XIV.

THIS, I am persuaded, was in this particular point (for I approve of no men's errors) the genuin Theology of the Nazarens; however mistaken or misrepresented by the Christians from among the Gentiles, as if they wou'd have them likewise to observe the whole Law of MOSES. They indeed in their turn may have mistaken PAUL's meaning, *in whose Epistles are some things* ^{2 Pet. iii.} *hard to be understood,* as is well remark'd in the ^{16.} *second Epistle* attributed to PETER. But if the Nazarens did so mistake PAUL, the Gentiles have sufficiently reveng'd their Apostle's quarrel. The *Fathers* are shamefully inconsistent, both with one another and each with himself, concerning the Ebionites: splitting them where they ought to be united (as they unite them where they ought to be split) turning their blessings sometimes into curses, and making their godly prayers to pass for diabolical conjurations. The Gentile Christians (as I have said more than once) shew'd on all occasions an inexpressible hatred against those from among the Jews, even to the speaking many times irreverently if not profanely of the Law; tho they were acknowledg'd debtors to the Nazarens for the *Gospel*, the Jewish Church having been form'd, before any Gentiles had embrac'd Christianity. But none of any sort has treated them with more undisguiz'd rancor than EPIPHANIUS, the most ignorant and partial of all Historians; as has been made out in multitudes of instances by the best writers of the two last and the present century,

tury, not to mention any more ancient. Passing over his palpable ignorance in Grammar, History, Chronology, and the Hebrew tongue (tho a converted Jew) this may be truly said in general of him; that as none was more ready to make every man heretical, so none was more backward to find any man orthodox: and those, who displeas'd him in one thing, he was sure to misrepresent in every thing. Nevertheless, this same bungling and confus'd EPIPHANIUS owns, that the Nazarens *67 differ'd in this ONE THING, as well from the Jews as the Christians: not agreeing with the former, because they believe in CHRIST; nor being of one mind with the latter, because they continue still addicted to the Jewish Law, to Circumcision, to the Sabbath, and to the other ceremonies.* You may take notice that he does not say, they urg'd these things on others, but only observ'd them among themselves; which is what I precisely insist upon, not merely as their real sentiment: but likewise as a very innocent and harmless thing, nay and will maintain it to be so far the TRUE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY. For all this he'll have them a little lower to be *68* downright Jews, tho he says in the very same place that they are declar'd enemies to the Jews; and that the Jews on the other hand do mortally hate them, cursing them three times a day in their Synagogues, as we learnt from JEROM before. Any man else, but EPIPHANIUS, wou'd have remember'd the distinction he had

67. Εν τούτω δε μόνον ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίους διαφέρναι καὶ χριστιανούς: Ἰουδαίοις μὲν μὴ συμμορῶντες, διὰ τὸ ἐς χεῖρον πιστεύειν; χριστιανοῖς δὲ μὴ ὁμογενήουσιν, διὰ τὸ ἐτι νομῶ πατεδνάζειν, σάββατον τε, καὶ σαββάτω, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Haeref. 29. n. 7.

68. Ibid. n. 9.

just made himself: and not reckon 'em Christians the less in religion, that they had ⁶⁹ Synagogs and Elders as Jews by nation; nor, because they were partly Jews in the outward man, deny 'em to be in the inward man entirely Christians. Here I wou'd desire those among us, who press the necessity of observing the Jewish Sabbath (for which reason they are call'd *Sabbatarians*, or *Seventh-day-sabbath-men*) to consider, that they were not the Christians from among the Gentiles, but the Nazarens from among the Jews; that anciently observ'd, or rather were onely bound to observe, the Jewish Sabbath: for we of the Gentile stock are not oblig'd to observe days, or Gal. iv. 10. months, or times; or years; we are to be judg'd by Col. ii. 16: no man in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon; or of the sabbaths. And indeed had the original distinction of two sorts of Christians been heeded, this dispute had never risen: neither had the voluntary complaisance of the Gentile Christians in sometimes celebrating the Sabbath of the Jews; nor of the Jewish Christians in observing the first day of the week with the Gentiles, been ignorantly drawn by any into the nature of a precept, or as an example of indispensable imitation; which yet was done by many *Fathers* and *Councils* (not necessary at present to name) by the ⁷⁰ *Apostolical Constitutions*, and by the *Edicts* of ⁷¹ CONSTANTINE the Great. Our Sabbatarians therefore (so call'd) a-

69. Haeref. 30. n. 18.

70. Το σαββατον μεν τοι και την κυριακην εορταζετες ιτα το μεν δημιουργιας εστιν υπομνημα, η δε ανεστασης. l. 7. c. 23.

71. 'Υπο την Ρωμαιων αρχην πολιτευομεναις ετρεψεν συζητην αρχην ταις εθνεσιν το Σαββατος ημερας εορταζεται: ομοιος δε και τας το σαββατος τιμας μνημης ενεκα μοι εδωκεν των εν ταυταις το κοινω σωθην πεπεσχυσαι μνημορονομεναι. Euseb. de vita Constantini, l. 4. c. 18.

mong whom I was intimately acquainted with the late excellent Mr. STENNET, being right in their position, tho wrong in the application of it, into which they were misled by so great authorities and examples, have this advantage however; that they may alter their practice, without recanting their opinion, namely, *that the Jewish Sabbath is to be observ'd in all ages*. After the same manner may be readily terminated abundance of other difficulties, solely arising from the misapplication to all, of what peculiarly belongs to one sort of Christians. Thus, to name no others, came into the Church *Extreme Unction*, which in time has been erected into a Sacrament. Yet this *Unction* originally was neither sacred nor extreme. Every one knows in what high estimation Oil was among the eastern nations, and he has not read the *Old Testament*, who is not acquainted with the most frequent use of Anointing among the Jews. It was especially practis'd on a medicinal account, and administr'd publicly in the synagogues by the Elders on the Sabbath; where the applying of this remedy to poor sick people, was accompany'd by the prayers of the faithful for their recovery, and the pardon of their sins: or if the persons were in a very weak condition, the Elders came home to them. LIGHTFOOT ⁷² observes out of the *Jerusalem* ⁷³ *Talmud*, that Rabbi SIMEON, the Son of ELEAZAR, permitted Rabbi MEIR to mingle wine with the oil, when he anointed the sick on the Sabbath: and quotes as a Tradition from ⁷⁴ thence, *that anointing on the Sabbath was permitted. If his head akes, or a scald comes upon it,*

72. *Harmony of the N. Testament*, Works, vol. 1. pag. 333.

73. In *Beracoth*. fol. 3. col. 1.

74. *Id.* in *Maazar Sheni*, fol. 53. col. 3.

he anoints with oil. So, in the *Babylonian Talmud*, tis said almost in the same words; *if he be sick, or a scald be upon his head, he anoints according to his manner.* The Apostle JAMES therefore writing to the Jewish Christians, whose synagogues and rites were precisely the same with those of the other Jews, *is any sick among you* Jam. v. (says he) *let him send for the Elders of the Church,* 14. 15. *and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of the faithful shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.* This, you see, was nothing like the extreme unction of the Roman Church, but peculiar to the Jewish nation: as tis recorded of the other Apostles, who were not onely Jews, but likewise Elders of the Jewish Churches, *that they anointed with oil many that were sick, and* Mar. vi. *healed them.* Several of our Protestant Divines, 13. ignorant of the Jewish customs, yet perceiving the absurdity of the Roman practice, wou'd have this Apostolic Unction to be miraculous and temporary; tho others were for extending it to all men and times, as some did the observation of the Sabbath. But they were onely the Nazarens that were to keep their national Sabbath, and yet this is one of the heinous crimes the Gentiles cou'd never forgive them; and for which they must not, forsooth, so much as deserve the appellation of Christians: since *while they wou'd be both Jews and Christians,* says 76 JEROM, *they are neither Jews nor Christians;* and speaking of these Nazarens in another place, *they*

75. In Joma. fol. 77. 2.

76. Dum volunt & Judaei esse & Christiani, nec Judaei sunt nec Christiani. In Epist. ad Augustin

so receive CHRIST, says ⁷⁷ he, as not to quit the ceremonies of the old Law. Well: where's the harm of all that? and why shou'd it trouble him, or me, or any other, that were to observe no such thing? Yet this, it seems, is the chief thing, even more than their opinion concerning the person of CHRIST, for which the new inmates unjustly expell'd the old inhabitants: for the same JEROM roundly tells ⁷⁸ us, *that the Cerinthians and Ebionites, who were the Jews that believ'd in CHRIST, were anathematiz'd by the Fathers for this ONELY THING, that they intermixt the Ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of CHRIST; and so profess the new matters, as not to part with the old.* Very nice and deliberate! Here you see the antiquity of pressing Uniformity, and the effects of it too: and I am entirely satisfy'd, that, were it not for this execrable treatment of them (so contrary to the practise of JESUS, and the doctrine of the Gospel) not a Jew, but, many ages since, had been likewise a Christian; as it must be on this foot alone, that their conversion to Christianity can ever be reasonably expected. Thus then the poor Jews were expell'd at once, and none of 'em to be ever receiv'd again, according to the mind of those *Fathers*, without a particular abjuration not only of their Judaism, but I may say of their Christianity too.

77. Nazaraei ita Christum recipiunt, ut observationes Legis veteris non amittant. *Id. ad Jef. 8.*

78. Qui [Ebionci & Cerinthiani] credentes in Christo, propter hoc solum a Patribus anathematizati sunt, quod Legis ceremoniarum Christi Evangelio miscuerunt; & sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non amitterent. *In Epist. ad Augustin.*

C H A P. XV.

AUGUSTIN indeed made some small effort in favor of the Nazarens, as may be seen in the Letters that pass between him and JEROM on this Subject; where, as it happens in most disputes, they quickly lost the main point, and ran after foren matters, trivial incidents, or personal reflections, till they came at last to fight perfectly in the dark, and to make the reader admire about what it is they contend. JEROM, endeavoring upon a wrong supposition to reconcile those seeming contradictions, which I have easily accorded above upon the bottom of truth, had recourse to *the lawfulness of an officious Ly for the sake of a good end*; and so asserted that PAUL, in accusing PETER, had prevaricated in effect himself, but all well done, it seems, for the important end of gaining the Jews, and excusing his own conduct. This doctrine however cou'd not but scandalize AUGUSTIN, who wrote smartly to him about it, and justify'd PAUL by saying as I do, and as the things say themselves, that when he speaks against the Law as dangerous or useless, he means this of the Gentiles: and that all passages spoken by him or others in favor of the Law, or enjoining the observation of it, relate purely to the Jewish Christians: besides that PETER had onely misled some Gentiles by his example, which they mistook, but not by his doctrine, which ought to have been better explain'd. To this purpose AUGUSTIN. *But of all your discourse* (says ⁷⁹ JEROM) *which you*
F 3 *have*

79. Totius sermonis tui, quem disputatione longissimâ protraxisti, hic sensus est; ut Petrus non erraverit in eo, quod his qui

have spun out into so prolix a disputation, this in short is the sense; that PETER did not err, in thinking the Law shou'd be observ'd by those, who believ'd among the Jews: but that he declin'd from the right way, in forcing the Gentiles to Judaize; which you say he did, not by the precept of his doctrine, but by the example of his conversation. You maintain therefore that PAUL did not say any thing, contrary to what he had done himself: but had truly accus'd PETER, of having compell'd the Christians from among the Gentiles to observe the Law. The sum therefore of your question, or rather of your judgment, is this; that, even after the Gospel, the Jews who believe, do well to observe the ordinances of the Law: that is to say, if they offer sacrifices as PAUL did, if they circumcise their children, if they keep the sabbath, &c. This he's so far from approving, that he utterly detests it: tis turning Christianity into Judaism. If we must ly, says ⁸⁰ he, under the necessity of receiving the Jews together with their observations of the Law; and that they may perform in the Churches of CHRIST, what they exercis'd in the Synagogues of SATAN: I'll tell you my opinion freely, they will not become Christians, but make us

qui ex Judæis crediderant, putaverit Legem esse servandam: sed in eo a recti linea deviarit, quod gentes coegerit Judaizare; coegerit autem non docentis imperio, sed conversationis exemplo. Et Paulus non contraria sit locutus his, quæ ipse gesserat; sed quare Petrus eos, qui ex gentibus erant, Judaizare compelleret. Hæc ergo summa est quaestionis, immo sententiae tuae; ut, post Evangelium Christi, bene faciant Judæi credentes, si Legis mandata custodiant: hoc est, si sacrificia offerant, quæ obtulit Paulus, si filios circumcidant, si Sabbatum servant, &c. *Id. ibid.*

80. Sin autem hæc nobis incumbit necessitas, ut Judæos cum legitimis suis suscipiamus. & licebit eis observare in Ecclesiis Christi quod exercuerunt in synagogis Satanæ; dicam quod sentio, non illi Christiani fient, sed nos Judæos facient. *Id. ibid.*

Jews;

Jews; as if the Jews and Gentiles were not to have their Churches apart, and as if the former would not perform their peculiar ceremonies in their own Churches, which he blasphemously calls the synagogues of SATAN. But this is nothing to JEROM's perpetual sophistry, which yet is infinitely exceeded by his warmth and virulence. He sweats thro-out this whole Letter, he turmoils and turns himself every way. Now he disputes and argues, then he scolds and expostulates: and after producing a passage out of AUGUSTIN's Letter, justifying PETER for persevering in the Law, as being by nation a Jew: *I must speak to the contrary*, says ⁸¹ he, *and, tho the whole world shou'd be of another mind, pronounce with a loud voice, that the ceremonies of the Jews are pernicious and damnable to Christians; and that whoever will observe them, be he of the Jewish or Gentile race, is plung'd into the gulf of the Devil.* Thus this hotheaded raving monk, who to such a degree frighted AUGUSTIN (for convinc'd he cou'd never be) with his vehemence and bawling, that he slunk to the poorest subterfuges imaginable for getting well off; first giving another sense to an opinion, which he had before express'd in the plainest terms, and then quite giving it up to the overbearing weight of the majority. He was a Bishop, and wou'd continue so. The Jews therefore were cut off for ever, as I said, from the body of that Church which they had founded, wherein their Law is continually read to this day, where the Gentiles are proud to bear their proper names, and where they must in some man-

81. Ego e contrario loquar, &c. reclamante mundo, liberâ voce pronuntio, ceremonias Judæorum & perniciosas esse & mortíferas Christianis: &c. quicumque eas observaverit, sive ex Judæis sive ex Gentibus, eum in barathrum Diaboli devolutum. *Id. ibid.*

ner become Jews before they can be reckon'd good Christians. Nor ought this proceeding to appear any way surprizing, or the intrigue be reckon'd so very flagitious, when we consider what a damning crew the *Fathers* were; and how prone on the slightest occasions, sometimes for mere punctilios of Criticism or Chronology (wherin they were generally wrong) to send not onely private persons, but even whole societies, churches, and nations, a packing to the Devil. This is well known to all that have lookt into *Church-history*. But I am weary of transcribing so many citations out of books, that are very unpleasant to read, as are almost all the works of the *Fathers*: and wou'd think my self bound to make an apology for it, were it not that the thing is unavoidable in this kind of writing; where altho the best proofs imaginable, and the most clear are requisite, the worst in the world are generally us'd, the most precarious, perplext, and obscure. And, if the truth may be freely spoken, there remains very little on record, very little that's any way certain or authentic, concerning *the originals of Christianity*, from the beginning of NERO to the end of TRAJAN or ADRIAN, that I may take the narrowest compass I can: for others will bring this period of uncertainty much lower, which shou'd the more engage us to keep close to the *Scriptures*, where alone we can find rest for the soles of our feet. Yet in this labyrinth of the *Fathers* we have been at no loss (you see, MEGALETOR) tho sometimes a little at a stand, to find out the unsophisticated sentiments of the Nazarens or Ebionites, so farr as here insisted on, for of their other opinions we shall discourse another time: and this for the most part by the light of such testimonies, as if justly doubted or oppos'd, there will
be

be no evidence left for any sort of Christianity whatever. Now, from all these things, and particularly from *the Letter of PETER to JAMES* Pag. 23. above cited, as well as from *the Acts of the Apostles*, and from other places of *the New Testament*, together with what some ancient Sectaries believ'd concerning the death and resurrection of JESUS, it manifestly appears from what source the Mahometans (who always 'most religiously abstain from things strangl'd and from blood) had their peculiar Christianity, if I be allow'd so to call it; and that their *Gospel*, for ought I yet know, may in the main be the ancient *Gospel of BARNABAS*. For the Mahometan Interpolations are too palpable, not to be easily distinguish'd: I wish we cou'd as easily come by the omissions, if there be any. PETER MARTYR (by the way) does, in the first chapter of the 4th part of his *Common places*, maintain, with other eminent Divines, that Mahometanism is nothing else but a Christian Herefy; from which I still infer, that, whether upon a prospect of advantaging Traffic, or of putting them in the way of conversion to a better Christianity, the Mahometans may be as well allow'd Moschs in these parts of Europe, if they desire it, as any other Sectaries: and certainly it would not onely be highly unreasonable, but withall be the highest ingratitude, in the King of Sweden to oppose it at Stockholm; considering the generous and human treatment, I will not say the charitable and pious reception, he found so many years at Bender with his Christian followers. No future misunderstanding may cancel the obligation: for if we are bound to forgive the injuries of our enemies, we ought certainly much rather to forget the miscarriages of our friends.

CHAP. XVI.

I SHALL conclude these reflections concerning the perpetual observation of the Mosaic Law by the Jewish, and of the Noachic Precepts by the Gentile Christians living among them, with remarking, that the Apostle JAMES does not in his *Epistle* mean by WORKS the moral Law, nor by FAITH a merit in believing, as is suppos'd by the current of Expositors, the one half at least of Scholastic Divinity being built on this very interpretation: but that WORKS there signify the *Levitical Law*, as FAITH is put for *Christianity*. This likewise is apparently PAUL's meaning, whenever he uses the same expressions: and thus only may these two Apostles be reconcil'd, without recurring to evasions, suppositions, and sophisms, that will satisfy no reasonable man, however he may think fit perhaps to hold his tongue. JAMES writes

Cap. i. v. 1. expressly to the scatter'd tribes of the Jews, and therefore tells them that FAITH (i. e. Christianity) *can neither profit or save them without*

Cap. ii. v. 14. WORKS (i. e. the Levitical rites) as being oblig'd by an eternal and national covenant to the Law of MOSES: but PAUL, writing by the Jewish converts to the Romans, tells them, that

Cap. iii. v. 28. *a Man is justify'd by FAITH without the works of the LAW*, the Gentiles not being at all concern'd

Cap. ii. v. 26. in the Mosaic rites or ceremonies. JAMES says, that *the FAITH* of a Jew (for to such only he writes) *without the WORKS* of the Law is *dead*: and PAUL says, that the Gentiles (for such he himself calls the Romans) *are dead to the LAW by the body of CHRIST*. In the same manner is to be understood the *Epistle to the Galatians*, Gen- tiles

tiles whom certain more zealous than knowing
 Jews wou'd needs compel to be circumcis'd: and
 in the same manner also ought we carefully to dis-
 tinguish what is said to the *Colossians*, *Philippians*,
 or any other Christians from among the Gentiles
 (as such) from what is said by way of parenthesis
 in PAUL's *Epistles*, or more directly elsewhere,
 to the Jewish Christians, and proper to them on-
 ly. Thus that *the LAW was our Schoolmaster to* Gal. iii. 24.
bring us unto CHRIST, and that its ordinances ^{25.}
were blotted out and nail'd to CHRIST's cross, Col. ii. 14-
 are phrases to be understood onely of us Gentiles.
 I might with equal facility run over all the *Epi-*
stles, and not onely show this distinction perpetu-
 ally reigning thro them; but remark at the same
 time these infinite mistakes that the want of ob-
 serving such a distinction has occasion'd: especial-
 ly those grosser errors, which have been too com-
 monly advanc'd into fundamental Doctrines, ad-
 ministring fuel for endless contentions; but nei-
 ther reforming men's manners, nor informing their
 understandings. They are the prime handles, on
 the contrary, for the opposition made to all Chri-
 stianity; while such writers are in the mean time
 combating a Phantom, and wou'd some of them
 be the zealous advocates for the Christian Insti-
 tution, cou'd they but see its original beauty,
 stript of all such paint and disguise. A person (Sir)
 of your great penetration and solid judgement,
 cannot fail making such observations to himself;
 tho, in regard of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the
 case is peculiar: for which reason I reserve what
 I have to say about it, till I come to treat of the
 nature and end of Sacrifices, without which the
 scope of the author to the *Hebrews* is obscure if
 not unintelligible. For in this respect I grant there
 is a change of the Law, as the Lawgiver himself
 has expressly foretold there shou'd be; wherein he's
 follow'd

Pag. 37.

follow'd by JEREMIAH, EZECHIEL, JOEL, and such others, as must be acknowledg'd to have well understood the reason and design of the Jewish Sacrifices. Wherefore desiring you to suspend your judgement till you see the ⁸² RES-PUBLICA MOSAICA, I return to my general position. Besides the passage alledg'd before out of *the first Epistle to the Corinthians*, the following passage also out of that to the Romans, may serve for a perpetual key to this System of reconciling JAMES and PAUL, viz. that WORKS, as oppos'd to FAITH in their writings, signify the *opus operatum* of the Levitical Law, or the outward practice of it; and that FAITH signifies the belief of one God, a persuasion of the truth of CHRIST's doctrine, and the inward sanctification of the mind. Without this Faith and Regeneration (as a change from vice to virtue was properly call'd even by the Heathens) the ever so punctual performance of Ceremonies cou'd not justify a Jew, or render him a good man, agreeable and well-pleasing to God: but JESUS and his Apostles made it manifest that the Gentile, who believ'd one God and the necessity of Regeneration, might, contrary to the notions of the degenerate Jews (who then plac'd all religion in outward practices) be justify'd by such his Faith, without being oblig'd to exercise the ceremonies of the Law, being things no way regarding him, either as to national origin or civil government; while the Jew, on the other hand, must, to the outward observance of his country Law by eternal covenant, add this inward Regeneration and the Faith of the *Gospel*, or the Levitical Law wou'd avail him nothing tho ever so strictly observ'd. Here PAUL himself speak.

82. See the Appendix, number I.

Where is boasting then? It is excluded: by what Rom. iii. *Law? of WORKS? Nay; but by the Law of* 27—31. *FAITH. Therefore we conclude, that a man is justify'd by FAITH without the Works of the LAW. Is he the God of the JEWS onely? is he not also of the GENTILES? Yes of the GENTILES also; seeing it is one God which shall justify the CIRCUMCISION by FAITH, and the UNCIRCUMCISION thro FAITH. Do we then make void the LAW thro FAITH? God forbid: yea we establish the LAW. What can be more plain or pertinent? and is not this the onely way to reconcile the Gospels with the Acts and Epistles, as well as these with the Old Testament? Is not this the onely method of according the Jews and the Gentiles? yea and of justifying God himself against those, who object the mutability or imperfection of giving one Law at one time, and another Law at another time? whereas there is no such abrogating or obrogating according to the ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY. The Religion that was true yesterday is not false to day; neither can it ever be false, if ever it was once true.*

C H A P. XVII.

THUS therefore the Jewish Christians were ever bound to observe the Law of MOSES, and the Gentile Christians, who liv'd among them, only the Noachic precepts of abstinence from blood and things offer'd to Idols: for the Moral Law was both then, and before, and ever will be, of indispensable obligation to all men, it being the grossest absurdity and impiety to assert the contrary; since sound Reason, or the light of common sense, is a catholic and eternal rule,
without

without which mankind cou'd not subsist in peace or happiness one hour. It is the fundamental bond of all society, where there is or there is not a reveal'd religion: and tis the only thing that's approv'd by the most opposite Revelations, or by any sort of parties and divisions in each other. Nothing can be more apposite in this place, than what CICERO divinely writes to the same purpose. RIGHT REASON, says ⁸³ he, *is a true Law; suteable to nature, diffus'd among all people constantly the same, everlasting: which obliges men to their duty by commands, and deterrs them from wickedness by prohibitions; but which never commands or prohibits the virtuous in vain, tho the vicious are not mov'd by menaces or injunctions. Of this Law nothing must be chang'd, nor may any part of it be repeal'd, nor can the whole be ever abolish'd; neither can we be absolv'd from observing it, by the authority of the Senate or the People. No other expounder or interpreter therof, but it self, is to be sought; nor is it one Law at Rome, another at Athens, one at this time, another hereafter: but the same Law, both eternal and immortal, is to govern all nations and at all times. And there will be, as*

83. Est quidem vera Lex recta Ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna: quae vocet ad officium iubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat; quae tamen neque probos frustra jubet aut vetat, nec improbos iubendo aut vetando movet. Huic Legi neque obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest; nec verò aut per Populum, aut per Senatum, solvi hac Lege possumus. Neque est quaerendus explanator, aut interpret ejus alius; nec erit alia lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac: sed & omnes gentes, & omni tempore, una Lex, & sempiterna & immortalis, continebit. Unusque erit communis quasi magister, imperator omnium, Deus ille, Legis hujus inventor, disceptor, lator: cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis aspernabitur; atque hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiam si cetera supplicia (quae putantur) effugerit. Cic. de Repub. l. 3. ex Latam. l. 6. c. 3.

we may say, one common master and ruler over all, even GOD, the proposer, debater, and enacter of this Law: to whom he that will not yield obedience must fly from himself, and shake off the nature of a man; in doing which very thing he suffers the highest punishments, tho he shou'd escape those other torments which are commonly believ'd. It was a saying of Dr. WHITCHCOT, that natural Religion was eleven parts in twelve of all Religion: and PAUL was so farr from exhorting his disciples of the Gentiles against this Moral Law of Nature (as he justly did against the Levitical Law of MOSES) that the FAITH which he recommends to them instead of this last Law (even that FAITH Gal. v. 6. which works by love, and whose end is to beget a new creature) is made by him radically productive of the Moral Law. *The fruit of the Spirit* (says Ibid. v. 22, he) *is love, joy, peace, patience, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance: against such there is no Law.* No certainly, neither against any other virtue; nor wou'd any Religion be receiv'd in the world, that shou'd go about to contradict or annul them: and tis evident to all, but such as will not see, that one main design of Christianity was to improve and perfect the knowledge of the Law of nature, as well as to facilitate and inforce the observation of the same; tho tis very true, that when we have done all, we have done but our duty, and that but ever imperfectly. JAMES was also in the right, by pressing upon the Jews the WORKS of the Levitical no less than those of the Moral Law, for the reasons given before (particularly in the 12th chapter) and therefore needless to be repeated here, since he recommends FAITH as earnestly as PAUL himself. Now, all this is very intelligible, easy, and consistent, according to the Nazaren System: whereas nothing in the world is more intricate, difficult,
or

or incoherent, than the controversies between the Protestants and the Papists, about *Merit of Works* and *Justification by Faith*, occasion'd by the seeming contradiction of JAMES to PAUL. But these are nice speculations, of which those plain men never dreamt; being founded on Scholastic distinctions and Roman Law-terms, to which most of the Apostles were utter strangers. *Good works*, as moral duties are commonly call'd, were no part of the question at all: not the WORKS mention'd by PAUL and JAMES, in contradistinction to FAITH. The Papists are no better agreed among themselves in all their divisions and subdivisions, than the Protestants, who are no less split about these points of Merit and Justification; which, as we all know, have occasion'd as much looseness and libertinism on the one hand, as they have produc'd superstition and bigotry on the other. Antinomianism and Supererogation are the two monstrous extremes of their disputes. They keep still a woful pother: and I foresee that many of 'em (not onely on account of this explication, but also for what I have deliver'd concerning the perpetual observation of the Levitical Law) will say, that I advance a new Christianity, tho I think it undoubtedly to be the old one. But minding the calumny of some as little as they do the truth, I leave all impartial persons to examine; if what has been written by either side on these heads, be for the most part any thing else but elaborate nonsense, mere jingle, and logomachy? and consequently, whether all the barbarous stuff that's deliver'd in the Scholastic Systems concerning *Faith* and *Justification*, be not an after-device of Priests to puzzle the cause; and so to raise scruples in mens consciences (to the bringing of them often into despair) that they may have recourse to them for the solution of their doubts, to the no small increase

increase both of their pay and their power? However the matter may appear to others, I am persuaded that my explication was the real sense of JAMES; and I am every whit as certain, that he can never be made to agree with PAUL, as well as that PAUL can never be fairly made to agree with him, on any other foot. As to the substance of what our modern Divines wou'd seem to contend about, for my own part I readily acknowledge that no man can merit any thing of God by his good works, be they ever so many or great; and that whatever he receives is by mere grace and mercy, even the best of us being, strictly speaking, unprofitable servants: but I deny that any thing of all this matter is meant in the phrase of *Justification by Works* or *by Faith* in the whole *New Testament*.

C H A P. XVIII.

HITHERTO then we have partly seen what the true original Christianity in many things was not, and partly what it was; especially as to the Jews perpetual keeping of their own rites, and the cohabiting Gentiles no less perpetual observation of the Noachic precept about blood: while both of 'em agreed to the necessity of Regeneration, and subjecting themselves to JESUS as their spiritual Lawgiver. To these things I cou'd add much greater lustre, had I time to digest and methodize my observations touching the rise and growth of Christianity. There it wou'd appear, how strangely the most part of the Jews of his time mislook the true design of JESUS, having been deluded and prepossessed by the artifice of a prevailing faction, that had not the sincere interest of their country, nor the purity of their Constitution, at heart. But they

were chiefly irritated against him by the influence of a rampant Priesthood, who, for their own profit and power, had openly and shamelessly perverted the Law of MoSES; rather than to see which restor'd to its primitive institution, and themselves oblig'd to change their formal into a spiritual life, they wou'd not have even the kingdom restor'd at that time to Israel. Yet for rejecting the salutiferous doctrine and admonitions of the holy JESUS, they brought upon themselves swift destruction. And indeed the divine wisdom of the Christian Institution (the original, uncorrupted, easy, intelligible Institution; but not the fabulous systems, lucrative inventions, burthensom superstitions, and unintelligible jargon early substituted to it) is so apparent in enlightening the minds and regulating the conduct of men, in procuring their highest happiness in all respects, particularly in the admirable Economy of uniting the Jews and the Gentiles into one Family, and thus leading all the world to the knowledge of one God: that nothing, I am persuaded, but a perfect ignorance of what it really is, or private interest, a worse enemy to truth than ignorance, cou'd keep any from cheerfully imbracing it. I do not onely mean those who declare against both name and thing, and this sometimes very justly as they are represented to them: but likewise too many of those who make loud professions of their Christianity, nay, and who restrain the benefits of it solely to those of their own cant and livery; tho the articles of their belief and the rubric of their practice, be manifestly the very things which JESUS went about to destroy. A change in names makes no change in things: and tho' I cannot say, that I wish there was but one communion of Christians, since this in nature is impossible, nei-
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ther is it in it self defireable, nor the thing intended by the communion of Saints : yet I wish with all my heart that there were none in any communion, whose CHRISTIANITY, notwithstanding all their boasts and pretences, cou'd be shown to be down-right ANTICHRISTIANISM; for we must govern our selves by things, as I said just now, and not by names, which frequently continue after things are chang'd quite contrary to what those words at first imported. And for God's sake, Sir, what can be more Antichristian than heathenish Polytheism and Idolatry, pious Frauds and superstitious Fopperies, sophistical Subtilties and unintelligible Mysteries, damning Uncharitableness and inhuman Persecutions, vain Pomp and ridiculous Pageantry, absolute Authority over conscience, and making temporal Rewards or Punishments the means of supporting Religion? what can be less Christian, I say, or more contrary to the design of JESUS CHRIST, than all these things I have here enumerated; with a factious engrossing of Gain, and an artful propagation of Ignorance to support the Trade, or whatever else our Deliverer oppos'd in the degenerate Jew and in the bewild'rd Gentile? These and the like corruptions wherever they are found, be it in any one society, or among several societies calling themselves Christians, are yet the very reverse of genuin CHRISTIANITY, and consequently ANTICHRISTIANISM. But tis no wonder Christianity shou'd in process of time be misunderstood or misrepresented, when the author of it was very early disbeliev'd by his own nearest relations, and charg'd with madness, nay and dealing with the Devil, by John viii. others: this charge of madness having been off-4. 5-S. ten since laid by men of craft and interest against those, that wou'd generously risk life or reputation,

tion, an employment or a benefice, for the sake of truth and the public good, or whatever they take to be such. Is not Mr. WHISTON (for example) reckon'd mad, tho no man in England writes more coherently? This truth bids me willingly acknowlege: and yet I am much farther than his detractors from allowing all his premisses, or admitting every one of his consequences to be just. Sit still, says the sly Pharisee, if you are a private man, and sooth the knavery of the great, that you may enjoy their protection: or if you chance to be a man in power, keep what you have got by what title soever, and be sure to make the most of the people's folly; for he that does otherwise is a madman. This language I have heard a thousand times, and as many times rejected such advice. Tho I declar'd long since that I love not to call names in Religion, and that I am neither of PAUL, nor of CEPHAS, nor of APOLLOS; yet since men are sure to be distinguish'd by their friends as well as by their foes, and that the designations they bestow are often inexpressive, but generally false or improper: so I own that, for more than one reason, I have less exception to the name of NAZAREN than to any other. My first reason is, because this name, as I have already

prov'd, was that which the followers of JESUS took to themselves at the beginning, even preferably to that of CHRISTIAN, which was given them next: and my second reason is, because this name was afterwards peculiarly apply'd to those, who understood the design of Christianity as I do; namely, that the Jewish nation shou'd always continue to observe their own Law under the Christian dispensation, tho nevertheless the disciples from among the Gentiles do stand under no obligation to keep that Law, either as it is ceremonial or judicial. This is the sense wherein

I understand NAZARENISM, as now betokening a distinct society of Christians: for with regard to any other opinions justly or unjustly attributed to the old NAZARENS, as I have neither expressly adopted nor defended such; so they do not enter into the idea I give of the word, and therefore am not hereafter to be charg'd, with what I before-hand disclaim.

CHAP. XIX.

AS most of the Jews mistook the design of JESUS, so the Gentiles did as much mistake the few Jews who adher'd to him. You know already to what a prodigious degree Imposture and Credulity went hand in hand in the primitive times of the Christian Church; the last being as ready to receive, as the first was to forge books, under the names of the Apostles, their companions, and immediate successors. IRENEUS, speaking of those primitive false coiners, says, that *in order to amaze the simple, and such as are ignorant of the Scriptures of truth, they obtrude upon them an inexpressible multitude of apocryphal and spurious Scriptures of their own devising.* This evil grew afterwards not only greater, when the Monks were the sole transcribers, and (I might say in a manner) the sole keepers of all books good or bad; but in process of time it became almost absolutely impossible to distinguish history from ^s fable, or

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truth

84. Αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ ἀποκρύβαν καὶ ἰσθὺν γέναν, ὡς εὐσεβεῖς ἐπλασαν, παρρησιάζοντες ἐν ταπεινότητι τῶν ἀσθενῶν, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι γινώσκοντες. Adversus Haeres. l. 1. c. 17.

85. Veteribus illis bono animo multa & scribentibus & legentibus, quae aliquo filitem modo instruere possent plebem; quorum crasse

truth from error, as to the beginnings and original monuments of Christianity. The truth of this you may particularly see in all the treatises written about *the Canon of the New Testament*, where there occur a pretty ample list of difficulties, not to be slightly answer'd, or pass'd over indifferently, by any who are sincere lovers of truth; these being in themselves matters of the highest importance, as well as subjects of the greatest curiosity, and therefore deserving all the pains of the most able Critics to solve them satisfactorily. Those Apocryphal books occasion'd me to start a difficulty formerly in *Amyntor*, which, for ought I yet perceive, must be solv'd at last by my self. It was this. *How the immediate successors of the Apostles cou'd so grossly confound the genuin writings of their masters, with such as were falsely attributed to them? or, since they were in the dark about these matters so early, how came such as follow'd 'em by a better light?* And observing, that such Apocryphal books were often put upon the same foot with the Canonical books by the *Fathers*; and the first cited as *divine Scriptures* no less than the last, or sometimes when such as we reckon divine were disallow'd by them, I propos'd these two other questions: *why all these books, which are cited as genuin by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, and the rest of such writers, shou'd not be accounted equally authentic? and what stress ought to be laid on the testimony of those Fathers, who not only contradict one another, but*

erassis ingeniis, & temerariis Monachis patientiam sequentibus, atra nox etiam clarissimis Christianismi principiis tandem invecata est: fabulis & sophismatis veritatis regnum dolo & vi occupantibus. Gasp. Barthe. in Notis ad Claudiani Mamerti lib. 1. de Statu Animarum.

are

are often inconsistent with themselves in their relations of the very same facts? Nor do I think it a mean service to true Religion, to set objections of this nature in their clearest light, no less to acquaint the persons concern'd with those scruples of many, which had otherwise perhaps never come to their knowledge; than to put 'em hereby in the right way of removing such, by answering them as fairly as they are propos'd. I am farr from being ignorant that the wooden Priests and Divinelings of all communions (easily distinguish'd from the true Pastors) instead of laboring for satisfaction in such cases to themselves or others, are accusom'd immediately to rail and raise a cry against those that do, as profest Heretics or conceal'd Atheists: whereas if they had been such indeed, they shou'd the more earnestly study to inform and convince them, which Billingsgate and defamation can never effect. This conduct, on the contrary, will make them suspect all to be a cheat and imposture, because men naturally cry out when they are touch'd in a tender part. Those Smatterers and Hypocrites, its true, wou'd ordinarily cover their malice with the pretence of zeal: but the real cause of all their passion, is either their ignorance which they wou'd not have expos'd, or their laziness which they wou'd not have disturb'd, with the business of their profession. Tis not possible, however, for any Church or Community to be rid of such; since there's a mob of Priests, a mob of Lawyers, a mob of Gentlemen, a mob of Physicians, and a mob (to be short) in all numerous societies. But the able, the exemplary, and conscientious Divine, who merits all the honor and respect that is sure to be paid him, acts quite another part: for misrepresentation of his very enemies is as little to be fear'd from him, as much

as it is to be despis'd from those of another character; and information will be much more agreeably receiv'd from his hands, as it is more likely to be sound and sincere. Being therefore sure, that no man will be angry at a question who's able to answer it, I shall here add one more to the difficulties relating to our present *Canon of the New Testament*. 'Tis this. *Since the Nazarens or Ebionites are by all Church-historians unanimously acknowledg'd to have been the first Christians, or those who believ'd in CHRIST among the Jews, with which his own people he liv'd and dy'd, they having been the witnesses of his actions, and of whom were all the Apostles: considering this, I say, how it was possible for them to be the first of all others (for they are made to be the first Heretics) who shou'd form wrong conceptions of the doctrine and designs of JESUS? and how came the Gentiles, who believ'd on him after his death, by the preaching of persons that never knew him, to have truer notions of these things; or whence they cou'd have their information, but from the believing Jews?* To the customs of the Jews I grant the Gentiles were most averie, and their language they so little understood, as to commit on diverse occasions endless and monstrous mistakes, many instances of which may be seen in RHENFERD's *Dissertations* before-cited; which (by the way) I approve not in all things, particularly in his confounding the Nazarens of the first with some of those of the third and fourth centuries: yet still the Gentiles must have their water from the Jewish stream, or their cisterns will be very muddy and unwholsom. But not to digress, tho I am my self most firmly rooted in what I am theroly perswaded to be the right belief concerning CHRIST and CHRISTIANITY, which I shall particularly deduce in the account of my Religion,

Religion, which I have often promis'd you; yet, for the sake of others, I wou'd passionately recommend (in the mean time) the clear solution of this difficulty about the Ebionites to the most capable Critics, be they Divines or Laymen: since not onely of old it occasion'd two eminent parties, but even now in a manner in our own days; and that one of them does affirm, the true Christianity of the Jews was overborn and destroy'd by the more numerous Gentiles, who, not enduring the reasonableness and simplicity of the same, brought into it by degrees the peculiar expressions and mysteries of Heathenism, the abstruse doctrines and distinctions of their Philosophers, an insupportable pontifical Hierarchy, and even the altars, offerings, the sacred rites and ceremonies of their Priests, tho they wou'd not so much as tolerate those of the Jews, and yet owning them to be divinely instituted. The Socinians and other Unitarians no less confidently assert, that the Gentiles did likewise introduce into Christianity their former polytheism and deifying of dead men: thus retaining (add they) the name of Christianity, but quite altering the thing; and suteing it, as their interest or the necessity of their affairs requir'd, to all the opinions and customs any where in vogue from that time to this. The time-serving and fickleness of many Christians are too manifest to be deny'd. This is the nature of man. Yet for all the pretences of the Socinians to reason, they are in many things relating to this very subject, and in several other respects, not proper here to be mention'd, guilty of as palpable absurdities and contradictions, as any sect whatsoever: so little consistent is man in his opinions, any more than in his actions.

CHAP. XX.

TO solve the said difficulty then about the Ebionites, it will not be enough barely to quote our *Gospels*, *Epistles*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*; but their genuineness and integrity must be likewise establish'd by those arguments, of which every good Christian may and ought to be appriz'd. since the Nazarens and Ebionites (whose Synagogues or Churches were numerous, as I said above, over all the orient, as well as particularly in Judea) had a *Gospel* of their own, somtimes call'd by Ecclesiastical writers ⁸⁶ THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS, and somtimes THE GOSPEL OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES; but ignorantly mistaken by IRENEUS, EPIPHANIUS, and their followers for THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW interpolated. This *Gospel* was publickly read in their Churches as authentic, for above ⁸⁷ 300 years; which might very well be for the most part, and yet the other *Gospels* never be the less authentic also. Doctor GRABE (who has

⁸⁶ Papias apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 39: Ignat. in Epist. ad Smyrn. n. 3: Iren. adversus Hæres. l. 3. c. 11: Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1: Origen. homil. 1. in Luc: tract. 8. in Mat: homil. 15. in Jerem: & in tom. 2. comment. in Joan: Just. Martyr (*ut videtur*) in dialogo cum Tryphone: Ambros. in proœm. commentarior. in Luc: Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25 & 27: item l. 4. c. 22: Epiphani. Hæres. 29 & 30, passim: Hieronym. in Catalogo, n. 4: Contra Pelagian. l. 3. c. 1: Comment. in cap. 12. Mat: & alibi sæpius: Theophylact. comment. in Luc: Tit. Bost. comment. in eundem.

⁸⁷ Vid. Augustin. contra Faust. l. 19. c. 18: & contra Cresconium, c. 3: ut de HIERONYMO, EPIPHANIO, reliquisque sileam.

Doctor

Doctor ⁸⁸ MILLS and other very able men on his side) is of opinion it was written before the *Gospels* now receiv'd for ⁸⁹ Canonical, as being collected by the eye and ear-witnesses of CHRIST, or by such as were familiarly acquainted with the Apostles, and that it was one of the many mention'd by LUKE. As several celebrated Divines ^{Luc. i. 1.} have shown, that true Christianity might have subsisted, tho any particualr book of our present *Canon* had perish'd, or if but any one of our *Gospels* had remain'd: so none of 'em, that ever I cou'd learn, has approv'd the extravagant fancy of IRENEUS, who wou'd need infer, that of necessity there cou'd neither be more nor fewer than four *Gospels*; because (says he) there are four regions of the world, and four principal winds. The *Gospel of the Hebrews* therefore might be one of those many mention'd by LUKE, as written before his own; and which he does not reject as false, or erroneous, or for any other reason. But, for ought appears hitherto, tis long ago destroy'd, a few fragments excepted; as are a world of other ancient monuments, that were sacrific'd to blind zeal or too clear-sighted interest: and were it still remaining, it wou'd have finish'd or prevented abundance of Controversies, otherwise not easy to be determin'd; for which reason diverse pious and learned men do now highly regret the loss of the same. Nor were there wanting who wou'd persuade the world, that it lies yet cover'd with dust in the French King's library, as others said it was in other places. It was translated into Greec and Latin by ⁹⁰ JEROM, who very often makes use

⁸⁸. In Prolegomenis ad Novum Testamentum. pag. v. col. 2. & pag. vi. col. 2.

⁸⁹. In Spicilegio Patrum, tom. 1. pag. 17, 18.

⁹⁰. In Catalogo, n. 4. & alibi.

of it, as likewise did ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS; not rejecting it as *Apocryphal*, nor receiving it as *Canonical*, but placing it among what they call'd the *Ecclesiastical books*: that is, books whose antiquity they were not able to deny, but whose authority they were not willing to acknowledge. Long before these the *Gospel of the Hebrews* was by PAPIAS, IGNATIUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, and others alledg'd as a true *Gospel*. So it seems to have been by JUSTIN MARTYR, in his Dialogue with TRYPHON the Jew, as before cited: so was it by HEGESIPPUS, who was himself a Jew, and the father of Ecclesiastical, as HERODOTUS of Civil history. In his list of the first *Heresies*, preserv'd in his own words by EUSEBIUS, he is farr from reckoning the Nazarens or Ebionites among 'em: as good a proof that he was one himself, as that he ⁹¹ delighted to quote their *Gospel*. The same EUSEBIUS says that SYMMACHUS was ⁹² an Ebionite, which is the reason that the Nazarens were by their antagonists call'd ⁹³ Symmachians, as from CERINTHUS Cerinthians, but still by themselves NAZARENS. The Ebionites likewise (or if you had rather, the Nazarens) the Encrätites, and the Severians their offspring, rejected the ⁹⁴ *Acts of the Apostles*, with all

91. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 22: Item. 3. 25.

92. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 17: Item Ambros. in Galat. Omnis (inquit) credens in Christum, & observans leges factorum, male intelligit Christum: sicut & Symmachiani (qui ex Phariseis originem trahunt) qui, servatâ omni Lege, Christianos se dicunt.

93. Et nunc sunt quidam Hæretici, qui se Nazarenos vocant; a nonnullis tamen Symmachiani appellantur, & Circumcisionem habent Judæorum, & Baptismum Christianorum. Augustin. contra Creţion. l. 1. c. 31.

94. Tertullian. contra Marcion. l. 5. c. 2: Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 29: & ubi supra in cap. 13: Origen. ubi supra: Epiphani. Hæres. 28. n. 5: & 30. n. 16: Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4: Philastr. Hæres. 36: Item Manichæi apud Augustin. contra Adimant; & alibi: Hieronym. Tom. 6. in Mat.

PAUL's *Epistles*; and the first had other *Acts*, as I took notice before, very different: so that the authority of this book must withall be clearly made out by the historians of the *Canon*, as very easily it may be; especially since CHRYSOSTOM, in a *Homily* he made on the title of the *Acts*, says ⁹⁵ that *in his time* (which was the end of the fourth century) *not only the author and collector, but even the book it self, was unknown to many*. In short, every side and sect pretended they were the only true Christians, and each did peremptorily (as many persons now do with as little ground yet equal confidence) appeal to APOSTOLICAL TRADITION AND SUCCESSION, which are the very words of the Heretic ⁹⁶ PTOLOMY to his female correspondent FLORA; and that they only being the Church, no others were to be heard or credited. One wou'd imagine it was SCHELSTRATE or DODWEL that spoke. But what do I talk of PTOLOMY? the numerous and entire sects of the Valentini-ans, Marcionites, and others, accus'd our *Scriptures* of error and imperfection, of contradiction and insufficiency, without Tradition (forsooth) as we are inform'd by ⁹⁷ IRENEUS: and that such Traditions there were, even some of the reputed Orthodox inferr'd from this and such other texts alledg'd by the Heretics, *we speak wisdom among them that are perfect*. This their adversaries also freely acknowledg'd, but asserted the Traditions

95. Πολλοὶ τούτῃ τῇ βιβλίῳ οὐδ' ὄντι ᾧ ὀνομασθέντι, οὕτως αὐτοὶ οὐτε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ δεῖν. Homil. in Act.

96. Μαθητὴν γὰρ (ὅστις ἐκείνῳ) εἶπεν καὶ τὸν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς καὶ γρηγορή, ἀφ' ἡμεῶν τῆς ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΕΩΣ, ἐκείνῳ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΗΣ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρεῖμεν, κατὰ καὶ τὰ καθήκοντα στήναι τῆς ἐκείνῳ τῆς τοῦ ΣΑΥΛ-Οῦ διδασκαλίας. Epiphani. Haer. 33. p. 7.

97. Adversus Haer. l. i. c. 2.

were solely of their side, loudly glorying that they themselves were the Church and the Orthodox, while those whom others call'd Orthodox were Heretics and Intruders. Every one of them likewise had APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION ever in his mouth. But

*Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites :
Et cuncta te dignus, & hic*———Virgil.

Just so it is at this day between some of the Protestants and all the Papists (not to speak of the Greeks) each of 'em boasting I know not what *uninterrupted Tradition and Succession*, which are the most chimerical pretences in nature; and which not only shows how little any oral tradition whatever is to be valu'd; but that no truth of universal concern can possibly depend on so slight a foundation, as the way of bandying about an old story for numerous generations. *To the Law* therefore *and to the Testimony*. *To the New Testament*, I say; and to that alone both for doctrine and discipline. So farr is the Succession of Bishops in any ancient See from being uninterrupted, that it is not so much as certain fact, no not for the first half-dozen of pretended Bishops in the See of Rome, from which our English High-church Pharisees are proud to derive their Succession; which I deliberately and positively defy 'em to make out to me, either in Rome, or here in Great Britain with respect to the first British Bishops. Besides that several even of the Bishops who are not contested, were Schismatics, Heretics, Apostates, Atheists, and monsters of men for wickedness, by the consent of all historians. These were cleanly conveyances for the pure doctrine of CHRIST, farr better preserv'd in the *Scriptures*, and in the successive profession of the faithful.

Shou'd

Shou'd the validity of Ordination and Ordinances depend on the succession of Sees, it wou'd then be downright Conjuring, and not a reasonable, much less a divine Institution. If Tradition therefore, and this Episcopal succession be not *weak and beggarly elements*; I know not what can be so call'd with any propriety. This Succession, in a word, and Apostolical, that is to say, Oral Tradition, are literally in the Apostle PAUL's words, *1 Tim. i. 4. Fables and endless Genealogies, ministering questions rather than godly edifying*: intricate questions that can never be solv'd, and division instead of edification. This business puts me in mind of a learned Gentleman, who told me sometime since, that he was about to collect the Traditions of his Church since the *Reformation*: and if he goes on with this design, he'll be strangely surpriz'd to find such prodigious variety, alteration, and uncertainty, within so small a compass as from LUTHER's time to ours. The first dispute will be (and no logomachy I assure him) whether his Church was well reform'd or not? The next, whether the Clergy or the Laity made this alteration, whether the motives to it were temporal or spiritual? and the third, to name no more, who were precisely the persons, or those that were the chief instruments of the same? Every one of these points will be eagerly contested. Yet they are trifles to the confusion and intricacy he'll meet at every step about the discipline and doctrine, the ceremonies and usages of this Church: when even stories void of all rivalry or interest, where neither point of honor nor preferment is concern'd, are scarce ever told twice the same way. APOSTOLICAL TRADITION, to say it in few words, was the engine us'd formerly, as it is at present, to introduce or countenance whatever men had a mind to advance without the authority

ty of *Scripture*, or contrary to it: and thus (to give an example in the very point we have been hitherto chiefly clearing) AUGUSTIN, speaking of the Nazarens by name, says, that *tho they* ²² *acknowledge the son of God to be the Messias, yet they observe all the precepts of the old Law; which the Christians,* continues he, *have learnt by APOSTOLICAL TRADITION not to observe carnally, but to understand spiritually.* JESUS nowhere, the *Gospel* nowhere, forbids the practice of the Jewish Law to the Jews; but the Tradition of the Apostles is here made to supply the defect of their writing. And so this very Tradition is alledg'd by others to warrant the invocation of Saints, prayers for the Dead, the worship of Images, with the whole train of Grecic and Romish superstitions, wherof the least footstep appears not in the *Bible*. Again therefore I say, *to the Law and to the Testimony:* since it will not avail any thing to say here (for there's nothing some men will not say) that by *Apostolical Tradition* AUGUSTIN means the written doctrine of the Apostles, till it appears that they have written any such matter. You perceive by this time (MEGALETOR) that what the Mahometans believe concerning CHRIST and his doctrine, were neither the inventions of MAHOMET, nor yet of those Monks who are said to have assisted him in the framing of his *Alcoran*; but that they are as old as the time of the Apo-

98. Nazaraei, cum Dei filium confiteantur esse Christum, omnia tamen veteris Legis observant; quae Christiani per APOSTOLICAM TRADITIONEM non observare carnaliter, sed spiritualiter intelligere didicerunt. Ebionaei Christum etiam tantummodo hominem dicunt: mandata carnalia legis observant, circumcisionem scilicet carnis, &c. cetera, quorum oneribus per novum Testamentum liberati sumus. *De Haer.* c. 9.

ties, having been the sentiments of whole Sects or Churches: and that tho' *the Gospel of the Hebrews* be in all probability lost, yet some of those things are founded on another *Gospel* anciently known, and still in some manner existing, attributed to BARNABAS. If in the history of this *Gospel* I have satisfy'd your curiosity, I shall think my time well spent; but infinitely better, if you agree, that, on this occasion, I have set THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY in its due light, as far as I propos'd to do. I am with inexpressible admiration and respect,

Your most faithful, obedient,

Hon^{ble} Ladyke,

and devoted Servant,

$17 \frac{16}{7}$

J. T.

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*Exempla Majorum perquire, } PATRIC.
Ubi nihil invenies Fallaciae. }*

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LETTER II.

*Containing an account of an Irish
Manuscript, &c.*

SECTION I.



AM not without hopes (excellent MEGALOTON) that you may have receiv'd some entertainment from my account of the *Gospel of BARNABAS*, as well as some benefit from the *Original Plan of Christianity*: but I now do myself the honor to give you an account of a *Gospel* that will tend much more to your edification, and by which that *Plan* will be further illustrated. I mean a Latin Manuscript copy, that I have now before me on the Table, of the four *Gospels* generally receiv'd in the Christian world. It is not onely very remarkable and valuable for being a relique of the ancient Irish Church, but moreover for being one of the correctest copies I have ever seen, and finely written in Irish characters: as also for various *Readings* of

some importance, for some very singular observations, and for a *Catena Patrum* on the *Gospel of MATTHEW* (interspersed with a few *Notes* in the Irish tongue) that destroys the credit of certain corrupt editions of the *FATHERS*; wherein some of those passages being manifestly deprav'd, it probably follows that many more are so. There is an interlineary *Gloss* of little worth in another hand, and some odd separate pieces, among whom the *Genealogy of CHRIST*, which I told you in
 Pag. 18. my last *Letter* did not begin the first chapter of *MATTHEW*. But these *Notes*, and some other books of this kind not yet made public, show much fuller and better than the incomparable Archbishop *USHER* (the glory of Ireland) has either ¹ done, or for want of such vouchers cou'd do, what was the genuin Christianity of the ancient Irish: for the Irish and the Albanian Scots, with the Western Britons, were the last of all European nations that submitted (since neither the Greeks nor the Waldenses ever truly submitted) to the hierarchy, ceremonies, and doctrine of the Roman Church; tho they became the most eager sticklers for it, with all its superstitions, in after times of ignorance. This late Conformity is unanimously agreed by the Church-historians of all communions. I appeal in particular to *BARONIUS* and *SPANHEMIUS*, since domestic writers may be liable to suspicion. And so far, in effect, were they from acknowledging any subjection to the Church of Rome, or implicitly conforming to its Decrees; that, on the contrary, they did in very many things strenuously oppose it: nor wou'd *DAGAN*, an Irish Bishop in the beginning

1. In his Discourse of the Religion anciently profest by the Irish and the British.

of the 7th century, as much as eat with the Pope's agents (whom he met in Britain) no not under the same ² roof with them; so highly did he abhor their imposing Spirit, as they found COLUMBAN also did, an Abbat of the same nation whom they met in France. In short, the Irish deny'd all communion with them and their Church; as the Roman Church, on the other hand, did then treat the Irish as downright ³ Schismatics and Heretics, whose Clergy, with those of the Britons and Albanian Scots, were not only to be reordain'd (their country Ordination and Sacraments being by the Romanists reputed invalid) but likewise their people to be ⁴ rebaptiz'd, if they desir'd it. Here's the true source of the High-church spirit, that infatuates so many among us at present. Of Rome it is, and by this you may perceive the maintainers of it to be failing for Rome: the spirit, I say, of reordaining and rebaptizing, of unchurching and unchristianing. The best argument that Pope HONORIUS the first cou'd use, towards reducing the Irish to the obedience

2. Cognoscentes Britones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos verò per Daganum Episcopum in hanc insulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Galliis, venientem, nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus: nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 4.*

3. Sed persistit ille [*Wilfridus*] negare, ne ab Episcopis Scottis [*qui tunc vocabantur tum Hiberniae, tum borealis incolae Britanniae*] vel ab iis quos Scotti ordinaverunt, consecrationem susciperet, quorum communionem sedes aspernaretur apostolica. *Gul. Malmesbur. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. 3. Videns licet ipsius Wilfridi verba in ejus Vita, cap. 12.*

4. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poscentibus Christum, vel Eucharistiam dare, nisi ante confessi fuerint, velle se nobiscum esse in unitate Ecclesiae: & qui ex horum similiter gente, vel quacunque, de Baptismo suo dubitaverint, baptizentur. *Decret. Pontif. MS. ab Usserio citat.*

of the Roman see, was ⁵ exhorting them, not to esteem their own small number, seated in the extremities of the earth, to be wiser than the ancient or modern Churches of CHRIST, that were thro-out the world. Thus CUMMIAN, one of the Irish profelytes to Rome, in his Letter to SEGIAN Abbat of I-Colum-kill, desires him to ⁶ consider, which are likeliest to be in the right concerning the celebration of Easter, the Jews, Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, agreeing together; or a parcel of Britons and Irish, who are almost the remotest of mortals, and, as I may call them (continues he) the tetterers of the terrestrial globe. And again in the same ⁷ Letter, what can be more perversely thought of our mother the Church, than if we shou'd say? Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antiochia errs, the whole world errs: but the Irish alone, and the Britons, are in the right. Now, this is still the burden of the song among us, this is the never-failing cant of every Theologaster, and of every little bigot that licks up his spittle: 'are you wiser than 'so many Fathers, Councils, Princes, Nations? 'Do you know more than all the world besides? But it will be very surprizing, when a true ac-

5. Exhortans, ne paucitatem suam, in extremis terrae finibus constitutam, sapientiozem antiquis sive modernis, quae per orbem terrae sunt, Christi ecclesiis aestimarent. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 19. Vide: et etiam f. 115 de hac re, l. 3. c. 25.*

6. Vos considerare——utrum Hebraei, & Graeci, & Latini, & Aegyptii, simul in observatione praecipuarum solennitatum uniti; an Britonum Scottorumque particula, qui sunt penè extremi, & (ut ita dicam) mentagrae orbis terrarum. *Cummiani Hiberni ad Segierum Huensem Abbatem, Epistola MS. in Biblioth. Cotton. & edit. ab Usser. in Epistolar. Hibernicar Sylloge*

7. Quid autem pravius sentiri potest de Ecclesia matre, quàm si dicamus? Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat: Soli tantùm Scoti & Britones rectum sapiunt. *Id. ibid.*

count is given of the solid Learning and pure Christianity, that anciently flourish'd in the most distant even of the British Isles: and it appears that as low as the 10th century, the famous contest about the celebration of Easter (a question in it self unnecessary and insignificant) was still kept on foot in these Islands; as USHER judiciously⁸ observes, out of the anonymous writer of CHRYSOSTOM's *Life*. But useless as this question does otherwise appear, yet we learn by it, that the inhabitants of our British world thought then as highly of Constantinople as of Rome, without servilely subjecting themselves to the decisions of either: and that they judg'd the *New Testament* clear enough, and sufficient of it self, in all things relating to Salvation; being so little acquainted with the *Fathers* (tho by that time grown fond of Tradition) as to have but one such piece among them relating to Ecclesiastical usages. And happy had it been for them, if none of the extravagant fancies of the *Fathers*, nor any other human Traditions in Religion, had been ever disseminated in their Schools or in their Churches. But because USHER has given us onely a bare hint, and that the passage of CHRYSOSTOM's *Life* has not been otherwise notic'd (that I know of) nor even as much as translated, I shall here give it you entire. *Certain 9 Clergymen from among those,*

8. *Discourse of the Religion profess'd by the ancient Irish and British,* chap. 10. pag. 114.

9. Κάθειμαι γὰρ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου τοῦ οἰκουμένης οἰκοντόν, ἐνεκα τινῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παραδόσεων, τέλει· τε τοῦ πασχαλίου καὶ ἀκρίβους κατέλιπον· τὴν βασιλίδι πολλὴν καταλαβόντες. τοῦ ταύτης τὸ τιμητικὸν πᾶσι ἀρχὴν προσεληλυθασί. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πᾶσι ἐπὶ ἐξῆς οὐδὲ οὐ ποδενίῃ, καὶ τινῶν χάριν ἔκειν ἐρωτηθέντες, τὸν ὁμοεικότων ἐρασάσθαι διαβέβηον· τῆς γὰρ αἰῶν, δι' ἣν ἐπὶ ἐδουλεύατο.

those, who inhabit the extremities of the world; coming upon the account of some ecclesiastical Traditions, but particularly the observation and exact calculation of Easter, to the royal city [of Constantino-ple] did wait upon the Patriarch who at that time resided therein. This was METHODIUS, a man famous in the days of our ancestors; by whom being question'd from what place, and on what occasion, they had travell'd thither? they answer'd, that they came from the ¹⁰ Schools of the Ocean; and withall they clearly explain'd to him, the occasion of coming from their own country. Upon his asking them, what books of holy SCRIPTURE were read there by the inhabitants? they answer'd, that they made use of the ¹¹ Gospel and the Apostle, and of those onely:
But

δημηκασί, σαφώς ἔξεπον αὐτῷ. Του δὲ ποιαίς τῆς θείας γραφῆς βιβλίοις οἱ ἐκαστὸς καίτοιχοι σχολασασιν ἐπωρήσῃ; τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ χρῆσθαι; καὶ μόνοις, ἀπελογησάντο. Ποιαίς δὲ ἐρηκήσῃ; αὐτοῖς πατέρων καὶ διδασκαλῶν σοιχουσιν ἐκδόσεσιν; ἐν ἑνῇ μονοβιβλίῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπεκείναντο, τὸ χριστοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς; δὲ οὐ τὴν τε πῶς τρεῖς, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀκρίβειαν μάθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξηγῆναι; πολλὰς τε διεβεβαίουσαν κατ' ἡκαστὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πληροῦς τῆς ὠφελείας, ἑνῇ τε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπερασον ἀγαθὰ καὶ ποθεινὰ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον, φιλοπονωσὶς αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ παρ' ἄλλου μείλαγρομενον. Οὕτως οὐ πολλοί, ὡς ἔπειν, οὐκ ἐδύναντο, οὐ χωρὶς, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου ὠφελείας ἀμοιβῆς ἐμείναν.

10. Διαλείβειν interdum sumitur pro ipso loco, in quo Philosophi & Doctores διαλείβουσι: sic apud Suidam, in hac voce, est inter alios sensus ὁ τοῦ ἐν ᾧ τινες μανθάνουσι; & de seipso loquens Aulus Gellius, ut alios praeteream, interrogavi (inquit) in Diatriba Taurum, an sapiens irascetur? dabat enim saepe, post quotidianas lectiones, quaerendi quod quis vellet potestatem. Lib. 1. cap. 26.

11. He means the four Gospels, with the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, which make up the Canon of the New Testament; as may be seen by B. D. E., discoursing upon this very dispute about Easter among the Britons and the Scots: who being situated (says he) far beyond the Ocean, no body sent them the Synodal decrees concerning the observation of Easter; so that they onely carefully observ'd the works of piety and purity, which they learnt out of the writings of the
Prophets,

But he further demanding, by what Traditions of the Fathers or Doctors they govern'd themselves? they said, that they had one onely book of the Father CHRYSOSTOM, from whence they happen'd clearly to learn the Faith, and the exact observation of the commands; affirming, that they daily reap'd great advantage by this piece, which was very agreeable and acceptable to all, being handed about from one to another, and diligently transcrib'd: insomuch that there was no city (as they said) nor any of their Clans, or territories, that remain'd void of so great and important a benefit. I shall make no other remark now upon this curious passage, but that as these Oceaners cou'd find no footsteps of Easter in their Gospels and Epistles at home; so if they had observ'd no Easter at all, they needed not to have been at the expense, pains, and hazard, of going a Tradition-hunting from I-colum-kill all the way to Constantinople. And, pray, is it not as manifest as the sun at noon, to what danger the peace of these nations, and the purity of the faith it self, have been of a long time expos'd? on account of Ceremonies, Habits, stated Fasts and Festivals, with many other such matters; no where commanded in the Gospel, but built upon Traditions extremely dubious, and absolutely useles were they ever so certain. Nor shou'd it pass unobserv'd, that in the British Islands we had

Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Apostles, Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5. And speaking in the third chapter of the same book about FINNAN Abbas of Hy, he omitted nothing (says he) of all that he knew was to be perform'd out of the Evangelic, or Apostolic, or Prophetical writings; but, to the utmost of his power, shou'd his obedience by his works. So that no allusion is here made to those Lectionaries of the Greeks, wherof I have seen some; and which are call'd the Gospel and the Apostlic, because they contain the Gospels and Epistles of their daily Offices.

in those days most flourishing Schools; it being likewise a thing very certain, that the Grec language was taught in them, and particularly in those of Ireland, long before this time. But of this subject at more leisure. In the mean time, Sir, I cannot forbear giving you a memorable instance how cautious we shou'd be, in relying too much on the bold assertions of Critics or Antiquaries: but especially of your dealers in Manuscripts, of whom I know very few whose judgement equals their industry; and among these I must do Mr. WANLEY the justice to acknowledge, that his great ability is ever accompany'd with as great candor. Yet it was not want of judgement, but the vanity to appear ignorant of nothing, that made father SIMON commit so many prodigious blunders and mistakes, about the Irish Manuscript of the *Gospels* which I have happily discover'd; and wherof he treats in the 18th chapter of the first tome of his *Bibliothèque Critique*, where he writes of it professedly. So far he's in the right, when he says it is a very ¹² fair copy; nor is he void of all skill (tho somewhat mistaken) when he guesses the age of it to be 800 Years. But, misled by the affinity of the characters, he affirms in the first place, that the book is written in old Saxon letters, and that there are some lines in the ¹³ Saxon language at the end of it. This shows that he understood not a word of Saxon, no more than of Irish: for they are all thro-out the book very neat Irish characters; and those lines at the end are every word of 'em pure

12. On trouve dans la Bibliothèque du Roy un beau Manuscript Latin des quatre Evangiles, écrit il y a pour le moins 800 ans, en vieux caractères Saxons.

13. Il ajoute [ie copiste] à la fin de son exemplaire, plusieurs lignes en langage Saxon.

Irish except ¹⁴ *conscript hunc librum*, which immediately follow the name of the writer. In the next place he declares without any doubt or hesitation, that the writer was an English Benedictin monk, and that his name was DOM AELBRIGTE. When I first read this passage I was perfectly astonish'd, since those lines were as easy to me, as his *Pater noster* cou'd be to Father SIMON. But being pritty well acquainted with the mysteries of the *Critical Art Divinatory*, I quickly perceiv'd that the good Father, wholly ignorant of the Irish language, and yet knowing that the Benedictins were formerly numerous in England, took *do Maolbrigte* to be *Dom Aelbrigte*; this last being a Saxon name, and *Dom* being as commonly prefixt to the proper names of the Benedictins, as *Sir* is to those of our English knights, or was formerly to the names of those fryers, as Sir JAMES, Sir JOHN, Sir WILLIAM. Hence it is plain, that guessing at random is but groping in the dark, where tis a hundred to one but a man loses his way; nor is it less evident, that an Antiquary is not always a good Chronologist, tho tis commonly time alone that makes any thing precious in his sight. As for his changeing the diphthong *ao* into *ae*, directly contrary to the manuscript, it wou'd indeed be reckon'd disingenuous in any but a Hypercritic: who, seeing *Æl* enter into the composition of many Saxon names, might fancy this an error of the copyer: and so a fair opportunity for himself, to demonstrate his acuteness by an emendation. Now the real truth of

¹⁴. *Wrote this book.*

¹⁵. Le Copiste, qui estoit un Moine Benedictin, prend le nom de Dom Aelbrigte.

the matter is, that *do* is an Irish prepositive particle signifying *to, for, &c.*; and *Maolbrigte* the transcriber's name, signifying ¹⁶ *the servant of BRIGIT*, or, according to the Latin analogy, and as the aboriginal Irish were wont to Latinize their own names, BRIGIDIANUS. *Maol* and *Gilla*, two words signifying *servant* with the same difference as *servus* and *famulus* in Latin, begin abundance of Irish names: so MAOLMUIRE is MARIANUS, and likewise GILLAMUIRE; MAOLEASPUIC is EPISCOPIUS, GILLACRIOSD is CHRISTIANUS, GILLACOLUM is COLUMBANUS as well as MAOLCOLUM. Thus MAOLIOSA, GILLAMÓR, with a world of such others, very common in that country and in the highlands of Scotland. Our MULBRIDE then (that we may Anglify him) or BRIGHTMAN, wrote some of this book at the age of eight and twenty. This he tells us himself at the end of MARK, as well as his father's name at the end of JOHN; and so where he wrote the first part, and where he finish'd the second part of his work, together with very particular dates from the lives or deaths of Kings and Clergymen: things of which Father SIMON understood not in this place one syllable. This I object not to him, as if I thought him oblig'd to understand Irish; or as if it were any derogation to his great learning, that he understood Saxon no better. But I think it absurd in any man, to give himself an air of knowing what he does not, which pretence cannot long impose: and it must appear egregiously ridiculous, when such a one will needs betray his ignorance, by takeing upon him to play the Critic in parts

16. *Servus Brigitte.*

of Literature he has never study'd; particularly in languages as little intelligible to him, as Chinese or Tartarian are to me. Nor cou'd I forbear laughing, believe me, when I read in him, that the Saxon characters of this book were very fine; but yet different from those, which ¹⁷ Father MABILLON has exhibited in his book *de Re Diplomatica*. As for the *Chain of the Fathers*, or the collection of passages from their works to explain the text of *Scripture*, he says (as I also say) that it is made out of ¹⁸ HILARY, JEROM, AMBROSE, GENNADIUS, BEDE, and others. *Some of these NOTES*, he ¹⁹ says, *are very impertinent*: and ²⁰ lower, *as for the NOTES, this work is a collection good enough, when the collector cites good authors; but when he speaks of his own head, he sometimes utters great impertinencies*. The meaning of this in short is, that every thing's impertinent, which contradicts the present editions of the *Fathers*; or the present doctrines, and the novel usages of the Roman Church. There are, I confess, according to the custom of those ages (I wish it were only of those ages) several allegorical explicati-

17. Pour ce qui est des caractères Saxons, dans lesquels ces quatre Evangiles sont écrits, ils sont tres-beaux, & différent de ceux que le pere Mabillon a representez dans sa *Diplomatique*.

18. Outre le texte des Evangiles, cet exemplaire contient de petites Gloses interlineaires en Latin sur des certains mots: avec quelques Notes marginales, qui composent une espece de petite Chaine recueillie de St. Hilaire, de St. Ambroise, de St. Jerome, de St. Augustin, de Gennadius. &c, ce me semble, de Bede; qui est indiqué par la seule lettre B, comme St. Jerome est indiqué par la seule lettre H.

19. Ces Notes, dont il y en a quelques-unes fort impertinentes, &c.

20. Cet ouvrage, quant aux Notes, est une compilation qui est bonne, lorsque le compilateur cite des bons auteurs: mais quand il parle de son chef, il dit quelquesfois de grandes impertinences.

ons, which I think impertinent enough; and it too often appears, how farr superstitious belief and ceremonious practice had got footing by that time: but these explications are almost all of 'em from approv'd Doctors in the Roman Church, and therefore can be none of those the reverend Father censures. He ought likewise to have remark'd, that in the body of the *Notes* there appear, not onely two different hands, but also two sorts of ink, which shou'd be carefully distinguish'd. He says, its true, there are two different hands, and that, in ²¹ *all appearance those impertinent Notes were the compiler's own; part of 'em being in the Saxon, and part in the Latin characters, wherof these last are much the latest.* Whereas what appears in the Latin characters, as he calls them, are never mixt with the *Notes* at all; but ever separate by themselves, being added so lately as to be properly no part of the book: and besides, that they are not explicative *Notes* in the least, but directions about the division of the text, and the portions to be read at certain times and occasions; which some possessor of the book, long after the finishing of it, inserted for his own use and convenience. I agree with him in what he says of the interlineary *Gloss*, which is good for little, and, as I said before, by another hand. But he's quite out in what he affirms of the ²² *various Readings*, which he wou'd have found to be considerable, had he read over the whole text with any application: nor does he

21. Ces Notes—qui sont apparemment du Compilateur, viennent de deux mains; car les unes sont en caracteres Saxons, & les autres en caracteres Latins: celles-ci sont beaucoup plus recentes.

22. Quant au fond du texte des Evangiles, il differe peu de notre vulgate, si l'on excepte un tres-petit nombre d'endroits.

make any mention of the Irish, or, as he wou'd call them, the Saxon scraps, that are scatter'd here and there occasionally. Thus, Sir, I have barely represented matter of fact to you, without any of those literary excursions which naturally offer'd themselves. But e'er I finish this account, you won't be ill pleas'd, I dare say, if I present you with one or two of the *Simonian impertinent Notes*, as a specimen of the rest. On these words therefore, *whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loos'd in heaven*, is made this ^{Mat. xvi.} ^{19.} ²³ Note. *The Bishops and Priests make their boasts from this place, and borrow some of the pride of the Pharisees; as if they cou'd damn the innocent, or absolve the guilty: whereas with the Lord not the sentence of the priest, but the life of the sinner is examin'd. In the same manner that the priest cleanses the leprous persons in Leviticus (not that the priests are able to make them clean or unclean, but that they know by certain signs those who are leprous and those who are not) so the Bishop in this place binds or looses, not those who are innocent or guilty: but after he has, according to his office, heard the variety of sinners, he then knows who is to be bound, and who is to be loos'd. That is, he declares them penitent or obstinate, and consequently that they are already forgiven, or remain still guilty. His sentence does nothing*

23. Ex hoc loco Episcopi & Presbyteri jactant, & affirmunt aliquid de superbia Phariseorum. ut vel damnent innocentes vel solvant; cum apud dominum non sententia. sed reorum vita, quaeratur. Quo modo, in *Leuitico*, Sacerdos leprosum mundum facit (non quod Sacerdotes leprosos mundos vel immundos faciant, sed quod habeant notitiam leprosi & non leprosi) sic & hic alligat vel solvit Episcopus, non eos qui innocentes sunt vel coxii: sed, pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates; scit qui ligandus sit, qui solvendus.

else in this case, tho his advice may be very useful. How much more reasonable is this doctrine, than the blasphemous position lately advanc'd by some High-churchmen in England; namely, that God stands bound to expect, yea and to ratify the sentence of the Priest, even tho erroneously pronounc'd: whereas, in the *New Testament*, there's not a syllable of confessing to the Priest at all.

Jam. v. 16. *Confess your faults one to another*, is not onely the plainest text in the world, but also the most approv'd by common sense: for he that commits a fault, if against any particular person, ought readily to acknowledge it, and ask his pardon; or let it be of what nature soever, he ought seriously to advise (for the quieting of his mind, if it be a doubtful or difficult case) with some grave and experienc'd person, be it Layman or Clergyman, who yet have no other authority but what is merely declarative. The contrary wou'd be Magic. By the way, you may perceive from this author, that Priestcraft was breaking in a-main in his time; and I beg you to enquire among your learned acquaintance, of the Irish college in Lovain, who is MANCHANUS? a writer illustrious in this collection, concerning whom, tho there be many of this name, I have my own conjectures. But to return to our *Notes*, it is likewise impertinent no doubt, in Father SIMON's account, that it is said the reason of blessing the Lord's Supper ²⁴ was, *that it might be mystically made his body*; and, *in a spiritual sense this bread is the Church, which is the body of CHRIST*. Nor will it by some be counted less

24. Ut mysticè corpus ejus fieret—spiritualiter panis hic Ecclesia est, quæ est corpus Christi.

impertinent, that the Supper is call'd, *the* ²⁵ *mystery and figure of the body of CHRIST*, and the *first figure of the New Testament* (hinting Baptism to be the second) or that tis added, *this figure or representation is daily reiterated, it is receiv'd in faith*: and that concerning these words, *this is my body*, it is written among other ²⁶ things, *this he said lest our faith shou'd stagger about the daily sacrifice in the Church, as if it were the body of CHRIST, since CHRIST sits on the right hand of God*. You see Transubstantiation was then getting ground. Is not this detach'd *Note* that follows, the most extravagant of all? will it not be so accounted by some nearer ²⁷ home? *Let the Priests heap up knowledge, rather than riches: neither let them be asham'd to learn from those Laymen, who know what belongs to the office of the Priests*. Wo be to the author of this *Note*, tho he shou'd prove to be a *Father* of the Church. But, as I hinted before, I hope for a fitter occasion to put this book in its due light, haveing had it in my custody above half a year. *Armagha*, commonly *Armagh*, being the place where the book was finish'd, I shall cite it always hereafter (when occasion offers) by the name of *Codex Armachanus*, or the book of *Armagh*. The person who convey'd it out of ²⁸ France, was under the same illusion with Father

25. *Mysterium & figura corporis Christi*—prima novi Testamenti figura—Hæc verò figura quotidie iteratur, accipitur in E-
de &c.

26. Et hoc dixit, ne nostra dubitaret fides de sacrificio quotidiano in Ecclesia, quasi corpus Christi esset; quoniam Christus in dextra Dei sedet.

27. Augment Sacerdotes scientiam. magisquam divitias; & non erubescant discere a Laicis, qui noverant quæ ad officium pertinent Sacerdotum.

28. *Since the writing of this Dissertation, in the Year 1709, the*
I 2 *book*

ther SIMON, that it was the work of an Anglofaxon; till I undeceiv'd him, together with some others of great distinction.

SECTION II.

NOW upon the whole, what from this manuscript Commentator, and some other authors not yet better known, tho not less ancient, if not indeed more so: and what from the writings of Archbishop USHER, and other learned men, it may be most evidently made out; that the Religion which the aboriginal Irish profess, especially before the ninth century, was not that, wherof the bulk of their posterity are so fond at this day. Christianity got footing in some parts of Ireland, long before PALLADIUS and PATRIC, the suppos'd first preachers of it there: and after the thorough settling of it by this last in the beginning of the 5th century, *tho the Irish differ'd in their laws from other people (as JONAS²⁹ says in the life of COLUMBAN) yet they flourish'd in the vigor of Christian doctrine, and exceeded the faith of all the neighboring nations.* This faith consisted in a right notion of God, and the constant practice of virtue: for the enormities which render'd 'em afterwards infamous, if not literally barbarous (begging my country's pardon for the expression) ensu'd upon their changing the purity and simplicity of their faith,

book is come into England; being purchas'd by the Earl of OXFORD, in whose large Collection of Manuscripts it is not the least valuable piece.

29. Gens, quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpolleret. *cap.* 1.

into

into gross Idolatry and endless Superstitions; so true is that remark of SALVIAN the Presbyter, who was call'd *the master of the Bishops of his time*, that *30 Vices abound there most, where the Romans most prevail*. Nor is there any thing we ought to observe more narrowly, because nothing more nearly touches us; than that as authority in matters of judgement, necessarily causes laziness and stupidity: so from ignorance thus establish'd under the management of Priests, whose interest leads them to continue it, no less naturally proceed loose morals and savage customs. This is the genuine effect of priestly power in all places, and became most conspicuously so in Ireland: for it cannot be deny'd that the inhabitants grew to such a pitch of brutality, their Princes and Lords perpetually imbruing their hands in one another's blood, and inhumanly tyrannizing over the inferior sort; that, according to the best *Chronicles* of the Island, the state of the country was infinitely better under Heathenism, than under their degenerate Christianity. The common people in the mean time grew idle, poor, and profligate; and the vicious illiterate gentry cou'd deny those Clergymen nothing, who, for money, lands, or immunities from the civil power, engag'd that God wou'd pardon all their crimes, while they were silly enough to believe them. Before this stupendous change (an effect that will ever follow from the like cause) our ancestors were to all others *31 a harmless race; and to the English (whom they entertain'd, furnish'd with books, and instructed gratis) a most friendly nation*, as venera-

30. Ibi præcipuè vitia, ubicunque Romani. *De Gubernat. Dei, lib. 6.*

31. Egfridus—vastavit miserè Gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 26.*

ble BEDE³² records to their honor: or, as WILLIAM of Malmesbury speaking of those³³ times, *the Irish were an innocent kind of people, of unfeign'd simplicity, and never designing any mischief*; which is the true spirit of the Gospel, but unalter'd, unmixt, and unadulterated. The Saxons were indebted to them for their letters, no less than for their learning; but much more oblig'd both to them and the Albanian Scots (whom I commonly so call to distinguish them from the Irish Scots for the planting of a better Christianity in the northern parts of England, than AUSTIN, the Pope's factor, had in the southern. I shall here therefore draw up A SUMMARY OF THE ANCIENT IRISH CHRISTIANITY, which I recommend not to you merely for being theirs (MEGALETOR) when most of their own descendants are since grown so averse to it: but as plain matter of fact, which you are at liberty to approve or disapprove, according as you find it consonant or not to *Scripture* and Reason. This liberty must be ever as readily given, as justly taken. I refer many of the historical proofs to the other book on this subject, which I have more than once insinuated in the preceding Section. To this I generally keep, unless where I express my self in the very words of³⁴ others, which the thread of the discourse many times occasions me to do. In the mean while I am afraid, that I may still too much entrench

32. Quos omnes [*A g'os*] Scotilibentissimè suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, & magistrum gratuitum præbere curabant. *Id.* l. 3. c. 27.

33. Hibernense genus hominum innocens, genuina simplicitate, nihil unquam mali moliens. *De gestis Anglor.* l. 1. c. 3.

34. *Such was my resolution when I wrote this SUMMARY: but some, who have since perus'd it, prevail'd with me to add more of my proof.*

upon your patience, by such a number of quotations out of ancient authors; which yet are absolutely necessary in all facts, but more especially in matters of this nature.

IN the first place then, the Irish did promiscuously read the *Scriptures* in the vulgar tongue of their Iland, as their onely rule of faith: and their Doctors were so remarkably eminent beyond others in assiduouly teaching and explaining the same, that men flock'd thither to study it from all the neighbouring nations, as to some common ³⁵ University; philological, philosophical, and theological Learning happily flourishing in that peaceable corner, while the other parts of the world were miserably distracted by civil dissentions or foren invasions. These are things confirm'd by unsuspected witnesses: and tis the common elege bestow'd on their holy men (such as ³⁶ COLUMBANUS, ³⁷ GALLUS, and others) GALL.

35. *Beda in locis plurimis: Gulielm. Malmesbur. quem jam citavimus: Alcuinus de vita Willibroni: Aldhelm. Malmesbur. in Epist. ad Eadfrid: Notkerus Balbulus in vita Caroli magni: Vincent. in seculo Histor. l. 23. c. 1-3: Asselin. Chronic. tit. 14. c. 4. § 12: Roffius Harwic. lib. de Regibus: Eric. A. tissiodorensis in vitis Sanctor. & speciatim sancti Germani. cap. 168: Auctor vitæ Sulgeni: auctor vitæ Gildæ Bavorici: cum aliis ex antiquioribus innumeris, ut Camdenum & recentiores quoscunque taceam.*

36. Evangelicum clipeum tenens levâ [Columbanus] ensisque ancipitem tenens dextrâ, contra immanes cuneos hominum pugnaturus coepit pergere; ne frustrato labore, quo potissimo ingenio sudaverat [puerulus] in Grammatica, Rhetorica, & Geometria. & divinarum Scripturarum serie, seculi illecebris occuparetur. *Foras in vita Columbani, cap. 12. Quem [Columbanum] cum vir sanctus [Senile] ingenii sagacis esse videret, omnium divinarum Scripturarum studiis imbuir. Ibid*

37. Supernâ quoque gratia se praeveniente, tanto studio divinas eporavit [Gallus] Scripturas, ut de thesauro suo nova proferre posset & vetera. — Obscura autem Scripturarum tam sapienter, scire volentibus, referavit; ut cuncti, qui ejus [utroque pueri] prudentiam & sermones audierant, admiratione cum & laude dignissimum judicarent. *Walafridus Strabo in vita Sancti Galli, l. 1. c. 1.*

that they had diligently study'd the *Scriptures*, and explain'd them to others even in their childhood. 'Tis for teaching the *Scriptures*, in fine, that you'll find the Irish Schools of those times ³⁸ celebrated; but never for reading Lectures on the *Fathers*, or handing down Tradition: and 'tis not improbable, that in those tumultuous times, the Muses may have fled from the noise of arms, to these recesses, which the Roman eagles had never disturb'd.

- II. IN their Temples they had no images or statues, which SEDULIUS, one of their first Divines, expressly ³⁹ condemns, and which others of 'em brand as heathenish and idolatrous. The Clergy, officiating in those Temples, had no gorgeous vestments; rather dazling the eye and distracting the imagination, than informing the mind or edifying the heart. There were not, to the same amuzing purposes, any burning of incense or day-light candles; no costly services of plate, the great COLUMBAN himself being content with ⁴⁰ brass vessels in the administration of the Lord's Supper. Neither had they Canonical hours, or alternate singing in Choirs; which, with many other such Romish customs, were ⁴¹ intro-

³⁸ S. Venit etiam tunc temporis de Hibernia pontifex quidam, nomine Agilbertus, natione quidem Gallus; sed tunc, legendarum gratia Scripturarum, in Hibernia non modico tempore dimoratus. *Grigas. Dorobern. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. in Sancto Honorio.*

³⁹ Recedentes a lumine veritatis sapientes, quasi qui invenissent quo modo invisibilis Deus per simulacrum visibile coleretur. *In Roman. 1. Deus nec in metallo aut saxo cognoscitur. Claudius Securus, l. 2. in Mas.*

⁴⁰ Praeceptor meus beatus Columbanus in vasis aeneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. 1. c. 18.*

⁴¹ Apostolicas Sanctiones, ac Decreta Sanctorum Patrum, praecipueque consuetudines Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, in cunctis Ecclesiis

introduc'd by MALACHIAS Archbishop of Armagh, in the 11th century. Nor had they any such other methods, since but too frequently practis'd, of pompous, operose, and sumtuous worship; so visibly foren to the design and example of the Gospel, nay so contrary to the precepts of it.

THEIR Liturgy was very different from that of the Roman Church, or rather their Liturgies; for they had several in the several parts of the Iland. Yet this bred no manner of dissention among them, till the Bishops of Rome having first gain'd their Princes (a stratagem ordinary with them to this hour) wou'd needs make 'em their tools and drudges to force their own subjects, since the Popes cou'd not by their emissaries seduce them, into *Uniformity*; I mean into subjection, which is ever the signification of this word. But GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, the Pope's first Irish Legat (who in the 11th century wrote for their use what he calls *the 42 Canonical custom of saying evening and morning prayers, and of performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order*) tells ^{GILBERT} ^{PUIC.} them, it was to the end those different and schismatical orders, by which almost all Ireland was deluded, might give place to one Catholic and Roman office. Thus late it was, before they quite gave up their liberty and independency. That their

Ecclesiis [Malachias] statuebat. Hinc est, quod hodieque in illis ad horas Canonice cantatur & psallitur, juxta morem universae terrae: nam minimè id ante fiebat, ne in civitate quidem [Armagha] cum necdum in civitate, seu in Episcopatu univèrso, cantare scirent vel vellent. Bernard. in vita Malachiae, cap. 2.

42. Canonicae consuetudinem in dicendis horis, & peragendo totius Ecclesiastici ordinis officio. Prolog. de usu Ecclesiastico MS. in Colleg. Ben. Cantabrig. & ab Usserio in Epistolae. Hibernicar. sylloge impress.

43. Ut diversi & schismatici illi Ordines, quibus Hibernia penè tota delusa est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant Officio. Id. ibid.

orders

orders for public prayers were not Roman was the crime, but not charg'd with any other defect.

- IV. IT is not seven hundred years, since the Irish did finally and universally receive the Roman use, with its whole train of fopperies: their Baptism before that time having been by immersion, and without consecrated Chrism, wherof **L A N S R A N C**, Archbishop of Canterbury, not a little ++ complains. Nor had it any of those conjurings, or other superstitious ceremonies, whereby it is since so heathenishly profan'd: and Confirmation was quite in disuse, if at all ever known among them; which we learn from ⁴⁵ **B E R N A R D** of Clairval, afterwards sainted. If it be true what **B R O M P T O N** tells us, that, before the *Council* of Cashel held at **H E N R Y** the Second's desire, it was the custom in many parts of Ireland, for the father, or any other, to dip the child three times in water as soon as it was born; and, if it was a rich man's child, to dip it thrice in ⁴⁶ milk: if this be true, I say, for I have good reason to question it; yet it was introduc'd in that state of barbarity, which I have before describ'd, and wherof I assign'd the true cause.

44. Quod infantes Baptismo, sine Chrismate consecrato, baptizantur. *In Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae.*

45. Usum sauberrimum Confessionis, Sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum Conjugiorum (quae omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo instituit. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 2.*

46. In illo autem Concilio statuerunt, & autoritate summi Pontificis praeceperunt, pueros in Ecclesia baptizari in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti; & hac a sacerdotibus fieri praeceperunt: mos enim prius erat per diversa loca Hiberniae, quod statim cum puer nasceretur, pater ipsius, vel quilibet alius, eum mergeret ter in aqua: & si divitis filius esset, ter in lacte mergeretur. *Joan. Bromton, in Chronica.*

THE Lord's Supper (which they were wont to term ⁴⁷ *the communion of CHRIST's body and blood*) they receiv'd in both kinds, as a thankful ⁴⁸ commemoration of JESUS the founder of their faith, and a sign of their brotherly union in all well-doing; to which they bound themselves by this external act, denoting their subjection to the Laws of the *Gospel*; by which alone, and the dictates of reason, they were guided in matters of belief. They did not use any elevation, because they did not dream of the monster of transubstantiation; which, soon after its broaching, was impugn'd by no man more zealously or learnedly, than by JOANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, ^EEOIN E- whose book was, by the authority of the Pope ^RINACH. and the Council of Verceil, flatly ⁴⁹ condemn'd, the only way they had to confute it: as this method of answering is successively practis'd to this day, by the promoters of error every where, and by those who prefer interest to truth; a method, I repeat it, only proper to support error, and to put truth it self upon the level with falsehood. No Council or Convocation whatsoever can alter the nature of things, or make that to be false which is true: and for this reason it is, than no wise man ever values their sentence, where tis not back'd with the power of doing mischief.

47. Sic omnes ferme secundum Scripturas loquuntur.

48. Suam memoriam nobis relinquit, quemadmodum, si quis peregre proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei, quem diligit, derelinquit; ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. Sedul. in 1 Corinth. 11. Consultatur etiam Notulæ ex Casertæ manuscripta in superiore sectione adductæ.

49. Joannis Scoti liber de Eucharistia lectus est & condemnatus. *Lanfranc. de Eucharist. contra Berengar.* Inter cetera fecit librum de Eucharistia, qui postea lectus est, & condemnatus in Synodo Vercellenfi, a Papa Leone celebrata. *Joan. Pari. ens. ad annum 877.*

This JOHN the Scot (so often confounded with later persons of the same name) having left his own country, betook himself to CHARLES the bald king of France, who entertain'd and distinguish'd him at his court; which was full of learned men from all parts, but especially from Ireland and Scotland. *Why shou'd I mention Ireland, says so ERIC of auxerre a contemporary, not fearing: be danger of the sea, and removing almost all of it with a flock of Philosophers, to our shores? whereof by how much any one excells the rest, he undergoes a voluntary exile; and by so much the readier he is to stand before our most wise SOLOMON, and to devote himself to his Service.*

VI THEY rejected auricular ⁵⁰ Confession, as ⁵¹ the authoritative Absolution; and confess'd to God alone, as believing God alone cou'd forgive Sins: which made I know not whom to exclaim most grievously against such, and to ⁵² say; *that if they cou'd conceal their sins from God, they wou'd no more confess them to him than to the Priest.* A very shrewd and egregious discovery! but laugh'd at by the Irish Laity, who, notwithstanding their native simplicity, cou'd discern this sanctify'd trap laid for their private and public liberty, with all the subtilty of hypocritical Priests. As

50. Quid Hiberniam memorem, contento pelagi discrimine, penè totam, cum grege Philosophorum, ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi indicat exilium, ut Solomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum. *Praefat. in poem. de vita sancti Germani.*

51. Christiani nomine, re Pagani: non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *Bernard. in Vita Malach. cap. 6: ut & idem ubi supra in Nota 45.* Usum saluberrimum Confessionis——aut ignorabant aut negligebant.

52. Deo vis, o homo, confiteri, quem nolens volens latere non possis——forte si Deum latere, sicut hominem, potuisses; nec Deo, pluriquam homini, confiteri voluisses. *Alcuin. epist. 26.*

there

there can be nothing more directly levell'd against common sense, than auricular Confession ; nor a more impudent pretension in nature, than authoritative Absolution: so I do not wonder to find the antient Irish Christians, more frequently tax'd by the Romish converters of that time, for omitting or refusing the practice of these than of any other injunctions. The reason is manifest. For once a man abandons the use of his understanding so farr, as to make a particular enumeration of his thoughts, words, and actions to another; and to believe that this other will not only keep his secret (tho sworn to the interest of a political community call'd the CHURCH) but that he's likewise able to absolve him from the guilt of all his sins, there is nothing to which such a man cannot be brought: and therefore those Clergymen, who have form'd designs against Liberty civil or religious, are indefatigable to inculcate the necessity of sacerdotal Absolution and particular Confession. Nor are there any surer marks, whereby to distinguish the emissaries of Rome; who are aware that those points, once admitted, will easily draw after them all the rest.

THEY were so farr from pretending to do more good than they were oblig'd, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but such others as shou'd purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the Priests) that they readily deny'd all merit of their own; and solely hop'd for salvation from the mercy of God, thro faith in JESUS CHRIST: which faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless; for as CLAUDIUS, one of their most celebrated Divines, observes
from

VII.

from some other ⁵³ sage, *the faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.* This excellent sentence, cull'd out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controverly.

VIII. THO they neither pray'd to dead men, nor for them; yet, in their public worship, they made an honorable mention of holy persons deceas'd: offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for their sins. And tho naming particular men on such occasions, gave a handle for erecting them afterwards into tutelary Saints; yet at that time the Irish were as farr from addressing themselves to saints as to angels. For they were persuad'd (to use the words, of the just mention'd ⁵⁴ CLAUDIUS) that *while we are in the present world, we may help one another either by our Prayers or by our Counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of CHRIST, neither JOB, nor DANIEL, nor NOAH, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burthen,* which is plain Sense and Scripture. But that which is plain nonsense, and no where authoriz'd in Scripture, I mean the service for the dead, the Irish never practis'd, till they were oblig'd to do it by the Council of ⁵⁵ Cashel, convok'd by order of HENRY the second, in the Year 1172. And tis certain, that nothing

53. Scita est enim Sapientis viri illa sententia, non fidelem vivere ex iustitia, sed iustum ex fide. *In Galat. 3.*

54. Dum in præsenti seculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari: cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noë, rogare posse pro quocumque; sed unumquemque portare onus suum. *In Galat. 6.*

55. Ut extrema officia mortuis reddantur. *can. 7.*

does more contribute to harden the more ignorant sort in a vicious course of life, than this mummer-y: when they observe such things said and done at burials, with relation to their deceas'd profligate companions; as may persuade 'em they are upon a level with the best, for all their past wickedness.

NONE of those pious men or women, whom IX. they accounted their Saints, were ever canoniz'd by any Pope before the Romish usurpation; not PATRIC himself, nor COLUMBA, nor FURSEUS, nor BRIGIT: for which I need not bring any proof, because no proof can by any be brought to the contrary. MALACHIAS O MORGAI RMAOLNAE-DOC. Arch-bishop of Armagh (the introducer of the Cistercian fryers into that Country in the 11th century) and LAURENCE O TOLE (Archbishop of Dublin LORCAN. in the time of the conquest) are the first that were papally canoniz'd in Ireland. Nor, before the said usurpation, was the very word Purgatory known to the Irish writers, notwithstanding the silly after-fable of PATRIC's cave; of which I might give you an entertaining account, this PATRIC's *Purgatory* being situate in the county where I was born. They did indeed entertain the notion of a middle state of bliss or insensibility, a good while before they transform'd it into a place of temporary torment; both alike groundless, and unscriptural.

MATRIMONY was celebrated by the X. Magistrates, as being truly reckon'd a civil contract appertaining to their jurisdiction; but not solemniz'd by the Priests, till this right was vested in them by the ⁵⁶ Council of Cashel, twice already

56. Ut omnes Laici, qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus Ecclesiasticum habeant, *Can. 3. vel secundum Girald. Cambres. Can. 1.*
cited

cited. They follow'd the *Old Testament* (tho not binding to them) in one brother's marrying the other brother's ⁵⁷ widdow, for which they were ridiculously charg'd with incest by the Romanists, and absurdly reported not to marry at all; tho the thing be impossible in it self, where any society and government subsists. But what is not done after the manner of the Roman Clergy, is in their account as never done, or at least very ill done. One of them says the Irish *did not* ⁵⁸ *marry at all*, contrary to what he says himself elsewhere; and another pretends, that they *did not marry* ⁵⁹ *rightly*: both equally true, that is to say, both absolutely false. We may easily imagine however, that where priests were not employ'd to marry, they had nothing to do about divorce, which makes them brand the Laity with too much facility in this article: and as little concern had they in the probaton of Wills, or in other Testamentary affairs; which a mistaken notion of their Sanctity, together with an imaginary power of helping the dead into Paradise, made people sottishly commit to their care. No footstep of a spiritual Court is to be found in that Kingdom, for several hundred years after they became Christians.

57. Judaïsmum inducens [Clemens Scotus] judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachariam Papam. tom. 3. concilior. par. 1. pag. 382. Quinimo (quod vaide detestabile est, & non tantum fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati vaide contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imò verius seducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: Veteris in hoc Testamenti non medullae, sed cortici adhaerentes; veteresque libentiùs in vitiis, quàm virtutibus, imitari volentes. Girald. Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. c. 19.

58. Bernard. ubi supra in Notis 47 & 51.

59. Nondum Matrimonia ritè contrahunt. Ranulph. Higd Polychron. de incolarum moribus.

THAT they paid no ⁶⁰ Tythes till the Council of Cashel, was, to be sure, reckon'd an unpardonable crime by the Roman partisans, who ridiculously deriv'd the divine right of Tythes under the *Gospel* from the *Law of MOSES*: as others of 'em, from some Laws of Heathen governments, asserted the natural right of Tythes; tho, unhappily for their pretences, this rather lets up the right of the Laity than of the Clergy. But voluntary Contributions contented those honest Irish Priests of old, who as yet did not aim at a spiritual empire; and so to make the people tributaries, instead of benefactors. Nor can I sufficiently admire the wisdom of our ancestors, for their not establishing at the beginning a *Landed Clergy*; which seldom fails to corrupt Religion, and to imbroil the State. This reflection the Irish found afterwards to be too true to their cost, when, from beginning with small glebes (better supply'd by stated salaries from the public) they promoted their Priests by degrees to great lordships; thus inspiring them to contract a separate interest, as the Pope presented them at length with Independency. Another thing among them most deserving the imitation of the moderns, tho few observe it so exactly as the Hollanders, is; that they seem to have had no more pastors than they had flocks, consonant to these metaphors designing preachers and people: no priests without a title as we phrase it, according to the third canon of the Synod held by PATRIC, AUXILIUS, and ISERNIN, *Let there be no ⁶¹ vagrant Priest*

60. Non decimas, non primitias dare, &c. Bernard. *ubi supra* in Nota 51. Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt. Girald. *Cambrenf. ubi supra*; & ex eo Ranulph. Hig. in *Polychronico*. Ut Decimæ d: n ur Ecclesiæ, de omnibus quæ possidentur. *Concil. Cassel. can. 2. vel secundum Giraldum can. 3. anno 1172.*

61. Clericus vagus non sit in populo. *can. 3.*

among the people. This Synod was held in the Year 450.

XII. CELIBACY was not practis'd by the ⁶² Priests, who all marry'd; PATRIC, their paternal Mar. i. 30. after PETER, having been himself the son of CALPHURNIUS a ⁶³ Deacon, and the grandson of POTITUS a Priest: and the Irish, as well as the British Priests (Patric's countrymen) were often succeeded by their ⁶⁴ children in the same benefices, for some generations; no complaints being then heard against those disorders, which afterwards overpread the whole Island, by reason of the expulsion of the marry'd Clergy. Nay the Archbishops of Armagh themselves were not onely marry'd, eight such being recorded, but succeeded hereditarily for fifteen generations, as we are assur'd by BERNARD in the ⁶⁵ *Life of MALACHIAS*, Archbishop of Armagh: that dignity having been withall perfectly secular, like many such now in Germany; and the Bishops ab-

62. Si quis Clericus &c---& uxor ejus [*Clerici Nimirum*] si non relato capite ambulaverit, pariter a Laicis contemnentur, & ab Ecclesia separentur. *Ibid* Can. 6.

63. So writes Probus, Jocelin, and all the writers of his Life, or that have any occasion to mention his Parents.

64. Successivè, & post patres, filii Ecclesias obtinent; non electivè, sed hæreditate possidentes, & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei. *Girald. Cambrenf. in Cambriæ descript.*

65. Mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam Diabolica ambitione potentum. eisdem sanctam [*Archiepiscopatum*] obtentum iri hæreditariâ successione; nec enim pariebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu & familia sua. Nec enim parum procellerat execranda successio, decursis jam in hac malitia quâ generationibus quindecim. Et eò usque firmaverat sibi jus pravum, imò omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala & adultera; ut, etiam interdum defecissent Clerici de sanguine illo, at Episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo existerant ante Celsum viri uxorati, & absque Ordinibus, literati tamen. Inde tota illa per universam Hiberniam, de qua multa superius diximus, dissolutio Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, censuræ enervatio, religionis evacuatio. *cap. 7.*

solute

solute Laymen, about which the Roman satellites made tragical outcries. What, by the way, will become of us, who are of the ancient Irish race? for the Archbishops of Armagh having been Laymen for so long a time, and all the Clergy deriving their Ordination from them, as its commonly thought; it follows, according to the present High-church doctrine, that, for want of a Succession of rightly ordain'd priests, we are very many of us, with all our Ancestors, unavoidably damn'd. CORMAC the son of CULLENAN, a man of eminent learning and piety, author of *Psalter-Casbel* a chronological work of great authority, and likewise king of Munster in the beginning of the 10th century, was his own Bishop of Cashel (as the CZAR has lately made himself his own Patriarch) which is not the sole example of this kind in Ireland, tho unknown to those who comment on this verse of VIRGIL,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phœbique Sacerdos.

The passage I have just now cited from BERNARD's *life of MALACHIAS*, may be further illustrated by another passage, out of the *Extracts of the Register of the Priory of Saint ANDREWS*, cited by that learned Antiquary Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE: whence it appears, that, at Saint ANDREWS in Scotland, there were ⁶⁶ thirteen marry'd successions of the Culdees; *who*, says the author of these *Extracts*, *liv'd rather according to their own judgement and the traditions of men* (he

66. Cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut gens barbara & inculta fuerat. Habebantur tamen in Ecclesia sancti Andreae, quora & qualis ipsa tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem, quos Kelledcos appellant; qui secundum suam aestimationem, & hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta Patrum, vivebant. Sed adhuc similiter vivunt. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. penes doctissimum virum dominum Rob Sibbald. Equit.*

shou'd have said the examples of the *Gospel*) than according to the Statutes of the holy Fathers, and they continue to live so still. Note that this Register ends in the beginning of King DAVID Bruce's reign: but more of these Culdees, or more properly Keldees, before I have done.

XIII. THE Irish Monks, according to the ancient tho unscripural institution of such men, were all fed and cloath'd by the labor of their own hands; those retir'd persons liberally imparting to others, instead of extorting provisions from them: but not living idly and vagrantly, like the begging fryars that came after them, to the scandal of Christianity and the disturbance of the world, to which they are a devouring burthen. Whereas the other Monks before them, and also the secular Priests of Scotland and Ireland, were famous over all the world for their virtue, piety, and learning; but particularly for their Conversations, and the Schools that they founded among the Piets, Anglosaxons, Germans, Burgundians, Switzers, and French: as who has not heard of SEDULIUS, COLUMBA, COLUMBANUS, COLMANNUS, AIDANUS, FURSEUS, KILIANUS, GALLUS, BRENDANUS, CLAUDIUS, CLEMENS, SCOTUS ERIGENA, and numberless others? among whom must not be forgot VIRGILIUS, Bishop of Saltzburg,

67. Qui in Monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes, suam panem munda decunt. *Autor vitæ Fursei.* Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci & vestiri. *Autor vitæ Brendani.* Alii horum laboraverunt; alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. Beatus vero Gallus texebat retia; & misericordiâ dei cooperante, tantam piscium copiam cepit, ut nunquam fratribus defuissent: quin etiam adventantes peregrinos hujusmodi juvit solatio; & de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. i. c. 6.*

in the 8th century; who, having been an excellent philosopher and mathematician (farr above the pitch of the age wherein he liv'd) was barbarously persecuted for maintaining the spherical figure of the earth, and the existence of *Antipodes*; which opinion he was forc'd to recant, before he cou'd get out of prison. This shows what stress is to be laid upon forc'd recantations, when they are even made against mathematical evidence. Neither is it to be forgot, that those ancient Monks were of no order, nor indeed men in Orders at all (as ⁶⁸ JEROM notes among others) but mere Laymen, out of whom the Clergy were commonly chosen: their Monasteries, and particularly those of the Britons, Irish, and Scots, having been Schools of all good literature; and many of 'em in the nature of Universities, as, to name no more, the British and Irish Bangor, the Scottish I-colum-kill and Abernethy, where were taught History, Philosophy, Theology, with all the liberal Sciences.

TEMPERANCE at all times, and one XIV. moderate meal a day on special occasions (generally taken late, and about three in the afternoon, particularly on Wednesdays and Fridays in the 7th century) was all the fasting of those Monks; as may be seen among other evidences, by the ⁶⁹ Rule of COLUMBAN, deserving to be publish'd in English: but not abstinence from certain kinds of

68. *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum: Clerici pas-*
cunt oves, ego pascor. Epist. ad Heliodor. Breviter respondeo, me
 in praesenti opusculo non de Clericis disputare, sed Monachum in-
 situere---Ira ergo age & vive in Monasterio, ut Clericus esse me-
 rearis---Si te vel populus, vel pontifex civitatis, in Clerum ele-
 gerit; agito quae Cleri sunt, &c. *Epist. ad Rustic.*

69. *Videbis Columbanum Regulam, praesertim caput ejus quintum,*
ut & decimum tertium de quotidiani poeni ent. Monachor.

food, while they gormandiz'd and surfeited on others, more dainty, nourishing, and luscious. *The children of wisdom*, says ⁷⁰ CLAUDIUS, *do plainly understand; that righteousness consists not either in abstinence or eating: but in patiently bearing hunger when they want, and in temperately feeding when they abound; as well as in seasonably taking or not taking those things, wherof not the use but the abuse is blameworthy.* Such accurate language as this they commonly us'd, and not the recommendation of Vigils, or the injunction of Lent, or any other superstitious macerations of this nature: tending to the impairing of health, and, together with frequent holydays, to the manifest obstruction of ⁷¹ industry; but not conducing either to piety or probity, not procuring amendment of life or improvement of understanding.

XV. THE Church was esteem'd to be, not a political empire, or an organiz'd society with a proper subordination of officers and subjects; but the congregation of the faithful thro-out the world, whether visible or invisible, and however differing any where in their discipline or modes of worship; as the Irish differ'd among themselves, using their Christian liberty: and *the Sons of the Church* (that I may speak in the words of

⁷⁰. Offendens evidenter [*Augustinus citatus a Claudio*] filios sapientiae intelligere, nec in abstinendo, nec in manducando esse justitiam: sed in acquanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non se corrumpendi; atque opportunè sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus, sed concupiscentia, reprehendenda est. *Lib. 2. in Mat.*

⁷¹. The political Lent injoin'd in England for preserving the breed of cattle, appears to have been impolitically enough devis'd by daily experience; there having never been such abundance of cattle bred, as since the non-obedience of the Acts to this purpose.

72 CLAUDIUS) they held to be all those, who, from the beginning of the world till this time, have attain'd to be just and holy. This is a true and generous account: for the Communion of Saints consists in faith and holiness, but not in modes and forms. But so little did these western Latitudinarians imagin the universal Church was infallible, or that any particular Church was indefectible or indefeasible, that they frequently bemoan'd their exorbitant corruptions; complaining that the number of the faithful was sometimes so 73 small, as to be hardly, if at all, discernable.

THEY did not in the least acknowledge the XVI. headship of the Roman Church, as may be observ'd beyond all controversy in our first Section; and likewise from the *Epistle of Pope GREGORY* the first, in the Year 592, inviting them to 74 Catholic unity: as also from the *Epistle of 75 LAURENCE* Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates, exhorting, beseeching, and conjuring them, to unite with the Roman, which he

72. Ecclesiae filii sunt omnes, ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot iusti & sancti esse potuerunt. *lib. 2. in Mat.*

73. Nonnunquam Ecclesia tantis Gentium pressuris. non solum afflicta, sed & foedata est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. *Id. Ibid.* Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc Persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus, &c. *Id. lib. 3. in Mat.*

74. Unde iterum habitâ locutione, charitatem vestram admo- neo, ut (quoniam, deo iussuragante, fidei nostrae integritas in causa trium capitulorum inviolata permanfit) mentis tumore deposito, tantò citius ad matrem vestram, quae filios suos expectat & invitat, Ecclesiam redeatis; quantò vos ab ea quotidie expectari cognoscitis. *Gregor. Registr. l. 2. Epist. 36.*

75. Scripsit cum Episcopis suis adhortatoriam ad eos Epistolam; obsecrans eos & contestans, unitatem pacis, & Catholicae observationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, Christi Ecclesia tenere. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 5.*

means by the Catholic Church. Neither did they own the supremacy of any other Church on earth, managing all their affairs, both civil and religious, within themselves: but receiving no visitations, palls, indulgences, or any other the like marks of subjection, from the Roman Pontiff, till ⁷⁶ after the tenth and eleventh centuries; yet not refusing to send or receive messages, in case of any transaction with foren Churches. Nor had they any Archbishops (properly so call'd in the Roman sense) till P A P A R O, the Pope's Legat, brought ⁷⁷ four palls to Ireland in the year 1151: the Bishop of Armagh being stil'd by foren or late writers Archbishop, onely out of reverence to the ⁷⁸ seat of P A T R I C, the Apostle of the nation; as others were unwarrantably so stil'd by the same men, tho without any palls or provisions from Rome.

XVII. LASTLY, the so often mention'd ⁷⁹ B E R N A R D taxes the Irish, with having as many Bishops almost as Churches; and somtimes they had

^{76.} *Acgrè satis ferebat* [*Malachius*] Hiberniam usque adhuc Pallio caruisse; utpote aemulator sacramentorum, quorum ne uno quolibet gentem suam vellet omnino fraudari. *Bernard. in vita Malach.* Metropolitanæ sedis [*Ardumachanæ scilicet*] decrat adhuc, &c deiuerat ab initio, pallii usus. *Id. ibid.*

^{77.} Anno 1151, Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia, per Legatum suum Johannem Papirum, transmisit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antea Pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Melroff. pag. 167.* Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant, sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papyrio, Romanæ sedis Legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit, &c *Girald. Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. dist. 3. cap. 17.*

^{78.} Hic [*Gelasius*] primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo Pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur, ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno editi. item Casæus in Chronic. Hibern. ad annum 1174.*

^{79.} Unus Episcopatu uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ penè Ecclesiæ singulos haberent Episcopos. *In vita Malachiae, c. 7.*

more

more than one Bishop in one city, nay they had them in villages, as LANFRANC of Canterbury and many others ⁸⁰ assure us. This was but treading in their admir'd PATRIC's steps: who, as ⁸¹ NENNIUS, the most ancient British historian after GILDAS, relates, *founded 365 Churches, and ordain'd 365 Bishops and more (with 3000 Presbyters) in whom was the Spirit of God.* I shall not dispute with any here about the word *Bishop*, which, besides its being an apostolical word, is very significantly us'd by other writers to as many purposes, as *Overseer*, the English of it, can be apply'd: nor shall I deny the convenience, or even the divine right, of many Presbyters having one of their body to preside over them for a time or for life; as there is a chairman among the Justices of a certain district, or as any other assemblies have their president. It matters not, whether such a one (for just causes deposible) be call'd *Bishop* or *Superintendent*; the first being Greec, and the second Latin for *Overseer*. Whether he be call'd a *Moderator*, I say, or be design'd by any other name of like import, signifies nothing; which ought to take away all scruple against using the word Bishop, if it be not preferable to others for being the *Scripture* term. Against such Bishops therefore I have no exception: and such were the Bishops in England at the beginning of the Reformation. But that *Bishop* in Ireland did, in the fifth or sixth centuries (for example) signify a distinct or-

80. Quod in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. In *Epist. ad Terdelbachum regem Hiberniæ*. apud Baron. ad annum 1039: apud Usser. in *Sylloge*: & inter opera Lanfranc.

81. Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV; ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero, & eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat, CCCLXV: Presbyteros autem usque ad tres mille ordinavit. *Hist. Brit. cap. 59: quod & ab aliis quàmplurimis confirmatur; a nobis, cum opus fuerit, adnotamus.*

der of men, by whom alone Presbyters cou'd be ordain'd, and without which kind of Ordination their ministry were invalid, this I absolutely deny: as I do that those Bishops were Diocesan *Bishops*, when nothing is plainer than that most of 'em had no Bishopricks at all in our modern sense; not to speak of those numerous Bishops frequently going out of Ireland, not call'd to Bishopricks abroad, and many of them never preferr'd there. This is a fact none can deny. It was but in the 11th century that the Irish Bishops were reduc'd, by the first Legate they receiv'd from the Pope, to the number of twenty six; and that the Kingdom was parcell'd out into Dioceses, to which those Bishops were severally assign'd and limited. The bringing of this to pass, both for the better preventing of disputes about Jurisdiction, which by that time had been introduc'd, and for the more effectual securing of the Pope's dominion by these his Intendants, was the chief reason of convoking the Synod of Rathbreasail, where the Legate above-mention'd, GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, presided; and under him sat CELSUS of Armagh, and MALISIUS of Cashel, attended by no fewer than fifty Bishops; which shows to what a different state Episcopacy was then grown from what it was formerly in Ireland, especially in the two first centuries of their Christianity. The right reverend the Bishop of ⁸² Carlisle, to whom all men of Letters are so much indebted, owns, that ⁸³ *the Bishops in Scotland* (which were upon the same foot with those of Ireland) *had anciently no certain and fixt fees; but that every Prelate exer-*

CEAL-
LACH.
MAOLIOSA.

82. *Now of London-Derry.*

83. *Scottish historical Library, chap. 5. pag. 210.*

dis'd his Episcopal office and jurisdiction indiscriminately, in whatever part of the kingdom he pleas'd to be. His Lordship is not pleas'd to tell us, what this jurisdiction cou'd be, of Bishops that had no Dioceses; nor how they cou'd agree, when they met together in one place, where each had equal power. I am certain however there was nothing temporal in this jurisdiction. But tho this be not the place I have design'd for such matters, yet I cannot but wonder, if the power and jurisdiction of the Irish and Albanian Bishops were such as some pretend, that OSWALD, the Saxon King of Northumberland, shou'd not send to those Bishops for persons to instruct his subjects in the Christian Religion; but that he dispatcht his request for such *to their Elders* (as BEDE^{s4} informs us) whether by these be meant the Elders of their Churches, or the Elders of their People: for King OSWALD, who liv'd so many years in exile among them, and who there became a Christian, must have been well acquainted with their Diocesan Episcopacy, if any such institution had then exist'd.

SUCH (MEGALETOR) was the Christianity of the ancient Irish; for I look upon the contents of the seventeen paragraphs before-going, to be points, that, without manifest prevarication, will not admit of any valid exception, of any ambiguous construction, or other sophistical evasion. Most of 'em are positive facts, deliver'd by authentic writers: and the rest confirm'd by the irrefutable witness of the Pope's most

S4. *Misit ad majores natu Scottorum, inter quos exulans ipse Baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes, cujus doctrinâ ac ministerio gens, quam regebat, Anglorum, Dominicæ fidei & dona diceret, & susciperet sacramenta.* *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.*

zealous votaries, who frequently declaim'd against them, as so many intolerable abuses. When BERNARD (for example) in the *life of MALACHIAS*, relates his being made Bishop of Connor, he says that *'he came not to men but to beasts, absolute barbarians, a stubborn, stiffnecked, and ungovernable generation* (you wou'd think it was some Highchurchman railing against Dissenters) *impious*, continues he, *and abominable, Christians in name, but in reality pagans*. Now, what think you are the grounds of this heavy charge? or what the provocations that put this good *Father* into such a rage? He immediately subjoins them, and they *'are, that they neither pay'd Tythes nor first-fruit offerings, that they wou'd not be lawfully marry'd* (that is, by the Clergy) *that they refus'd going to Confession; and that neither the Laity wou'd undergo any penance, nor their Priests impose it*, before the blessed alteration (forsooth) made by MALACHIAS. Such complaints are as valid proofs in their due place, as positive testimonies can possibly be. Besides that it was the common artifice of the Monks, to declaim in the bitterest terms against all men in all countries, who did not blindly receive their doctrines, as wholly dissolute and licentious: till they were reclaim'd, if you believe them, by their powerful preaching; that is, till they became vassals to their Mo-

85. Cum autem coepisset pro officio suo agere. tunc intellexit homo Dei non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum. Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat, in quantacunque barbarie: nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros. cervicofos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam; Christiani nomine, re Pagani——

86. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. In vita Malachiae, cap. 6: *quem locum inferius citavi adduximus in Notis 51 & 60.*

narch

narch the Pope, and resign'd their understandings to his Janizaries the Priests. But in the discussion of these things, we shall not admit the chimerical and visionary testimonies of legendary authors; who wrote of the matters in question, long after the time wherein they happen'd: and who judg'd of them, or at least transmitted them to others, according to the ideas of their own times; which is a practice no less frequent, than very erroneous and dangerous. One critical rule I shall always observe, as being equally just and necessary, viz. 'neither to conclude from some things amiss in those elder times, that all were so; having the nature of things and undeniable facts to the contrary, not a few superstitions being crept in even from the beginning: nor to infer from some things right in later times, that all things continu'd as right as before, when the contrary is likewise from nature and facts most evident.' Yet so many things remain'd among the Irish, even to the English conquest, opposite to the Religion and Government of Rome (in spite of all the ignorance, bigotry, and barbarity, to which by that time this same Rome had reduc'd them) that Pope ADRIAN the fourth, in his *brief* to King HENRY the second in the year 1154, for encouraging him to undertake that conquest, alleges for his motives in so doing; *the enlarging the bounds of the Church* (which is a very singular expression, if Ireland had been of his Church before) *the declaring the truth of the Christian faith to those un-*

S7. Ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos. ad declarandum indoctis & rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, & vitiorum plantaria de agro Domini extirpanda. *Apud Bavar. ad annum 1159 & apud alios complures, praecipue vero apud Ufforium nostrum in Epistolar. Hibernic. sylloge; & ex autographo apud Rymerum, tom. 1. pag. 15.*

learned and rude people, and the encreasing of the Christian Religion, as well (continues he) as to extirpate the nurseries of vice out of the field of the Lord. Disobedience to the Roman see, especially in public Schools, is reckon'd the greatest of vices, and no virtue allow'd, where there is not absolute subjection profess'd to it. This charge of unsoundness in the faith; JOHN HARDING, an old English poet, thus expresses in the 132d chapter of his Chronicle.

*The King HENRY then conquered all Ireland
By Papal dome, there of his Royaltie
The profits and revenues of the land,
The domination, and the soveraigntee,
For error which against the spiritualtee
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Heresies, with which they were infect.*

But the Pope's real motive, was the tribute of Smoke-mony, or *Peterpence* (as commonly call'd) from every family ⁸⁸ annually; which those people refus'd, and King HENRY promis'd to pay. The Heresy, according to the Irish, was on the Pope's side, the partisans of whose predecessors were by them without ceremony call'd Heretics; ⁸⁹ as we are inform'd, among others, by CUMMIAN, whom we quoted in the first section, and SEAGHAN, who wrote to SEGIAN of I-columb-kill for the Roman See, in the year 650. Yet this very CUMMIAN, in not daring to condemn the practice of his ancestors, acknowledg'd the novelty

CUMMINN.

SEAGHAN.

88. Et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem.—*Ibid.*

89. Nolite nos Haereticos vocare, &c. In *Epist. ad Segianum Huesen Abbatem, supra citat. in Nota 6.*

in Ireland of the doctrine he had lately espous'd. *Our Elders* (says⁹⁰ he) *whom you have as a pretence for your opposition, did simply and faithfully, without the blame of any contradiction or animosity, observe what they knew to be best in their days, and did so recommend it to their posterity.* I leave it now, Sir, for yourself to determin, which were the real Heretics (according to the bad sense of this word) the Romanists or the Irish? or whether any thing can be more preposterous in these last, than to be so mighty fond of the Pope, who together with their Clergy, betray'd the country to the English? Good terms he therefore made for the Clergy, but none at all for the Laity. Besides the privileges of Churches preserv'd inviolable, how unreasonable soever in themselves; all Ecclesiastical lands were⁹¹ exempted from any manner of service or payment to the public, not contributing a penny towards the support of the Government: which immunity and independency was the bait that made them betray their country, as all Clergymen will do in the like case.

SECTION III.

HAVING had frequent occasion (MEGAL-
LETOR) to mention the Scots, a name origi-
nally belonging to the Inhabitants of Ireland,

*Scoti, &
cineadh
Scot.*

90. Seniores verò (quos in velamine repulsionis habetis) quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt, simpliciter & fideliter, sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis, observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*

91. Jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato & integro permanente, & salvâ beato Petro, & sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, de singulis Domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione. *Adrianii Papæ Breve, jam citat. in notis 87 & 88.* Ut terræ Ecclesiasticæ ab omni secularium exactione sint immunes. *Concil. Cassil. can. 4.*

and

and afterwards communicated to their colonies in the north of Britain and the adjacent Ilands, but in time solely appropriated to these colonies; I shall observe here as a thing certain and incontestable among all writers, that, in ecclesiastical affairs, they were altogether upon the same foot with their Irish progenitors. There were Christians there in TERTULLIAN's time, who ⁹² mentions them: and whether they were Scots or not, yet that the Scottish Christians had no Diocesan Bishops, till the coming of ⁹³ PALLADIUS thither in the 5th century, Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE himself is forc'd to acknowledge, tho he was zealously devoted to Episcopacy. That there were any Diocesan Bishops there, even for 300 years after, I shall be farr from granting to Sir GEORGE. But he thinks to salve the matter, by making the case extraordinary; and hopes those primitive Presbyters may have been ordain'd the Lord knows where or how (for he no where attempts to prove it) by Diocesan Bishops. Methinks, since one supposition costs no more than another, he needed not to have gone very farr for such ordainers: but lest any shou'd go to Britain first, or to Ireland afterwards; several men of great name, some to serve one purpose and some to serve another, took upon 'em to prove, that, before the beginning of the 5th century, there were no Scots in North-britain at

92. Et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò subdita. *Adversus Judaeos, cap. 7.*

93. Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes, a Pontifice Romanae Ecclesiae, Coelestino, primus mittitur Episcopus. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1 c. 13.* Anno 429. Palladius Episcopus a Coelestino Papa ad Scottos mittebatur, ut eorum fidem confirmaret. *Chron. Saxo.* *Missam nunc facio questionem, quinam per Scottos hic intelligendi. Scoto-Hiberni tempore vel Scoto-Britanni? anne potius utrique?*

all. Prejudice never display'd its standard more advantageously, than in the discussion of this very point: I mean of ⁹⁴ REUDA's leading a colony out of Ireland into Scotland, which concerns the succession of our Kings in the first place; and the time of planting Christianity there, which in the second place concerns the succession of our Bishops. These are the points which have driven men out of the high road of truth, to wander in the by-paths of party. I am well satisfy'd, and can satisfy others if it be thought worth while, that (notwithstanding I laugh at the Romance of GATHELUS, SCOTA, SIMON BREAC, and their fellows) the Scots came much earlier out of Ireland, than either STANIHURST, USHER, the two last Bishops of Worcester, or O FLAHERTY, will allow them. Nor am I less convinc'd, that BUCHANAN, SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE, SIR JAMES DALRYMPLE, and others, are mistaken in assigning this illustrious colony too ancient a date: as they are all defective in proving the Regal succession; a thing some of 'em pretend to have had much at heart. SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE is angry with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Bishop of Worcester, for abridging it; and the Bishop as much displeas'd with the Advocate, for making it in some sort elective. It is most evident out of the ancientest Irish Historians, Bards, and Annalists, that there were colonies very early, and at different times sent, reviv'd, or recruited, out of Ireland into the western Isles,

94. Procedente autem tempore, Britannia. praeter Britones & Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro subibimet inter eos sedes, quas haecenus habent, vindicarunt. *Bed. Hyst. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1.*

and the north-west parts of Britain: those books containing particular accounts of the many expeditions made to this purpose, of the battles fought by the Irish to preserve or to regain the dependency of such colonies, and the assistance they often lent them (after they became independent) against the Picts and Britons, or that one Irish King us'd to receive from thence against some other. They were at first govern'd by the leaders of the several colonies, and by their Phylarchs; that is to say, the heads of Clans or Tribes: and afterwards, for their greater union and preserving the common peace, they elected Kings to rule over them; Kings under more limitations than in our days, and not always succeeding in the direct line, tho in the same family. Till the last century, or a very few years before it, these were facts that no approv'd Irish historian ever call'd in question, their records preserving even the originals of the most noted Phylarchs in Scotland: as that the MAC CALLINS (for example) now Dukes of Argyle, are descended from FIACHA CEANANN, son to MAC CON King of Ireland. There are as distinct accounts of the other principal families in the highlands, whether extant or extinct. But tho I cou'd easily evince, that the Scots were settl'd in North-britain long before the year 503; yet I can by means accord to NENNIUS, that they arriv'd there when ⁹⁵ JUNIUS BRUTUS was Consul at Rome. CARBRE RIADH-FADA, or LONGICARPUS (the REUDA of BEDE) was the son of CONAR, who reign'd

MAC-
CATHLIN.

LUGHADH
MAC CON,
crown'd ab-
bo 250.

95. Venerunt ad regiones Dacicas, in tempore quo regnabat Brutus apud Romanos, a quo Consules esse coeperunt. *Hist. Brit.* c. 9.

chief monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the 3d century: and yet the Argathelian colonies were in a flourishing condition before his arrival, or that of the six sons of MUIREDHACH after him, in Latin call'd MUREDUS. As in this article of migration, so also in other matters of no greater importance, the emulous writers of the last age are widely divided; as both sides are often out by turns in their claims to the famous men and remarkable actions of the Scots and Irish (ambiguous words) each unreasonably, and sometimes childishly, engrossing all to themselves: which occasion'd some of the modern Scottish writers to be stil'd *Hagiokleptæ*, Saint-stealers; among whom DEMPSTER (not a Monk, as the last Bishop of Worcester makes him, but a Lawyer) was the most notorious filcher, yet the readiest of all men to cry *stop thief*. Neither are the Welsh, English, or Irish, freer from this national weakness than their neighbors: and indeed by reason that the inhabitants of Ireland and North-britain were each call'd *Scots*, and that both likewise had the appellation of *Irish*, no less because of their common language than of their origine; it is very difficult, nay sometimes impossible, for a man wholly disengag'd, and onely pursuing historical evidence, precisely to determine, except where circumstances are very plain: for some *criteria* there are, notwithstanding the mists of fable and obscurity. But as to my particular view, it signifies nothing to which country those persons did belong; since the religion of both countries, as likewise of the ancient Britons, is acknowledg'd to have been the very same. In a word, every one of those learned gentlemen I have nam'd a little higher, seem to act, as farr as I can perceive, upon some certain byas or prejudice, not always becoming hi-

Ard nan
Gaoidheal,
contracte
Arghael.

Αγιε-
κληστη.

rians. Yet could I overlook passion in any of them, I wou'd except ⁹⁶ BUCHANAN, who was sway'd by no other partiality but a little too much affection to his countrey; which I grant to be laudable, in the defence of its liberty, but not in the writing of its history. In other things he shows wonderful penetration and judgment; besides that he had the advantage of understanding the ancient Irish (absolutely necessary in these dilquisitions) which the greater part of the rest had not. STANIHURST, ⁹⁷ a person of no small abilities, hated the Scots for being Protestants: and so wou'd neither allow them an early beginning nor an early Christianity. The great ⁹⁸ USHER took up the cudgels for his uncle STANIHURST: not on the score of religion, for none was ever a better Protestant, but of family; and from that same overweening prepossession in favor of his country, which we have not approv'd in BUCHANAN. So Doctor LOYD, the late Bishop of ⁹⁹ Worcester, justly fam'd for his skill in Chronology, espous'd the quarrel of ¹ his name-fake, if not kinsman, HUMPHRY LOYD, the first mover of this controversy: who doubtless was not in the right, but not so much in the wrong in every thing as BUCHANAN wou'd have him. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, tho he was an ornament to the Scottish barr, yet ² wrote with all the unfairness possible against the Bishop (then of Saint ASAPH) to whom that living library Doctor STILLINGFLEET (afterwards Bishop of Wor-

96. *Rerum Scoticarum &c; or, the History of Scotland.*

97. *De Rebus in Hibernia gestis.*

98. *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum primordiis.*

99. *Historical account of the British Churches.*

1. *Britannicae Descriptionis fragmentum.*

2. *Antiquity of the Royal line of Scotland. first and second parts.*

cester) became a strenuous³ second: left, if the Scots of Northbritain were allow'd a Christianity at first without Dioceſan Biſhops, and that next: Biſhops themſelves were elected by the *Kel-* *...*, vulgarly call'd *Culdees* (a ſort of Lay religious wherof by and by) for fear in ſuch a caſe, I ſay, that the preſent Scots might thus have reaſon to expel their Biſhops, which they ſince have done; as being no leſs an uſurpation upon their old Chriſtianity, than upon their late Reformation. So that rather than Biſhops ſhou'd loſe any ground, a great number of Kings, and a conſiderable body of preceding adventurers, muſt be ſtruck at one blow out of hiſtory. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE is not more reſerv'd to let us into the ſecret of his writing, which was to complement the late King JAMES, whoſe line (he ſays) he thought it his duty, as his Maſteſty's Advocate-general, to defend; and he truly does it like an Advocate in all reſpects, making it even Life-Maſteſty in others to oppoſe it by the leaſt abridgment. It wou'd not be making his court, he thought, any way to curtail the long catalogue of the King's Anceſtors, how much ſoever he admir'd Biſhops: but he alſo thought it wou'd be as little ingratiating himſelf by deriving thoſe Princes from any ſubject of Ireland, tho not able to deny that they had originally iſſu'd from thence; but however (according to him) a long time before thoſe of that country allow it, as if ſooner or later ſignify'd any thing in this argument, with regard to true honor. He's nevertheleſs as much in the right, in reſpect of the main fact, the antiquity of the Scots in Britain; as the induſtrious + Mr. O'FLAHERTY, out of complaiſance per-

3. *Origines Britannicæ*, &c.

4. *Ogygia, or the Hiſtory of Ireland*.

haps to some of his Patrons, is unquestionably in the wrong. But Sir GEORGE was not master of history enough (whatever his admirers may fancy) to prove his point, where it was capable of the highest evidence; nor, without the help of the Irish Bards, can the Scottish antiquities be ever clear'd. He did not go by the rule of *it was so*, but *it shou'd be so*; because, as he declares his opinion, it was more honorable for the King to be descended from those he assigns for his progenitors, than from such as others had nam'd: and therefore desires the reader to judge, who does the King greater honor, Dr. STILLINGFLEET in making him descend from a petty subject; or the Scottish historians, who derive him from an uninterrupted series of absolute Monarchs. But is this to write history? are we to sacrifice truth to imaginary honor? or was each of King JAMES's ancestors an actual Monarch, be his genealogy what you please? CARBRE RIADHA was of the Royal family, and not a mere Dynast of Ulster, as he erroneously calls him: but supposing him not of the regal stock, yet he was farr superior in rank and fame, even in his own account of him, to FLEANCE the son of BANCHO, who is made the first of the STUART's race. But to show an example in the Advocate-general, how farr the humor of flattering the great, or over-rating their country, will carry men; I shall lay before you, Sir, an expedient no leis admirable than diverting, on which he has sagaciously hit for supporting his pretences. He says he *cannot but regret, that the Irish shou'd mistake so far their own interest; as to suffer, or furnish their histories, to over-turn the credibility of the Scottish histories*. What! not furnish 'em, if they have such? or not suffer 'em, if they are true? Since (continues he) *because we acknowledge our*
selves

PHLEA-
DUN.

Part 2, p. 3
29.

selves to have come last from Ireland, it were our common interest to unite together, and sustain one another's antiquities. 'Tis well he's no Irishman that speaks at this rate, or we shou'd quickly hear of his understanding, as another ought to be minded of his honesty. But takeing my leave of this otherwise very ingenious man, the honorable Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE has visibly back'd him; not so much on behalf of the Royal line, as for the antiquity of the nation, and on behalf of the Culdees. This last point he has made so evident from incontestable authorities of Historians, Registers, and Charters, mentioning many of their lands and their Churches; that Bishop LOYD will be justly condemn'd for having asserted the Culdees to be *a monkish dream*, as he pag. 121. will be further so, for making the word *Keldee* to signify *a house of Cells*: and Bishop STIL- pag. 138. LINGFLEET must be content to bear him company, who fancies that from *Kilrule* or *Kilrimont* (now saint Andrews) the clergy were call'd *Kile-* Pref. p. 56 *dei*; from which title, says he, *the fiction of the ancient Culdees came.* This conceit does, in spite of the analogy of the language and abundance of facts, suppose there were no Culdees elsewhere in Scotland, the contrary wherof is demonstrable: nor, unhappily for his Criticism, were they ever call'd *Kiledei* (which is a fiction of his own) but 1 pm K fr constantly *Keledei*, from the original Irish or an- C. cient Scottish word *Ceile-de*, signifying *separated or espous'd to God*; these having been likewise very numerous in Ireland, and in all the Irish writings invariably known by this name. From *Ceile-* The Ste v of God *de* many of the Latin writers made *Colidei* in the plural number; and others, who did not understand this word, did from the mere sound (like

C in Irish is
ever pro-
nounc'd like
K or Q.

our two great Bishop's derivations) interpret it *Cultores Dei*, whence the modern word *Culdees*, tho it be *Keldees*, *Keledci*, and *Kelledei* in all the ancient Scottish writings. *Ceile-de*, both name and thing, cannot be deny'd by any man, who's tolerably vers'd in the language of the Irish or in their books; one of which, a *Chronicle* mostly in verse entitul'd *Psalter Na'rran*, was written by a Keldee, AONGHUS *Ceile-de*, Latiniz'd ÆNEAS COLIDEUS, about the year 800. I can produce, if there be occasion, several evidences about these Keldees, anterior to those helps with which Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE has plentifully furnish'd me: tho many more might be offer'd by others (as I doubt not some will in time appear) had not such numbers of Irish books and records been carry'd beyond the seas at the Reformation, and even before; where they ly perishing in Libraries, being useleis as well as unintelligible in those countries. We need not a better example of this, than the very book of the *four Gospels* which has occasion'd you to be trobl'd with this *Dissertation*. The Keldees were commonly Laymen, and marry'd as I noted ⁶ before; but, like *Bishop* and *Monk*, the word remain'd the same, after the Ideas were chang'd with the condition of the men, and that they became Clerks. But, it seems, no change cou'd prevent the extinction of the Keldees. They had the right of chusing their Prior or President out of their own body, as the Church in those parts was long govern'd by Presbyters, after the example of the ancient ⁷ Alexandrian Church; where

6. In *Nota* 66.

7. Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista, usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excellentiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. *Hieronym. Epist. ad Evangelicam*, in nihil de Episcopo alioquin dicam.

the Presbyters chose one from among themselves, to be their Bishop or Superintendent : a form of Government not scrupl'd by the Scots at the Reformation, and which, if that were all, they would make no difficulty of admitting now. JOHN FORDUN therefore had reason to affirm so many centuries since, that *the Scots had, before the coming of PALLADIUS, only Presbyters or Monks for teachers of the faith, and Ministers of the Sacraments, following herein the usage of the Primitive Church.* Thus did the famous COLUMBA, who, coming out of Ireland to convert the Northern Picts in the year 565, and founding a Monastery in the Island from him call'd *I-colum-cille*, establish the self-same kind of order in the Church there. *That Island*, says ¹⁰ BEDE in the 7th century, *is wont to have a Presbyter Abbat, to whose government both the whole Province, and even the Bishops themselves are to be subject in an unusual manner* (with regard, he means, to the practice of his time in England) *after the example of their first teacher; who was not a Bishop, but a Presbyter and a Monk.* To the same purpose, and for the same reason the

8. Ante cujus *Palladius* adventum, habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac Sacramentorum ministratores, Presbyteros solummodò vel Monachos, ritum sequentes Ecclesiae Primitivae. *Scotichron. l. 3. c. 8.*

9. That is, COLUMKILL's Island; for I, pronounced as the French and other Foreigners do this Letter, signifies in Irish an Island, as Inis likewise does. The name of this Island is often written HII, II, HU, to avoid making a word of one Letter: and COLUMBA is call'd by BEDE, NENNIUS, and others, COLUMBA-CELLI, COLUMKILLUS, or COLUMBA CELLAE; as by the Irish, and Scots Highlanders, he's to this day call'd COLUM-CILLE. This Island goes likewise under the name of JONA, and lies near the greater Island of MULL.

10. Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri & omnis provincia, & ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti; juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter extitit & Monachus. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5.*

Saxon Chronicle ¹¹ says, that *all the Scottish Bishops are to be subject to the Abbat of Hy*. Then, to be sure, they were no Diocesans. But after the Pope had got firm footing in Scotland, and that the country was parcell'd out by his order into Dioceses (most of which are of very late erection) the Keldees were discountenanc'd and suppress'd by degrees, and Canons regular plac'd in their room. I confine my discourse to the Scots Keldees onely: for as to the Keldees of Armagh, Tipperary, or Cluanish in Ireland, or as to those of Bardsey in Wales, or any where else, mention'd by others or not; I have nothing at this time to say, whatever I may do hereafter. The right of electing Bishops, so long enjoy'd, was forcibly taken at last from the Scots Keldees: and, the sooner to effect the change that ensu'd, their Priors were commonly gain'd by making them Bishops, as the chief among the rest were preferr'd to regular Abacies. Thus ALEXANDER MYLN, Prebendary and Official of Dunkel, in his account of the Bishops of that See, tells us, ¹² *that CONSTANTINE the third, King of the Picts, did, in the year 729, erect the Monastery of Dunkel, in which he plac'd religious men by the vulgar call'd Keldees; who nevertheless, after the usage of the eastern*

11. Deinceps perpetuus in li Abbas erit, non autem Episcopus; atque ei debent esse subditi omnes Scoto-um Episcopi, propterea quod Columbanus [*rectius* Columba] fuerit Abbas, non Episcopus.

12. In quo quidem Monasterio imposuit viros religiosos, quos nominat vulgus Kelledeos, aliter Coliceos (hoc est, colentes Deum) habentes tamen, secundum Orientalis Ecclesiae ritum, conjuges; a quibus, dum vicissim ministrarunt, abstinebant — David, murato Monasterio, in Ecclesiam Cathedralē erexit; & repudiatis Kelledeis, Episcopum & Canonicos instituit, Seculareque Collegium in futurum esse ordinavit, circa annos Domini 1127. MS. in Biblioth. Jac. Edinburg. & a Jacobo Dalrymple Baronetto citat.

Church, bad wives, from whom they abstain'd, when it came to their turn to minister. But King DAVID, says he, did about the year of the Lord 1127, change this Monastery into a Cathedral church; and having cast out the Keldees, appointed a Bishp and Canons, ordering it to be a secular College for the future. Accordingly the Keldean Abbot was made the first Bishop of that see: and from hence it appears, that the Culdees were not Canons; which is another subterfuge, to which some have had recourse. Nor was it an easy matter, to extirpate the Keldees out of Saint ANDREWS; who at last were reduc'd to ¹³ perform their worship in their own way, in a corner of the Church once theirs. The Keldees of Loch-levin (not to mention those of Brechen, Dumblane, Monymusk, or others) were some of the last left in Scotland. And I cannot help saying on this occasion, that some other method of defending Diocefan Episcopacy (if it can at all be defended) had much better become the two late learned Bishops of Worcester, than to draw their pens against clear matters of fact; the Keldees being already sufficiently prov'd, neither to have been a dream nor a fiction. Yet the present Bishop of Carlisle calls Dr. LOYD's ¹⁴ book, *an undertaking becoming a Bishop of our English Church*; and says his aim in it was, *the encountering an objection against the order of Episcopacy, from the story of the Culdees: an argument put into the mouths of our Schismatics by BLONDEL and SELDEN, out of the abundant kindness they had for our establishment*. I must take the liberty with his Lordship to affirm, that

13. Nec ibi Missa celebratur, nisi cum rex vel Episcopus illud advenerat: Keldei namque in angulo quodam Ecclesiae, quae modo ca nimis erat, suum Officium suo more celebrabant. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. antea citat in Nota 66.*

14. *English Historical Library, part 2 page 93.*

many of the Scottish writers made use of this argument, long before SELDEN or BLONDEL cou'd write books. I wish when he wrote *the Scottish Historical Library*, he had given us a more particular account of so considerable a piece as *the Excerpts out of the Chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews*, than barely to say, *that there are such Extracts*: since it is a record, that so frequently makes mention of the Keldees, of their long continuance in the Scottish Church, and of their suppression at last by Diocesan Bishops: which still further demonstrates, that they were farr from being a monkish dream, as LOYD the Bishop of Worcester, who from a Presbyter made FORDUN a Monk, has groundlessly advanc'd. They might, in my opinion, have all gone to work in another way, not onely fairer, but likewise more safe and reputable; I mean by putting the cause of Diocesan Episcopacy upon the bottom either of divine institution, or of the greatest humane convenience: but not upon facts, which if all true in the sense they wou'd have them (as tis most evident they are not) yet they wou'd make nothing in the world to their purpose. For the most curious enquirers into the histories of Ireland and Scotland, will not, if they reason as they ought, ground their Religion upon what has or has not past there; but upon what is right and true, upon what is instructive and beneficial. Truth is not confin'd to any country, nor Reason its peculiar growth; these being invariably the same, whatever country rejects or receives, practises or neglects them: and tho I may love a nation for the sake of the Sciences or the Virtues, that flourish'd in it, as the Greeks (for example) and the Romans; yet I neither love Knowledge nor Re-

ligion on the score of any nation, but for their own intrinsic worth and value. You may therefore conclude, that it is not out of any fondness for my country, that I approve, where I have not hinted the contrary, the SUMMARY OF RELIGION contain'd in the second Section of this *Letter*: but purely as it is agreeable to *Scripture* and Reason, whether my countrymen had ever receiv'd it or not. You'll pardon, Sir, my stepping from the mother to the daughter, or the natural transiſion I made above from the Irish to the Scottish Antiquities, concerning which I have collected not a few obſervations: having begun my Academic ſtudies in the University of Glaiſco, and taken my degree in that of Edinburgh, before I went to Leyden, for which places I ſhall ever preſerve a grateful reſpect. This is what you know I ſhall never want towards yourſelf: wherefore, I am, Sir, &c.

J. TOLAND.

F I N I S.

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A P P E N D I X.

CONTAINING

- I. Two PROBLEMS, historical, political, and theological, concerning the JEWISH NATION and RELIGION.
- II. A further account of the MAHOMETAN GOSPEL OF BARNABAS, by Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE of the French Academy.
- III. QUERIES fit to be sent to any curious and intelligent Christians, residing or travelling in Mahometan Countries; with proper directions and cautions in order to procure satisfactory answers.



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I.
T W O
P R O B L E M S
C O N C E R N I N G
The Jewish Nation and Religion.

Et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

Virg.



YOU know (Sir) that I have promis'd those, for whom I have the greatest deference, a *REPUBLICA MOSAICA*, or *THE COMMONWEALTH OF MOSES*, which I admire infinitely, above all the forms of Government, that ever yet existed: whether at any time in actual exercise, as those of the Spartans and Romans of old, and now that of the Venetians; or subsisting only in idea, as the *Atlantis* of *PLATO*, Sir *THOMAS MORE'S Utopia*, and such like. Neither my other friends at the Waters, nor even

M

you,

N A Z A R E N U S.

you, were tolerably satisfy'd with SIGONIUS, or CUNEUS, or with any one of those, who have written on this subject: and I can now gladly tell you, my materials are in such a readiness; that one half year, free from all other business, wou'd be sufficient for me to form and finish the whole work. You well remember, that I maintain the Plan given by MOSES, never to have been wholly, nor indeed in any degree of perfection, establish'd in Judea: and that if it once had, it cou'd never have been afterwards destroy'd, either by the internal sedition of subjects, or the external violence of enemies, but shou'd have lasted as long as mankind; which is to make a *Government immortal*, tho it be reckon'd one of the things in nature the most subject to revolutions. But I have not told you, whether I founded this immutability on any promise and miraculous concurrence of God; or on the intrinsic nature and constitution of the form it self, be its original what you please. But something there is, of which at this day we are eye and ear-witneses, which seems to be no small confirmation of my assertion, tho not giving the reasons of the same: for notwithstanding the MOSAIC plan was never wholly executed, and that the imperfect imitation of it, under various denominations, is long since destroy'd; yet the Jews continue still a distinct people from all others, both as to their race and religion. Tho you cannot disagree with me about the fact, yet I suspect your reasons for this phenomenon (if I may so call it) will be very different from mine, which however can make no difference in our affections. I never love to dispute, but am ever ready to learn. In order therefore to receive better information from you, and such others as know more than my self, I take the liberty of offering to your consideration the two following Problems.

Problems. There is yet a third behind, which wou'd be needless to produce, till an answer be given to these; wherof it is a most natural consequence on the one hand (I mean as the solution happens to be given) but quite the contrary on the other: for no wise man will admit of CHANCE for a real mean between REASON and REVELATION, consider'd as two extremes. I observe this the rather, because, tho there be nothing more evident, than that Chance signifies with men of sense, an effect wherof the cause is unknown or unforeseen; yet a world of people mean by Chance, an effect that has no cause at all: and so they gravely pronounce concerning some of the most remarkable Phenomena in nature, that they happen (forsooth) by Chance; as if in reality any effect cou'd possibly be without a cause, or that this cause cou'd be without another cause as regularly producing it, or finally that there were no causes where we don't immediately and directly perceive 'em.

F I R S T P R O B L E M.

W H E T H E R, 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 dispersion of their nation over the whole habitable earth; being neither favor'd nor supported by any potentate, but rather expos'd to the contempt and hatred of all the world: they have nevertheless preserv'd themselves a distinct people with all their

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ancient rites, excepting a very small number of ceremonies, they were necessarily injoin'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, Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans (nations that were much more powerful) are long ago entirely abolish'd, and brought to nothing: and that the names only of certain celebrated Religions subsist yet in history; without even so much as the names remaining of some other worships, that doubtless were neither less believ'd, nor less extended.

S E C O N D P R O B L E M.

WHETHER a sufficient reason can be assign'd, drawn from the nature and frame of the Jewish Republic or Religion (without alleging 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 shou'd follow BAAL or J E H O V A H, 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 uniform in their worship and doctrine, which is not deny'd by any body.

NAZARENUS.

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I HAVE made use (Sir) of more words perhaps than were necessary, in expressing these Problems: but it was to avoid all sorts of ambiguity, perplexity, or obscurity. 'Tis indifferent to me, whether another be diffuse or concise in his answer, provided he speaks directly to the subject in question: and that he does not amuze himself with glozing, or vending of allegories, and forcing of allusions; which will neither give satisfaction to me, nor to any other whatsoever. Certainly the cause of these effects must needs be, either the constitution of the Government, which any body that says so ought to show; or a particular providence, which must be likewise prov'd; or a concurrence of both these, where the distinction shou'd be very clear; or lastly mere chance, which is absurd. For the rest, the Jews, the Christians, and the Deists, are equally interested to clear this matter. The Atheists (if any such there be?) have nothing to do herein. But the Heathens, the Mahometans, and, in one word, all those who believe a divine Revelation of any sort, must be necessarily determin'd (as to right, whatever may happen in fact) by the true solution, from what hand soever it comes. I am not a stranger to what is so voluminously discours'd on the subject of the first Problem, in the common systems, which never take notice of the second: but a more satisfactory explication is still expected, which perhaps may appear in a better light by it self; while the multitude of other subjects is apt to confound ideas in a general system, if not unavoidably to withdraw the attention. A letter on this subject therefore I expect from your self, or from any body else by your means, in ' communicating my demand; that if I

1. Shou'd any be willing to write, but not to print his thoughts on this subject, if he directs his Letter to be left for me at Mr. ROBERTS's Warwick-lane, I shall do him all possible justice.

happen to be guilty of any mistakes in the MOSAIC REPUBLIC, they may not be afterwards imputed to sufficiency, or want of asking advice.

I AM aware (my friend) that *the Immortality of a Commonwealth* is not honor'd by you so farr, as to be reckon'd a paradox in politics, but an egregious absurdity in nature: and you must excuse me, if I be at no pains to convince you, till the RESPUBLICA MOSAICA appears. Yet it will not be amiss in the mean time to shew you, that this whim (as you often call it) of *the Immortality of a Government*, was not originally HARRINGTON's; who indeed dreamt some such thing about the *Republic of Venice*, and who has the most excellent father PAUL on his side: but that what I now particularly apply to the model deliver'd by MOSES, and to which only it can be apply'd, was many hundred years ago the notion which a consummate statesman, no less celebrated for practice than speculation, had of framing a Government in general; and this opinion he declar'd in a book, which he expressly wrote concerning the best kind of Government, when he himself sat at the helm. I mean CICERO and his six books *de Republica*, or *de optimo statu Civitatis & de optimo Cive*, which are all lost, a few fragments excepted. The words I am now going to transcribe, are preserv'd by AUGUSTIN, in the 6th chapter of his 22d book *de Civitate Dei*. *A Government*, says *TULLY, ought

2. Debet enim constituta sic esse Civitas, ut AETERNA sit: itaque nullus interitus est Reipublicae naturalis, ut homini; in quo mors non modo necessaria est, verum etiam optanda persaepe. Civitas autem cum tollitur, deletur, extinguitur, simile est quodammodo (ut magnis parva conferamus) ac si omnis hic mundus intereat ac concidat. *Ex libro tercio de Republica.*

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to be so constituted, as to be of ETERNAL DURATION: and for this reason it is, that no kind of dissolution is natural to a Government, as to a man; to whom death is not onely unavoidable, but also very often desirable. But when a Government is overturn'd, ruin'd, and quite extinguish'd, tis in some sort (that we may compare great things with small) as if this whole world shou'd fall to pieces, and be for ever destroy'd. For as the corruption of ever-generating individuals neither lessens the matter, nor disorders the form of the world, but on the contrary perpetuates it: so the species of mankind, which is the matter of Government, ever continuing; if such a temperament (as CICERO somewhere calls it) or such a libration (as HARRINGTON) be fixt in the form, as to make it proof against all internal division and external force, that Government will consequently be immortal. Such was the language of PLATO and ARISTOTLE long before.

HAVING therefore thus clear'd Father PAUL, and HARRINGTON, and my self, I am willing CICERO shou'd patiently bear the imputation of having broach'd a whimsical absurdity, till I have time and leisure enough to produce MOSES in his vindication; who will not give you bare authorities, but unanswerable reasons. They, who believe this form of Government was immediately reveal'd to MOSES from heaven on mount Sinai, cannot but be well-pleas'd with me, for showing it to be much more excellent and perfect, and consequently more worthy of God; than those have hitherto esteem'd it, who in all their books (not one Christian system excepted) complain of its insufficiency and manifold imperfections: and they, who,

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make it to be purely his own contrivance (but father'd upon God, to procure it the easier reception and the greater veneration) will be oblig'd however for the future, to allow MOSES a rank in the politics farr superior to SALEUCUS, CHARONDAS, SOLON, LYCURGUS, ROMULUS, NUMA, or any other Legislator.

NOW if you'll suppose with me (till my proofs appear) this pre-eminence and immortality of the MOSAIC REPUBLIC in its original purity, it will follow; that, as the Jews known at this day, and who are dispers'd over Europe, Asia, and Africa, with some few in America, are found by good calculation to be more numerous than either the Spaniards (for example) or the French: so if they ever happen to be resettl'd in Palestine upon their original foundation, which is not at all impossible; they will then, by reason of their excellent constitution, be much more populous, rich, and powerful than any other nation now in the world. I wou'd have you consider, whether it be not both the interest and duty of Christians to assist them in regaining their country. But more of this when we meet. I am with as much respect as friendship (dear Sir) ever yours,

Hague, 17 ^{$\frac{16}{10}$} -9.

J. T.



II.

A further account of the MAHOMETAN GOSPEL OF BARNABAS, by Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE of the French Academy; out of the Menagiana, Edit. Amst. tom. 4. pag. 321.

THE Baron DE HOHENDORF, a German Lord, who, to a birth of the first rank, has added exquisite literature, nice politics, and a very extensive knowledge of books, did me the favor to show me the GOSPEL father'd by the Turks upon BARNABAS; translated into Italian (in all likelihood from the Arabic) about the middle of the fifteenth Century, and copy'd a little while after. Tis at this day the onely manuscript of its * kind, or at least a very rare one; and belongs to Prince EUGENE, whose search after all sorts of curious books is without any bounds. Tis an Octavo volum six inches long, four broad, and one and a half thick, and containing 229 leaves, the full pages haveing about 18 or 19 lines, enclos'd within four red rules. In the margin, over-against certain passages underlin'd in the Text, there are some Arabic citations very well written, and relative to some verses of the *Alcoran*. The transcriber intended

* He must mean the onely one in Christendom, or he contradicts himself; and so must Monsieur CRAMER have meant, who knew nothing of the age or value of this book, but what I told him.

to write in red letters all the Arguments of the Chapters, which are in number 221: but he went no further than the 27th, which he misfigur'd the 26th, contenting himself with leaving void spaces for filling up the rest. The paper is of a good body, and made of polisht cotton. On a leaf in the beginning of the book is now written the following Inscription in Latin.

SERENISSIMO SABAUDIAE PRINCIPI

Eugenio,

Heroi invicto, Musarum Herculi,

Hoc Evangelium Mahumedanum, quod BARNABAE nomen prae se fert, in Italicum sermonem, compluribus abhinc seculis, uti characteris ductus & vetustae orthographiae ratio ostendit, conversum: quod Evangelium sive Arabice, sive alia lingua, & si quis conjecturae locus est, a Sergio Monacho Nestoriano, uno e tribus illis ALCORANI architectis, compositum, adhuc videre nemini Christianorum licuit; quamvis hi illud perquirere & inspicere omni ope niterentur, ut tandem ejusmodi Evangelium, quo Mahomedani tantopere gloriantur, ne existere quidem suspicari coeperint: hunc, inquam, codicem, manu satis eleganti exaratum, &, sicuti constat, unicum, ut esset Bibliothecae, quam PRINCEPS INCOMPARABILIS libris rarissimis, seu typis seu manu descriptis refertissimam, construendam suscepit, non postremum ornamentum; & simul suae in immortale MAXIMI HEROIS nomen perpetuae observantiae, pietatis, devotissimi pectoris, quaecunque monumentum:

L. M. Q. D. D. D.

JOANNES FREDERICUS CRAMERUS.

Hagae-Comitis

a. d. xx. Junii, CIOCCCXIII.

THE

N A Z A R E N U S.

II

THE orthography of this manuscript is remarkable for its irregularities. The Consonants are often double, where they ought to be single; and single, on the contrary, where they shou'd have been double. One word is divided into two, and two again are join'd into * one. This every where stuff'd with superfluous and vicious Aspirations, such as were affected by *ARRIUS* in *CATULLUS*. There's no distinction of Capitals: but a very odd punctuation, consisting onely in certain large red points, plac'd for the most part by mere chance. *Elgi*, *molgie*, *figlio*, *pilgiare*, are put for *Egli*, *molie*, *figlio*, *pigliare*. *Scatiar* is put for *scacciar*, *scernir* and *scerno* for *schernir* and *schnerno*, *piaze* for *piace*, and such other corruptions without number; which ought to be look'd upon, rather as indications of the ignorance and bad pronunciation of the Copyer, than of the † antiquity of the Writeing. The Pages are markt by Arabic figures, form'd in this manner: 1 one, 2 two, 3 three, 4 four, 5 five, 6 six, 7 seven, 8 eight, 9 nine, 10 ten; after which the figures are thus combin'd, 11 eleven, 12 twelve and so on. The writeing, as I have observ'd already, is about the year 1470 or 1480, the time when Transcribers begun to put a dot or tittle over the letter i, which has been very exactly follow'd in the manuscript, wherof we are now speaking. The word *Dio*, or God, is out of respect always written in red letters. The Turks oppose this GOSPEL, as the onely true ‡ one,

* *A thing very common in the oldest Italian Manuscripts, and in their first printed books.*

† *They are no less indications of the one than of the other, as must needs be apparent to any one that's vers'd in Italian Manuscripts.*

‡ *I durst not be so positive, nor do I see any ground why Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE shou'd be so, which is the reason of the Queries I subjoin.*

to our four. BARNABAS, who affirms that he was commanded to write it, is represented as an Apostle, not onely well known to JESUS and the VIRGIN; but also better instructed than PAUL, concerning the importance of Circumcision, and the use of such Meats as were permitted or prohibited the faithful. You learn in the same, that the infernal torments of the Mahometans are not to be everlasting. JESUS CHRIST is therein but barely stil'd a Prophet: and tis said, that the moment the Jews were makeing ready to go and seize him in the garden of Olives, he was taken up into the third heaven by the ministry of four angels, GABRIEL, MICHAEL, RAPHAEL, and URIEL: that he shall not dy till the very end of the world, and that it was JUDAS who was crucify'd in his stead; God permitting that this Traytor shou'd appear to the eyes of the Jews so like to JESUS, that they took him for him, and as such deliver'd him over to PILATE. Tis said further, that this resemblance was so great, that every one was deceiv'd by it, without excepting the Virgin MARY and the Apostles; but that afterwards JESUS had obtain'd permission from God, to come and comfort them: and that BARNABAS haveing then ask'd him the question, how the divine goodness cou'd suffer that the Mother and Disciples of so holy a Prophet shou'd believe, even for one moment, that he suffer'd so ignominious a death, the following * answer is made by JESUS. O BARNABAS,

* Risposse Iesu ho Barnaba chredimi che ogni pechato per picchollo che sia Dio il punisse chon pena grande. essendoche Dio he offesso nel pechato onde ammandomi la mia madre he li fidelli con miei dissepoli uno pocho di ammore terreno. il iusto Dio ha voluto punire questo ammore chon il presente dolore azioche sia non punito nelle fiamme infernalli. he me che innocente sonstato
nel

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NABAS, believe me that every sin, how small soever, is punish'd by God with great torment, because God is offended with sin. My mother therefore and my faithful disciples, haveing lov'd me with a mixture of earthly love, the just God has been pleas'd to punish this love with their present grief, that they might not be punisht for it hereafter in the flames of Hell. And as for me, tho I have my self been blameless in the World, yet other men haveing call'd me God, and the Son of God; therefore God, that I might not be mock'd by the Devils at the day of Judgement, has been pleas'd that in this world I shou'd be mock'd by men with the death of JUDAS, making every body believe that I dy'd upon the Cross. And hence it is, that this mocking is still to continue on till the comeing of MAHOMET, the Sent of God; who, comeing into the World, will from this error undeceive every one, that shall believe the Law of * God.

nel mondo hauendomi li homeni chiamato dio he fiolho di dio: dio per non far mi scernire dalli demonii il giorno de il juditio. ha volluto che io sia scernito dalli homeni nel monddo chon la morte di iuda facendo chredere ad ogniuno che io sia morto su la chroce onde questo scerno durera infino alla venuta di Machometo nontio di dio. li quale venendo al mondo sganera ogniuno che chrederano alla leggie di dio di questo ingano.

* In the passages which I have aucted my self out of this Gospel, tho I preserv'd the vicious Orthograpay, yet, to be the better understood, I pointet them as they shou'd be: but in this passage, transcrib'd by Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE, I have exhibited the Punctuation such as he gave it, as a specimen of the rest of the book.

III. QUE-



III.

QUERIES *to be sent to Christians* *residing in MAHOMETAN Countries.*

I.

SINCE we find in all the books of the Mahometans, that they believe the LAW was deliver'd from Heaven to MOSES, the PSALMS to DAVID, and the GOSPEL to JESUS, as well as the ALCORAN to MAHOMET; you are to enquire and take due information, whether at this time the Musulmans have a *Pentateuch*, *Psalms*, or *Gospel* of their own; and how farr agreeing or disagreeing with those of the Jews and Christians? whether they sing any of DAVID's *Psalms* in their public Service, or read any portions of the *Pentateuch*?

II.

SINCE we find moreover, that they charge our *Gospels* with corruption and alteration in many things, and particularly that MAHOMET's name was raz'd out of 'em, as likewise out of the *Pentateuch*, and the *Psalms*; you are to enquire of the most learned, judicious, and candid among 'em, how they can prove such Expunctions or Interpolations, if they have no authentic Copies to confront with ours? or, in case they pretend to have such Copies, you are further to enquire, what use they make of 'em? whether any part of their *Gospel* be ever read in their Moschs? or whether it is to be perus'd onely by the Clergy and the Learned?

III. YOU

III.

YOU are particularly desir'd to enquire after the GOSPEL OF BARNABAS: for such a book is in the possession of his most serene Highness Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and was undoubtedly written (I do'nt mean wholly compil'd) by a profess'd Mahometan; as the Summaries of the Chapters, and the Arabic Notes on the margin of the Italian Translation, are the work of a zealous adversary to Christianity. And if you shou'd happen to meet with this book, you are diligently to enquire, whether they acknowledge it as divine, whether it be the onely *Gospel* they admit? or, in case they have any more of this kind, which are Apocryphal, and which authentic, in their account?

IV.

SINCE we find the Mahometans, in all their writings, asserting that other books, besides the four already mention'd, were divinely inspir'd, or sent from heaven to their reputed Authors; namely, ADAM, SETH, ENOCH, ABRAHAM, and more such Patriarchs and Prophets: you are to enquire if now they either have, or pretend to have, any such books among'em? or, in case they have not (as I think they fairly own) then by what arguments they wou'd prove, that ever any such existed? For, I suppose, they lay no stress on the numerous books of this sort, that have been forg'd by the Jews and Christians; tho, if the Mahometans have any of their own, I take 'em to be some of the Apocryphal Jewish or Christian books interpolated, and accommodated to the System of the ALCORAN *secundum Artem*.

V.

LASTLY, not only the GOSPEL OF BARNABAS, or any other GOSPEL (which in their language,

language they call Al-Angil or INGHIL) but also their PENTATEUCH (which they call AL-TAOURAT, vulgarly TEVRAT) and their PSALMS (which they call ZEBOUR) with the books ascrib'd to those other Prophets (if any such they have) are to be procur'd or purchas'd, according to the account you'll be pleas'd to send. But in this whole Enquiry beware of being impos'd upon by Christian Arabic books, such as the *Gospel of the Infancy of JESUS*, with diverse others of the same stamp.

VI.

AS for the Mahometans themselves, who are the proper subject of our curiosity, take care to distinguish written from oral Tradition; as well as the persuasion of a particular Sect from that of the whole body, or even the notion of a private man from that of his peculiar Sect. And on these Enquiries be sure to ground your Answers so accurately, yea so minutely, as expressly to use such forms, as *In answer to the first, second, third; or fourth Queries*, or to any part or particular of each, distinctly mark'd: neither be ever tempted to affirm any thing, that may seem to favor the real or fancy'd belief or byass of the Enquirer; since Truth ought to be the sole object of our Research, and not the service of any particular Cause or Person whatsoever.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Pref. page xxii. line 31. read *same time*. Ibid. p. xxiii. l. 7. comma after *good*. Work, p. 7. Not. 6. 1. *laxaße*. p. 23. Not. 33. 1. *επιχει-
ρισιν*. p. 25. l. penult. 1. of the gate. p. 31. l. 28. 1. flatly. p. 56. Not. 78. 1. *anathematizati*. p. 66. l. 11. comma after *people*. Ibid. Not. 83. 1. *magister & imperator*. p. 73. Not. 84. l. 2. 1. *καταπαλξειν*. Letter II. p. 51. in the last marginal note read *the Spouse of God*. p. 53. Not. 8. for *palladia* 1. *palladii*.

The rest (if any) are left to the reader's candor.



P R E F A C E.

I.



THE Title-pages of the following *Dissertations* do clearly enough indicate their several subjects: but the design of writing, and the occasion of publishing each, require I shou'd give some necessary information to the Reader, before he begins to peruse them. After acquainting my self, in the best manner I was able, with

the various origins and peculiar constitutions of the Grec and Roman Republics, not forgetting the Persian and other Monarchies; I judg'd my pains might be no less agreeably rewarded, if I shou'd use the like means, to get as clear a notion as possible of the MOSAIC *Theocracy*, or the Government of the Israelites. The curiosity that's natural to man, which makes him so ambitious of the character

Παλαίαις πολλάκις εἶδως,

vehemently urg'd me to pry not indiligently into such remote antiquities: and my duty, as the Religion I profess was founded on the MOSAIC *Institution*, inspir'd me with still greater ardor in my researches. But as the polity of the Jews cou'd not be learnt without their history, both contain'd in the same books, and in the same thread of narration interwoven; so, notwithstanding the almost impenetrable obscurity with which those books are accus'd, I continually made such discoveries in them, relating to matters either different from what was taught by my guides, or that were not taught by any at all, as prov'd

to me no less intertaining than instructive. A principal head among others was, *that several transactions generally understood to be miraculous, were in reality very natural; whatever the superstitious apprehensions of some, and the careless reading of others, led them to conceive.* But such things once taken for granted, soon become universal preconceptions; and so are never after examin'd, or with as universal opposition to him, that presumes on those inquiries. The discoveries I made of this sort created in me a higher veneration for MOSES, than even was insill'd by my instructors, and on better grounds. They did equally arm me against such, as, not content with their own gross interpretations, superadd the monstrous Traditions of others: and also against those, who reject the *Pentateuch* as intirely fabulous, and who will not allow either the wisdom or sanctity of the MOSAIC *Laws*. One of those discoveries makes the subject of HODEGUS, or the first *Dissertation*; wherein there are some other points incidentally discuss'd, not unworthy observation. Wherefore my design in this publication, is to make MOSES better understood, and consequently more easily believ'd: which is as well to defend him against those, who unreasonably believe him not at all, as also against those, who by their absurd belief render him incredible. The style of the *Old Testament* is extremely hyperbolical, even in the books that are written in prose; but in the poetical books wonderfully magnificent, and this sometimes in the description of the most ordinary events. Thus a storm (for example) is often represented in such pompous terms, as if the whole frame of nature had been convuls'd, and the Universe on the point of dissolution. Every thing great, or beautiful, or excellent in its kind, is attributed to GOD, or denominated from him: as a mighty Prince is call'd a *Prince of GOD* as ABRAHAM, a profound sleep a *sleep from the LORD*, a numerous army *the army of GOD*, extreme fear *the fear of the LORD*, high mountains *the mountains of GOD*, a great river *the river of GOD* as Jordan, tall cedars *the cedars of GOD*, a very large city *the great city of GOD* as Nineveh, with many more such examples, which might be produc'd at pleasure. Every thing therfore that's hyperbolical is not strait to be counted supernatural, nor what's overly magnificent to be admir'd as miraculous: besides that whatever can be explain'd by ordinary means, any thing whose phenomena are easily solv'd, and wherof the like

Gen. 31.
6. 1 Sam.
26. 12.
1 Chr. 5.
12. 22.
2 Chron.
12. 14.
Psalm 124.
Psalm 124.
Psalm 124.
Psalm 124.
Psalm 124.
Psalm 124.

P R E F A C E.

iii

like has often happen'd elsewhere, will by no man, who's not strongly prepossess'd with the errors of his education, be counted a miracle. Several years are past since I wrote this *Dissertation*. I sent the plan of it to a learned gentleman now alive, who shew'd it to some good judges, and had their approbation. Since that time I have seen a Discourse on this Subject written by HERMAN VON DER HARDT, professor of the Oriental languages at Helmstadt, a man no less perspicacious and candid, than judicious and learned, tho' for all these good qualities not infallible. His notion ¹ is, *that there was a sacred Fire kept unextinguish'd on an altar in ADAM's time, preserv'd by NOAH, and successively propagated by all the Patriarch's down to MOSES; who order'd it to be carry'd by AARON before the army of the Israelites, as a symbol of the DIVINE presence and favor.* This account he endeavors in other ² pieces to defend against diverse persons, who sent their objections to him in Letters: but in the XXIVth section of my *Dissertation*, I prove it to be not only precarious, but in every respect false and groundless; tho' my arguments were pointed against one, who wrote to the same effect long before Mr. VON DER HARDT, of whose work I had then no notice. In other respects I gratefully acknowledge to have profited by his labors, and am confident he'll not think the worse of me, for differing from him in this or any other particular. I have lately seen a book against him by one ³ MUNDENIUS, whom I have likewise answer'd without naming him; by confusing the common notions which he defends. He wou'd have succeeded better, had he made a right use of what ⁴ LIPSIIUS, ⁵ BUXTORF, ⁶ SCHURTZFLEISCH expressly, and others occasionally, as ⁷ BRISSONIUS, ⁸ SPENCER, and the Annotators on some of the Classic

¹ HERMANNI VON DER HARDT &c. *Ephemerides Philologicae*, Helmstadii 1702: Discursus VI, ubi videnda voluminis pagina nonagesima, discursus vero quinta.

² In eodem Volumine. pag. 206—206.

³ M. CHRISTIANI MUNDENII de Columna Nubis et Ig. Commentatio.

⁴ JUSTI LIPSII Syntagma de Vestia et Vestalibus.

⁵ Historia Ignis Sacri.

⁶ CONRADI SAMUELIS SCHURTZFLEISCHII dissertatio de cultu Ignis apud omnes gentes nationesque recepto.

⁷ De Regno Persico.

⁸ De Legibus ritualibus Hebræorum.

- authors, have written concerning the *sacred Fires* of the ancients: for many, who fail in proving their main proposition, become useful or agreeable in their subsidiary literature. What I have advanc'd concerning the ANGEL mention'd in the 23d chapter of *Exodus*, I do not expect shou'd meet with due reception, till the work appears to which the explication of it properly belongs. But I am not so diffident about my notion of *the Angel of God* in the 19th and 20th verses of the 14th chapter of the same book; nor of my disquisition concerning RAGUEL, JETHRO, and HOBAB, who are strangely confounded by most writers: and I hope my account of the origin of the *Kenites*, from HOBAB's being rewarded according to the promise of MOSES, for guiding the Israelites in the wilderness, where he was the *Fire-bearer* or Guide-general of the Camp, will give satisfaction to all impartial lovers of truth. As for others, I matter not what they think or say. If any shou'd contest the circumstance of the *Ark's* being carry'd on men's shoulders, because in some historical cures of the *Bible* tis represented carry'd like our Chairs, he may for all me enjoy his opinion: but as the *Ark* was to be visible, and its presence no small sign of encouragement to the Army, I rather think it was carry'd the other way. Its rings and staves wou'd serve both ways: but the nature of the thing, the solemn form of *Rise up, LORD, let thine enemies be scatter'd, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee*, whenever the *Ark* was to set forward, with many other passages to the same purpose, may I fancy determine the matter my way. This *Dissertation*, to conclude what I have to say of it here, is mention'd in a note upon *the Voyage of JACQUES MASSE*; written by a Gentleman of great wit and judgement, to some of whose friends I shou'd my Manuscript at the Hague in the year 1708. His words are these in the 168th page. *We have heard speak of a learned man from England,*

9 On a oui parler d'un savant Anglois qui a fait une dissertation depuis peu, où l'entreprend de prouver, qu'il n'y a eu rien de miraculeux ni même d'extraordinaire dans cette colonne de feu qui conduisoit les Israélites dans le desert; et de faire voir par les meilleurs auteurs anciens et modernes, que c'a été toujours la coutume dans ces sortes de deserts, de se servir de feu pour diriger la marche des armées ou des multitudes, en le faisant porter devant elles par des Guides, de maniere que toute la troupe en put voir

P R E F A C E.

v

England, who not long since has compos'd a Dissertation, wherein he undertakes to prove, that there was nothing miraculous, nor even extraordinary, in that Pillar of fire which led the Israelites thro the wilderness; and to show, by the best authors antient and modern, that it has been at all times the custom in those sorts of desarts, to make use of Fire in directing the march of Armies or Caravans, by causing it to be carry'd before them by Guides, in such sort that the whole multitude might see the Smoke of it by day, and the Flame of it during the night. He pretends that the person, who had the direction of this Fire, and who serv'd for a Guide to the Israelites, was no other than HOBAB the father in law [I said the brother in law] of MOSES; which he endeavors to prove by the 29th and 30th verses of the tenth chapter of Numbers, and by several other passages of the holy Scripture. Now the reason, why I have not accordingly intitul'd it HOBAB, may be seen in the XXVIIth Section, to which I refer the Reader.

II. HAVING been so particular in relating the occasion of writing HODEGUS, I shall be the more brief in accounting for the occasions of publishing CLIDOPHORUS and HYPATIA. The first of these wou'd be either needless or more complete, had we but the book, which is said by EUNAPIUS to have been written by PORPHYRY: *who commending* (says ¹⁰ he) *the medicine of perspicuity, and tasting it by experience, wrote A TREATISE CONCERNING THE SECRET DOCTRINES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, which they involv'd in obscurity, as in the Fables of the POETS, but which he brought to light.* What made the Philosophers so cautious, and be at so great pains (for tis a much easier task to write of things plainly and directly, than in a perplext circuit of

voir la fumée pendant le jour, et la flamme pendant la nuit. Il pretend que celui, qui a eu la direction de ce feu. et qui a servi de Guide aux Israelites, n'étoit autre chose que Hobab, le beau-pere de Moïse; ce qu'il tache de prouver par les versets 29 et 30 du chapitre x des nombres, et par plusieurs autres passages de l'Ecriture sainte. *A Bourdeaux* 1710.

10 Τῶν δὲ φιλοσοφῶν τὰ ἀπορρήτα καλυπτοῦσιν ἀσφαρᾶ, καθάπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τοῖς μύθοις, ὃ παρενοεῖται, το μὲν σαφῆμα τῆς σαφηνείας ἐπαίεσας, καὶ διὰ τῶν γευσσάμεντων, ὑποκινῶν ἡρώδας, εἰς φῶς ἡγάγει. In Porphyry. pag. 18. edit. 1616.

words under the veil of allegory or fable) I have in the *Dissertation* it self amply declar'd. In effect the Poets were not exempt from the same danger, that commonly attend- ed the Philosophers : for tis a grand mistake to suppose, that the former did always write in a figurative strain out of pure choice, and because it was as amusing or al- luring as their numbers. No, no : those Poets and Phi- losophers who wou'd rather obtain the people's favor, than run any risque in undeteiving or instructing them (for I except the most generous spirited) must no less than those vena! Orators and Historians, who court the ap- plause of the many, approve their favorite sentiments. as well as tickle their ears and fancies. Listen to a Man perfectly acquainted with this matter. *Whoever writes any thing for the people* (says ²¹ SYNESIUS, who was both Poet and Philosopher) *or addresses his speech to them, must necessarily appear popular in his doctrine, and invent or discourse what gratifies them: for they being unlearned, are therefore pertinacious and intractable defenders of their senseless prejudices; so that if any declines from his country rises, he must straight drink the juice of hemlock. What think you must HOMER have suffer'd from the Grecians, if he had related the naked truth concerning JUPITER? and not tended those monstrous fictions, which terrify children.* All silly folks are children, no less at other times than in that of HOMER; a secret well known to EMPEDOCLES, with some other poetical Philosophers. And I must needs own that when I observe learned men, or such as are presum'd to be so from their professions, laboring by all oblique arts to render others no less learned, and it may be much more deserving on all accounts, obnoxious to the folly or madness of the vulgar, I cannot help being equally fill'd with contempt and abhorrence: but above all when they are Clergymen (the profest preachers of cha- rity, fair-dealing, and moderation) that are guilty of such

Or. be excu-
sed.

11. Ὅστις δ' οὖν δῆμῳ γράφει καὶ δῆμῳ λέγει, τοῖς ἀναγ-
κῇ δῆμῳ εἶναι τῇ δόξῃ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρεσκουσίων αὐτῷ πλάττει καὶ
διαλεχθήσεται: καὶ γὰρ ἀμαθεὶς οὐδὲν ἰσχυροσγνώμωνες εἴσι καὶ
χαλεπεὶ περιστάει τῶν ἀλοπῶν προλαβόν; ὥς αὖ τις τῶν πα-
ταίων παρρηκῇ, ταχὺ πτελεῖ το κοκκῆον. Τί ἀν οὖν δόξης
Ὀμήρειν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παθεῖν, αὐτὰ τ' ἀληθῆ περὶ τοῦ
Διὸς ἐποιεῖται. Καὶ μηδὲν τοιοῦτό τερατευσαμένον, ὃ τὰ παι-
δαία καὶ ἀπληθήσεται? in *Eucom Calvis. Edit. Par. pag. 72.*

unmanly,

namely, nay profligate devises: Not to look abroad for the methods of undermining and denigration, exercis'd by the several religious Orders of the Roman Church against each other; nor minutely to rehearse the atrocious calumnies of the *Constitutionists* against the *Anticonstitutionists* in France, the poverty and plague now reigning there, being imputed by the former to the latter: what shameful examples, I say, of such foul practices cou'd I produce here at home? what tale-bearing, what insinuations, what pumping, what wrestling, what straining of words or actions, both among Church-men and Dissenters, on the account or pretense of Religion? The examples are too flagrant, the subjects too notorious, for me to descend to particulars, whether I wou'd avoid envy or decline partiality. But what by the misrepresentations and investives of enemies, or the angry frowns and desertion of friends; what by the suspensions, deprivations, and expulsions of those, who are superior either in force or authority (not to mention incapacities and sufferings of diverse other kinds) men are become suspicious of each other, reserv'd in opening their minds about most things, ambiguous in their expressions, supple in their conduct; wherby not onely all mutual confidence, but likewise all laudable improvement, are in danger of being totally extirpated. To what sneaking equivocations, to what wretched shifts and subterfuges, are men of excellent endowments forc'd to have recourse thro human frailty, merely to escape disgrace or starving? and this very frequently on the score of Metaphysical abstractions, or chimeras that never had any existence out of the hollow noddles of waking dreamers. The consideration of these things, sufficiently express'd in the work it self, induc'd me to publish CLIDOPHORUS: that they of our modern times may, in the history of former ages, behold their own pictures drawn to the life; and learn the causes as well as the cure of their distemper, yet without expecting thanks or reward for the Physician. But excesses of a nature beyond those I have hitherto related, as endeavors to mob, if not even to worry men of learning and virtue, on account of their dissent from others in speculative opinions, made me write *the life of HYPATIA*. I was mov'd to undertake this work in a particular manner, by the unlawful and unchristian usage, that Mr. WHISTON receiv'd from Dr. SACHEVERELL, who wou'd needs forcibly thrust him

him out of the Church in the midst of ^{the} divine Service; tho the one fail'd of his attempt, and the other came off with no more harm, than being call'd *Kogue* by the pious old women, said to look like one by the sage Alms-men, and hooked (as I heard) by some boys instead of learning their Catechism. But Mr. WHISTON may (next to God's providence) thank the good nature of the English people for his preservation: for in some other parts of the world he had, upon much fewer threats and remonstrances from two Priests, not to speak of the pulling and haling of their officer, been torn to pieces for all his gown and his innocence. For the rest, there never was a story better attested than that of HYPATIA, whether you consider the authority of her contemporaries SYNESIUS, SOCRATES, PHILOSTORGIUS, and DAMASCIUS; which last, if not her schoolfellow, was certainly her father's scholar: or whether you consider the subsequent accounts of PHOTIUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS, NICEPHORUS *Callistus*, NICEPHORUS *Gregoras*, and others; between whom there's scarce any variation, and not the least appearance of contradiction, either as to her inimitable character or her unparallel'd murder. It roble not the Reader with what modern authors occasionally write to her advantage or discredit, since they can form no judgment but by the authorities I have us'd; and that every one therfore may do as much for himself, without being byass'd by the prepossessions or interested views of others,

III. MANGONEUTES, or the fourth *Dissertation*, I wrote in defense of another Treatise of mine, intitol'd NAZARENUS. For what design I compil'd this last, and what right I had to do it, is so fully set forth in the beginning of the first, that I need say but little of it here. The same apology holds good, as to my addressing *MANGONEUTES* to the Lord Bishop of London: who, I have reason to hope, will be as ready to procure me justice of those subjected to his government; as a Gentleman wou'd be sure to show his displeasure against a servant, that shou'd affront any man, for which he must be otherwise accountable himself. One of my Adversa-

12. See Mr. WHISTON's account of this affair in the *Political State* for the Month of February 1718-19.

ries has dedicated his book to his Lordship, another (not to insist here on the rest) is his domestic Chaplain; and consequently his servant, for all Mr. COLLIER wou'd make him the master, at least of a Layman. Both of 'em have not onely wilfully misrepresented, but directly bely'd me; particularly Dr. MANGEY, who not only in diverse instances makes me say things of which I never thought, but many things expressly contrary to what I have written, which must cause no small amazement to equitable readers: for as to others, who neither show themselves men if they will not hear both sides, nor Christians if they receive an accusation against any man without weighing his defense; for such, I say, I neglect their censure, as much as all others ought to despise them. That pragmatistical pertness, which is the individual concomitant of superficial reading; that nibbling at incidents, where solid argument wou'd break the teeth of smatterers; that railing which supplies the want of reason, and that malice which betrays the narrowness of Party, I leave to be collected from the examples I have mark'd: tho I have purposely overlook'd many more, being too mean for others or my own consideration; and a generous adversary wou'd think 'em unworthy his notice, were they all real mistakes. Nor wou'd I trouble the world with any kind of answer (having a nobler occupation for my thoughts and time) but as thereby a handle was given me, to add further proof and illustration to the subjects wherof I had been treating: for, as I hinted just now, I neither dreaded the judgement of such as wou'd read both sides; nor valu'd the opinion of such as might applaud my answerers, without ever seeing my book. But Dr. MANGEY, over and above his eternal chicanery and scolding, has manifested such shameful ignorance in profane and sacred history; as was fit his Patron, for his own reputation, shou'd know, who might be impos'd upon by his assuming and confident air. This will appear, in the first place, by what I have reply'd to his positive assertion, *that I falsely said it was the constant and general belief of the Mahometans, that the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Alcoran, constituted the foundation of their religion, and that some of 'em therefore call'd it the RELIGION OF THE FOUR BOOKS.* The passages which I have here added to those in NAZARENUS, for proof of these facts, may probably be acceptable to the curious; as I know my apology for RELAND and others, about
favoring

favoring Mahometanism, will be so to the candid. But, in the second place, I know several Churches, where Orders wou'd be refus'd to any candidate for the Ministry, upon appearing no better acquainted with the origin of the word *Nazaren*, than the Doctor, without laying any stress on his visions touching the history of the *Nazarens*. It is in effect to be so far ignorant of the history of *JESUS of Nazareth*, which, one wou'd think, is no recommendable quality in a preacher of his *Gospel*. After not knowing, or not taking notice, that it was prophesied of *JESUS* *he shou'd be call'd a Nazaren*, he quibbles with me about stiling my book *N A Z A R E N U S* : whereas he pronounces *ex cathedra*, that *Nazaraeus* is the proper word; and that *Nazaren*, in the writings where it occurs, is rather owing to the negligence of transcribers, than the judgment of the author. I have on the contrary prov'd that *Nazaren* and *Nazaraeus* are originally and indifferently us'd for the self-same thing; whether the words relate to *JESUS* himself, or to those denominated from him. *Nazaraeus* is but once in *MATTHEW*, and *Nazaren* is three

Mat. 2. 23. times in *MAR*K, as well as once in *LUKE*. *Nazaraeus* & 14. 67. appears often elsewhere in the *New Testament*, according to the analogy of the Hebrew word *Notzeri*, as Luc. 4. 34. *Nazaren* is according to the Grec and Latin formations. In our English translation we rightly express both the words by the phrase *JESUS of Nazareth*, according to the reason given by *MATTHEW*, that *he shou'd be call'd a Nazaren* or *Nazaraeus* (it matters not which) from his dwelling in the City of *Nazareth*; and therefore where one writer says, *JESUS the Nazaren* or *the Nazaraeus*, the same or another says in other parallel places *JESUS from Nazareth*, than which there needs not a clearer demonstration. The Doctor will perhaps say, that his distinction regards the writings of the *Fathers*, to which I answer that the thing is the same, the promiscuous use of the words the same, in them as in the *New Testament*; even after *Nazaren* or *Nazaraeus* had chang'd its original idea, and become odious also to the Gentiles. *JEROM* in his Translation of the *N. T.* uses *Nazaraeus* but once, and *Nazaren* eighteen times. The indifferent use of the words was warranted by the Apostolical writings, of which I am sorry any

13 More properly *Notzeri*, as may be seen in the 19th Note on *MANGONEUTES*, pag. 363.

Doctor of Divinity shou'd be ignorant. He has farther recourse (as will be seen in MANGONEUTES) to a false or unscriptural derivation of the word, adopted by some moderns from the quaint conceits of certain venerable *Fathers*; and to support this criticism he quotes three or four writers, who visibly mean the *Old Testament Nazarites* or more properly *Nazirites*, whom in the same places they distinguish from the Christian *Nazarens* or *Nazareans*. Thus in the forg'd Letter of the no less forg'd LENTULUS, a president of Judea (forsooth) JESUS is represented ¹⁴ like a *Nazirite*, which I show he never was: and that consequently the Doctor's derivation of *Nazarean* from the ¹⁵ root of that word, and the allusions of others to it, are not merely precarious, but absolutely false. Haste will not permit me to make the remarks, that so naturally offer themselves, on some of his authors; among whom RICOLDUS (or RICHARD, if this name pleases better) is by the justly admir'd Dean of ¹⁶ Norwich, as well as by him, call'd judicious: by which I suppose the Dean meant less injudicious than such others, whose books are stuff'd with more fables and falsities, wherof nevertheless RICOLDUS has a competent share. One of his judicious arguments to prove the *Alcoran* not to be divine, is its being written in ¹⁷ verse; and then he denies that ever GOD spoke

¹⁴ Pili capitis ejus vinei coloris usque ad fundamentum aurium, sine radiatione et erecti, et a fundamento aurium usque ad humeros contorti ac lucidi, et ab humeris deorsum pendentes, bifido vertice dispositi in morem Nazaræorum.

¹⁵ He must mean נָזִיר *Nazar* to separate, tho he has not express'd it, *Separavit*. whence נָזִיר *a Nazirite* or *separated person*; whereas the root of Nazareth, and consequently of Nazaren, is נָצַר *to ward or preserve; from Custodivit*. whence Nazareth, by reason of its strong situation on a hill.

¹⁶ In the catalogue of Authors subjoin'd to his Life of MAHOMET and Letter to the Deists.

¹⁷ Neque stilum neque modum habet [*Alcoranum*] Legi divinae similem, aut convenientem; est enim stilo rhythmicum, et affectatione plenum—Videmus enim in divina scriptura Deum loquentem cum MOYSE et cum aliis prophetis, et nunquam rhythmis vel versibus loquentem. MOYSIS autem Legem et Evangelium dicit MAHOMETES a Deo esse, et Deum illos libros MOYSE et CHRISTO dedisse: sed hi non sunt metrici vel rhythmici, et nullus aliorum prophetarum qui divinam vocem audiverunt,

spoke in this manner to any of the Prophets, or that any of the books of these are in verse, which stile even Philosophers, according to him, scorn to use: not considering the numerous examples to the contrary in the *Old Testament*, wherof several considerable books, besides intire songs and fragments in some of the rest, are undeniably in verse; without dwelling upon EMPEDOCLES, and a great many other poetical Philosophers. RICOLDUS likewise denies that MAHOMET cou'd be a Prophet for all the world, of which he gives this judicious reason (to produce no more of his choice observations) that he wrote onely in ¹⁸ *Arabic*; forgetting or not knowing, that the *New Testament* was written onely in *Greec*. I repeat on this occasion what I said in the Preface to NAZARENUS, that *I take care in general, not to overburthen my reader with citations of any sort; contenting my self to prove or illustrate my allegations, by no more authorities than are necessary: tho I often abound with others, which I judge needless, or reserve against answerers.* This the event has sufficiently prov'd, and notwithstanding my second discharge, I have still no scanty provision, with respect to all the subjects I have handi'd. Doctor MANGEY may go on to call them *gleanings*, and others by their thread-bare phrase of *borrow'd learning*, I readily confess the charge: for I have glean'd and borrow'd them in three Universities wherof I have been actually a member, and in two others, where I have sojourn'd a considerable time for this very purpose, after the manner of the ancient Philosophers; nor to insist on those I have cursorily visited, nor all the pains I have taken out of them. I publish not these things out of vain glory, as every one may see; but in my own necessary vindication against the unfair or malicious suggestions of half-witted or half-learn'd Priestlings, who judge of others by themselves, the very worst rule that any can follow. 'Tis to the moderate, serious, and learned Divines, that I make my appeal; and not to such, who, tho they wou'd seem to know every thing, do in reality know very little. And

verunt, dicit Deum rhythmicè locutum; quod et sapientes, et philosophi homines dedignantur. *Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ, cap. 4.*

18 Dicit [MAHOMETES] se prophetam esse universalem; sed tamen Alcoranum Arabicis literis a Deo datum esse, neque ullam aliam linguam se scire præter Arabicam. *Ibid. cap. 6.*

how

how shou'd they? when they seldom or never study any thing, but spend the small time that is left 'em from hunting after benefices, and paying a servil court to such as can dispose of them, in reading or talking politics, in visiting or caballing, in learning the arts of dress or the language of the theatre, and in supplying the want of all theological accomplishments with atheological zeal. Nevertheless, their pretence of defending the CHURCH, when no body attacks it, is commonly but an artificial passion (if I may speak so) politically counterfeited to impose on the vulgar, to gratify turbulent Statesmen and Clergymen, or to serve for a cover to their own envious and detracting humor.

IV. Mr. WOTTON, tis true, no more than some others I may chance to mention, is not directly concern'd in the answers that were made to NAZARENUS; but the ¹⁹ piece he formerly wrote against me not requiring any reply in my own opinion, or in that of better judges, the few passages I have instanc'd out of it now, are onely intended as pertinent examples of what I was showing where I quoted them: namely, *that some persons will not allow any man to be commended on any score, who disagrees with them in certain particulars; that whom they oppose in any one thing, they think themselves oblig'd to oppose in all other things; and that there is nothing, however improbable or false, they will not say without shame or remorse, in order to lessen or blacken their adversary.* Thus they are at pains to make themselves ridiculous, and to open a large field of triumph to their Antagonists. In taking notice of what Dr. BRETT (a person of distinguish'd parts and great sedateness) has offer'd against NAZARENUS, in the preface to his treatise of *Tradition necessary to explain and interpret the holy Scriptures*, my intention was, besides my own apology, to defend the first and best Protestants, against certain half-profess or whole-disguis'd Papists, who are for restoring Priesthood, Sacrifice, and Altars, justly thrown out of the Church at the *Reformation*; together with the superlative notions of Spiritual Ministers, Oil, Chrism, a mixture of Water in the Sacramental cup,

¹⁹ A Letter to EUSEBIA in answer to the LETTERS TO SERENA, printed for Mr. GOODWIN at the *Queen's head*, over against St. DUNSTAN'S Church in Fleetstreet.

Prayers and Oblations for the Dead, private Confession and authoritative Absolution, gorgeous Buffets and other vain decorations, frequent Bowings and Crossings, Cuts and pictures in pray'r books, especially in the public Offices often representing legendary fables: Nor cou'd I forget their invalidating Christian ordinances, administer'd by persons not Episcopally ordain'd; their unchurching thus, and consequently unchristianing, the greater part of Protestants to gratify Papists. To these might be added, their rebelliously incroaching on the power of the Magistrate, by their pretended Independency of the Church on the State: and finally, their impiously setting themselves up instead of GOD, by claiming whatever was dedicated to his service tho ever so unwarrantably or idolatrously; as the restoration of the Churchlands (for example) in the times of Popery, which right was modestly pleaded by some of their predecessors, who never wanted a pretext for accumulating, to seize on the endowments for supporting the Heathen Temples and supplying the sacrifices of Demons. Too little has been said about these matters by some learned persons in high stations, of whom better things were expected; and they ought not to take it amiss if they are suspected of the same designs, till they act with more honesty and openness in this affair, or at least till they show a better countenance to those of their order that do so: for this Free and Protestant state will not suffer it self to be enslav'd, either by ambitious seducers or superstitious sophisters, under any pretence whatsoever. Our Governors are too clear sighted, to be cheated out of their senses, out of their power and interest, by English any more than by Italian Popery. My account of the LITURGY, publish'd by some of the new separatists, is mostly in the very words of the same, and no where differing from its sense. Dr. BRETT, by a very singular paradox, makes my referring people to the Law and to the Testimony, to the New Testament and to that alone for doctrine and discipline, to be a plot for undermining and blowing up Christianity. So I remember father PAUL (in one of his Letters) tells us, that the POPE, complaining of Fra FULGENTIO, said, *that preaching of the Scriptures is a suspicious thing; and that he, who keeps close to the Scriptures, will ruin the Catholic faith.* In the very next Letter, the POPE's more explicit words of him were, *that indeed he made some good Sermons,*

Letter 25.

Letter 26.

Sermons, but bad ones withal; and that he insisted too much upon Scripture; which is a book, said the pretended head of Christians, to which if any keeps close, he will quite ruin the Catholic Faith. And for certain he will, I mean the faith so deem'd by the Church of Rome, and likewise all those fine things I have observ'd in the late-coin'd English Liturgy; for which there is not any color of warrant in the *New Testament*, whatever may be in the old *Fathers*. For this reason of advancing any thing as a part of Christianity, or besides or against the authority of the books of the *New Testament*, I have always declar'd (I go not about to deny it) a sovereign content for most of the *Fathers*; as well as for other very material causes, regarding their Integrity, their knowledge, and certain other disqualifying qualifications. Not above three of the Grec *Fathers* of the four first centuries (if I may strictly allow so many) knew any thing of the original Hebrew; and the Latin *Fathers*, no greater number excepted, understood as little either of that or the original Grec. Yet, in spite of common sense, these must be the best interpreters of *Scripture*; as the *Councils* made up of such, must be the fittest men to make unalterable decisions and Canons, with dire *anathemas* against all Dissenters, tho masters in Jerusalem and Athens. Those *Fathers* succeeded accordingly. For, by sounds, allusions, similes, accommodations, and such other precarious methods (as supposing the point in question, or arguing from erroneous concessions) without ever attending to the scope of the place, or the true import of the words of *Scripture*, they made any thing out of every thing, and every thing out of any thing. So fanciful people see what forms they please in the Clouds, and learn wise lessons out of the melodious sound of bells. This may do tolerably well still, in a preachment to daylaborers and old women; but will run some risk of examination, and be apt to occasion a little mirth, if us'd in books of Controversy, or in a *Sermon* before a learned auditory, except they be all in black cloaths. 'Tis mere illusion, errant sophistry to say (as we'll show in its due place) that the *Fathers* having liv'd nearer than we to the times of the Apostles, they are therefore better interpreters of *Scripture*. To what degree their authority reaches, is not agreed by their advocates. They are at least the best explainers of discipline and worship, according

to the reverend and learned Dr. HARE; who ²⁰ affirms that tho the Scripture be a perfect rule of faith, he must never have look'd into it, who's capable of thinking it a perfect rule of worship, I mean (says he) as to external worship and discipline: but he that will take the writings of the primitive Church (adds the same) as ²¹ A SUPPLEMENT TO THE SCRIPTURES in these points, cannot be at a loss to know what are the powers of Church-Governors, or what the obedience due to them. IGNATIUS alone may do well enough for this last darling particular.

Page 12S. Dr. MANGEY, after those he admires, thinks the doctrine of the Church the best comment upon Scripture, even as to points of faith: and Dr. BRETT does every where make the primitive Fathers not onely the best interpreters both of Faith and Discipline; but also necessary guides, without whose writings and traditions the New Testament it self wou'd be quite unintelligible. Notwithstanding these authorities, or those of much antienter and more sonorous names, I still retain the same dislike and disregard for the Fathers; for which I shall soon give reason sufficient, fact abundant, in the *Treatise of Tradition* which I mention in the 209th page of MANGO-NEUTES. I dare be pritty confident, I am not the man Dr. HARE had principally in his eye, when, occasionally mentioning the antient writers of the Church, he says that *those condemn who never read them, and therefore express so much content to excuse their ignorance.*

Ubi supra,
Page 41.

Gai. 5. 1.

Yet I can with great truth affirm, that, having been destin'd to the study of Theology (which I diligently prosecuted, till I arriv'd at the state of *standing fast in that Liberty, wherewith CHRIST has made us free*) I have, for my own or other men's sins, read all the Fathers ascrib'd to the three first centuries with much application, some of 'em more than once or twice; and that, besides the profest Historians, I have look'd not perfunctorily for as many other centuries into the rest, who deviated more and more from the simplicity of the Gospel, tho some of 'em excelled the Learning of their predecessors. This

²⁰ CHURCH-AUTHORITY VINDICATED, in a visitation Sermon preach'd at Putney, May 5. 1719: page 29. *prim. edd.*

²¹ This puts me in mind of the CODICIL in the Tale of a Tub.

is so far from being said out of any ostentation, that many on the contrary, who are no ill judges of men or things, will apply the words of the Apostle PAUL to me; that if *I must needs glory, I will glory of the things, which concern mine infirmities.* Now let the study of the *Fathers* be disreputable or otherwise, since Doctors differ as they say: 'tis undoubtedly for understanding them too well (at least in my own opinion, which is the most that any one has for his reading) and not for having neglected to peruse their writings, assisted by all necessary helps, that I entertain so mean an opinion of them, either as good interpreters of the *Scripture*, or as sure guides in *Religion*. Dr. BRETT seems to acknowledge so much, when he says that *I made a difficulty of matters, thro want of will rather than want of light.* Consonant to this verdict pronounces Mr. WOTTON, tho not with mere respect to the *Fathers*, *It seems by those Letters* (speaking of those to SERENA) *that he knows where the truth lies in every particular; and if that will not convince him, how can I?* How indeed? For I assure him, that I shall strait veil my bonnet to TRUTH, wherever she appears to me as such: and that in those *Letters* I asserted nothing, but what I maturely concluded to be true. I wou'd desire Dr. HARE and Dr. BRETT to believe the same thing of me, in what concerns my judgment of the *Fathers*: for I shall never be damn'd for wilful ignorance, however I may be mistaken after my best endeavors, which may as well be their own case. But I will never allow that I am actually mistaken, because I possibly may be so: which is the silly sophism of the Sceptics, on the one hand; and, on the other, of such as wou'd dogmatically subject REASON to AUTHORITY.

2 Cor. 11,
30.

Pref.
Page 16.

Ubi supra
Page 13.

V. I MADE an appeal before, and I make one here again, to all moderate, serious, and learned Divines not byass'd, whether I have ever shown by any of my writings that I am an enemy to Religion, tho avowedly so to Superstition. Religion pure and perfect, as it was originally taught, without the corrupt additions and alterations of ignorant or interested persons, I both profess and recommend, as will appear (to refer to no other books) from the conclusion of this very volum. I never wrote a syllable against any one Article of the *Church of England* in particular, tho several of my accusers have broach'd

many odd or perillous whimsies against most of them; as if they claim'd a privilege to say any thing tho ever so extravagant, and that others may not say what in duty they ought. O but you are an enemy to *Priests*, say their implicit tools: and I answer, that *Christian priests* in the literal sense I acknowledge none, nor any other *Sacrifices* but those of prayer and thanksgiving, offer'd on the *Altar* of the heart; whether by every one in private, or by all in public, devoutly joining with the person who makes a common prayer in their name, be it conceiv'd or a set form. Such Pastors, such Ministers of the Congregation, lawfully ordain'd to this function and duly qualify'd, exclusively of all confusion in the public worship, tho every Christian be figuratively both a king and a priest, I respect and highly approve. So I do also approve of *National Churches*, with which I hold *tolerated Churches* to be very consistent; tho under no incapacities in civil affairs, *Persecution* (which is suffering of any degree or kind on the account of mere opinion) not being from GOD, but the certain mark of a false Church, at least in this point. The sworn enemies to these free sentiments, who set up for Priesthood properly so call'd, are they who decry every man, that gives fair warning of the Dominion they are laboring to erect, or that manfully opposes it. To the designs of these adversaries of civil and religious Liberty, I frankly declare my self an enemy. Nor do I wonder they shou'd pretend Religion, or the Church to be in danger, *to the end that all men*, as has been by some body justly observ'd, *may be thus like so many soldiers list'd in their cause: wheras, if they show'd their private interest, few or none wou'd venture in their quarrel.* He's a Heretic that presumes to differ from them about any thing, and he that along with them will not halloo the Heretic they have made, run down his doctrine without knowing it, misrepresent his reasons or suppress them, attribute to him the worst of consequences tho absolutely disown'd, and make him pass for a man of loose actions or impious notions: he, I say, that will not join in this cry, is presently himself suspected, his reputation is blasted; as one that does not favor their projects, and whose equity or moderation exposes their conduct. They are conscious of their own artifices, and so much haunted by their guilt, that they find themselves where they were never put. If a Man does but compile a political Romance, built altogether upon Heathen ideas, and mostly in
the

the very terms of the antients; they presently imagine that their *Palladium* is stol'n and profan'd by some new U-
 LYSSES, who designs to subvert their Troy. They de-
 claim against human reason, not, as they hypocritically
 pretend, to make men submit to GOD's word, which
 reason will always persuade; but to subject them to their
 own authority, and arbitrarily to dispose of their belief.
 When once their disciples are brought to this pitch of obe-
 dience, they are then taught, *not to mind so much in mat-
 ters of Religion what is said, as who it is that says it*;
 which maxim was impudently defended by Father
²² STAPLETON, and is practically countenanc'd by some
 nominal Protestants. Hence that magisterial air they as-
 sume, as if they were another species of men. Briefly,
 I oppose no Ecclesiastics among us, but such as in all re-
 gards resemble those of the West Indians. *Their Powaws
 or Priests* (says the reverend ²³ Mr. NEAL) *are a subtle
 generation of men, ambitious, cruel, greedy of riches, grasp-
 ing at an absolute power and dominion over the people, from
 whom they require a profound respect and reverence; as per-
 sons who have a familiar acquaintance with the Deity, and
 who, by their blessings and cursings, can make men happy
 or miserable in a future state.* Let Mr. LEWIS, who,
 in his *Historical Essay upon the Consecration of Churches*, Pref. page
 calls me *the great Advocate of Mahomet and Presbytery* ^{22.}
 (as another of the sanctify'd Buffoons and Merry Andrews
 gives me the title of *Mahomet's Solicitor General*) let him
 and his fellows say, that this is *discharging my poison on* Ibid.
the Clergy; the contrary will be evident to all that can dis-
 tinguish between the good and the bad, the sober and the
 debauch'd, the pious and the wicked, the learned and the
 ignorant, the Pastor and the Priest, the Protestant and the
 Papist, the friends of the Government and its enemies.
 They are in reality the most venomous antagonists of the
Church of England that I oppose, however some of 'em
 may conceal themselves under her mantle, that they may
 have the better opportunity of stinging her to death.

In loca Serpentum nos venimus.

The aim of these in dispute, is not to reclaim but to de-

²² In doctrina Religionis non quid dicatur, sed quis loquatur, attendendum est. *Defens. Ecclesiastic. auctoritat. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonstrat. principior. doctrinal. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

²³ *History of New-England*, vol. 1. page 55.

stroy: instead of a lance to cure, they bring a dagger to kill. As for any clamor they may raise, I shall not be in the least disquieted about it, seldom letting any of their flowers be lost: tis what I expect of course, and a diversion to which I am tolerably well accusom'd. Neither do I value any company or assembly of such persons, when I perceive no reason to fear any one of them singly, or to be shy of coping with him. The contrary disposition wou'd be to think, that a club of artificers jointly cou'd finish some extraordinary piece of work, when every one of 'em severally was a ²⁴ bungler. Tis long since I have made it a maxim to my self, that *as ERROR and FALSHOOD may be confuted as well by one man, as by one thousand; so REASON and TRUTH have no more to fear from one thousand, than from one man.* So long as I obey the laws of my country, which shall ever be sacred to me, I have nothing to fear (how little soever I may get) for making what inquiries, discoveries, or improvements I may be able, whether in letters or otherwise: nor am I apprehensive that the ill offices of Bigots, who wou'd gladly make their opposers starve, according to their laudable custom in all ages, can be any obstruction to my fortune; as not being ambitious of either rank or title, nor desirous of any place or preferment. The vanity of such uncertain possessions I despise, as much as I abhor the dependence they unavoidably create. Let those who form other ideas of things, and who have not thoroly reflected on the caprices of fortune, suppose what they please; I wou'd not exchange that LIBERTY, for which I have been ever strenuously pleading on my own behalf, and that of my fellow creatures, for the highest dignities and distinctions in the world. NATURE IS CONTENT WITH A LITTLE, and he wants least who has fewest desires, or keeps the strongest control over his passions. Books and bread enough, with select company in an agreeable Retirement, give that solid satisfaction, which is fruitlessly expected from the scraping or hording of treasure, from solicitously counting or profusely spending it. Wherefore I prefer the innocent amusements of the country (where alone real pleasures are

²⁴ An quidquam stultius, quàm, quos singulos, sicut operarios barbarosque, contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos? Cic. *Tusc. Disput. lib. 5. cap. 36.*

best enjoy'd) its frugal but salubrious diet, the purity of the air, the charms of the earth and water, and the tranquillity of my walks uncontin'd as my thoughts, to all the pomp and delicate entertainments of the Court, to all the wealth and splendid hurry of the City.

Φοῖβα δ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα διαροπῆα πύλαι,
 Ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν ρειθεσίῃσιν ἐρεθίζομεν ὦ μαλακοῖσιν;
 Ἀλλ' ὅτε δ' αὖ πείρησιν ἐν ἡλιβάσισι δεινύγῃε,
 Ἀνεξέλιπ' ἡ κορυφὴν μεγαλοκοπον ἐσαναβαίνειν.

There I shall contribute my best endeavors for the good of mankind, and never do any thing to disturb the public peace, which is the nurse of the common welfare: for the *Peace* which the Deceivers mean, is a stupid and little's resignation of mens understanding to others, who undertake to think for them. For this reason these Undertakers are against all examination, lest their own thoughts shou'd be found bad or little worth; and so men shou'd not pay them wages to think for them, when they might think perhaps much better for themselves. The true Divine, who's ever as true a Patriot, acts quite the reverse of all this; appealing to mens understanding for the truth of whatever he proposes to their belief or practice; and constantly exhorting them to use their Reason, to stand in defence of their Religion and Liberty, against all spiritual or temporal usurpations. To draw towards a conclusion, I own as much as any one, that the abuse of a thing ought not to take away the use of it: tho an excess on the one hand, has often thrown people into an excess on the other hand. Nor is *Divinity* the only profession that has suffer'd in this manner, as may be learnt from the following old *Poem*; which tho very plain both in the stile and measure, is yet nicely epigrammatical, and contains a beautiful *Climax*.

The TRIPLE PLEA.

LA W, PHYSICK, and DIVINITY,
Being in dispute, cou'd not agree
To settle, which among them three
 Shou'd have the Superiority.

LAW pleads he does preserve men's lands,
And all their goods from rav'nous hands:

Therefore

P R E F A C E.

*Therefore of right challenges he,
To have the Superiority.
PHYSICK prescribes receipts for health,
Which men preferr before their wealth :
Therefore of right challenges he,
To have the Superiority.
Then strait steps up the PRIEST demure,
Who of men's Souls takes care and cure :
Therefore of right challenges he,
To have the Superiority.*

*If JUDGES end this TRIPLE PLEA,
The LAWYERS shall bear all the sway.
If EMPIRICS their verdict give,
PHYSICIANS best of all will thrive.
If BISHOPS arbitrate the case,
The PRIESTS must have the highest place.
If HONEST, SOBER, WISE MEN judge,
Then ALL THE THREE away may trudge.*

*For let men live in peace and love,
The LAWYERS tricks they need not prove.
Let them forbear excess and riot,
They need not feed on DOCTOR'S diet.
Let them attend what GOD does teach,
They need not care what PARSONS preach.
But if men FOOLS and KNAVES will be,
They'll be affe-ridden by ALL THREE.*

I shall add no more, but that having intended to print the substance of the fourth *Dissertation* above a year since, together with the *Treatise of Tradition*, which last upon second thoughts is delay'd for some months; I judg'd the other wou'd come time enough, at the end of the three *Dissertations* which I now send into the world. With relation to the whole work, I have in the inner margin inserted the originals of all the citations of the first and last pieces; which, as to the second and third, cou'd not be done, without making the Notes near as large as the Text. But the places where they occur in the books, out of which I have extract'd them, are so distinctly mark'd; that they will be readily found by any, who has a mind to verify them.

*From under an Elm in Bensbury (or CNEBEN's camp) on the Wat-
ter at the south end of Wimbledon Common. MDCCXX.*

H O D E G U S.

O R, T H E

Pillar of *Cloud* and *Fire*,

T H A T

Guided the I S R A E L I T E S in the
Wilderness, not Miraculous:

B U T A

Thing equally practis'd by other nations,
and in those places not only
useful but necessary.

PERTICAM, quae undique conspici posset, supra PRAETORIUM statuit; ex qua SIGNUM eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur IGNIS noctu, FUMUS interdiu. QUINT. CURT. lib. 5. cap. 2.

L O N D O N, Printed in the YEAR 1722.

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H O D E G U S :

O R,

The Pillar of Cloud and Fire not Miraculous.

I.



HAVE often wonder'd why many persons, deservedly famous for their literature and politeness, have in a manner expressly neglected the History of the most ancient and famous nation of the Jews; while they bestow'd abundance of pains, and shew'd no less discernment, in their inquiries concerning the Grecian, the Roman, and other Antiquities. The reason at first I thought to have been the small extent of the Jewish territories, the sterility of their warlike exploits (in comparison of those nations I have mention'd) with their ignorance of arts and useful inventions : ungrateful subjects for pleasure or instruction. But how just soever this censure

H O D E G U S.

may be of the Jews in certain particulars, yet their affairs were at all times intimately link'd, either with those of the Egyptians, or the Assyrians, or the Persians, or the Phenicians, or the Arabians; which were Nations, wherof some yielded not to the Greeks for Learning, but rather exceded them in that as well as in Commerce, others of 'em equall'd the Romans in feats of Arms no less than in the arts of Government, and all of 'em went farr beyond both the Greeks and the Romans in point of Antiquity: not to say that the Jews in process of time had, as every one knows, matters of the greatest concern to transact with these same Greeks and Romans, to whom they were likewise subjects or tributaries in their turns. Strange therefore they shou'd be so much neglected!

II. BUT Experience taught me at last, that the true reason why Judea has lain thus uncultivated by the Laity, is the Clergy's wholly ingrossing that province for a long time to themselves, on the improvement of which they laid out neither sufficient labor nor expense. This has made a soil appear very barren, that is otherwise fruitful enough, and capable to reward the industry of a judicious Critic. Now as some nations, the better to preserve their Mines to themselves, reported they were haunted by frightful dragons, or infested with noxious vapors: so those Clergymen proceeded with no less art, and they often us'd violence, to deterr others from the study of the antient Jewish books. They made it sacrilege so much as to peep into them, without their licence. They gave out that the reading of them wou'd turn men's heads, and fill them with strange fancies. Nay we all know, that at length they quite and clean extorted them out of the hands

hands of the Laity for many ages. And tho, since LUTHER's time, those of the northern regions of Europe, have forcibly recover'd them back again into promiscuous use: yet they must still for the most part read them with the spectacles of their own Priests, and guess at their meaning by certain rules of these Priest's framing (not to their own disadvantage to be sure) call'd *Systems* and *Formularies*, to which all things are to be necessarily reduc'd, wiredrawn, and accommodated, both as to matter and expression. These are excellent expedients to meditate without ideas, to speak without thinking, and to know all that's in the BIBLE without reading a word of it. But nothing has so much contributed to create an aversion in generous spirits against the study of the *Old Testament*, as a persuasion taken up implicitly from their childhood, that it is throout a scene of Incomprehensibles, and a complete system of Miracles; which they conceive to be no proper subject of Criticism, nor an ample field for Philosophical disquisitions. And tis indeed amazing, to consider the force of Education in this case. Miracles no doubt are there related, yet comparatively very few. I speak with too much caution, when I affirm not one third part to be Miracles in the *Pentateuch* (for example) of what are commonly thought to be such, and so in proportion of the other books. To avoid all ambiguity or logomachy, I mean that the writers of those books have neither recorded such things for Miracles themselves, nor intended they should be so understood by others.

III. NOW I expect that people will presently call for examples, as the only adequate proofs of this assertion. The demand is extremely rea-

sonable, and I readily acknowledge myself oblig'd to answer it. 'Tis sufficiently known that I have already promis'd ' THE COMMONWEALTH OF MOSES, which of all forms I think the most excellent and perfect. But I shall give so new a turn and face (yet the genuin and the true) not onely to the whole political System, as well as to several of the particular Laws of this incomparable Legislator: but likewise to so many of the circumstances and historical incidents of the abridg'd, and therefore in diverse respects obscure, relation of the *Pentateuch*; that I find it highly necessary to publish before-hand some short Specimen of my undertaking, were it but to prevent surprize, and to accustom my readers to such sort of explications. The subject of the Specimen I chuse at present is but circumstantial, and particularly concerns *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* so frequently mention'd in the *Old Testament*; and scarce ever mention'd by others but as a stupendous Prodigy, if not the greatest and most durable of all Miracles. Wherefore I prove in this present *Dissertation*, by reasons and matters of fact equally undeniable, that it was a Pillar of *Smoke*, and not a real *Cloud*, that guided the Israelites in the wilderness; and that they were not two (as by most believ'd) but one and the same Pillar, directing their march with the *Cloud* of its *Smoke* by day, and with the *Light* of its *Fire* by night. For a greater illustration of my subject, I further show there was no manner of Prodigy in this affair, and that FIRE was us'd to the same purposes by other oriental nations: not moving among the Jews, no more than among those, of its own ac-

c. See *Nazareus*, in the *Appendix* to Letter I.

cord or miraculously, as tis no less needlessly than absurdly imagin'd; but carry'd in proper machines of mere human contrivance, which might well be call'd *ambulatory Beacons*.

IV. THE reason of such a *portable Fire* is this. In countries well inhabited the route of Armies, tho extending ever so large in front for the convenience of forage or ways, is mark'd by milliary stones or posts, by rivers, hills, cities, villages, castles, and other remarkable places: so that they know by their orders how farr they may stretch, and where again to come closer together to form one camp or body. But in vast and unpractis'd desarts, without any edifices at all, without noted hills, frequent rivers, or even the ruins of antient buildings, there is a necessity of a visible Guide preceding the main body, whereby the wings may order their march, and keep within a commodious distance; so as not to straggle, or any of 'em be lost, and to know in an instant when the Army halts or incamps. Now, there's no mute sign in the world can perform this at all times, but FIRE alone; since the *Cloud* of its *Smoke* is (as every body knows) seen very farr by day, as the *Light* of its *Flame* is no less conspicuous by night. I say *at all times*, because in desarts of moving sands, wherof there be many in Africa, with not a few in Asia, Armies or Caravans marching thro them, were forc'd to do so onely in the night time; not purely to avoid the scorching heat of the Sun, becoming intolerable by reflecting from the sand: but likewise because all precedent tracks being usually swept away or fill'd up by the blowing of strong winds, they had no marks to guide them; and therefore they steer'd (as we may say) by the Starrs,

only visible at night. Thus ² SILIUS ITALICUS describes the Ambassadors of HANNIBAL, sent to consult the Oracle of JUPITER AMMON, travelling only in the night thro' the immense deserts of Africa; because they cou'd not otherwise be guided by the North Pole, nor by certain other noted Stars. ³ LUCAN, ⁴ PLINY, and many more confirm the same thing of those places. The Passages are too long to be produc'd intire: and therefore we shall content our selves, omitting an host of authors, with what ⁵ QUIN-

2. Ad finem coeli medio tenduntur ab ore
Squalescentes campi. Tutulum natura negavit
Immensis spatijs, nisi quem cava nubila torquens
Construxit Turbo, impactâ glomeratus arena:
Vel, si perfracto populatus carcer terrae
Africus, aut pontum spargens per aequora Ceres,
Invaserit truces capientem praedia campum,
Inque vicem ingesto cumularunt pulvere montes.
Has observatis valles enavimus Astris:
Namque dies confundit iter, peditemque profundo
Errantem campo, & semper media arva videntem,
Sidonij Cynosura regit fidissima nautis.

Lib. 3. prope finem.

3. Qui nullas videre domos, videre ruinas:
Iamque iter omne latet; nec sunt discrimina terrae
Ulla, nisi Aetheriae medio velut aequore flammae.
Sideribus novere vias: nec Sidera tota
Ostendit Libycae finitor circulus orae,
Multaque de vexo terrarum margine celat.

Lib. 9. ver. 494 &c.

4. E terra autem Siderum observatione, ad eam per deserta arenis persequentes, iter est. *Lib. 4. cap 5. Videantur STRABO, DIODORUS, ARRIANUS, SOLIN. AELIAN. MART. CAPELL. PLUTARCH, reliqui.*

5. Magnam deinde partem ejusdem terrae steriles Arenae tenent. Squalida fecunditate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Quam verò venti a Pontico mari spirant, quicquid sabuli in campis jacet converrunt; quod, ubi curcularum est, magnorum collium procul species est, omniaque pristini itineris vestigia intereunt. Itaque qui transeunt campos, navigantium modo Sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt; & propemodum clarior est noctis umbra, quam lux. Ergo interdum invia est regio, quia nec vestigium, quod sequantur, inveniunt; & nitor Siderum caligine absconditur.

Lib. 7. cap. 4.

RUS CURTIUS writes of the Bactrian deserts in Asia. *A great part of that Country (says he) is cover'd by barren sands : and being parch'd by heat, neither affords nourishment for men nor for vegetables. But when the winds blow from the Pontic sea, they sweep before them all the sands that ly on the plains ; which, when heap'd together, show a-farr off like great mountains, while all footsteps of former travellers are quite abolish'd. Wherefore such as pass over those plains, do, like Seamen, observe the Starrs in the night, by whose motion they steer their course ; the shade of the night being there almost clearer than the day. And therefore this region by day is unpassable, because men find no tracks to follow, and that the Starrs are then invisible. But now the Compass renders such places practicable by day, as we are just going to see.*

V. IN other deserts not so sandy, where tracts remain for some time, being likewise here and there inhabited ; and where men, that have long liv'd or been bred in them, know the ways, there the passage is easier : but yet for a great multitude there must be, as we said, some visible Guide preceding the main body ; whereby the rest may know what distance to keep, where to stop, and when to procede. Nor is it unworthy our notice, that the invention of the Compass has prov'd beneficial to passengers on the land, as well as to those on the sea : for by this means people may now travel over those deserts by day, which they cou'd not do before but by night. *In most parts of Arabia (says R. AMUZZI) we*

6. In plerisque Arabiae locis itinera fecimus ope Compassi, a 40 diebus ac noctibus occupati fuimus, iter faciendo inter Damascum & Mecham.

travell'd by the help of the Compass ; and spent forty days and forty nights, in going from Damascus to Mecca. RA WOLF also, in his *Itinerary of Syria*, affirms, that the 7 Guides of the Caravans, thro the sandy deserts, direct their way by the Compass, as Pilots do their course at sea. So that travellers by land (says * Dr. Hyde, after quoting these Passages) cou'd not always find the right way over the vast plains of the wilderness, without the guidance of the magnetic Needle. For in the East there are no posts or landmarks set up in those deserts ; but all the paths, if any such there were, are every moment cover'd by moving sands, in which you look in vain for firm ground : while quite around you there appears nothing, but a certain appearance of water, call'd Serab ; deceiving the eyes, and deluding thirsty passengers with the hopes of finding drink, for which they sometimes go out of their way. It wou'd be superfluous to allege more testimonies for a thing so well known, and in present use, all voyages being full of such accounts.

VI. NEVERTHELESS, where the desert happen'd to be ever so well known to some men, who cou'd serve for Guides to the rest, and when there was also a necessity of travelling by night as well as by day ; there a FIRE elevated by art, as it could not fail of appearing a great

7. Viarum duces per arenosa deserta vias suas dirigunt per Compassum, eodem modo quo pilotae faciunt per mare.

8. Adeo ut ne quidem, per terram itinerantibus, semper liceret vastissima desertorum latitundia recto tramite peragere, absque Acus magneticæ directione. Nam in Oriente, per invia solitudinum aequora, nulli sunt viarum cippi ; sed omnes, si qui fuerant, quovis momento operiunt mobiles arenae, in quibus firma terra frustra oculis perquiritur : & totum circuitum ambit nil, nisi visum peritringens *ὑδρόβαρα*, Serab dicta ; quae siticulosos viatores saepe aquarum spe deludit, & e via seducit. *De Relig. vet. Pers. pagg. 495, 496*

way off in the night-time by its *Flame*, and in the day-time by its *Smoke* : so, according to the signals and orders given to the Army, they cou'd know when to march or to halt, as it mov'd or as it rested ; and how long to continue in one place, as this fire was to be fixt over the General's tent, or to prepare for a march, when it was taken down from thence. That *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* was of this sort, I am now going to shew according to my promise. Yet in doing this I sincerely protest, what the event will demonstrate to the most Sceptical, that my design is as much to do Justice to MOSES, whom I cannot too often repeat how much I venerate : as to clear up a matter of fact in a most antient book, on the credibility of which our holy Religion is founded ; and which an inquirer into obsolete customs and manners, even among the greatest Infidels, will own to deserve explication no less than HERODOTUS or LIVY. I likewise promise, that I shall by no means impose upon my readers, by the art of certain men (whose profession obliges them to use none) in making every thing of any thing, and any thing of nothing : that is, by having recourse from the literal to the allegorical, from the allegorical to the tropological, and from the tropological to the anagogical sense of *Scripture*. These finesses, not to be indur'd in explaining the profanest author, I detest and despise ; especially us'd in a book we hold to be sacred, and which least needs them of all others : nor is it in truth to palliate any thing in the book, that these squeezing engines are fram'd ; but to find that in it which is not there, or, tho it be there, to alter the true meaning of it, if not quite to deny the fact. Nay, if the *Scripture* did not bear me out, I shou'd not be over-forward in resting
any

any where upon Metaphors, tho common to all languages: for the original Names of things being few, the rest are necessarily coin'd from similitude, or by comparison.

VII. THUS, not to leave the subject before us for examples, *Flame* and *Smoke*, naturally ascending, are thence call'd *Pillars*; as not onely *Smoke*, but even *Dust*, is very significantly call'd a *Cloud*. QUINTUS CURTIUS uses the Phrase of ⁹ a *Cloud of dust, that mounted up to the sky*: and, by a bolder figure, we read of a *Cloud of*
 Heb. 12. 1. *witnesses* in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Even Water is call'd a *Pillar*. PLINY describing a Spout, which is often seen at Sea, says, ¹⁰ *'tis call'd a Pillar, when the Water condensing, and standing upright, is sustain'd by itself*. For the like reason LUCRETIVS compares a certain fiery Wind or Tempest by the Greeks call'd *Prestes*, to ¹¹ a *Pillar descending from the sky*. The *thick*
 Πύρρος
 Eze'k. S. *Cloud of incense* in *Ezekiel* none, I suppose, will deny to be a *Cloud of smoke*; since incense can no other-
 11. & 10. wise form such a cloud, but by its smoke when burning. After JOSHUA had got Ai set on fire by a stratagem, and that it is said *the Smoke of the*
 4. *city ascended up to heaven*, I hope nobody will say, but it might then be justly compar'd both to a *Pillar* and to a *Cloud*. Yet lest any shou'd, out of perverseness or ignorance, deny a thing so evident, we find express mention made in the *Old Testament* of *Pillars of smoke*. When Gibeah

9. Nubes pulveris, quae ad coelum ferebatur. Lib. 4. cap. 15. Item lib. 5. cap. 13.

10. Vocatus & *Columna*, cum Spissatus humor, rigensque, ipse se sustinet. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 50.

11. Nam fit, ut interdum, tanquam demissa *Columna*

In mare de coelo descendat, &c. Lib. 6. ver. 425, 432.

was long after set on fire, *the Flame thereof did* Jud. 20.
arise with a Pillar of smoke. Here you have at ^{40.}
 once both a Pillar of smoke and fire. *Who is*
this, says the love-sick Bride in the *Canticles*
 (which by the way is the oldest *Pastoral* now ex-
 tant in the world, where, besides the Bride and
 Bridegroom, the Chorus of the Daughters of Je-
 rusalem bears a considerable part) *who is this that*
comes out of the wilderness, like Pillars of smoke? Cant. 3. 6.
 alluding to the myrrh, incense, and powders,
 with which the longing Bridegroom was per-
 fum'd. JOEL has also *Pillars of smoke*, in as Joel 2. 30.
 plain words as I write them here. And lest any
 mortal might, after so many glaring instances,
 deny the *Cloud* to have been *Smoke*, we have
 ISAIAH prophesying of the restoration of Isra-
 el, and positively explaining the word *Cloud* by
 the word *Smoke*, when he alludes to the guiding
Cloud in the Wilderness. *And the LORD,* says he, Isa. 4. 5.
will create upon every dwelling place of mount Sion,
and upon her Assemblies a Cloud, and Smoke by
day, and the Shining of a flaming Fire by night. He
 must wilfully shut his eyes, who can resist this
 light; whether of *flaming Fire* by night, or of a
Cloud of smoke by day. These passages I have
 produc'd to show, that as the literal sense of
Fire and *Smoke*, any more than that of other words,
 ought never to have been abandon'd without a
 manifest necessity; so to prove further, that the
 words *Pillar* and *Cloud* did infer no such neces-
 sity, being very common and proper expressions
 for things ever ascending, if not violently diver-
 ted from their natural tendency: and that ther-
 fore if the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, which makes
 our subject, be otherwise understood than of or-
 dinary *Fire* and *Smoke*; such an interpretation
 must needs be grounded on certain circumstances
 not possible to be so understood, and such as never
 happen'd

happen'd in the course of Nature, neither before nor since.

VIII. TO know whether this be so or no, after calling to mind what we said before about the manner of Armies or Caravans passing thro' vast deserts, antiently by the guidance of the Starrs, and more lately by that of the Compass; let us observe, that when the Israelites went out of Egypt, they amounted not onely to the number of six hundred thousand men, besides women and children, and a mixt multitude that follow'd them: but that under the conduct of MOSES their General then, and soon after their Legislator, they march'd in military order, and were to all intents and purposes an Army. This I necessarily gather from several places of the *Pentateuch*, where they are said to have gone out of Egypt *by their Armies*, and *with a high hand*. But, from a certain place in *Exodus*, we may even guess at the order of their march, namely, in five columns: for the word that is there render'd in our English translation *harnessed*, the learned in the Hebrew tongue will find to signify ¹² *by fives*. But let this be as it will, that some such order they observ'd is manifest, from their being said

Exod. 12.
37. 38.

Ibid. 6. 26.
& 12. 41.
51. & 43.
Num. 33.
1, &c.

Ibid. 13.
18.

וַיֵּצְאוּ
בְּחֵמָה

12. There's nothing more certain, than that the plural וַיֵּצְאוּ signifies *Fives*, and signifies this onely, if any regard be had to its radical וַיֵּצְאוּ *five*: but some Rabbins, who cou'd perceive as little order out of their own brains as in them, explain this word by that of וַיֵּצְאוּ prepar'd, or *girt* either for action or a journey; nor are we the onely People, who have rashly follow'd their authority. I cannot assent to what Monsieur Le CLERC writes on this place; and wonder he shou'd deny the Israelites went arm'd out of Egypt, considering the texts I bring here to prove it, and the several Princes and States they conquer'd, before their entring into the land of Canaan.

to march *by their Armies*; about whose extent in front, or number and depth of their lines, I shall not enter into a dispute with any man.

IX. THEIR first station was in Ramefes, ^{Ibid. 12.} the second in Succoth, and the third in Etham. ^{37. & 13. 20, &c.} Hitherto the country being practicable and well inhabited, they cou'd order their march by known towns, and other remarkable boundaries; so that thus farr there was no need of steering by the Starrs, or by the Compass had it been then in use, or by other the like methods: nor in effect do we read of any such in these marches, ordinary or extraordinary. But at Etham begun *the wilderness of the red sea*, ^{Ibid. 13. 18.} as on the other side continu'd a wilderness vast and horrible, where a visible Guide became absolutely necessary: nor cou'd MOSES suffice, tho he had liv'd in it very many ^{Ibid. 2. 17. & seq. 3. 1. & seq.} years; for somthing must be seen by the whole Army, and so order'd as to make certain signals, wherby they might all halt or procede at once (as explain'd before) and know when they were to incamp, where to tarry a considerable time in one place, and when again to leave it. These signals (which are now perform'd by Canon both on sea and land) were to the Israelites no less necessary by night than by day; because haste, or other exigences, did sometimes oblige them to march in the night. Being therfore in Etham ^{Ibid. 13. 20.} *on the edge of the wilderness*, the thing appointed for making signals was FIRE; whose *Flame*, but not its *Smoke*, is very far seen by night: as its *Smoke*, tho not its *Flame*, is perceiv'd at a great distance by day. Before I come to particular proofs from *Scripture*, I shall here in a few words declare the manner of ordering this FIRE. It was under the direction of a proper Officer, and highly elevated in a certain machine on a Pole, which was ^{In Hebrew} carry'd ^{דל, Num. 21. 8. &c.}

Ibid. 10.
1—10.

carry'd before the first line of the Army, whence it cou'd be seen by all the rest. But as soon as the *Tabernacle* was made and erected (which was the Tent where G O D, as King, was present by his symbols and his ministers) then this fire was immediately plac'd on the top of it, and so became conspicuous to the whole Army. Trumpets made of silver indeed they had, design'd by distinct signals, as you read in *Numbers*, for the calling of the Assembly and the journeying of the Camps: but as these cou'd not possibly be heard throout all the Camp, consisting of above 600000 men; so the signals alternatly appointed by the *Flame* and the *Smoke*, were as follows. As long as the Fire continu'd on the top of the *Tabernacle*, were it for days; or months, or years, so long they continu'd in the Camp: but whenever it was taken off, whether by night or by day, then they strait remov'd and begun their march after it, till set again on the top of the *Tabernacle*; which was the known sign of pitching their tents, of which they were doubtless advertiz'd by Officers destin'd to watch for that purpose.

X. NOW e'er I come to the proofs I promis'd from *Scripture*, I think it proper here to give some instances, that this *guidance by Fire*, so natural in such places and so commodious, was practis'd by other nations; particularly by the Persians, who not onely had great wildernesses in their own, and in the neighbouring territories: but also made frequent irruptions into Egypt thro this very wilderness, where the Israelites wander'd up and down during forty years; not as if these did not know the shorter cut into the land of Canaan, but that for very expedient reasons (which will be read in the Introduction to our REPUBLIC OF MOSES) they declin'd from

from the known road. To begin with the latest example, when ALEXANDER wag'd warr in Asia against the Persians, tis recorded of him that ¹³ *he alter'd many things to good purpose in the discipline of his Army, from what was us'd by his ancestors*: for no wise man will disdain to learn of his greatest enemy, besides that circumstances will often oblige a General to change his ordinary conduct. Among the other alterations made by ALEXANDER, one is deliver'd in these ¹⁴ words. *When he wou'd have the Camp to remove, the signal was given by a Trumpet; wherof the sound nevertheless was not sufficiently heard, by reason of the confus'd noise of the multitude. Wherfore he order'd a Pole, which might be seen from all parts, to be set on the top of the General's tent, on which a signal hung visible to all alike; namely, FIRE was observ'd by night, and SMOKE by day.* I here appeal to the most prejudic'd reader, whether two drops of water can be liker, than these signals of ALEXANDER and MOSES, partly by Trumpets, partly by Fire and Smoke? and had we no other proof, we ought of course to conclude, that there was no more of miracle in the one than in the other. But we shall have no need to rest on this advantage. In the mean time we are to observe, that ALEXANDER learnt this from the Persians, among whom Fire was exalted on the Royal tent; *for no other end in my opinion,* says the no less judicious than learned

13. In disciplina quoque Militaris rei pieraque, a majoribus tradita, utiliter mutavit. QUINT. CURT. lib. 5. cap. 2.

14. Tuba, quum castra movere vellet, signum dabat; cujus sonus pierumque, tumultuantium fremitu exoriente, haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergo Persicam, quae undique conspici posset, supra Praetorium statuit; ex qua signum eminebat, periter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur Ignis noctu, Fumus interdiu. Id. Ibid.

15 FREINSHEMIUS, but to be a signal either for a march or a battle: for altho a signal was given by a trumpet, yet it cou'd not be heard by the whole Army, especially consisting of such a multitude of people; so that ALEXANDER seems, in the alteration mention'd by QUINTUS CURTIUS, to have borrow'd his institution from hence. That this was no random conjecture we are now going to prove.

XI. THE military Discipline of the Persians, which they us'd in all ages, is thus describ'd by QUINTUS CURTIUS, in the march of DARIUS against ALEXANDER, agreeing in most particulars with the account of 16 HERODOTUS many ages before him. *It has been a custom (says 17 he) deliver'd down to the Persians from their ancestors, to begin their march after Sun-rising. When it grew clear day, the Signal was given by a trumpet from the KING's tent. On the top of this tent the image of the SUN, inclos'd in Crystal, made so*

15. Porro hanc imaginem non alio fini super tabernaculum Regis fuisse arbitror, quam ut signum esset vel protectionis vel pugnae. Quoniam enim signum buccina dabatur, exaudiri ab universo exercitu non poterat, praesertim in tanta hominum multitudine. Ut vel hinc mutuatus videri possit ALEXANDER institutum suum, quod narrat CURTIUS. *In annotat. ad cap. 2. lib. 5. QUINT. CURT.*

16. Lib. 7. cap. 40.

17. Patrio more Persarum traditum est, orto demum sole procedere. Die jam illustri signum e tabernaculo Regis buccinâ dabatur. Super Tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago Solis crystallo inciusa fulgebat. Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. Migos trecenti et sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur, punicis amictis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus. Currum deinde, Jovi sacratum, albentes vehebant equi. Hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis vocabant, sequebatur. *Lib. 3. cap. 3.*

bright

bright a show, as to be seen by all the Camp. The order of the Army was after this manner. The FIRE, which they call'd sacred and eternal, was carry'd before on silver Altars. Next came the MAGES singing a Hymn, after the custom of their country. After the MAGES follow'd three hundred and sixty five YOUNG MEN, clad in scarlet robes, being equal in number to the days of the whole year: for the year is likewise divided into as many days by the Persians. Then proceeded the consecrated Chariot of JUPITER, drawn by white horses. These were follow'd by another horse of extraordinary size, which they call'd the horse of the SUN. So far our author, in whom you may read the whole procession. I needed to have quoted only a small part of this passage, to prove the Fire on the top of the principal tent (for that carry'd before the Army, was the sacred symbol of the Divinity) but I produc'd the rest to shew that the march of the Israelites and the Persians was so like, as to be almost the same: which however ought not to be matter of wonder in people, that not onely dwelt on the same continent, but that had frequent intercourse and wars, as the Jews were more than once in subjection to the Persians. The Signal to the armies of both, was given by a trumpet from the royal tent: for what in *Scripture*, from the Latin word, we call the *Tabernacle*, ought to have been translated the *Tent* (as sometimes it is render'd *the Tent of the Testimony*, and *the Tent of the Congregation*) and was in effect the Tent wherein JEHOVAH, the King of the Israelites, was present by his Symbols and Ministers. Sacred Fire was carry'd before these Nations, which, tho' acknowledg'd by both to be a Symbol of the Divinity (as Fire was kept by both inextinguish'd in their holy places, and affirm'd to have been originally

Num. 9.

15.

Exod. 39.

52.

kindl'd from ¹⁸ heaven) yet order'd after another manner, it serv'd 'em no less for a guide in their marches, than at other times to dress their food, or to warm their bodies. The Priests and Levites follow'd immediately after the sacred Fire among the Israelites; as the Mages, with the 365 young men, observ'd the like rank among the Persians. These in both nations sung certain Hymns, proper to the occasion. Those of the Israelites I shall recite in their COMMONWEALTH. The Ark of JEHOVAH is indeed commanded to be carry'd on men's shoulders; but the chariot of JUPITER was drawn by Horses. As the image of the Sun shin'd aloft on the top of the Royal tent among the Persians: so the Fire was lighted among the Israelites on the top of the Tabernacle. To be short, I'll show in the MOSAIC REPUBLIC many more conformities between the Jews and the Persians, as others have done between them and the Egyptians: for, even before the captivity, the Jews did not onely sacrifice like the Persians in the high places; but they had also the consecrated horses and chariots of the Sun, for which the Commentators give no tolerable reason.

2 Kings,
23. 17.

XII. NOT to make this Digression longer, I have already shewn the necessity of the guidance of the Starrs, or of the Compass, or of Fire thro' vast desarts, as well as that such methods have been actually us'd. I have also stated the case how this was done by the Israelites at their coming

18. And then came a fire out from before the LORD, and consum'd upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat. *Levit.* 9. 24. See also 1 Kings 18. 38. 2 Chron. 7. 1, 2. 2 Mac. 2. 10, 11.

Feruntque Magi (si justum est credi) etiam Ignem, coeetus lapsum, apud se sempiternis focus custodiri. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. 13. c. 6.

out of Egypt, explain'd the terms of the question by parallel passages, and prov'd that other nations did follow the self-same practise in all respects. Now I shall allege my authorities out of *Scripture*, and then answer all the Objections that have been started to me, or that I have read on this subject; if they are not such very trifles, as deserve to be thrown into the fabulous rubbish, of which I shall give a small specimen in the hastiest manner I can. The first mention we find of *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* is, when the Israelites, as we have said, came to Etham *in the edge of the wilderness*: and the words in *Exodus* on this occasion are, *The LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a Cloud, and by night in a pillar of Fire, to give them light to go by day and night; he took not away the Pillar of the Cloud by day, nor the Pillar of Fire by night, from before the people.* As for *the LORD's going before them*, we'll show in its due place, that it signifies by his Ministers and Symbols; all the commands of MOSES, AARON, JOSHUA, and other prime officers being attributed to him, as supreme Monarch of the Israelites: but we'll prove in particular, that the phrase of *the Angel of the LORD* does not denote any miracle, with relation to *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, after we have briefly settled the motions of the Cloud it self. This is clearly done in the book of *Numbers*. *On the day that the Tabernacle was rear'd up, the Cloud cover'd the Tabernacle, namely the Tent of the Testimony; and at even there was upon the Tabernacle as it were the appearance of Fire, until the morning. So it was alway: the Cloud cover'd it by day, and the appearance of Fire by night. And when the Cloud was taken up from the Tabernacle, then after that the children of Israel journeyed; and in the place where the Cloud abode, there the children of Israel pitch'd*

Exod. 13.
20, 21, 22.

Num. 9.
15—22.

H O D E G U S.

their tents. At the commandment of the LORD the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of the LORD they pitched: as long as the Cloud abode upon the Tabernacle, they rested in the tents. And when the Cloud tarry'd long upon the Tabernacle many days, then the children of Israel kept the charge of the LORD, and journey'd not. And so it was, when the Cloud was a few days upon the Tabernacle: according to the commandment of the LORD they abode in their tents, and according to the commandment of the LORD they journeyed. And so it was when the Cloud abode from even unto the morning, and that the Cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed: whether it was by day or by night that the Cloud was taken up, they journeyed. Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the Cloud tarry'd upon the Tabernacle, remaining thereon, the Children of Israel abode in their tents, and journeyed not; but when it was taken up, they journeyed. The same things almost in the same words are contain'd in the fortieth chapter of Exodus: onely that whereas here in Numbers it is written that there was an appearance of fire all night, which, in the Hebrew idiom, is that fire appear'd; in Exodus it is directly said, that Fire was on the Tabernacle by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, thro all their journeys.

Exod. 40.
34—38.

ver. 38.

XIII. TO be thus seen and understood by all, was the very end and purpose of exalting it there, as well among the Jews as the Persians, and by ALEXANDER warring in Asia. To place it there likewise or to take it off, there needed no greater art than is us'd in beacons; as by a lamp, plac'd in a Crystal Lantern, the same end was serv'd among the Persians: for the circumstances necessarily requir'd in managing this matter, are so obvious to common understanding; that neither the fuel of the fire on
the

the pole over ALEXANDER's tent, nor the machine that contain'd it, are any more specify'd, than the same things over the Tabernacle of the Israelites. But as it does not follow, that the lamp over the tent of DARIUS, nor the fire and smoke over ALEXANDER's tent did kindle or move of themselves, but are suppos'd to have been manag'd by proper Officers: the same supposition ought as naturally to be made concerning the fire over the tent of JEHOVAH, and wou'd as readily be so constru'd in the *Old Testament* as in other historians; were not men's minds prepossess'd with the notion of a miracle in this case from their infancy, or that they are ignorant of the *Scripture*-style and allusions. I grant it to be said, when the signals of the Cloud are explain'd, that *at the commandment of the LORD* Num 9 23. *the Israelites rested in the tents, and at the commandment of the LORD they journey'd.* But what does immediately follow? why this: *they* Ibid. *kept the charge of the LORD at the commandment of the LORD by the hand of MOSES;* which irresistibly evinces, that what MOSES order'd, as JEHOVAH's Deputy, prime Minister, or General, is said to be commanded by the LORD himself.

XIV. THE very first March they made after the erecting of the Tabernacle, and the appointing of the signals upon it; is thus related in the same book of *Numbers*. *And it came to pass on* Num. 10. *the twentieth day of the second month, in the second* 11, 12. *year, that the Cloud was taken up from off the Tabernacle of the Testimony: and the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the Cloud rested in the Wilderness of Paran, or they incamp'd there. It is presently said, and they first took their journey, according to the com-* Ver. 13. *mandment of the LORD by the hand of MOSES:*

a certain Sign that he commanded the *Cloud* as Generalissimo, whoever had the immediate direction of it. Nor is it less manifest, as we have been just saying, that the actions of MOSES, JOSHUA, and other representatives, are in thousands of places attributed to GOD, the King of Israel; as in all ages has been the stile, and yet continues to be, with regard to Monarchs and Sovereigns. But the Jews and Christians perpetually reading of the *Fire* or *Cloud's* going before and coming behind (whereof anon) of its resting on the top or before the door of the Tabernacle, they presently think it mov'd so of it self, merely because the circumstances of managing it thus are omitted, in that abridgement of the MOSAIC History we call the *Pentateuch*. Men of immense Learning, and most of 'em Divines by profession, have undeniably prov'd it to be a real Abridgement (but infinitely valuable) of some larger History of the Israelites. Among these I know not whether I ought to reckon my once honoured Master TRIGLANDIUS, the worthy Father of the present no less worthy Professor at Leyden. He wrote a *Dissertation*, I have unfortunately lost, concerning the *Book of Jasher*; which last word he proves to be wrong punctuated with Vowels, and that the three consonants of it are an abbreviation of *Israel*: so that instead of reading the *Book of Jasher* or the *Just*, as now universally done, he reads the *Book of Israel*, wherein he has my suffrage. Yet whether he holds the *Pentateuch*, the book of JOSHUA, and that of *Judges*, to be an abridgement of this principal *History of Israel*, I neither perfectly remember, nor consequently will

Jos. 10.

13.

2 Sam. 1.

8.

19. יִשְׂרָאֵל is a noted abbreviation of *Israel* in the writings of the Rabbins.

averr : it being with me a sacred maxim, to advance no fact, without vouchers not to be contradicted. In the Introduction to the so often mention'd MOSAIC REPUBLIC, I shall add more reasons, proving the *Pentateuch* an Abridgement, to those already produc'd by Monsieur LE CLERC, whose *Critical Commentaries on the Old Testament*, farr surpassing all that ever appear'd of that kind, I long to see happily finish'd. In the mean time I cannot but observe with AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, that ²⁰ *whoever affects too great a brevity in relating things unknown, does not so much consider, what are the most remarkable things he shou'd express, as what he shou'd pass over in silence*; which observation, tho not originally true of the historical books of the *Old Testament*, yet is too true as they happen to be read at present : but when those things were written, or even abridg'd, they were very familiar to the readers of these volums, and all the ideas relating to them perfectly understood.

XV. TO return to the Subject, from whence I have made this small excursion, I wonder they, who are so fond of a Miracle in *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, do not affirm as much of the *Ark*; since, after the Israelites had, in their second march, advanc'd three days Journey from Mount Sinai, *the Ark of the Covenant of the LORD went before them in the three days journey, to search out a resting place for them: and the Cloud of JEHOVAH was upon them by day, when they went out of the Camp.* No mention is here made of the *Ark's*

Num. 10.
33. 34.

²⁰ Quisquis enim adfectat nimiam brevitatē, ubi narrantur incognita; non quid signantius explicet, sed quid debeat præterire, scrutatur. *Lib. 23. cap. 6.*

being

- being carry'd on men's shoulders before the Army, as representing GOD or the King's presence : and had not this circumstance been recorded elsewhere, with the rings and staves to make it portable, it must undoubtedly have been transform'd into a Miracle, as well as *the Cloud of JEHOVAH* (every thing being denominated from the King) which, in the same place, is said *was upon them by day, when they went out of the Camp.* To this a particular allusion is made in the first chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where the thing representing is call'd by the name of the thing represented, or the Ark call'd the LORD your GOD *who went in the way before you*, says MOSES, *to search you out a place to pitch your tents in ; in Fire by night to show you by what way you shou'd go, and in a Cloud by day.* This he likewise does, in the last cited place of *Numbers*, by a very solemn form of words : for *when the Ark set forward* MOSES said, *rise up, LORD, and let thine Enemies be scattered ; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee. And when it rested, he said ; return, LORD, unto the many thousands of Israel.* From his royal pre-eminence the *Cloud*, as you have now seen, is call'd *the Cloud of JEHOVAH* ; as MOSES says elsewhere, *It will be told the Inhabitants of this land,—that thy Cloud standeth over them, and that thou goest before them : by day-time in a Pillar of a Cloud, and in a Pillar of Fire by night.* Nothing can be plainer than all this.
- Exod. 25.
14, 15. &
37. 3. 4.
5.
- Ibid. 10.
34.
- Deut. 1.
32, 33.
- Num. 10.
35, 36.
- Ibid. 14.
14.

XVI. THERE are also passages that show the Cloud was taken down, and yet not exalted on a Pole to move forward ; as a sign not only that there was no march as usual : but that, upon high causes of displeasure, the discipline of the Camp shou'd no longer be observ'd ; and that the People

ple were to be abandon'd, without head or guide in the Wilderness. When MOSES, upon their making the Golden Calf, had remov'd the Tabernacle out of the Camp, *it came to pass as he enter'd into the Tabernacle, that the Cloudy Pillar descended, and stood at the door of the Tabernacle:* that is, as clearly appears from the context, it was taken down from the Tabernacle, yet not carry'd before the Army as a sign of marching, but fixt before the door; because the LORD refus'd to go up with them, till afterwards, upon their repentance, they were led on as before. So upon a like occasion, viz: the sedition of Aaron and Miriam, *the Pillar of the Cloud was taken down* (NOTA BENE here it is *in terminis* said to be TAKEN DOWN) *and stood at the door of the Tabernacle.* I hope by this time I have set in the clearest light the nature and use of *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, directing the marches and stations of the Israelites in the Wilderness; in such a light, I say, that no man of good understanding, or void of superstition, will any longer think it a miracle: for by a common rule, agreed upon no less by Divines than others, *that thing ought not to be reputed a Miracle, which can be explain'd by the laws of Nature or ordinary means, and where a perfect account is given of all appearances.* On this score it is, that I have brought parallel examples, as I shall do more presently, out of authors posterior to MOSES, not for proof (since that results from the thing it self) but for illustration; as all *Commentators* explain the antient by the modern usages of the Eastern nations, whereof numberless instances occur in their books. Where things, in short, seem in all respects alike, they ought to be deem'd of the like nature, tho one author be more particular in relating circumstances than another, or may use a different stile and manner of writing.

Exod 33.
9.Num. 12.
5, 10.

XVII. I READILY agree however, that I am oblig'd to solve all the difficulties, which can be reasonably made against my account of the *Cloud*. Some, that have been offer'd in fortuitous conversation, are extremely frivolous and impertinent. But the objection, with which I shall begin, appears at first sight to be the difficultest of all; or, if people will have it so, the most miraculous. When the Israelites, in their flight or expulsion, were got as farr as Pihahiroth by the red sea; and the Egyptians pursuing had come up close with them, being farr superior in number and all other advantages: the first were in the utmost consternation, having the sea before and the Enemy behind; which made them give themselves over for lost, not onely as soon as the Morning shou'd appear, but even took it for granted they were to be attack'd, and quite destroy'd that very night. The particulars you have in the fourteenth chapter of *Exodus*, where it is further related, that *the Angel of GOD, which went before the Camp of Israel, remov'd and went behind them; and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their face, or front, and stood behind them, or in the rear: and it came between the Camp of the Egyptians and the Camp of Israel, and it was a cloud and darkness to those, but it gave light by night to these; so that the one came not near the other all that night.* It is observable, that the Egyptians, accustom'd to the manner of passing those desarts, were not amaz'd at the *Cloud* (which they must certainly have been, were it a thing unusual) but, on the contrary, they follow'd it; tho, as it will be immediately seen, it deceived and misguided them. The *Angel of GOD* mention'd here, and about which the Christian Divines of all nations are divided (some maintaining it to be the first of the heavenly Hierarchy, but most

Exod. 14.
5—12.

Ibid. 14.
19, 20.

most that it was no meaner a Person than CHRIST himself) I shall prove in its place to have been no other, than a mere mortal man, the Guide of the Israelites in the Wilderneis; and the overseer or director of the portable Fire, as part of his peculiar office and province. But as for the thing it self, *the moving of the FIRE*, which is the point in question, it was a stratagem of warr there, no less than elsewhere; which stratagem I lay here open to the meanest capacity, by a passage out of the *Cyropedia*, as being exactly parallel. When CYRUS and C Y A X A R E S, at the head of an Army of Medes and Persians, lay incamp'd in the enemy's country; the Army of the Babylonians, Lydians, and Egyptians, farr superior in number, came up with them at last. *Hereupon* (says ²¹ X E N O P H O N) *they did not by night kindle the Fires in the center of the Camp, but in the front of it; that, if any of the Enemy mov'd in the night, they might see and not be seen of them, by means of the Fire. They likewise frequently plac'd the Fire in the rear of the Camp to deceive the enemy, which occasion'd their scouts to fall in with the out-guards; by reason the Fires were behind the Camp, whereas they suppos'd themselves to be at a considerable distance, as believing the Fire was in its ordinary place.* I have noted much such another passage in the same X E N O P H O N, and there are many more in other Historians. Here then you have FIRE removing from one place to another, sometimes before and sometimes behind

Lib. 8. &
Hist. Graec.
lib. 6.

21. Πυρὰ δὲ νυκτὶ οὐκ ἔκαιον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐμπροσθεν μὲν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔκαιον; ὅπως ἴδωσιν, μὲν ἑστίνες νυκτὶ περὶ τοῦ πυρὸς, μὴ ὄντων δὲ ὑπὸ προσποιήτων. Πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ ὀπίσθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπυρπολοῦν, ἀπατης ἕνεκα τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς' εἶναι ὅτε καὶ κατασχοτοὶ ἐπισπύονται εἰς τὰς περὶ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτῶν (διὰ τὸ ὀπίσθεν τὰ πυρὰ εἶναι) ἐπὶ πορρῶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου οἰομένοι ἔσθαι. Cyropedia. lib. 3.

the

the Camp: but so order'd, as to be a light and guide to the Persians; at the same time, that it was darkness and deception to the Assyrians. *That if any of the enemy mov'd in the night* (says the Grec writer) *they might see, and not be seen of them, by means of the FIRE.* It was a cloud and darkness to the Egyptians (says the Hebrew writer) *but it gave light by night to the Israelites, so that the one came not near the other all the night;* for the Egyptians, judging by the Fire, thought the Israelites to be much nearer than they were. The only difference between the authors of the *Pentateuch* and the *Cyropedia* is, that the latter relates more particularly how this was done; while the other omits some circumstances, or rather words them differently, the thing being then familiar to every body. The author of the *Cyropedia* wrote of matters he learnt from strangers, utterly unknown, or seldom us'd in his own country: whereas the author of the *Pentateuch* relates what was well known, or customary to his readers; and therefore not needing to be describ'd by those minute circumstances, which he omits on a thousand other such occasions.

XVIII. I SHALL give but this one example of such Omissions. When men of clear understanding and sound judgment read in *Deuteronomy*, that, during the forty years wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness, *their cloaths were not grown old, nor their shoes worn out, nor their feet swollen* for want of being shod; they know the reason is, because they were supply'd with the wool and skins of those numerous herds and flocks they had along with them, which are very distinctly mention'd: and moreover, that Weavers, Taylors, and Shoemakers (any more than other Artificers, such as Architects, Carpenters, Goldsmiths,

Deut. 8. 4.
& 29. 5.

Exod. 10.
9, 24, 26.
& 12. 32.
38. Num.
7. *Ex alibi
passim.*

Goldsmiths, and Jewellers) cou'd not be wanting in a multitude of more than six hundred thousand men, besides women and children. And, in effect, we find they had all these in the Wilderness, at the building of the Tabernacle, under the direction of BEZALEEL and AHOLIAB. Yet this not being particularly express in the same place, where the garments and shoos of the Israelites are mention'd (as what good Historian does always write what shou'd be naturally suppos'd?) you are not ignorant how numerous be the writers who maintain, that their Cloaths and their Shoos were so farr from becoming old: that they even grew wider and longer, in proportion to the growth of their limbs from childhood to manhood; that the seams never unript, that no part was ever worn or torn. This shows, that Numbers and Truth are not inseparable. Here are abundance of Mysteries, occasion'd by a writer's not saying in direct terms, that *nothing was wanting to the Israelites in the wilderness*; which defect NEHEMIAH, magnifying God's providence on this very subject, literally supplies, saying: *forty years didst thou sustain them in the Wilderness, so that THEY LACKED NOTHING; their cloaths waxed not old, and their feet swelled not.* But this cannot satisfy those, by whom figures are easily chang'd into miracles, and monsters made of omissions. I am sorry to find a man otherwise very learned, MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL among them, who attributes this miracle to the ²² Cloud. No other Creature, but an enthusiastical Christi-

Exod. 31.
1. & seq.
Item 35.
5—15—
30. et alibi.

Neh 9. 21.

22. Así mas, el Milagro de los Vestidos, que no se envejecían, mas se conservaban en un mismo ser, creciendo juntamente con ellos, en virtud de las nuves de la honra, como tambien el no se les aver hinchado en tanto camino los pies. *In his Argument to the 8th chapter of Deuteronomy*

an *Father*, or his more credulous modern disciple, instructed by a fabulous Jewish *Cabalist*, could be capable of conceiving or propagating such absurdities, as are vended on this subject. But the country of Chimeras is of vast extent. Every man of an implicate constitution, is as fond and conceited of the wonderful, the extraordinary, and the I know not what, in his Religion, as he's in his Mistress. As each of 'em must needs be a None-such in their kind, so he professes himself always ready to fight or suffer for both, be his rivals ever so formidable. Neither the one nor the other is ever in the wrong; or being so, must never be contradicted: and he passes for an envious or an ill-bred fellow, who does not join in drinking the health or singing the praises of both. These are nice points of honor, where the consulting of sedate reason, wou'd be apt to cool a heroic passion; and hinder an impertinent obstinacy, to pass for the virtues of fidelity and perseverance. The comparison does hold thro'-out of these Visionaries: and Knights-errant are equally ridiculous, whether they turn bullies for Religion or Ladies. But not to lose sight of our stratagems, wherof abundance have been antiently, and are still perform'd by the help of FIRE, VEGETIUS says, *when²³ Armies are divided, they signify to their Confederates in the night time by flame, and in the day-time by smoke, what can by no other means be done.* And FRONTINUS, *the²⁴ Arabs, whose custom*

²³ Si divisae sint copiae, per noctem Flammis, per diem Fumo, significant socijs, quod aliter non potest nunciari. *Lib. 3. cap. 5.*

²⁴ Arabes, cum esset nota consuetudo eorum, qua de adventu hostium interdiu Fumo, noctu Igne significare instituerant, ut sine intermissione ea fierent, praeceperunt, adventantibus autem adversarijs intermitterent: qui cum, cessantibus luminibus, existimarent ignorari adventum suum, avidius ingressi opprellique sunt. *De Stratagem. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

was well known to give notice of the enemies approach by Smoke in the day-time, and by Fire in the night-time, order'd this method to be observ'd without intermission, except when the Enemy drew near: whereupon these seeing no flame, and therefore believing their coming was not discover'd, made an inroad with the greater impetuosity, and were in consequence overthrow'n. But to produce more instances would be mispending of time, since that cited out of the *Cyropedia* is, as I noted before, an exact parallel.

XIX. THE next difficulty arises from some people's confounding one *Cloud* with another, or rather with others. In the first place, they confound the *guiding Cloud* with that of mount Sinai, which was a cloud properly so call'd, out of which issu'd thunder and lightning. *And it came to pass on the third day in the morning*, as you have it in the 19th of *Exodus*, *that there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick Cloud upon the Mount*; which, just after, is call'd *Smoke*, by an easy metaphor usual to other Writers, who term the fog on mountains a *ruffet Cloud* and likewise *thick darkness*. A little before in this same chapter it is also call'd a *thick Cloud*, as in the following chapter it is call'd *thick darkness*: very natural preparations for thunder and lightning. It is said to have cover'd the Mount, as clouds are wont to do, and is the same that is again mention'd in the thirty fourth chapter. After indicating these places, 'twill be an easy thing to distinguish from the *metaphorical Cloud* on the Tabernacle, this *real Cloud* on the mountain, wherever it occurs,

Exod. 19
16.

ver. 18.

ver. 9.

ver. 21.

Ibid. 24.

15----18.

ver. 5.

25 Fit quoque uti montis vicina cacumina coelo
Quàm sint quaeque magis, tanto magis edita fument
Assidue fulvae nubis caligine crassa, *Lucret. lib. 6. ver 438.*

as well as the many allusions to it in the books of the *Old Testament*. It wou'd be too long a digression here, and indeed it merits a *Dissertation* by it self, to show that by the *Glory of GOD* so often mention'd on this occasion, is signify'd *Flames of Fire*, as *Thunder* is call'd his *Voice*. But this, I say, requires an entire discourse. In the mean time they, who are for diminishing of Clouds and multiplying of Miracles, will have it, that tho no further mention is made of the *Cloud's* leading the Israelites when once they left the wilderness, and came to the cultivated countries about the river Jordan, where its guidance became wholly needless: I say, notwithstanding all this, they pertinaciously maintain that it continu'd afterwards, as a standing miracle among the Jews; first in the Tabernacle, and next in the Temple. It was in this *Cloud* (permanent according to them) that *GOD* promis'd to *meet AARON*, with the succeeding High Priests, and to *speak with them*: for *GOD*, as *SOLOMON* remarks, *said, that he wou'd dwell in the thick darkness*; alluding, without all question, to the places just cited out of *Exodus*. The place of the *Cloud*, both in the Tabernacle and the Temple, was on the Mercy-seat between the two Cherubims, in the Holy of Holies; where the High-Priest alone enter'd once a year, to make an extraordinary expiation for the whole people. The time and manner of this expiatory Sacrifice are particularly describ'd in *Leviticus*, where it is said, that the *LORD* *said unto MOSES, speak unto AARON thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the vail before the Mercy-seat, which is upon the Ark, that he die not; for I will appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-seat*. Here you have the *miraculous Cloud*, say they: yet that this was not the *conducting Cloud* in the wilderness, but one

Exo^{1. 19.}42. & 30.
26.

Levit. 16. 2.

1 Kings 8.
12.

Exod. 25.

22. & 29.

42. & 30.

36. Num.

7. 89. &

17. 4.

1 Kings 8.

12.

2 Chron.

5. 14. &

6. 1.

Levit. 16.

2.

1 Sam. 4.

30. 10. &c.

one of the Priest's own raising, I am now not onely going to show, but also to produce the receipt for making of it. For a general rule being thus laid down for the Priest, next follows the matter of the sacrifice he was to offer in the Sanctuary; with the garments he was to wear on this solemn occasion, and the ritual of his administering. Then it is added, *he shall take a censer-full of burning coals of fire from the Altar before the LORD, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the vail: and he shall put the incense upon the fire before the LORD, that the Cloud of the incense may cover the Mercy-seat that is upon the Testimony, that he die not.* Here you plainly see, that it was a *Cloud of smoke*, a *Cloud* of the Priest's own making, as I promis'd to show, and how he did it too. It might likewise be very properly said, that *GOD dwelt in the thick darkness*, since there were no windows at all in the Sanctuary; nor was there any other sort of light in it, unless perhaps some glimmering rays piercing thro the Vail, from the lamps that were burning without it, in the antichamber of JEHOVAH the King of Israel.

XX. THIS obscurity was yet made more obscure, by the addition of the *Cloud of smoke*: but in what manner the LORD commun'd there with the High-Priest, and how he manifested his presence to him, is none of my business now to examine. Yet if any be desirous to know what that odoriferous incense was, wherof we read in the receipt for making the *Smoke* or *Cloud*, there is a particular description of it, according to the art of the Apothecary, for the service of the Tabernacle, in the thirtieth Chapter of *Exodus*; but with a severe prohibition not to make any of it for a

common perfume, or for ordinary use. Tis evident therefore, that the *Cloud in the Oracle*, or holiest place, whether of the Tabernacle or the Temple, was neither the *Cloud* which guided the Israelites in the wilderness, nor any way miraculous in it self; and so nothing at all against my opinion, but a plain confirmation of the same. I said just now, that it was none of my present business to inquire, in what manner the LORD spoke in the Oracle to the High-Priest, or how he manifested his presence to him in that sacred and awful obscurity. But EPIPHANIUS tells us (with laudable detestation) a ridiculous story about this matter, out of an apocryphal Christian²⁶ Book, intitul'd, *the Progeny of MARY*. In this worthy piece it was among other things contain'd, that the reason why ZACHARY's mouth was stopt, and that he was afterwards kill'd between the Temple and the Altar, was; that the Angel of whom we read in LUKE, and whom he saw in the Temple, was a man disguis'd under the figure of an As: who, being surpriz'd, throttl'd him, lest he shou'd tell the Jews what a rare GOD they worship'd; but that, when he afterwards recover'd the use of his voice, and told what he had discover'd, they did actually kill him.

LUC. 1. 20. It was added, that the reason why MOSES commanded the High-priest to wear bells on his robe, was; that as oft as he enter'd the Temple to perform his office, he that was worship'd (being warn'd by the sound of the bells) might withdraw, and not be catch'd in that masquerade. But to repeat this incoherent fable, is to confute it: and it must be own'd that such Christians, as the compiler of *the Progeny of MARY*, carry'd

Ibid. ver. 11, &c.

Exod. 28. 33, 34, 35.

²⁶. Haeret. 26. n. 12.

their aversion to Judaism an unaccountable length; just as the mob, at this very time in Portugal, wou'd tear a man to pieces, that durst affirm the Virgin MARY had been a Jewess. To return, after this slight excursion, to *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* (which, to say it in a word, is oftner mention'd under the name of a *Cloud* than of *Fire*, because the Israelites march'd oftner by day than by night) it is not onely confounded with the *thick Cloud of incense* in the Temple, and with that in the Tabernacle before it; but also with the *Fire on the Altar*, for which I am going to cite the text that is brought to prove it. *Then a* Exod. 40. 34. 35. *Cloud cover'd the Tent of the Congregation, and the Glory of the LORD fill'd the Tabernacle: and MOSES was not able to enter into the Tent of the Congregation, because the Cloud abode thereon, and the Glory of the LORD fill'd the Tabernacle.* But how? Not because of the *Cloud* pitch'd on the top of the Tabernacle, but by reason of the *Cloud* on the Altar of Burnt-offering at the Door Ver. 19. of the Tabernacle, then plentifully burning for the first time, and covering the place with its smoke; while the flame, or *the Glory of the* Ver. 26, 27. *LORD*, from the Altar of Incense, fill'd the Tabernacle. The like happen'd long after to the Priests in SOLOMON's time; tho we have sufficiently evinc'd, that these *Clouds* were of the Priest's own making, and farr from being the *guiding Cloud* in the wilderness.

1 Kings 8.
10, 11, 12.
compar'd
with 2
Chron. 5.
14 & 5. 1.
& 7. 1, 2.

XXI. ANOTHER thing scarce worth the mentioning, if many did not vehemently insist on it, is the fancy of those who multiply *Pillars*, tho they diminish *Clouds*; and will needs have it, that the *Pillar of Fire* was one thing, and the *Pillar of Cloud* another. I grant they were so, in the sense that *Fire* and *Smoke* are call'd two

things: but if I have prov'd, and that the nature of the thing shows, it was the *Flame* and the *Smoke* of the self-same FIRE, that serv'd, the one of 'em, for a guide by day, and the other by night; then I think it a very improper way of speaking, to call them TWO PILLARS, as even MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL ²⁷ does, for whom I conceive nevertheless an uncommon esteem, where his Judgment keeps pace with his Learning. MOSES no where says they were TWO PILLARS, no more than he any where says they were MIRACULOUS. Nay, he does in more than one place speak as of one Pillar, tho the twofold use of it has led many Jews and Christians into the notion of two distinct Pillars. Thus in *Exodus* *it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel, and it was a CLOUD and darkness to them, but it gave LIGHT by night to these*. So in *Numbers*, *whether it was by day or by night that the Cloud was taken up, they journeyed*; where any man may demonstratively see, if he did not perceive it before, that the *Pillar of Fire* by night, and the *Pillar of Cloud* by day, was one and the same thing. Neither is there more weight in the next fancy, that the *Pillar of Fire* was so extraordinary large and luminous, as not onely to guide the whole Army; but also to give so clear a light to every individual man in it, that, farr from tripping or stumbling, he cou'd see a pin or a needle at his feet. When once the wonder-

Exod. 14.
26.

Num. 9.
21.

27. Dios protege el pueblo, guiandolos con columnas de Nube y del Fuego. In the Argument to the 12th of Exodus. Refieri [MOSES] como la misma Columna de Nube, que cubrio el Tabernaculo el dia que se levanto, durò de dia todos los 40 annos del desierto; y otra de Fuego, para alumbrar de Noche. In the Argument to the 9th of Numbers, and to the same purpose elsewhere.

ful has got into a man's head, it wholly possesses him; and leaves no room for any thing else, nor knows how to set any bounds to it self. Yet *Scripture* (forsooth) must be quoted for this precarious, or rather monstrous supposition. The principal text they bring, is this following out of NEHEMIAH. *Yet thou, in thy manifold mercies, forsookest them not in the wilderness: the Pillar of the Cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the Pillar of Fire by night, to show them light, and the way wherein they shou'd go.* Here the utmost import of the words amounts to no more, than that the *Pillar* shou'd the way to the whole Army, which no body denies; nor wou'd any deny it, shou'd the first column only see it, since the next wou'd follow that, and so of the rest. It was therefore a general guide or point of view, for the place to which they tended; but not as to every man's feet, much less for their private concerns: a thing Jewish and Christian doctors have not been asham'd to affirm. To as little purpose do they cite this of the seventy eighth Psalm: *in the day-time also he led them with a Cloud, and all the night with a Light of Fire.* Who denies it? But it wou'd be abusing my reader's patience, to insist longer on this head. I'm sure it wou'd be showing a very mean opinion of his understanding.

XXII. THE last text, however, puts me in mind of the hundreth and fifth Psalm, out of which a Passage is alledg'd to prove, that the basis of the *Pillar* was so large, as to cover the whole camp of Israel, over which it hung perpendicularly. The words are, *he spread a Cloud for a covering, and Fire to give light in the night.* This is a plain allusion, as appears from the verses of that Psalm going before and coming after, to

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the 19th and 20th verses of the 13th chapter of *Exodus*; where the placing of the *Cloud* behind the Camp, became a *covering*, that is, a protection to it. The original word has no less general a sense, than *covering* has in English, as we say to *cover an army or a town*. This is self-evident from those many places in the *Old Testament*, where it does not always signify to cover or spread over the whole surface of any thing; but stands for hangings, protection, and the like. Nor do the words *over* or *under* always imply, what they are made to do on this occasion: since in the same sense that the *Cloud* was said to be *over the Camp*, by being elevated on the Tabernacle in their stations, or on a Pole in their marches; we say, and all men say, that such a body of men are *under their colors*, tho not one single person is thereby *cover'd*. No more is any so, by the officers being said to be *over them*. Some lay great stress with respect to this total covering, on a place in the *first Epistle to the Corinthians*, where PAUL allegorizing on the principal passages of the Jewish deliverance from the Egyptian slavery, says, *moreover, Brethren, I wou'd not that ye shou'd be ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all passed thro the sea; and were all baptized unto MOSES in the Cloud, and in the sea*. I leave the Divines to battle it, about the meaning of *Baptizing* in this place; for as none of the Israelites cou'd be said, in favor of *dipping*, to have been under water in their passage over the sea: so I am afraid as little can be inferr'd, on the behalf of *sprinkling*, from the *Cloud*; that gentle *dew*, which some have fancy'd, being a pure distillation of their own brains. It wou'd be a rare proof for *Infant-baptism*, cou'd it be handsomly made out. But, as farr as concerns my present subject, this passage is a palpable allusion

sion to the places, where the *Cloud* is mention'd in the *Pentateuch*; particularly to the 13th chapter of *Exodus*, just before the passing of the *Israelites* over the red sea.

XXIII. THE false interpretation forc'd upon the 39th verse of the 105th *Psalms*, by men who are not satisfy'd with the obvious sense of *Scripture*, or by others who do not find the *Scripture* countenancing their vain Traditions, has produc'd more extravagant imaginations, than any of the strange Glosses occasion'd by the *Cloud*. Some assert it did so cover the *Israelites*, as not onely to keep off unwholsom dews or blasts, and the scorching heat of the sun; but that they never saw, nor indeed needed to see, the sun, moon, or stars, during the forty years they wander'd in the wilderneis. The Rabbins add, that the *Cloud*, like woollacks or bags of earth in our modern trenches, deadn'd the arrows and artillery of the Egyptians, who ply'd the *Israelites* hard all the night. But not content with one *Cloud*, they talk of no fewer than seven *Clouds of glory*, incompassing the camp: four towards the four winds, lest any shou'd injure them with an evil eye; one above them, lest the sun (as we said) shou'd hurt them; one under them, that shou'd bear them up as a mother does her child; and the seventh marching three days journey before them, depressing the hills and exalting the valleys into a level, destroying all manner of serpents, scorpions, or other noxious creatures, and marking the several places of pitching their camp. To be thus a *Marechal de Camp*, was nothing to other services. The *Cloud* supply'd each single centinel instead of a laundress, a scourer, a nurse (and what not?) purifying and whitning their cloaths, keeping their bodies clean from sweat
or

or vermin, and fanning them in their march with refreshing breezes. Mighty disputes have been rais'd about the matter of the *Cloud*, that I may here once for all rid my hands of such visions: as, whether it was not one of the things made before the creation of the world, but laid up till the proper time of using it? whether it was not created out of nothing, and reduc'd to nothing again? or if created out of something, whether it was out of elementary fire, and the ordinary matter of other clouds? Several maintain, that one side of it was obscure, and t'other bright; that it was a symbol of the Trinity, and that the second person therof dwelt in it. This *Pillar* has prov'd a fruitful field of Allegories to the *Fathers* and other Divines, who, without any difficulty in the world, find in it the divine and humane nature of CHRIST, with other things no less admirable and sublime. When I mention'd the Rabbinical dreams about the creation of this *Pillar* or *Cloud*, I forgot to relate that several of 'em held it to have been created on the evening of the first Sabbath, tho GOD is said to have rested that day from all his works. But this Evening was no part of the Sabbath, according to the way of dividing time by the modern Jews. To be sure the sacred Pillars of the Heathens had their original from the guiding Pillar of the Israelites, as not a few good Christians have affirm'd. * H U E T I U S, in what he calls his *Demonstratio*

28. Atque haec pensanti mihi probabile fit, columnas illas celebres HERCULIS ex columna ignea, Ebraeorum exercitui praecunte, originem habuisse— Et nos jam observavimus ex CLEMENTE *Alexandrino*, BACCHUM et APOLLINEM, qui MOSIS icones sunt, Columnae symbolo, propter eandem Columnam, Israelitarum ducem, fuisse expressos—Tot commentitias Columnas peperit una haec Columna, in qua delitescens dominus, ducem se itineris Ebraeis praebuit—&c, &c. *Propos. IV. Sect. de libro JOSUAË, num. 13.*

Evange-

Evangelica, finds it in the Temple of APOLLO, nay in the Myſteries of BACCHUS; and gravely ſays, that it gave riſe to the Pillars of HERCULES, and to the other memorial Pillars of the antients. Tis pity he has not found their Architecture and Orders in it, which he might have done as eaſily as the reſt. In effect, there have been ſuch as diſputed, whether it was an upright or an inverted column, becauſe ſmoke ſpreads larger as it mounts: and if ſuch fancies be indulg'd, it may be prov'd to have been a wreath'd column, ſince the aſcending of ſmoke appears ſpiral; and yet neither wreath'd nor inverted, but ſtraight and pyramidal, which is the proper motion of flame. Finally the Jews expect, that, upon the future return of the twelve Tribes, at the coming of the MESSIAH, from all the countries where they are diſpers'd; this *Cloud* will again precede them to the holy land, whither I wiſh them a good journey: tho, during the time of their waiting, I am farr from being weary of their company here; where they are moſt uſeful ſubjects, and many of 'em my very good friends.

XXIV. IN the works of a fam'd Commentator, no leſs a fine Gentleman than a finiſh'd Schollar, I find there was ſome body (where or when we are not told) who maintain'd that the Fire and Smoke, preceding the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, was the *ſacred inextinguiſhable Fire* carry'd on the Altar for burnt-offrings and other ſacrifices. The falſity of this opinion appears at firſt ſight. There is no mention of ſuch a ſacred inextinguiſhable fire among the firſt Egyptians, or the Hebrews their inmates and ſlaves, nor yet among the antediluvian or poſtdiluvian Patriarchs: every thing, that can be offer'd to this purpoſe, being palpably groundleſs and precarious. As for the ordinary fire, whether

- ther for dressing of meat or other necessary uses, it cou'd not be wanting in an Army of more than six hundred thousand men; and instances without number we cou'd produce they had it, shou'd any require, what all men (without such proofs) will suppose. A portable Altar the Israelites had none, on their coming out of Egypt. The first mention of any Altar among them, is a direction to
- Exod. 20.** raise one of earth or of unhewn stones, neither
24, 25, 26. fort portable most certainly, and onely to be us'd on transient occasions. The first Altar we read
- Ibid. 24.** erected by **MOSES** himself, was of unhewn stones;
4. which had been a needl's labor, were there a portable one then, as afterwards, in the camp. Neither did **AARON**, who was not yet a Priest, nor any other Priests, bring sacred Fire from Egypt: for they were some of the *First-born* that offer'd sacrifice on this first Altar of **MOSES**, he himself officiating with them, and not the least mention of sacred or extraordinary fire. Hear
- Ver. 5, 6.** the very words. *And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offer'd burnt-offrings, and sacrific'd peace-offrings of oxen unto the LORD: and MOSES took half the blood, and put it in basins, and half of the blood he sprinkl'd on the Altar, &c.* When the Tabernacle with its furniture was order'd to be built, two portable Altars were likewise directed to be made; besides which they never us'd any other, till they came into the land of *Canaan*. To begin with the last, the one was
- Ibid. 30.** the *Altar of incense*, cover'd with gold, and plac'd
1, &c. before the Ark in the Sanctuary. But this is not that in question. The other was the *Altar of*
- Ibid. 27.** *burnt-offring*, five cubits square, and cover'd with
1--6. brass, with its rings and staves on each side to carry it. On this there was to be a *perpetual Fire*,
- Levit. 6.** which was first kindl'd a little after **AARON** had
8--13. been constituted High-priest. Now, that the
Ibid. 9. 24. fire

fire of this Altar was not the fire that shou'd guide the Israelites, is manifest from various considerations, of which I shall onely allege a few. In the first place, these fires were for different uses, the one for offering sacrifice, the other for showing the way. Or if it shou'd be said, that one and the same fire might serve for both these purposes; I answer, that in Egypt, in the wilderness on the other side of the red sea, they had the fire for showing the way: whereas the perpetual fire for sacrifice was instituted on this side, at the foot of mount Sinai in Arabia; and no mention made of any other use, but the contrary strongly imply'd. In the next place, the sacred fire was in the court of the Tabernacle, the guiding fire on the top of it; as, on a march, the one was often carry'd in the middle of the Camp, the other always aloft before it. The Altar, in the third place, was not, from the description of it, made to be hoisted up on the top of the Tabernacle, or on a long Pole before the Army; nor cou'd it conveniently, if at all, be set up or let down at pleasure: whereas an iron pot, or any such machine still us'd for the same end, may be easily hoisted to the top of a Pole, where it is to hang on a crook; as such a Pole might be no less readily fixt on the Tabernacle, than a Flagstaff on a castle or the stern of a ship. Notwithstanding the present use of the compals, such a guidance by fire is still practis'd among the Caravans of the East, about which all travellers agree. The fires, which go before the numerous host of Pilgrims, yearly travelling from Grand Cairo in Egypt to Mecca in Arabia, are called *Shamalars*; being carried in iron Pots on long Poles, the most obvious method of ordering fire and smoke to such a purpose. So natural is this way, that it looks superfluous in the moderns to have express'd it; and tis
for

for this reason that neither the author of the *Pentateuch*, nor the historians of DARIUS and ALEXANDER, have specify'd the fuel of their fires for signals or guidance.

XXV. AFTER having demonstrated, that the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* was not miraculous, this fancy of the *sacred fire* cou'd not take up much of my time: and therefore I think it now fit to discharge the promise I made above, of showing that the *Angel of the LORD*, which carry'd the Pillar behind the Israelites, or between them and the Egyptians, was a mere mortal man, the overseer or director of the portable fire, and the guide of the Israelites in the wilderness. Perhaps I may further acquaint you with his family before I have done, which I suppose is a secret about Angels hitherto unknown; and therefore, if made out, will not onely spoil a world of quaint allegories and typical observations: but, to the great mortification of a thousand bookfellers, turn many intire treatises to waste Paper. This will probably occasion certain people to make a noise: but so long as I am perswaded Truth's on my side, I shall be as much pleas'd, as they are sure to be angry. To know then, whether it was a real and proper Angel that guided the Israelites, and manag'd the Cloud, this must be either gather'd from the word *Angel*, or from the phrase the *Angel of the LORD*, or from the person's actions, who's call'd an *Angel*. As for his actions in the government of the Pillar or Cloud, I have already explain'd them all, and shown that not onely they might be done by natural and ordinary means; but that other nations did the like in every respect, without needing or pretending the assistance of any supernatural or extraordinary power. This I have so copiously perform'd, that I may well supersede

superfede repetition; not having over-look'd (to the best of my remembrance) any one text, where the *Cloud* or *Fire* is mention'd. It cannot simply and peremptorily be concluded from the word *Angel*, that the director of the guiding *Pillar* was other than a man: for the Hebrew word is not less general than the Grec word, from which we have form'd *Angel*. It signifies any *Messenger* whatsoever, mortal or immortal; so that circumstances alone can determine, what kind of messenger is meant. This is the reason that our Translators, to avoid ambiguity, render it *Messenger* or *Ambassador*, when betokening a man; and *Angel*, when it is put for a spirit. The rule is good, were it accurately observ'd. In the thirty second chapter of *Genesis* it is written, *And JACOB* Gen. 32. *went on his way, and the Angels of GOD met him*—and *JACOB sent Messengers before him* 13. *to ESAU his brother*. Here tis the self-same word that in the first verse is render'd *Angels*, and in the third verse *Messengers*: but circumstances rightly determin'd the Translators. Thus in *Genesis* the sixteenth chapter, and in the thirteenth chapter of *Judges*, as in a world of other places, it signifies an *Angel* or *Angels* properly so call'd; and in certain places of the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *ISAIAH*, *JEREMIAH*, *EZEKIEL*, and *NAHUM*, to name no more, it signifies *Messengers* and *Ambassadors*. The original word therefore denotes men as well as Angels, and always the former where human actions are onely describ'd: since we must never have recourse to miracles, except where nature falls short, and is visibly defective. But the Translators have not always scrupulously follow'd the rule, they so happily propos'd to themselves; for sometimes they translate the word *Messenger*, when they do not understand it of a mere man, what-
ever

מלאך

from the
root מלאך

מלאך

is function.

אγγελוס

Gen. 32.

13.

Gen. 16. 7.

Judg. 13.

3. Sec.

2 Kings 6.

32.

2 Chron.

36. 15. 16.

Isai. 30. 4.

Jer. 27. 3.

Ezek. 17.

15.

Nah. 2. 13.

- Mal. 3. 1. ever others may do: as in MALACHY, *behold, I will send my Messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me, and the LORD, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple; even the Messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in; behold he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts.* In the preceding chapter,
- Ibid. 2. 7. the Priest is properly call'd a *Messenger*, where I wonder they have not (after the vulgar) translated *Angel*. This they might as consistently have done,
- Rev. 1. 20. as the *seven Angels* of the Churches of *Asia*, whom
& 2. 1, & they do not only contend to have been men; but
14q. *Bishops* say they of the Church of England, *Presbyters* say they of the Church of Scotland, and *Messengers* say the Independents, more agreeably to the text and their peculiar system. 'Tis acknowledged however that these *Angels* were men; and some of 'em none of the best; so that, comparing this with the other places I have cited, the word *Angel* of it self imports nothing extraordinary; much less supernatural.

XXVI. BUT perhaps it will be urg'd that the *Angel of the LORD* signifies more than a man; to which I answer that it does no more so than the *prophet of the LORD*, the *servant of the LORD*; or any other such expression, except where circumstances inforce the contrary: and this is the reason why I conclude, that the *Angel of the LORD*, who directed the *Pillar*, was a mere man; because all that he did might be done by man, and has been actually done by many men. He was JEHOVAH the King of Israel's Ambassador or Messenger, to guide his subjects thro the wilderness, to the land where it was intended they shou'd set up the *Theocracy*. I shall have abundant occasion, in a work I have more than once mention'd, to show that the *Angel of the LORD* (a phrase not seldom signifying an *Angel* in the proper sense) is frequently so translated, when it shou'd

shou'd have been *the Messenger of the LORD*, as his Priests and Prophets are in many places call'd. There I shall without much difficulty evince, notwithstanding the pompous explications of the Jewish Rabbins and the Christian Divines, that the *Angel* describ'd in *Exodus*, which had or bore the name of the LORD, and that was to go before the Israelites into the land of Canaan, was also a man. In the mean time I propose to people's consideration the following passage, out of the book of *Judges*. *An Angel of the LORD came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you to go out of Egypt, and have brought you into the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you: and ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land, you shall throw down their Altars. But ye have not obey'd my voice: why have ye done all this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as thorns in your sides, and their Gods shall be a snare unto you. And it came to pass, when the Angel of the LORD spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lift up their voice and wept: and they called the name of that place Bochim, and they sacrific'd there unto the LORD.* Here, notwithstanding the phrase of *the Angel of the LORD*, the best interpreters have been asham'd to understand it of any other than a Prophet, travelling a good way probably on foot, who spoke in the name of the LORD, and only repeated the words of the *Pentateuch*, to a people that had already begun to forget them, but upon his remonstrance shou'd some signs of repentance. Yet for all this there are those, who, wherever they meet with the words LORD or *Angel*, conceive no longer any thing human, nothing less than miraculous. 'Tis not to them, I own it, that I

E address

Exod. 23.
20, 21, 22,
23.

Judg. 2. 1;
2, 3, 4, 5.

address my self in this Discourse; but to such as understand, or are willing to learn, the stile of the *Old Testament*. These will find, that as the LORD was the King of the Israelites, he was said to *go before them*; because of the *Ark* and other symbols of his presence, as well as that his Generals MOSES and JOSHUA did lead them: and indeed all the actions of these and such others, as of the High-priests and of the Prophets (if agreeable to his Laws) are call'd his actions, those of all Ministers being ever attributed to the Prince whom they serve and obey.

XXVII. THE same is as true of the chief Guide of the Israelites, no mean Officer, and subject onely to the General himself: such an institution as this being as antient as it is natural. VEGETIUS with great judgment²⁹ observes, *that from all antiquity every nation has discover'd this truth; that the whole Army shou'd know by signals, and obey, whatever the General alone shou'd judge convenient*. But even the General, when ignorant of the way, must rely on the Guide, who then properly directs the signals: *for, as the same VEGETIUS*³⁰ *has it, whithersoever the Leader orders the Ensigns to move, that way the soldiers must necessarily march along with their colors*; to use our English expression. These things thus explain'd, it remains onely to know, who was this Guide and Director? not that the question is of very much importance, or that any thing we have hitherto said about the main point, wou'd be

29. Antiquus omnium gentium usus invenit, quomodo, quod solus Dux utile judicasset, per signa totus agnosceret et sequeretur exercitus. *Lib. 3. cap. 5.*

30. Quocunque enim hæc ferri jusserit Dux, eo necesse est, signum suum comitantes, milites pergant. *Ibid.*

the less true, shou'd we not be able to resolve it: but that a lover of Truth is pleas'd with the unriddling of the meanest circumstances; tho purely incidental; as still reflecting more light and certitude on the subject. I answer then, that for the greatest part of the time, if not during the whole time, this Guide was no other than H O B A B, the brother-in-law of M O S E S; who was born and bred in the wilderness, and consequently well acquainted with the several parts of it. This appears out of the book of *Numbers*, where H O B A B expressing a design of returning back to his own country of Midian, as his father J E T H R O did before (for we shall prove J E T H R O was his father, and R A G U E L his grandfather) M O S E S said unto H O B A B, the son of R A G U E L the Midianite M O S E S's father-in-law, we are journeying unto the place of which the LORD said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will do thee good; for the LORD hath spoken good concerning Israel. And he said unto him, I will not go; but I will depart to mine own land, and to my kindred. And he said, leave us not, I pray thee; for as much as thou knowest how we are to incamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes: and it shall be, if thou goest with us, yea it shall be, that what goodness the LORD shall do unto us, the same will we do unto thee. And they departed from the mount of the LORD three days journey; and the Ark of the Covenant of the LORD went before them in the three days journey, to search out a resting place for them: and the Cloud of the LORD was upon them by day, when they went out of the Camp. The things to be briefly remark'd here, are, that H O B A B signifying his desire of returning to his own country and kindred (particularly to his father J E T H R O, who had departed be-

Num. 10.
29, 30, 31,
32, 33, 34.

H O B A B.

M O S E S.

Sinai.

Exod. 12.

fore) MOSES is earnest with him to stay for two weighty reasons. The first of these is, that HOBAB knew how they were to incamp in the wilderness, which shows that he was already employ'd in this matter: and the second is, that in the rest of their way, to the land they were going to conquer, he might serve them instead of eyes, or be their Guide. The more effectually to determine HOBAB to this choice, MOSES promises him a share in the good fortune of the Israelites, who were likely to get possession of a much better territory than Midian, a barren part of the wilderness; in comparison of which Judea flow'd with milk and honey, or abounded with all things. Then it is immediately added (without any mention of HOBAB's persisting in his resolution, but a plain implication of his accepting such advantageous conditions, which will presently appear he did) that they march'd forward three days journey; the *Ark* born before them, representing JEHOVAH their King's presence, and the *Cloud* of JEHOVAH showing them the way as hitherto. The consideration of these particulars weigh'd so farr with me some years ago, that I then purpos'd to intitle this *Dissertation* HOBAB: but as I wou'd guard against the cavils of those, who, finding nothing material to criticize, will be nibbling at indifferent incidents, I afterwards chang'd my mind: since, tho it be not impossible that HOBAB might continue in this post forty years, and that it is probable he went to join MOSES, as soon as ever the Israelitish expedition was begun; yet tis likewise as possible, that he might not be the first Guide in the wilderness of Etham, nor live till the passage of Jordan, when the Pillar became useless for the future.

XXVIII. TO crown our work, I shall here be at some small pains to solve the difficulties, that have been started by not a few Commentators, about this same HOBAB; who is sometimes confounded with his father, sometimes with his grandfather, and at other times with both. There have not been wanting therefore, who made RAGUEL or REHUEL (according to the different pronunciation of the Letter *Hajin*) I say RAGUEL, JETHRO, ^y and HOBAB, to be all one and the same person: tho it be manifest from our last citation out of *Numbers*, that at least RAGUEL and HOBAB were not the same, since HOBAB is there exprely call'd ^{Num. 10.} ^{29.} *the son of RAGUEL the Midianite, MOSES's father-in-law.* But which of them was the father-in-law is another doubt; because, by reason of an ambiguity very common in the Hebrew language, the place may be so constru'd, as to make either RAGUEL or HOBAB the father-in-law, which nothing but circumstances can decide: and by these circumstances it will be evident, that neither of them was literally and properly MOSES's father-in law; tho either of them might be figuratively and customarily so stil'd. While the grandfather lives, he's still head of the family, and call'd father by all his descendants. This was a common usage in the East, of which there are manifold examples in the *Old Testament*, where even a deceas'd grandfather is call'd father by his grandchild. *Except the God of my father* ^{Gen. 31} ^{42.} *(says JACOB to LABAN) the God of ABRAHAM, and the terror of ISAAC, had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away now emt.* Thus LABAN, ^{Ibid. ver} ^{43.} to produce no more authorities in a matter so clear, calls JACOB's children his own, because they were born of his daughters. Now RAGUEL was the grandfather of ZIPPORAH MOSES's

wife, JETHRO's daughter; notwithstanding that she and the rest are, after the oriental manner, nam'd the children of RAGUEL, who for the same reason was call'd MOSES's father-in-law.

This account will be very easy to any one, that carefully compares together the second, third, fourth, and eighteenth chapters of *Exodus*, where RAGUEL is mention'd the first time, and JETHRO ever after, as being more nearly concern'd

in the affairs of his daughter. He was not a little proud, we may easily imagine, to have so great a man for his son-in-law as MOSES became; and therefore he not onely waited on him at mount Sinai (RAGUEL being probably too old for a journey) but assist'd him with excellent advice, towards settling the Government of the Israelites.

That RAGUEL was the father of JETHRO is the opinion of ARN EZRA and DRUSIUS: but things themselves weigh more with me than all subsequent authority. As RAGUEL and JETHRO, so this last and his Son HOBAB have been confounded together, by reason of the equivoue I

have remark'd before in the tenth of *Numbers*: yet, setting aside all considerations about the multiplicity of names (a thing very uncertain, and subject to perpetual wrangling) we are help'd out here by obvious circumstances, to prove that JETHRO and HOBAB were not the same person;

since JETHRO had actually departed to his own country, long before MOSES made it his request to HOBAB, to direct the incampment and marches

of the Israelites in the wilderness. As HOBAB was call'd the son of his grandfather, there is no impropriety in calling him MOSES's father-in-law, brothers standing instead of fathers to their sisters; especially if the father be dead or absent. THEODORET did not only maintain HOBAB to be in

reality

reality MOSES's ³¹ *brother-in-law*, tho customarily, or by an Ellipsis, call'd his *father-in-law*; but says *that, in his own time, brothers-in-law us'd to be stil'd fathers-in-law*. However that were, the circumstances I have instanc'd, do sufficiently prove that this was the case of HOBAB; over and above his going up with the children of Israel, and obtaining large possessions among them, for his pains and services.

XXIX. ERE I make out this last point, it will not be amiss to give an example, into what intricacies and labyrinths the most learned Critics are apt sometimes to throw themselves, by taking any thing for granted; or being born away, as by a violent stream, with popular prejudices. Passing over the dotages of Bigots, and the subtrefuges of Hypocrites, I shall pitch upon a great man indeed, and one that I shall always reckon such, tho he differs from me in this whole affair. But I shall never make an agreement with my own notions, to be the measure of other men's abilities: being likewise fully persuaded, that whoever is guilty of this mean and envious practice, pleases none but the like narrow-soul'd creatures with himself. Monsieur LE CLERC, whose *critical Commentaries* I have justly commended above, believes the *Cloud* to have been miraculous (contrary to the heretical disposition imputed by his adversaries) and takes it for granted that JETHRO and HOBAB, if not RAGUEL, were one and the same man. This involves him in great difficulties, out of which he finds no issue, but by saying that the request of MOSES to HOBAB

31. Περδερον αὐτοῦ καλεῖται, ὡς τῆς γαμῆτος ἀδελφοῦ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πολλοὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους περδερίδας καλοῦσιν. Quæst. 3. in *Juic*.

Num. 10.
29, &c.

for guiding the Israelites (evidently inconsistent with the miraculous Pillar) is not only misplac'd in the book of *Numbers*, but ought even to be carry'd back over the belly of *Leviticus*, and plac'd between the 26th and 27th verses of the 18th chapter of *Exodus*. I shall not insist on what he formerly objected himself, with so much wit, to the loose scrolls of Father SIMON: but barely say, that, by indulging this practice, every thing may be made of any thing in the most senseless book in the world; and the contents of the best book, be render'd on a level with the worst. I take this transposing to be well-meant zeal in others, who are sincere in thus proceeding, as Monsieur LE CLERC in particular; but in me I own it wou'd be both criminal, and profane: criminal, in using any book so, where I was certain it did not need it, but purposely to serve a turn; and profane, in jumbling a sacred book, after a manner I shou'd esteem ridiculous in the most trivial performance. The words of this learned man (lest I shou'd be thought to charge him wrongfully) are as ³² follows. *These circumstances, had the series of times and things been observ'd, shou'd be join'd with those that are contain'd in the 18th chapter of Exodus, and be inserted after the 26th verse: for it does not seem probable that old HOBAB, or REHUEL, came twice to the camp*

32. Hae circumstantiae, si ordo temporis et rerum servaretur, debuissent conjungi cum ijs, quae habentur Exod. 18, et quidem post versum 26 inseri: non videtur enim senex CHOBABUS, aut REHUEL, bis venisse in castra Hebraeorum, et bis abiisse. Haec quoque illi dixisse videtur MOSES, antequam sciret Nubem perpetuam fore ducem Israelitis: neque enim quae habentur versu 31, consistere possunt cum ductu Nubis. Nisi Deus Israelitis per Arabicas solitudines dux viae fuisset, utilis ei futura erat hominis locorum periti opera: sed cum loca castris capiendis signaret Nubes, alio viae duce non indigebant Israelitae. Ad cap. 10. Num. vers. 29.

of the Hebrews, and departed twice from thence. Besides that MOSES seems to have spoken these things to him, before he knew that the Cloud was to be a perpetual Guide to the Israelites: for the contents of the 31st verse, can no way consist with the guidance of the Cloud. Indeed if GOD had not show'd the way to the Israelites thro the Arabian deserts, the help of a man, well acquainted with those places, must have prov'd very useful to them: but seeing the Cloud did regularly mark the places fit for pitching their camps, the Israelites stood in need of no other Guide to point out the way to them. Our System is subject to none of these difficulties. RAGUEL never came to the camp of the Israelites, JETHRO came once, and HOBAB always accompany'd MOSES.

XXX. BUT leaving the excuse Monsieur LE CLERC makes for the foresaid passage, supposing it originally part of the book of *Numbers*, to the reader's judgment; I come now to show, that Ad cap. 10. vcr. 30.
HOBAB and his family proceeded with the Israelites towards the land of Canaan. The offer that MOSES made him was too tempting to be refus'd, and we have all imaginable reason to suppose, that he gladly accepted the favor. I grant there's no further occasion of mentioning him on the way; but, after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, we find, according to the ingagement of MOSES, ample provision made for the family of HOBAB by name: a family in high repute, enjoying large territories, and eminently zealous for the Jewish Law. They were call'd *Kenites*, but not to be confounded with the old Cananean *Kenites*, to some of whose possessions it may be they succeeded. The first time we meet with the Midianitish *Kenites*, is in the book of *Judges*, and in these words. *The children of the Kenite, MOSES's* Jud. 1. 16.
father-

father-in-law, went up out of the city of Palm-trees, with the children of Judah, into the wilderness of Judah, which lyeth in the south of Arad, and they went and dwelt among the people. The diverse acceptations of father-in-law having been explain'd before, the question now turns upon this: who was the immediate stock of the flourishing branches of the Kenites? and this is fully answer'd in the

Ibid. 4. 11. same book of Judges. HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, the father-in-law of MOSES, had sever'd himself from the Kenites, and pitch'd his tent unto the plain of Zaanaim, which

VER. 17. is by Kedesh. A little after you read, that there was peace between JABIN the King of Hazor, and the house of HEBER the Kenite: wherby it appears how potent the posterity of HOBAB became, in consequence of the rewards promis'd him by MOSES; when one branch of them was so considerable, as to enter into treaty with a Prince,

Ibid. ver. 3. who had nine hundred chariots of Iron. By the way, it was the wife of this HEBER, byname Jael, who murder'd SISERA the general in his sleep; notwithstanding he came for shelter to her tent on her own invitation, that she had refresh'd him with food, and that he ought to expect all security from the peace establish'd between his master JABIN and her husband HEBER. Some of these Kenites liv'd among the Amalekites, which last when SAUL had resolv'd to root out, he

2 Sam. 15. said unto the Kenites, go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites lest I destroy you with them: for ye show'd kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites. The obligation of showing the way thro the wilderness, was never to be forgotten, as certainly it ought not. They are mention'd again
twice

twice in the first book of SAMUEL, from which I have taken this passage. They were so heartily addicted to the Law of MOSES, notwithstanding their progenitors RAGUEL and JETHRO were Priests of Midian (which is never said of HOBAB) that when JEHU wou'd persuade the nation of his aversion to BAAL and all Idolatry, he chose for his most credible witnesses, JONADAB the Son of RECHAB, an illustrious man of this family. After inquiring if his heart was right, he took him up into his chariot; and he said, come with me, see my zeal for the LORD. This JONADAB instituted in his own family and posterity the memorable sect of the RECHABITES, denominated from his father, and living in the nearest conformity of all mortals to the dictates of nature; both for the preservation of health, and the avoiding of vanity, envy, ambition, carking cares, and endless toil. An account of 'em will best sound from their own mouths. *I set before the sons of the house of the Rechabites (says JEREMIAH) pots full of wine and cups; and I said unto them, drink ye wine. But they said, we will drink no wine: for JONADAB, the son of RECHAB, our father, commanded us, saying; ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land, where ye be strangers. Thus have we obey'd the voice of JONADAB, the son of RECHAB, our father, in all that he has charged us; to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters: nor to build houses for us to dwell in, neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed; but we have dwelt in tents, and have obey'd, and done according to all that JONADAB, our father, commanded us.* These Rechabites might furnish

Ibid. 27. 10.

& 30. 29.

1 Chron. 2.

55.

2 Kings 8.

15, 16.

Jer. 35.

5-10.

nish us with abundance of useful reflections: but this *Dissertation*, wherein I have endeavor'd that precision shou'd reign next to perspicuity, is long enough already. I cou'd easily enlarge it, especially in this latter part, wou'd I produce all the shifts of the *Commentators*, each to serve his own hypothesis, concerning RAGUEL, JETHRO, and HOBAB. They come nearest the point, who make HOBAB to have been JETHRO's brother. But I shall never tempt the Reader's patience, where I have no prospect of instructing him: besides that the main subject of the *Cloud's not being miraculous*, can suffer nothing from wrangling about names by those; who wou'd rather have any portion of the sacred writings to pass for nonsense, than that I shou'd demonstrate it to be sense. In this however lies my comfort, that the BIBLE will ever preserve its dignity; and that the TRUTH will triumph at last, over all the prejudices of the ignorant or the interested.

F I N I S.

CLIDOPHORUS,

O R,

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 RELIGIONS establish'd by Law; the other private and secret, wherein, to the few capable and discrete, was taught the real TRUTH stript of all disguises.

Χρῶ δε σε πάντα πυνθεσθαι,

Ἡ μὲν ἀληθείης εὐπειθεῖσθ' ἀτρεκές ἦτορ;

Ἡ δὲ βροτῶν δοξᾶς, τῶν οὐκ ἐτι πῖσις ἀληθείης.

PARMENIDES apud. DIOG. LAERT. Lib. 9. Sect. 12.

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CLIDOPHORUS,

OR

Of the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric Philosophy*.

I.



O know the TRUTH is one thing, to tell it to others is another thing: and as all men profess to admire the first, so few men practise the last as they ought. At the same time that TRUTH is own'd to be more valuable than wealth or honor, these are by most without hesitation preferr'd before it; which appears not onely by their eager application to procure riches and titles, while they abandon the study of TRUTH, or faintly pursue it: but also by the abject deference they shamelessly pay to men of power, and the indifference or neglect they commonly shew to men of Learning. I shall not scrupulously inquire into the causes of this proceeding, which are various and multiform; but of all that can be assign'd, INTEREST certainly is the most general and prevailing: for men being observ'd to be naturally fond of TRUTH, tho,

thro

thro laziness or occupation, few are capable to acquire the possession of it; some cunning persons thought they cou'd not better attain to Authority over the rest (which draws Riches after it of course) than by pretending to be masters of this same TRUTH. Next they gave out that they cou'd impart it to others, without putting them to any labor, or diverting them from any business: and as for a little expense, who wou'd grudge to give a price out of his transitory pelf for the invaluable jewel of Knowledge? or not think it equitable to bestow a moderate reward on men, that cou'd equally delight and benefit him? Nor did these crafty Empirics stop here. They knew the falsity of facts, and the fallacy of reasonings, might at one time or other be detected by men of penetration. Wherefore, as the Devil is God's ape, they boasted of a superior and supernatural knowledge, not subject to the rules of Criticism, nor a proper object of the Understanding. Nay, they went a greater length, openly maintaining that it was lawful to ly for the public good; so that the common people (said they) being incapable of reflection, ought to be manag'd by guile, and to be deluded by agreeable fables into obedience to their Governors. Thus MENEVIS, an Egyptian king, impos'd on his subjects, by feigning an extraordinary communication with heaven. ZOROASTER successfully practis'd the same art on the Bactrians and other neighboring nations. PYTHAGORAS, after hiding himself for some time (as if he were dead) appear'd again at Crotona, preaching the joys and torments of another life. His disciple ZAMOLXIS vaunted having receiv'd divine Revelations in a cave, whereby he gain'd such authority, as to prescribe what laws he pleas'd to the rude Scythians. MINOS and EPIMENIDES in Crete, publish'd the conferences

ferences they had with JUPITER in their several retirements from the society of other men, on whom they obtruded their own fictions for divine commands. Who has not read of NUMA's intimacy with the Goddess EGERIA? from whom, if his own word ought to be taken, he learnt the Religion he taught the Romans. I shall name no more out of the long list, which the learned have of such antiquated seducers; nor any among those whose Institutions still prevail, except for example sake FOHI, SOMMONOKODOM, MAHOMET, and CINGHIS-CHAN. DIODORUS SICULUS, and other antient writers, were not afraid to rank MOSES in this class, tho his laws be truly divine, without any mixture of weakness or folly. But as this incomparable Legislator ought to want no apology among Christians, so I have solely to do at present with those Heathen IMPOSTORS; who perceiving that what was built upon fraud, cou'd onely be supported by force, they made it capital to question their dictates, and highly disreputable so much as to examine, let alone to doubt of them. The Priests, for their own interest, were not wanting any where to promote such penal laws; and the Magistrates (partly thro Superstition proceeding from their ignorance; and partly thro Policy, to grasp at more power than the laws allow'd, by the assistance of the Priests) have been commonly very ready to enforce those laws, by what they call'd *wholesome severities*. Hence no room was left for the propagating of TRUTH, except at the expense of a man's life, or at least of his honor and employments, wherof numerous examples may be alledg'd. The Philosophers therefore, and other well-wishers to mankind in most nations, were constrain'd by this holy tyranny to make use of 'a two-fold doctrine; the one *Popular*, accom-

F

modated

‘ modated to the PREJUDICES of the vulgar, and
 ‘ to the receiv’d CUSTOMS or RELIGIONS: the o-
 ‘ ther *Philosophical*, conformable to the nature of
 ‘ things, and consequently to TRUTH; which,
 ‘ with doors fast shut and under all other precau-
 ‘ tions, they communicated onely to friends of
 ‘ known probity, prudence, and capacity. These
 they generally call’d the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric*, or
 the *External* and *Internal Doctrines*. That such
 a distinction they us’d, and that they practis’d ac-
 cordingly, I am now going to show (being the
 subject of this *Dissertation*) by a select Collection
 I made of passages to this purpose, out of abun-
 dance of others, scatter’d up and down the anti-
 ent writers.



II.



ET ere I begin this Collection, in-
 terspers’d with my own observations,
 I cannot but deplore such a depravity
 of human nature, as to find Christians
 unhappily constrain’d any where, to
 regulate their conduct according to this Heathen
 distinction; tho they profess the Religion of him
 who is TRUTH *it self*, and *whose service is per-*
fect FREEDOM. They are commanded to LOVE
each other, and to *speak the TRUTH one to ano-*
ther: but they so obey, as if they were expressly
 injoin’d the contrary. Not onely every sect fu-
 riously opposes another, and all of ’em every one
 you can name; but those of the same sect stand in
 mutual opposition for the poorest trifles in the
 world, for airy distinctions, for a party-jargon,
 for

no favorite sounds, nay oftentimes for syllables and letters. They manifest all the signs of a perfect hatred, by branding, defaming, and avoiding each other; their leaders ever showing 'em the example, as if they were afraid they shou'd come to a better understanding, and sooner or later perceive that they quarrel'd about nothing. These are facts not possible to be deny'd. And as little can it be deny'd, that, not content with this rancor of mind, or the narrowness of their peculiar schemes and notions; they heartily plague each other with fines and incapacities, with exile, imprisonment, and other numberless ways: not to mention the last of all evils Death, which at least is so in their opinion; till Persecution ends at length in the *Inquisition*, as the utmost perfection of this hellish *Oeconomy of faith*. In fine, daily experience sufficiently evinces, that there is no discovering, at least no declaring of TRUTH in most places, but at the hazard of a man's reputation, employment, or life. These circumstances cannot fail to beget the woful effects of insincerity, dissimulation, gross ignorance, and licentious barbarity. What's most of all to be lamented, is, that but too much of this leaven ferments in the purest *Churches*. What strange turns are given to controversies, about things in themselves indifferent, and where both sides of the question may be innocently maintain'd? What secret insinuations, what barefac'd calumnies, what unkind suggestions, what injurious treatment of those, who ought to be esteem'd and cherish'd as brethren? but who being thus forc'd to become enemies, and, sway'd by human frailty, are provok'd to repay their adversaries in the like coin with usury. Among *Priests* and *Ministers* in particular (leaving every one to assume the name he likes best, for they are no more agreed about names than any thing else) what unmanly pump-

ing and tale-bearing, what wiredrawing to an acknowledgement of their thoughts, and deposing 'em if they are frank, or suspecting 'em if reserv'd? Scurrility is the least exasperation, as being the commonest. This must of necessity produce shiftings, ambiguities, equivocations, and hypocrisy in all its shapes; which will not merely be call'd, but actually esteem'd, *necessary cautions*: occasion'd in all times and places by ambitious Priests, supported by their property the Mob; thus depriving us of the peace of life and the truth of religion, yea of philosophical discoveries and improvements, to the no small detriment of mankind. In all this affair Pride is ever join'd to Interest, for never was any Pride equal to the pretense of *Infalibility*; which has furnish'd this just observation, that as the Church of *Rome* claims to be ever in the right, so no other Churches will ever confess themselves to be in the wrong. Submit therefore you must right or wrong, or it will be the worse for you in all the respects I have mention'd. And yet (what's a natural consequence) do but sooth this spiritual arrogance, the most impious book shall pass current; witness that heap of *Scripture-contradictions*, as he thinks them, about Providence and the origin of the World according to the *MOSAIC* account, affectedly put together by BERIGARDUS in his *Circulus Pisanus*, a book otherwise very ingenious and useful. He endeavors even to prove, that the being of GOD cannot be known by reason, but onely by faith; and that the authority of the books of *Scripture* cannot be prov'd by history or reason, but be implicitly and devoutly receiv'd. Yet this bouncing compliment to *Mother Church*, in the third part falsely printed the fifth, saves all. *There is more stress to be laid on any miracles receiv'd and approv'd by the Church (as the cure of a slight ague divinely wrought) than*

Part. 2.
Circ. 20.

Part. 3.
Circ. 3, 4.

Part. 3.
Circ. 3.
Pag. 232.

than if any man shou'd see all who dy'd in this age brought to life again, than if mountains were remov'd out of their places; than if a new world was created: since in all these things there wou'd still remain the suspicion of magical fraud, whence they might be deem'd not really perform'd (which one wou'd think were easier suspected of an ague) but rather to be the fancies of our imaginations, or the illusions of our senses. The short and the long of this is, that we must believe the Church rather than our own eyes; if BERIGARDUS did not banter, as well as coaks the old Lady's vanity. I doubt not, for my part, but he made use of the *Exoteric and Esoteric distinction*, to save his bacon, as we say: or if any, who has not read those *Circles* or *Dialogues*, will have it that he did not, with all my heart; but I am just going to demonstrate that others did, and that it was the common practice of all the antient Philosophers.



III.

WHEREFORE PARMENIDES was unquestionably in the right, when he affirm'd that *there are two sorts of Philosophy, the one according to TRUTH, the other according to OPINION*: which is not onely true of the Greeks and Romans, but as certainly so of other nations much more antient. I know that the words of PARMENIDES may be commodiously understood of the fallaciousness and uncertainty of the Senses, which often represent things otherwise than they are in themselves, and must therefore be examin'd and

Diog. La-
ert. lib. 9.
sect. 22.

In ARISTOT. lib.
1. Physicor.

Videantur
HERODOTUS, DIO-
DORUS SICULUS,
STRABO,
PLUTARCHUS, JAM-
BLICHUS,
alique bene
rostri.
De IDE
et OSIRIDE,
Edit. Par.
pag. 354.

Id. Ibid.

corrected by Reason. From the Senses arises Opinion, from Reason Demonstration: on the former are huddl'd up the prejudices of the Vulgar, following the bare appearance of things; on the latter are founded the axioms of the Wise, who consider things as they are in themselves. But this is not the twofold Philosophy that makes our subject, nor what the author intended, but the other represented by PHILOPONUS. This writer assures us, that PARMENIDES in his *Exoterics* (or books accommodated to the public taste) says fire and water are the beginning or principle of all things, as if he had acknowledg'd the world to have been created: but that in his *Esoterics* (or books compil'd according to the truth) he says the Universe is one, infinite, and immutable. Here not only the distinction of *Exoterics* and *Esoterics* is literally to be learnt, but an example of it likewise alledg'd; namely, a beginning of things *Exoterically*, but *Esoterically* the eternity and incorruptibility of the Universe. The Egyptians, who were the wisest of mortals, had a twofold doctrine: the one secret, and in that very respect sacred; the other popular, and consequently vulgar. Who is there, that is ignorant of their sacred Letters, Hieroglyphics, Forms, Symbols, Enigmas, and Fables? Far and near was spread the fame of the Egyptian Philosophy, *concealing things under the appearance of Fables* (says PLUTARCH) and in speeches that contain'd obscure indications and arguments of the Truth: which they themselves expressly declare, by placing Sphynxes before most of their Temples; thus insinuating, that their doctrine concerning sacred things, consists in a sort of wisdom which is designedly perplex, and lying hid under study'd veils. That we may give a specimen of such things as they conceal'd, the fame of MINERVA (says PLUTARCH again) whom they think to be the same with

with Isis, has this Inscription at Sais: I AM ALL THAT WAS, IS, AND SHALL BE: NOR HAS ANY MORTAL DISCOVER'D WHAT'S UNDER MY HOOD. Isis therefore, whom the vulgar believ'd to have been a Queen, and of whom they had a thousand different fables; was the Nature of all things, according to the Philosophers, who held the UNIVERSE to be the principal GOD, or the supreme being, and consequently abstruse or obscure, none seeing beyond the surface of Nature. But this they only discover'd to the initiated. To that of Sais corresponds another Inscription still remaining at Capua; TO THEE, WHO ALONE ART ALL THINGS, O GODDESS ISIS. Tho I am farr from designing to emty common places on this occasion, yet I cannot forbear inserting here part of a speech put into the mouth of Nature by APULEIUS. Mov'd by thy prayers, O LUCIUS, behold NATURE, the parent of all things, standing before thee; the mistress of all the elements, the initial stock of ages, the highest of the higher and queen of the lower powers, the uniform appearance of Gods and Goddesses, who govern by my motions the luminous heights of the sky, the salutary breezes of the sea, and the melancholy silence of the nether parts: whose one onely Deity under numerous forms, various rites, and different names, is ador'd by the whole world. His prayer likewise to ISIS, or rather to NATURE (as he himself explains it) may be read, with no less pleasure than instruction, in the same book. I cou'd bring many other proofs, that ISIS in the mouth of the vulgar signify'd a Queen, and Nature in that of the Philosophers. PYTHAGORAS, that I may hastily pass over all others, travelling for knowlege to the Egyptians, suffer'd himself to be circumcis'd; that, getting admittance into

Id. *ibid.*Metamer.
lib. 11. Edit.
Delphin.
pag 362.

CLEM. A.
lex. Strom.
lib. 1. Edit.
POTTER.
pag. 354.

the Sanctuaries, he might from the Priests and the Prophets learn the genuin sense of the mystical doctrine: which, as I said before, they discover'd to none, except when intreated with the utmost importunity, and soften'd by complaisance and assiduity.



IV.



HIS double manner of teaching was also in use among other oriental nations, especially the Ethiopians and Babylonians, the antient and modern Bramins, the Syrians, Persians, and the rest, principally instructed by ZOROASTER. The Classic books, and late Travels to this purpose, are in every body's hands. The Druids of the Gauls and Britons wou'd by no means deliver their mysteries or secret doctrines, to any except the initiated: that I may say nothing of the Hetruscans, and other Occidental nations, no more than of the present Chinese, Siamese, and Indians properly so call'd; the thing being so notorious, as to be deny'd by no body. From these several peoples, let us procede to the Grec Philosophers. Most celebrated is the *secret discipline* of PYTHAGORAS, after which original the ARISTOTELIAN *Acroatics*, or if you had rather *Acroamatics*, have been copy'd. But of these latter anon. The disciples of PYTHAGORAS were either *Hearers* or *Mathematicians*, or *Exoterical* or *Esoterical*, whom we may render Exterior and Interior auditors. All things were declar'd to the *Esoterical* (but without witnesses) in a plain, perspicuous, and copious

DIOG.
Laert. in
prooem.
Sect. 6. Item AM-
MIAN. Mar-
cellin. lib.
15. cap. 9.

DIOG.
Laert. in
PYTHAG.
Item } AM-
ELIC. POR-
PHYR. cum
multis aliis.

copious speech: while every thing, on the contrary, was deliver'd to the *Exoterical*, in a perplext, obscure, and enigmatical manner; nor was any thing told clearly, except popular and vulgar matters. The silence injoin'd to the latter, or the probation they were to undergo, lasted five years, or two years at the least; but that of the former, whom they also stil'd and reputed *perfect*, was perpetual: not towards each other (as has been rashly believ'd by many) but onely towards all those, who were not of their fellowship; whence that most common maxim among them, that *all things ought not to be declar'd to all men*. They reserv'd their own doctrines to themselves, as so many holy secrets; or if any others happen'd to be present, they told their minds to each other by symbols and enigmas or parables: whence it has unluckily happen'd, that scarce any thing which was of use or moment among them, is come to the knowledge of the public; this being the true reason of the obscurity, or rather the almost intire loss, of the Pythagorean Philosophy. Of this conduct I shall give one example. **LYSIS** the Pythagorean severely chid his condisciple **HIPPARCHUS**, for having publish'd some points of the *Esoteric Philosophy*; and for having communicated to men, who were neither initiated, nor prepar'd by contemplation and the necessary sciences, their master's doctrine: whereupon he was expell'd out of the school, and a monument erected for him, according to the custom of the Pythagoreans, as if he had been actually dead.

DIAGEN.
Laert. lib 8.
Sect. 15.

JAMBLIC.
in vita PY-
THAG. cap.
17. n^o 75.

CLEM. A-
lex. Strom.
lib. 5. pag.
680. ORI-
GEN. contra
CELS. lib. 2.
Edit. Cant.
pag. 67. et
lib. 3. pag.
142.



V.



Strom. lib.
5. pag. 681.

Noct. Ar-
tic. lib. 20.
cap. 5.

Id. Ibid.

Id. Ibid.

Pag. 3115.

OR was such silence and reserve peculiar to the Pythagoreans. Let us therefore procede from the Samian to the Stagyrte. *The Aristotelians* (says CLEMENS *Alexandrinus*) assert, that of their writings some indeed are *Esoteric*; while others are vulgar, and *Exoteric*. This is very home to the point, and the passage is not a little confirm'd, if not much illustrated, by AULUS GELLIUS in the following words. *Tis said that of the books and arts, which the Philosopher ARISTOTLE, king ALEXANDER's tutor, deliver'd to his disciples, he had two sorts. Some he nam'd Exoteric, others Acroatic. Such were call'd Exoteric, as taught Rhetorical studies, the faculty of pleading or subtil disputations, and the knowledge of political affairs: but those were stil'd Acroatic, that pertain'd to the contemplation of Nature, and to dialectical disquisitions. He admitted all his disciples without distinction, and even such of the people as pleas'd, to his Exoteric lessons, which he read in the evening: but he spent the morning in the Lyceum upon explaining the Acroatic or Esoteric doctrine, to which (pursues GELLIUS) he did not indifferently admit every body, but with caution and choice. To ALEXANDER, complaining that he publish'd and made common his Acroatic books, he answer'd, know that they are neither publish'd, nor yet unpublish'd; seeing they'll be onely intelligible to those, who have been my hearers. ARISTOTLE's Exoterics are mention'd by PLUTARCH, against COLOTES;*

COLOTES; and before him by CICERO, who sometimes understands by them indigested and unfinished treatises, in contradistinction to such as were perfect and studiously polish'd. But his *Exoteric*s are to be sought from none, preferably to ARISTOTLE himself, who refers to them in many places. The Stoic Philosophers, nay the Epicureans, had certain secrets among themselves, wherof they did not easily permit the reading to every body. PLATO wisely providing for his own safety, after the poysonous draught was administer'd to SOCRATES by profane and impious persons, wrote rather poetically, than philosophically: wherfore, by epically transforming the nature of things, the elements, and the celestial globes, with the passions of the body and the qualities of the mind, into Gods, Goddesses, Geniuses, and Demons, he furnish'd large materials for fables to the Platonics falsely so call'd; for night is not more unlike to day, than the modern to the primitive Platonics. *I pass over in silence* (says APULEIUS, who for all his affected luxury of stile, is an excellent Commentator on the Antients) *those sublime and divine Platonic doctrines, understood by very few of the pious, and absolutely unknown to every one of the profane.* All PLATO's books are so full of the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric distinction*, which is the true key to his works, that out of them alone I cou'd write a sizable volum on this subject. Who is there that seems to speak more positively about a beginning of the world, or a *Creation* in our language, than he? and yet he's affirm'd by PHURNUTUS, to have maintain'd the UNIVERSE to be JOVE. Nay he plainly enough insinuates so much himself in diverse places. Besides that in his second book *de Republica*, he divides Theology into symbolical or mystical, and into philosophical or demonstrative,

Ad Attic.
lib. + ep.
16.

CLEM. A.
lex. Strom.
lib. 5.

In Apolo-
gia, pag.
419.

Denat. De-
or. cap. 2.
Αλλως. E-
dit. Gal.
Amst.
1688.

strative, of which distinction he makes almost a perpetual use. Wherefore I wou'd advise certain persons, who affect citing of PLATO before other writers, to deal fairly, by acquainting their readers in what sense he speaks: and whether from exotic tradition, or philosophical persuasion; whether Exoterically and Vulgarly, or Esoterically and as a Philosopher. But the Academics, the true followers of PLATO (of whom presently by themselves) held quite another course, and a much better.

Epheſian HERACLITUS, in the book which he intitu'd *Of Nature*, explain'd nothing clearly; whence he got the surname of *Scotinus*, or *Obscure*. Yet because he fell under the blame of several, on account of this obscurity, some body has honor'd his memory with the following Epigram.

Id. Ibid.

*You must not HERACLITUS slightly read,
The way is rugged, and the book obscure;
But if into his sense he does you lead,
All's plain, and like the sun it self most pure.*

The readers wanted a key, that might open 'em a passage into his secret meaning: and such a key, that I may hint it *en passant*, is to be, for the most part, borrow'd by the skilful from the writers themselves.



VI.



UT dismissing the rest, which would be infinite labor to run over particularly, *it was the custom of the Academics* (says CicerO) *to conceal their opinion; and not to discover it to any body, except to such as had liv'd with them even to old age.* I shou'd have thought this an over-caution, unless I had known the Superstitious to be so very jealous, and ever bent upon mischief. What CicerO has somewhere written about others, does not less appositly agree to the Academics. *There are two sorts of books,* says he: *the one popularly written, which they call'd Exoteric; the other more perfectly written, namely the Esoteric, which they left in their Commentaries, or finish'd Pieces.* Hence he rightly concludes, that the same Philosophers *do not always seem to say the same thing,* tho they continu'd of the same opinion; which is as true as Truth it self, of many writers in our own time. Wherefore the incomprehensibility of the Academics, their dubitation and perpetual suspension of assent; were not so propos'd and recommended, as if in effect they always doubted (which is impossible) or that they retain'd their assent, by reason of the insuperable incomprehensibility of things: but first, because they were unwilling to declare their judgment of every thing indifferently; and secondly, they were willing safely to dispute concerning all subjects whatsoever, by equally maintaining both sides of the question. Nor will any man in his senses, we may reasonably

Apud AUGUSTIN.
contra Academ. lib. 6.

De fin. bonor. & malor. lib. 5. cap. 5.

Ibid.

reasonably believe, deny them to have acted both wittily and wisely, as things then stood. **MOSES**, the most illustrious Lawgiver of the Jews (that I may pass over in silence all the other Prophets, with their eternal types and allegories) is not disown'd by his followers, to have departed somtimes from the accurate truth of divine and natural matters; and frequently to accommodate his words, when speaking of **GOD** himself, to the capacity and preconceiv'd opinions of the vulgar. This is incontestable: and hence it is, that the *Rabbins* vend so many fables, and that there is such palpable darkness in the *Cabala* (I wish it rested only there) concerning the **MOSE** Religion and Republic. Some of the *Rabbins*, however, were more subtle. What can be more *Esoteric* in some places, than the *Talmud*? which makes the Worlds not only plural, but also numberless; tho it specifies the number of eighteen thousand, a certain sum for an uncertain: besides that the *Cabala*, we just nam'd, makes the world infinite and eternal, increated and immense. **JESUS CHRIST** himself taught for the most part in parables, expressly forbidding *the children's bread*, or that which is holy, meaning the true doctrine, to be cast to the dogs: and admonishing his disciples, after the manner of the Philosophers, not to cast their pearls before swine; since these animals trampling such ill bestow'd gifts under their feet, and turning again upon their benefactors, not with gratitude but fury, will do their endeavor to tear them to pieces. This is ever the way of the sordid and the ignorant. *We speak wisdom among them that are perfect*, says **PAUL**: less profoundly therefore among the ruder sort, nor do the other *Apostles* (from whom I might bring many passages to this purpose) speak a different language; tho farr be it from me to make any comparison between

MAT. 15.

26. & 7.6.

MAR. 7.

27.

MAT. 7.6.

1 Cor. 2.6.

tween them, and the nations or sects I have brought on the stage in this discourse. These, as we have shown, made use of fables out of fear or craft; those employ'd parables for edification, and the more effectual conveyance of their doctrine. Yet, that we may not leave this subject abruptly, the *first notions* are not better known, than are the symbols, tropes, types, allegories, shadows, and mysteries, which on every occasion are alledg'd by all kinds of Christians. 'Tis not a thing therefore either so strange or wonderful, that it shou'd be eagerly controverted on every side, that it shou'd be a matter of the nicest inquiry, and a question agitated with no small concern among so prodigious a variety of sects, *what was in reality the original and genuin Institution of JESUS?* and this whether it be, that at the beginning it was involv'd in such sacred obscurity; or rather that it was afterwards thus perplext, by the inventions of the wily or the imaginations of the weak. But in whatever manner it so happen'd, I am downright asham'd of those *Fathers*, who made such ordinary actions as eating bread, drinking wine, and dipping in water, or washing with it, to pass for *tremendous and inutterable Mysteries*. Very intelligible and apposite figures we grant 'em to be, very significative of the things they represent and exhibit; but containing nothing terrible or abstruse, much less inutterable or inconceivable. Nevertheless, what those *Fathers* onely feign'd to be MYSTERIES, that they might in nothing come short of the Heathenism they had quitted; their successors took care shou'd become unintelligible to some purpose, and be tremendous in more senses than one, or in any sense except that of the *Gospel*. Yet for as awful and frightful as the *Fathers* describ'd the Christian MYSTERIES, they order'd them to be most diligently conceal'd;

Φεικτα,
ετιςβη
ορδεις,
κρυβια,
αφαντα, α-
ποφαντα,
αφεγσα
μυστικα.

ceal'd; lest the Heathens, or others (to give their own reasons) might scorn and despise their simplicity.



VII.



UT why do I insist on particulars? since this distinction of *Exoterical and Esoterical doctrines*, was, as it were, the *Catholic establishment* of all nations; which shows that *Universality* is no infallible mark of TRUTH, unless it be maintain'd that there is more wisdom than folly, more honesty than wickedness, more knowledge than ignorance in the world. I have a cloud of witnesses to confirm what I have advanc'd: but let CLEMENS *Alexandrinus* be their spokesman and interpreter. *All they (says he) who have treated of divine subjects, whether Barbarians or Greeks, did conceal the PRINCIPLES of things; but deliver'd the TRUTH under enigmas and symbols, under allegories and metaphors.* And indeed, not to speak of designing men, many others were persuaded, that both natural and divine things might best be explain'd by figures. Among these the Philosopher SALLUSTIUS is not the least considerable: to whose authority notwithstanding, in this point, I am farr from assenting. He looks upon it as improper, *to be desirous to teach all men alike, what is true concerning the Gods; since this in the unwise, who are incapable of such instruction, will breed content, and in the wise laziness: whereas to conceal the Truth under Fables (adds he) refrains the former from despising, and necessitates the latter*

Scromat.
lib. 5. pag.
658.

In libro de
Diss et
Mundo,
cap. 3.

to *Philosophize* ; as obliging them to inquire into the right meaning of such Fables, which will not let time ly idle on their hands. But where is the necessity, what is the end, of teaching the Vulgar any thing they cannot understand or practise? and as for the Learned, tis a jest to talk of exercising their diligence; when time can never fail them in imploying their industry about what is intelligible and usefull: for all those studies are vain, superfluous, nay ridiculous; that relate to matters in themselves incomprehensible, or of no manner of concern to human life. Not plainly to say and profess all you think, or to do it by circumlocution and figures, is one thing: but tis quite another thing, to speak positively against your own judgment, or against the TRUTH in any figure of speech whatever. For all this, I am oblig'd as a historian (since the *History of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy* is my present subject) to relate, that there have been of old, as well as at this time, several great men; who declar'd it their opinion, that FRAUD and SUPERSTITION were necessary means, to keep the common people in good order. Among such STRABO, a man himself not in the least superstitious, justly claims the foremost place. In the first book of his invaluable *Geography*, he expresses his judgment in the following words. *These* [speaking of artizans and the rest of the mob] *are turn'd* from their vices, when either by words, or certain frightful representations, they learn that punishments, and terrors, and comminations, procede from the Gods, or that they believe such things have been inflicted on any Persons: for tis impossible to govern the bulk of women, and of the promiscuous vulgar, by Philosophical discourses, or to lead them into religion, piety, or fidelity; but to this purpose SUPERSTITION is found to be necessary, which

Edit.
Amst.
pag. 36.

can never subsist without fictions and miracles. Wherefore JUPITER's thunderbolts, MINERVA's shield, NEPTUNE's trident, the torches and serpents of the FURIES, and those spears which are reckon'd the arms of the Gods, ARE ALL FABLES, as well as the WHOLE ANTIENT THEOLOGY: for these things were receiv'd by LEGISLATORS, as so many bullbeggars, whereby to keep in order the silly part of mankind. Nor is STRABO, as I hinted before, single in this opinion concerning the use of Fables. HOMER, which DIONYSIUS Halicarnassensis tells us in his *Life*, uses a paradoxical and fabulous narration of things; that he may fill his readers with diligence and admiration, and render his auditors amaz'd. That all his Gods are pure natural causes, qualities, incidents, and events, are prov'd in this very *Life*: but more

Edit.
Amst.
pag. 285.

Ἡρακλῆ-
του, οὐχι-
του Σα-
λῆρος, τῶν
τῶν κατὰ
Ὀμήρου
βλαστῶ-
μεναι τὰς
ἀλλήλους
εἰς τοῦ-
τοι, σὺν
ταταῖς, καὶ
ἀναγκα-
στῶται.

particularly and expressly by HERACLITUS, whose *Allegories of HOMER* deserve to be carefully perus'd. I shall neither obstinately deny, that the horror of Superstition, instill'd into the minds of men, never produc'd any good; nor shall I easily grant, that it ever had so desirable an effect: seeing that, the circumstances of all things duely consider'd, it must necessarily happen, that Superstition shou'd occasion more evil than good in the world. But granting that Superstition had at any time prov'd beneficial to the public, yet at other times without number, and in things of incomparably greater importance, it will be found detrimental, destructive, and utterly pernicious; nor advantageous to any, excepting PRIESTS or PRINCES, who dextrously turn it to their own interest, tho even these are not always able to direct it at their pleasure. It does not onely every where disturb private society and concord, and sometimes bring its sacred and sovereign managers to the last extremities; but

but too often disorders, or quite overturns, most flourishing Governments, which the Histories of all ages and nations make evident by infinite examples. As for the particular persons blasted with this contagious air, it never leaves 'em a moment's tranquillity, waking or dreaming, in occurrences of life, or at the point of death.



VIII.



O pass over many passages out of the most noted Apologists for Fables, such as those I have already nam'd, together with PROCLUS, PORPHYRY, JAMBlichus, MACROBIUS (not to speak of ORPHEUS, EMPEDOCLES, PARMENIDES, and such other of the Antients, who wrote allegorically) TIMEUS *Locrus*, that excellent disciple of PYTHAGORAS, teaches the same doctrine with STRABO: for he thinks Superstition to be no less necessary than the latter, for the restraint and government of the people. Tho the passage declaring this be a little of the longest, yet I shall wholly insert it here out of his golden treatise concerning the *Soul of the world*; especially, because it is from thence most manifest, that neither PYTHAGORAS nor the Pythagoreans believ'd the *Transanimation*, or *Transmigration of Souls*, for holding of which they are so famous: but that by this word they did *Esoterically* understand the incessant flux or motion of all things, and the perpetual change of forms in matter, one never decaying or dying but to begin and take on another; while *Exoterically* they did, to the pro-

Μητις
ψυχῶν.

Vide HE-
RODOT.
lib. 2. n.
123.

Edit.
Amst. pag.
565, 566.

HOMER.

Namely
Egyptian.

miscuous croud, affectedly preach the Egyptian *Revolution of Souls*, for the punishment or reward of what was transacted in the *Body*. This last does certainly transmigrate, revolve, interchange, or however otherwise it may be commodiously express; as no less does the *Soul* in the sense of those, who will have it to be *Ether* acting by the mechanism of the *Brain* and *Nerves*, which are the proper organs of thinking and feeling. But let us hear our Author. *A good Understanding* (says TIMEUS) *and the antient Philosophy*, after purging the mind from false opinions and imbuing it with knowledge, have deliver'd it from great ignorance, and excited it to the contemplation of divine subjects: in which things if any be so conversant, as to live content with his lot, to be mov'd at nothing incident to humanity, and adds to diligence temperance, that man is certainly happy. To whomsoever therefore the Divinity has granted this favor, he, by the TRUEST PHILOSOPHY, is led to the most consummate felicity. But if any Person will continue refractory and obstinate, he shall be sure of punishment both from the *Laws*, and from those *Doctrines*, which denounce celestial and infernal judgments; as that unhappy ghosts will meet with implacable torments, and those other things which the Ionic poet has deliver'd out of antient Tradition. For as we cure the bodies of sick persons with any sort of remedies, if they refuse the most wholesom; so we keep the minds of men in order by FALSE REASONS, if they will not be govern'd by TRUE ones. Wherefore there is a necessity of teaching those foren torments: as that there is a TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SOUL, those of Cowards passing into female bodies, assign'd 'em for a disgrace; those of Murderers into beasts of prey, for a punishment; those of Luxurious persons into the form of swine or goats; those of Inconstant

and

and Boasting fellows, into animals flying in the air; and those of the Slothful and the Idle, of the Un-teachable and the Foolish, into the shapes of animals living in the water. Here behold a most illustrious example of the double Philosophy, or Theology, if you'd rather have it so! Here's the true key, for opening the Egyptian and Pythagorean Mysteries! Nor are we to wonder any longer, that the same men do not always seem to say the same things on the same subjects, which problem can only be solv'd by the distinction of the External and Internal Doctrine. An application to the Caldean Resurrection is very easy.



IX.



THAT I may now return in particular to Fables, be persuaded of this (says PHURNUTUS, the Philosophizing Divine, to his son) that the Antients were no contemptible persons, but capable to understand the nature of the Universe; and peculiarly happy in philosophically explaining it by symbols and figures. This I can easily grant, and that the knowledge of the nature of things, is much better convey'd by allegories than fables: for allegories do onely cover the Truth, while fables confound and quite overwhelm it. Nothing is better known. But Fables, urges SALLUSTIUS, declare to all men the existence of the Gods: yet who and of what kind they are, they manifest to those alone that are capable. I would gladly have it so: but who are they that are capable? or that, in such cimmerian darkness, can onely grope out the Truth? who can accurately distinguish,

De nat.
Deor. cap.
ult.

De Diis et
Mundo.
cap. 3.

whether the point in question be a real matter of fact, or a fable invented at pleasure? when we see the learned and unlearned, whole communities and nations, divided on this subject. What is a History to CAIUS, is a fable to PUBLIUS. Where's the contemporary witness? or who else is to be trusted? what end or limitation will there be of Fables, if once you allow the use of them? how many objects of reverence and false worship, are owing to Fables misunderstood? how many Gods and Goddesses? whose rites and festivals beget idleness and debauchery, drunkenness and sloth, which are the fruitful sources of all vice (while the Priests of those imaginary powers are gainers by the public loss) which can neither be said nor imagin'd of figures and symbols. PLATO was so sensible of this, that, in the second book of his *Republic*, he forbid all those Fables concerning the contentions and wars of the Gods, their rapes, adulteries, slaughters, lies, thefts, distresses; with such other crimes and calamities, as begot wrong notions of the Gods, or that perverted natural morals by their examples: for men will never think that to be a vice or imperfection in themselves, which is a virtue or perfection in the Divinity. Wherefore the same PLATO banish'd HOMER, yet with distinguishing marks of honor; tho he well knew, that all his Fables veil'd natural matters: but to the Vulgar they seem'd so many real persons and stories that had certainly happen'd; as the reverence of objects, excited in the learned by images, terminates among the unlearned in the images themselves. For my part I do entirely agree with PLATO in the said second book, that *certain things*, as those above-mention'd, *ought not to be publicly receiv'd, whether fabulously deliver'd or otherwise: for young People*
are

are not able to distinguish if such be Fables or not ; and the opinions that are imbib'd in that tender age, can scarce ever be rectify'd, or they are eradicated with the greatest difficulty. This is prov'd undeniable by daily experience. O but, says DIONYSIUS Edit. Amst. Pag. 323. Halicarnassens in the Life of HOMER, it ought not to appear strange, if by enigmas and certain fabulous discourses, he delivers his conceptions; for this is occasion'd partly by poetry, and partly by the custom of the Antients: that the lovers of learning, being delightfully attracted by a certain elegance, might the more easily both seek after truth, and discover it; and that the unlearned might not despise those things, which they cannot understand. For there is a time, when what is figuratively said, becomes pleasant; and what is clearly explain'd, contemptible. This I allow to be a sufficient apology as to every thing, except RELIGION; wherein I think all Fables to be intolerable, and that no Allegories ought to be admitted, but onely in expressing the DIVINE NATURE and ATTRIBUTES. To say that Fables will quicken our diligence, is the same plea with that for Mysteries; as if time lay heavily on our hands, and that we had no other occupation but Criticism. Besides that if the one or the other be explicable, why not contemptible after they become known, according to the reasoning of DIONYSIUS and others? or if both of 'em be incomprehensible and unfathomable, our diligence is in vain, and we are exercis'd about nothing; or, which is the same thing, to no purpose.



X.



IN conceiving, explaining, and declaring the DIVINE NATURE and ATTRIBUTES, I readily own that Symbols and Metaphors are not onely apt and useful, but the last of 'em even absolutely necessary. Nor, in truth, can any ideas of them be otherwise imparted to the illiterate, of which this is not the place to render a reason. But, as farr as the matter concerns our subject of *the Exoteric and Esoteric Doctrine*, the most antient Philosophers, being no less conscious of the said difficulty relating to vulgar conceptions, than justly cautious against the detraction, malignity, violence, and rage of the superstitious, were not so solicitous to conceal any thing, as their real judgment concerning the DIVINE NATURE: for they observ'd that few kept a sedate temper in discoursing on this point, either when they were not able to maintain their own opinions, nor to confute those of others. For this disposition we have accounted before in the Priests, who stamp the same impression on the minds of the People. What Reason cannot support, Force must: and that shall not be permitted to be told, which shows the Multitude to be ridiculous, or their Guides impostors. This put the Philosophers every where on their guard. SIMONIDES, as we are inform'd by TULLY, being ask'd by the tyrant HIERO, what GOD was, or of what nature? requested the space of one day to think on the subject. When the day after, the same demand was reiterated, he begg'd for two days.

But

But when he had frequently doubl'd the number of days, and HIERO admiring ask'd why he did so? because, said he, the longer I consider upon it, the more obscure this thing appears. Not that he had nothing to answer: but that it was dangerous to tell the truth, or to do so without ambiguity and circumlocution, as by the examples of divers Philosophers might be easily prov'd. THALES the Milesian, when CRESUS demanded of him, what he thought of the GODS? after obtaining some days for deliberation, answer'd, Nothing: provided that TERTULLIAN (after his wonted manner) has not confounded HIERO and CRESUS, SIMONIDES and THALES. When EUCLID of Megara was ask'd by some body, of what nature were the GODS, and in what things they chiefly delighted? As to all other things, he answer'd that he was ignorant: but one thing he knew for certain, that they hated curious persons; for EUCLID was well aware, that a great questioner is a great babler. STILPO being likewise ask'd by CRATO, whether the GODS took pleasure in prayers and prostrations? You fool (said he) do not consult me about such things in the street, but at home. He makes use almost of the same expressions here, in which BION the Borysthenite answer'd to one, who ask'd him if there were any Gods?

TERTULLIAN. ad Nationes, lib. 2. cap. 2.

JOAN. STOB. Serm. 46. Edit. Francofurt. pag. 164.

DIOG. LAERT. lib. 2. sect. 117.

Id. lib. 4. sect. 46.

Old man, have you the croud farr off remov'd?

These Philosophers cou'd have all made proper answers, but they were unwilling to displease by declaring the truth; lest they shou'd bring the Vulgar on their backs, whose inconsiderateness has in all ages prov'd the greatest support of the Priests: inasmuch that even in a certain Christian Church it is grown a Proverb, that *the Ignorance of the Laity is the Revenue of the Clergy*. Agreeable to what has been related of several Philosophers,

Letters to
SERENA,
P. 114.

losophers, I have somewhere read of the famous Rabbi HILLEL, that to one inquiring of him with great curiosity, *What was the nature of GOD? if I knew it, my son* (answered he) *yet I shou'd be farr from telling you my thoughts about it.*

Invitation
CIAE.

To illustrate this point yet further, by what I observ'd on another occasion; the true reason why at a certain time the theory of the Starrs and Planets was so little, or at least not so generally known in Greece, was: that the common people wou'd not endure to hear those things made subject to a Philosophical examination, nor explain'd by the ordinary laws of nature, by involuntary causes, and blind faculties; which they were taught to be intelligent, eternal, and immortal GODS. And therefore when ANAXAGORAS discover'd that the moon had but a borrow'd light from the sun, and so gave the reasons of its wax and wane, such a doctrine (as *Plutarch* assures us) durst not be made public; but was secretly committed to very few, and even to them under a promise of fidelity. What examples cou'd I not produce to the same purpose!



XI.

In TIMAEUS,
Edit. SER-
RAN.
vol. 3. P.
28.

In Sen-
tent.



HEREFORE, things standing on this foot, no wise man will deny but PLATO spoke divinely, when he said, that to *discover the creator and parent of the Universe, was difficult: but to explain his nature to the Vulgar, impossible*; which is not the less true, were this Vulgar ever so willing to understand. Consonant to PLATO spoke DEMOPHILUS the Pythagorean, saying; that

to begin any discourse about GOD among men of prejudic'd opinions, is by no means safe: for whether truth be told to such or falsehood, tis equally dangerous. From this difficulty therefore, or rather diffidence and caution, sprung VARRO's *threefold Theology*, the Mythical, Physical, and Political; or the Fabulous, Philosophical, and Civil: wherof the first and the last sort are certain masks of Truth, or rather ingenious subterfuges from telling it. *They call that the mythical Theology* (says VARRO) *which is chiefly us'd by the Poets, the physical by the Philosophers, and the political by particular nations.* The first and the last he absolutely rejects; but approves the second, *which men's ears can more easily indure within the walls of a School, than abroad in the open Market-place:* because, as he there says, *natural Theology related to the UNIVERSE; than which those Philosophers, says AUGUSTIN very rightly, judge nothing more excellent to exist.* Among the rest this is most notoriously true of the Stoics, who reduc'd all the fabulous and popular Theology to the natural; or so explain'd all the fables of the Poets and the Vulgar, as to have been originally meant of natural causes and effects. They were too sagacious to admit the truth of such things in the literal sense, and too prudent to reject them all as nonsense: which led them of course, by the principle of self-preservation, to impose upon them a tolerable sense of their own; that they might not be deem'd wholly to deny the Religion in vogue, but to differ onely from others about the design and interpretation of it. This artifice, which I fancy has not perish'd with the Stoics, cou'd not escape the penetration of CICERO, who yet had sometimes recourse to it himself. *First ZENO* (says COTTA) *after him CLEANTHES, and then CHRYSIPPUS, were at great pains to no purpose, to give a reasonable explanation*

Apud AUGUSTIN de Civitate Dei, lib. 6. cap. 5.

Ibid.

Ibid.

De Nat. Deor. lib 3. cap. 24.

Ibid. ib. 2.
cap. 24.

Φασι τινες
ἑσσεσθαι τι-
ναι τῶν θε-
ῶν φε-
σθαι; οἱ
as in some
Manu-
scripts,
Κουρνού-
του ἐπι-
λεγειν τῶν
κατὰ τὴν
Ἑλληνι-
κὴν θεολο-
γίαν τὰς
θεολογί-
ας.

tion of commentitious Fables, and to account for the etymology of the very names of every GOD: which when you do, adds he, you plainly intimate, that the matter is quite otherwise than the bulk of mankind believes; you pretending that such as are held for GODS, do rather denote the natures of particular things, than the history of divine persons. The same CICERO does often elsewhere express his aversion to Fables; as being, if not the parents, yet certainly the fosterers of Superstition. From another reason, says he, and indeed a physical one, has proceeded a great multitude of GODS: which, being introduc'd under human shape, have supply'd the Poets with Fables, but at the same time have fill'd the life of men with all sorts of Superstition. He that wou'd not be at the pains of turning over many volumes, and yet is desirous to learn the Physical explications, which the Stoic and other Philosophers gave of the Heathen Mythology, of the very names as well as of the histories of each God and Goddess; I recommend to him the small treatise written by CORNUTUS, vulgarly call'd PHURNUTUS, of the nature of the GODS, as not only the most ingenious, but likewise in all respects the best.



XII.



HAT I may now return to VARRO, his account of the antient triple Theology is wholly approv'd by PLUTARCH; who even transcribes his words, tho inverting the order a

De Placit.
Philosoph.
lib. 1. cap. 6.

little, as the following passage makes as clear as the sun. *They, who have deliver'd unto us the*
WORSHIP

WORSHIP OF THE GODS, made use of three kinds of forms; the natural, the fabulous, and the legal: the Philosophers teach the natural, the Poets the fabulous, and the several Governments appoint their own laws; that is, by inserting into the Calenders the Heros of their own country, the Inventors of useful arts, and such as became any way Benefactors to mankind. Such as these, having been first consecrated to immortal memory in the *Fasti* by the Magistrates, were next advanc'd by the Populace into the same immortal nature of the Gods, whose anniversary festivals were mark'd there: and the more knowing or learned expos'd their folly, at the same time that, by their Allegories, they pretended to vindicate those Gods from contempt; thus no less dextrously, than prudently, concealing their own opinions. Not onely before PLUTARCH, but likewise before VARRO, the Pontif SCEVOLA distinguish'd these three kinds of Gods: *the first owing their being to the Poets, the second to the Philosophers, and the third to the Legislators or Magistrates.* The first sort he esteem'd idle and ridiculous, nor cou'd he help judging the last to be most false, or in other words an imposture; tho nevertheless he wou'd not have it much disturb'd, much less to be totally abrogated. For he was of the same opinion, which was afterwards openly defended by MARCUS VARRO: *that many things were true, which it was not onely useful the People shou'd not know; but that, tho absolutely false, it was expedient the People shou'd believe otherwise.* This is at present the favorite maxim, not of two or three persons onely in a country, who juggle with the public, and imagine that deceiving the people is the highest *Reason of State*; but tis likewise the common cant of many others, elevated indeed above the vulgar rank, but naturally timorous,

Apud AUGUSTIN. de C. D. lib. 4. cap. 27.

Ibid. cap. 31.

or prostitute time-servers. We ought in the mean while most carefully to observe, that the Priests were every where the cause, why the Philosophers invented those occult ways of speaking and writing. For while the Priests industriously conceal'd their Mysteries, lest, being clearly understood, they might by the Philosophers be expos'd to the laughter of the people, as fabulous, false, and useless: the Philosophers, on the other hand, conceal'd their sentiments of the Nature of things, under the veil of divine allegories; lest being accus'd of impiety by the Priests (which often happen'd) they might be expos'd in their turn to the hatred, if not to the fury of the Vulgar. Now the Philosophers holding this cautious conduct to be lawful, and even necessary, as I said, on the account of self-preservation; I easily conceive the threefold passion of a true Philosopher at sacrifice to have been, despising the Mob, detesting the PRIEST, and delighting in his own LIBERTY.



XIII.



HAVE more than once hinted, that *the External and Internal Doctrine*, are as much now in use as ever; tho the distinction is not so openly and professedly approv'd, as among the Antients. This puts me in mind of what I was told by a near relation to the old Lord SHAFTESBURY. The latter conferring one day with Major WILDMAN about the many sects of Religion in the world, they came to this conclusion at last; that, notwithstanding

notwithstanding those infinite divisions caus'd by the interest of the Priests and the ignorance of the People, ALL WISE MEN ARE OF THE SAME RELIGION: wherupon a Lady in the room, who seem'd to mind her needle more than their discourse, demanded with some concern what that Religion was? to whom the Lord SHAFTESBURY frait reply'd, *Madam, wise men never tell.* And indeed, considering how dangerous it is made to tell the truth, tis difficult to know when any man declares his real sentiments of things. I have often, I confess, read of desires to some, and defiances to others (not tolerated by the Laws) to produce their arguments: but this was, in other words, desiring them to get themselves disgrac'd or punish'd, depriv'd or excommunicated. Nay, I have read of invitations to Heretics, Deists, and Atheists, to speak above-board; and heard it much lamented, that the books of such were formerly destroy'd, or that they are not suffer'd now to write: because Truth wou'd therby triumph the more, and these unfortunate men be the more easily reclaim'd. Many of those who exprest such desires, having been very good men, wou'd be not a little sorry if the others had comply'd; when they found they had drawn them into a snare, out of which they cou'd not extricate them: and as for those whose invitations tend to decoy and trepan, they must be left to the conscience of their own base designs; as the persons deluded by them, ought to suffer unpity'd for their folly. Now if it be a desirable thing to have the Truth told without disguise, there's but one method to procure such a blessing. *Let all men freely speak what they think, without being ever branded or punish'd but for wicked practises, and leaving their speculative opinions to be confuted or approv'd by whoever pleases: then you are sure to hear the whole truth, and*
till

till then but very scantily, or obscurely, if at all. Till then, I say, *Transubstantiation* will in one country be profest, by such who believe it as little, as many do the *Athanasian Creed* in another country. But what do I talk of this or that country, when examples in all countries are numberless? nor will the last in our own be that of a certain Doctor, who wrote *Difficulties* Esoterically, and Exoterically preach'd a *Sermon*. In this state of things, while liberty in its full extent is more to be with'd than expected, and that thro human weakness people will prefer their repose, fame, or preferments, before speaking of Truth; there is nevertheless one observation left us, wherby to make a probable judgement of the sincerity of others in declaring their opinions. 'Tis this. *When a man maintains what's commonly believ'd, or professes what's publicly injoin'd, it is not always a sure rule that he speaks what he thinks: but when he seriously maintains the contrary of what's by law establish'd, and openly declares for what most others oppose, then there's a strong presumption that he utters his mind.* Yet even this observation may be found to fail, unless full and impartial Liberty obtains; which I cou'd show, were this a place for it, to be very consistent with national Establishments. But to give in one person an example of liberty and reserve, of external and internal doctrines, an ample profession of speaking what he thinks, and an absolute uncertainty whether he does so or not, I shall bring SYNESTUS here on the stage. He was a man of high quality and bright parts, who, from a Heathen Philosopher of the Platonick sect, became Bishop of Prolemais in the beginning of the fifth century. By that time Bishops were come to be ministers of state, rather than overseers of their flocks; which made the Episcopate a place of great honor and authority, but subject
to

to much fatigue and envy. Nor is it to be forgot, that, the better to carry on the Christian cause, which needed no such arts, men of establish'd reputation were not onely courted to be Clergymen, but accepted upon very easy terms, as to their Christianity it self. Among these SYNESIUS is not the least remarkable. He was by nature averse to business, and by Philosophy much addicted to contemplation: yet he was consecrated a Bishop whether he wou'd or not, about the Year 410, a thing he frequently deplores. In how many of his Letters does he lament, that, being made a Bishop, he was involv'd in secular affairs? how pathetically does he set forth, what a hard thing it was, to persuade him to enter into Orders? how boldly does he own, that he wish'd for death, sooner than to change his Philosophical for an Episcopal life? how often, how earnestly, does he beg to be discharg'd from his office? with what ingenuity does he declare, that being by education a Heathen, and by profession a Philosopher; every thing went wrong with him, since he presum'd to serve at the Altar? Particularly, in a Letter to his Friend OLYMPIUS, he assures him, that if the Episcopate shou'd prove any hindrance to his Philosophy, he wou'd quit his Diocese, abjure his Orders, and remove into Greece. All this, some will say, shews his indolence or his humility; but is nothing to your subject, of *the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy*. These Gentlemen will change their note, when they learn that SYNESIUS was made a Bishop, tho he was not a Christian, and so must needs preach what he did not believe. This nevertheless is literally true, unless a man be deem'd a Christian, who disbelieves the immediate creation of the soul, the End of the world; and the Resurrection of the dead. In a long Letter to his brother, he

Epist. 17.
13, 57, 67.
So. 105.
C.

Epist. 95

Epist. 105.

H

expresses

- expresses his aversion to the Crozier on diverse accounts, being led by inclination rather to continue in the modesty of Philosophy, than to be elevated to the grandeur of Episcopacy; and fearing lest the latter shou'd spoil the former, by making him proud and arrogant. He appears most loath to quit his wife, which he protests he will not do; but wishes to have many children by her, as two or three he had. But this is not all. *Tis difficult, says he, or rather absolutely impossible, to unsettle those doctrines, which, by the means of knowledge, are rooted in the soul to a demonstration. But you know, continues he, that Philosophy is dismetrically opposite to the common doctrines.* Well: what were those doctrines he cou'd not digest? *Verily, says he, I shall never be persuaded, that the Soul had no being before the body; I shall not profess, that the World, and all its parts shall perish together; the threadbare doctrine of the Resurrection I conceive to denote something sacred and secret, but am very farr from approving the prejudices of the vulgar.* They are not, you see, trivial or indifferent points at which he boggles: and since the Resurrection of the dead, was one of the articles essentially requir'd to be believ'd by those that were baptiz'd; how was it possible he cou'd be reckon'd a Christian, however he might, as things went then, be a very good Bishop? His memory fail'd PHOTIUS, when he writes it was in an Epistle to THEOPHILUS, that SYNESIUS deny'd the Resurrection, whereas it was in this to his brother: or perhaps he did it also in a Letter to that Patriarch of Alexandria, which is since lost. The same PHOTIUS plainly asserts, that, tho persisting in his denial of the Resurrection, they ordain'd SYNESIUS Bishop; not doubting but so good a man, endow'd with such uncommon vertues, wou'd sooner
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- He Believ'd
Presentience.
- Cod. 25.
- Ibid.

sooner or later believe this doctrine. This is like those matches concluded by covetous parents, between young people who do not greatly care for each other; securing a good fortune first, and not doubting but love will come after. They are however commonly mistaken in their politics. But PHOTIUS, several hundred years posterior to SYNESIUS, avers that he easily came into the belief of the Resurrection, after he was made a Bishop. The same things are also reported by EVAGRIUS. It may well be that he did so, and it may as well be that he did not: for, in the fore-cited Letter to his brother, he roundly declares, that it may sometimes be expedient to ly, in order to do good; exact philosophical truth not being necessary for the vulgar, who may receive hurt from their knowlege. *Wherefore, says he, if this method be consistent with the rights of the Episcopal dignity, I may be consecrated. I shall freely philosophize at home, and tell fables abroad; neither teaching nor unteaching, but suffering people to live in their prejudices.* He repeats this rule over and over. Notwithstanding this allow'd liberty among Philosophers, he calls God and men to witness, that, if his Episcopal charge requires otherwise, he will not falsly represent doctrines. So farr, so good. This resolution likewise he more than once repeats in the strongest terms, if swearing by GOD be so. His reluctance to quit his arms, his horses, and his dearest dogs, I pass over as trifles, in respect of his other objections. But why, some may say, will you not acquiesce in his last resolution? I answer, because he teaches me to do otherwise: for in all his works, as well those he wrote after he was made Bishop as before, he inculcates, explains, and praises the distinction of *the Exoteric and Esoteric doctrine*. This, I say, he does every where: and especially where

Ibid.

Lib. 1. cap.

15.

Epist. 105.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Epist. 143. he largely and earnestly advises his friend HERCULANIUS to conceal his philosophical tenets, which he professes to do himself; and recommends to him for a directory, the Letter of LYSIS the Pythagorean to his condisciple HIPPARCHUS, which we have cited above, and which he desires him frequently to peruse. From this particular account of SYNESIUS (of whom more elsewhere) no less than from the whole tenor of this *Dissertation*, it may be easily conceiv'd; *how hard it is to come at TRUTH your self, and how dangerous a thing to publish it to others.*

F I N I S.



H Y P A T I A :

O R, T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F A

Most beautiful, most vertuous, most
learned, and every way accom-
plish'd L A D Y ;

W H O

Was torn to pieces by the C L E R G Y of Alex-
andria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and
cruelty of their A R C H B I S H O P ,
commonly but undeservedly stil'd

St. C T R I L.

Magnum aliquid instat, efferum, immane, impium.

SEN. MEDEA, Act. 3. Scen. I. lin. 16.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Y E A R 1720

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HYPATIA.

I.



AM going to give a short account, but as full as ancient Books afford us materials, of the life and death of HYPATIA; who will ever continue the glory of her own sex, and the disgrace of ours: for the women have no less reason to value themselves, that there existed a Lady of such rare accomplishments, without the least blemish, even as a foil to her numberless perfections; than the men to be ashamed, that any could be found among them of so brutal and savage a disposition, as, far from being struck with admiration at so much beauty, innocence, and knowledge, to stain their barbarous hands with her blood, and their impious souls with the indelible character of sacrilegious murderers. A Bishop, a Patriarch, nay a Saint, was the contriver of so horrid a deed, and his Clergy the executioners of his implacable fury. The Authors out of whom I collect my account (and I omit none that has come to my

knowledge) were either her contemporaries, or liv'd near that age. One of them was her school-fellow, another her scholar. But they who relate the most odious and flagitious circumstances, are Ecclesiastical historians; counted orthodox in their own time, as well as eminently so by most in ours. Nor ought we to forget that several of 'em were Priests. To every one of them we shall do the justice that their sincerity or prevarication deserves, tho little remains to do in this respect; all being agreed about the principal facts, and some differing onely in points of no great importance. They are such things, as, taken either way, neither serve much to alleviate a very bad cause, nor to aggravate what cannot be possibly made worse.



II.



AFTER ALEXANDER *the great* had founded Alexandria in Egypt, as the center of commerce in the Empire he was projecting, this city soon became a flourishing mart for Learning as well as for Merchandize. The fame of the *Alexandrian School*, and of the *Alexandrian Library*, reach'd much further than the name of ALEXANDER himself; or at least they carry'd it, whither it cou'd never have reach'd without their means. This was the most proper tribute, that cou'd in gratitude be paid to the memory of a Prince so ambitious of glory: as indeed no private persons, no more than potentates, will ever do any thing praise-worthy without the prospect
of

of a long-liv'd reputation, the most effectual spur to laudable and arduous undertakings. The succession of the great men that presided in this School, may be learnt out of the works of those, who have purposely written on such subjects. My design however obliges me here to mention one of them, namely THEON, who govern'd that Academy with much applause in the latter part of the fourth century. He was particularly famous for his extensive knowledge in Astronomy, as the Catalogues made of such who excell'd in this science, abundantly shew. But what has contributed to render him more illustrious to all posterity, is, that he was father to the incomparable HYPATIA; whom, according to the custom of those times, or rather prompted by the encouragement he receiv'd from her own promising genius, he educated not onely in all the qualifications belonging to her sex: but caus'd her likewise to be instructed in the most abstruse sciences, which are reputed the proper occupation of men, as requiring too much labor and application for the delicate constitution of women.

SOCRAT.
Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 15.
NICEPHOR.
Hist. lib.
14. cap. 14.
SUID. in
HYPATIA.
Alii alibi.



III.



THAT this notion is a vulgar prejudice, the vast number of Ladies, who have in every age distinguish'd themselves by their professions or performances in Learning, furnishes an answerable argument. Whole volums have been written, containing nothing else but the lives of such women, as became eminent in all kinds of Litera-

Literature, especially in Philosophy; which, as it is the highest perfection, so it demands the utmost effort of human nature. But leaving those heroines to the search of the curious, I shall confine my self at present to one object worthy all admiration; in doing justice to whom, I may be deem'd to write the panegyric of the whole sex. We have the unanimous consent of SYNESIUS, SOCRATES, and PHILOSTORGIUS, her contemporaries; as likewise of DAMASCIUS, NICEPHORUS *Gregoras*, NICEPHORUS *Callistus*, PHOTIUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS *Illustris* and others, touching the prodigious Learning and other excellent accomplishments of HYPATIA. What is still a greater proof of the fact, no one person, or thro ignorance or thro envy, has ever as much as insinuated the contrary. SOCRATES the Ecclesiastical historian, an unsuspected witness, says, that *she arriv'd to such a pitch of Learning, as very farr to exceed all the Philosophers of her time*; to which NICEPHORUS, also an Ecclesiastical historian, adds, *those of other times*. PHILOSTORGIUS affirms, that *she was much superior to her father and master THEON, in what regards Astronomy*. And SUIDAS, who mentions two books of her writing, one *on the Astronomical Canon of DIOPHANTUS*, and another *on the Conics of APOLLONIUS*; avers, that *she not onely exceeded her father in Astronomy: but further, that she understood all the other parts of Philosophy*; a thing that will be easily credited by those, who shall peruse the sequel of this story, wherein nothing is advanc'd without competent vouchers.

Hist. lib.

cap. 15.

Hist. lib.

14. cap. 14.

Lib. 8. cap.

9. Edit.

Gen.

In 'Υπερ-

τια.



IV.

AND truly were not this matter so well attested by those writers we have just nam'd, and by others we shall presently have occasion to allege; yet no body cou'd any longer doubt of it, after being inform'd by the very same persons, that HYPATIA succeeded in the government of the PLATONIC school at Alexandria, the place of her birth and education. This was another guess thing, God knows, than taking the degree of Doctor in any of the faculties; which one or two women have not long since done, for which they have been loaded with fulsom eulogies, tho producing no effects futeable to the Titles they have so much ambition'd. But what greater glory for a woman, what greater honor redounding to all women; than to see a Lady teaching in that chair, where AMMONIUS and HIEROCLES (to name no more, for tis a mistake in SOCRATES or his transcriber to make PLOTINUS one of them) where so many Professors, I say, utter'd the oracles of Learning, rather as divine Intelligences than mortal men? What infinite merit must she have possess'd, who cou'd be preferr'd to that conspicuous station, at a time when men of immense Learning abounded both at Alexandria, and in many other parts of the Roman Empire? Wherefore, the novelty of the thing consider'd, and HYPATIA's worth being universally acknowledged, tis no wonder that she soon had a crouded auditory. *She explain'd to her hearers,* says SOCRATES,

In locis
jam citatis.

Ubi supra. CRATES, *the several Sciences, that go under the general name of Philosophy; for which reason,* continues he, *there was a confluence to her from all parts, of those who made Philosophy their delight or study.* To the same purpose speak others: and SUIDAS adds, that *she explain'd all the Philosophers,* that is, all the several sects with the particular tenets of their founders; which shows an inexpressible elevation and capacity, each of these separately being thought a sufficient province, to exercise the diligence of any one man, however consummate in Letters.

In ὕπα-
τια.



V.

NOW, I cannot but here represent to my self with pleasure, let who will censure me for it, the flower of all the youth in Europe, Asia, and Africa, sitting at the feet of a most beautiful Lady (for such we are assur'd HYPATIA was) all greedily swallowing Instruction from her mouth, and many of 'em Love from her eyes. How she serv'd one of this last sort, shall be told in its due place. It was doubtless a thing impossible, not to improve under such a teacher; as one must be equally stupid and insensible, that cou'd not be powerfully affected by a charming mind in a charming body. I'm sure this reflection is very agreeable to that Philosophy she peculiarly profess'd: and accordingly the Alexandrian School never flourish'd more. Her disciples enter'd into a strict tye of intimacy with one another, styling themselves *Companions*, or, as in our Colleges,

SUIDAS in
loco citato.

ἑταῖροι.

HYPATIA

109

Colleges *Fellows*; which was likewise the custom at Athens, and in other famous seminaries of Learning. This commonly begot effects of benevolence thro the whole course of their lives, and sometimes acts of friendship very extraordinary. HYPATIA was by way of excellence nam'd *The PHILOSOPHER*, altogether as much on account of her profound knowlege, as for her public profession of teaching. Nor was any Professor ever more admir'd by the world, or more dear to his own Scholars. Hers were as remarkable as numerous.

Socii vel
potius Soda-
les.

SYNES.
passim, &
DAMASC.
apud PHOT.



VI.

ONE of these, who has preserv'd to us the names of several others, is the celebrated SYNESIUS. He was a native of Cyrene in Africa, on the borders of Egypt, a very antient Grec Colony, the birth-place of ARISTIPPUS and CARNEADES, which SYNESIUS forgets not to mention in his writings. He travell'd for improvement to his neighboring country of Egypt, the undoubted mother of the sciences, where he happily succeeded in his studies at Alexandria under HYPATIA. This Personage alone may suffice for a specimen, of the extraordinary Spirits that she form'd. If we may rely on the judgement of no less a man than NICEPHORUS Gregoras, Patriarch of Constantinople (who wrote elaborate annotations on his treatise of *Dreams*, a piece fraught with uncommon Learning) he says, *there was nothing he did not know, no Science wherein he did not excel, no Mystery in which he was not initiated or skill'd,*

Adversus
ANDRONI-
CUM.

Συνοχ. α.

In Introd.
duct. ad
Schol.

- skill'd*, with a great deal more to this purpose. And it must be own'd, that to all the vivacity natural to his country, there was join'd the most profound knowledge and solid judgement. His works are every one highly commended: but *his*
- In** *ΣΥΝΕΣΙΩ* *Epistles are admirable*, as *SUIDAS* very truly remarks; and in the opinion of *PHOTIUS* as well as
- In** *Codice* *of EVAGRIUS, they are elegant, agreeable, senten-*
- 26.** *tious, and learned.* He was a man of noble birth,
- Hist. lib. 1.** which added no less weight to his Learning than
- cap. 15.** this reflected lustre on his Quality; as both together procur'd him credit with his superiors, authority over his inferiors, and admiration from his equals. He went upon an Embassy, which
- Vid. libb. de** *lasted three years, to the Emperor ARCADIUS*
- Infomniis,** *at Constantinople, on the behalf of his country;*
- de Regno,** *which was miserably harraß'd by the auxiliary*
- aliisq;** *Goths and other Barbarians, but which received*
- In lib. de** *considerable relief from his solicitations. It was*
- Infomn.** *then that with greater boldness than any of the Gre-*
- Περὶ Βα-** *concerning GOVERNMENT; which, in a country,*
- σιλέας.** *so justly fond of Liberty as ours, I wonder has*
- never been translated. This defect I have sup-*
- ply'd, and will impart it to the public on a pro-*
- per occasion. As for SYNESIUS's being conse-*
- crated Bishop of Ptolemais notwithstanding his*
- protestation, that he disbeliev'd some of the most*
- essential Articles of the Christian Religion, we*
- spoke enough to that point at the latter end of*
- Clidophorus: onely we shall observe in this place,*
- how PETAVIUS, the Editor of his works, affirms*
- that, in some of the books written after his pro-*
- fession of Christianity, he appears as very a Hea-*
- then as ever. But this being no prejudice to his*
- parts, however it may affect his salvation, is none*
- of our present business to examine; much less to*
- adopt*

adopt the pitiful excuses, or rather prevarications, invented by some learned men to defend him from this imputation. The principal is BARONIUS.



VII.



THE thing which our design obliges us not to pass over slightly is, the grateful testimony he every where bears to the Learning and Virtue of HYPATIA, whom he never mentions without the profoundest respect, and sometimes in terms of affection coming little short of adoration. In a Letter to his brother EUOPTIUS, *Salute* (says he) *Epist. 4.*
the most honor'd and the most below'd of God, the PHILOSOPHER; and that happy Sodality or fellowship, which enjoys the blessing of her divine Voice. In another to his said brother he mentions one EGYPTUS, *who suck'd in the seeds of wisdom from* *Epist. 135.*
HYPATIA. And thus he expresses himself writing to OLYMPIUS: *I suppose these Letters will* *Epist. 132.*
be deliver'd by PETER, which he'll receive from that sacred hand. I send them from Pentapolis to our common Instructress, and she'll intrust them with whom she thinks fit, which I'm sure will be to one that's well known to her. In a Letter address'd to *Epist. 15.*
her self, he desires her to direct a *Hydroscope* to be made and bought for him, which he there describes. PETAVIUS thinks it was a sort of Level, and others an Hour-measure. That famous silver *Astrolabe* which he presented to PEONIUS, *Ad Paeon.*
a man equally excelling in Philosophy and Arms, he owns to have been perfected by the directions of HYPATIA. In a long Epistle he acquaints *Epist. 154.*
her

her with the reasons of his writing two books, which he thereby sends her. The one was his mystical *Treatise of Dreams*, and the other his *DION*. This last is a most ingenious Apology for Learning against two sorts of men, who by very opposite lines tended to the same center of Ignorance. The one, that under pretence of being reserv'd towards unworthy hearers, conceal'd their want of real knowlege, did accuse him of being too communicative, and of prostituting Philosophy. The others wou'd have him to be eternally prating like themselves, not that they study'd more than others, nor yet so much, to be furnish'd with matter for discourse: but that talking by rote out of certain *Systems*, the truth of which they took for granted, and which no body must contradict, they cou'd tire the patience of their hearers, without making these or themselves a whit the wiser. Both sorts charg'd him with studying elegance and oratory in his compositions: for the Divines of that time were substituting apace to Philosophy and other Learning, Legends and Enthusiasm, Fables and Fancies, which they sanctify'd by the name of *Divine Contemplation*. Metaphysical distinctions about the *Trinity*, and extravagant notions about the essence of GOD (whose majesty they blasphem'd by their profane definitions) was all the study then in vogue, to the irreparable damage of polite and useful Letters



VIII.



OF his DION therefore he begs HY- Ibid.
 PATIA's judgement, resolving not to
 publish it without her approbation.
 He informs her moreover, that she's
 the first among the Greeks, or rather
 the Heathens, to whom he communicates his
Treatise of Dreams: and that he might complete,
 he says, the sacred number *Three*, he adds to these
 two his *account of the Astrolabe* presented to PEO-
 NIUS. It will not be a digression altogether fo-
 ren to the subject (as we shall see hereafter) if we
 insert here part of the fine description, which he
 has given of the second sort of those that censur'd
 him; *who being full of ignorance, says he, yet arm'd* Ibid.
with confidence, are readier than all other men to
discourse concerning GOD: and if you happen to
light upon them, you'll strait hear some of their un-
reasonable reasonings, which they will needs obtrude
on such as are desirous of no such matter; because,
I suppose, it is for their interest so to do. For on
the score of such things they are made Preachers in
towns, which is the same thing as to enjoy AMAL-
THEA's horn or plenty of all things, which these
think themselves oblig'd to use. I fancy by this time
you perceive, what this forward generation of men
may be, that blame my generous purpose. They in-
voke me to come into their Discipline, promising that
in a short time I shall appear most confident in things
relating to GOD, and ever after be capable to dis-
pute incessantly both night and day. I believe this
race of men is not yet extinct: but another time
 I they

they may hear of a certain *Speech* address'd to them by the same truth-telling SYNESIUS.



IX.



IN his promotion, or, as he accounted it himself, his banishment to the Bishoprick of Ptolemais, he was forc'd to quit the fellowship of his Condisciples, and the presence of his dear HYPATIA.

As an augmentation of his affliction he soon lost his wife, with his children in a little time after, whom he very tenderly lov'd, and whose death he did not bear with the same fortitude, that is reported of some other Philosophers. On this occasion, and a fancy'd neglect of his friends, he wrote the following Letter to HYPATIA the *Philosopher*, that I may use the very words of the inscription. *I salute you, happy Lady, and by your means the most happy Companions. I have of a long time had an intention to chide, by reason I have receiv'd no Letters from any of you. But now I perceive that I am neglected by all, not that I have in any thing fail'd of my duty; but that I am in many respects unfortunate, and indeed as unfortunate as any one can be. Nevertheless, cou'd I be thought worthy of receiving your Letters, and of being inform'd how you lead your lives (being confident however it is after the best manner that may be, and that you fail not to exercise a sprightly genius) I shou'd onely think my self unhappy by halves, while I enjoy'd any happiness on your account. But now I must reckon this also, as one of the misfortunes wherein I am involv'd. For I am not onely depriv'd of my children, but likewise of my friends, and of every*

Epist. 10.

every body's kindness: nay, what's more than all, of your most divine Soul, which onely thing I flatter'd my self wou'd continue stedfast to me, in spite of the injuries of fortune and the storms of fate. One wou'd think that he cou'd not better express in so few lines, the good opinion he had of his Teacher: yet he's still more patheticall in other Letters, which, because serving to give us the fuller view of HYPATIA's character, I shall produce as essential to my subject.



X.



CONTINUING therfore to grieve for the death of his children, he fell into an ill state of health, which he signifies to his Mistress (whom in all his Letters he styles *the Philosopher*) and to the belov'd Companions of his studies, in these words. *Being confin'd to my bed I have dictated this Letter, which may you receive in good health, my mother, my sister, and my instructress! in all which respects you have been my benefactress, or if there be any other, either name or thing, that is more honorable. The weakness of my body procedes from the anguish of my soul. The remembrance of my deceas'd children consumes me by little and little. SYNESIUS ought onely to have liv'd so long, as the evils of life were unknown to him. Afterwards it has happen'd to him as to a stream that is stop't: it rushes over its dam on a sudden, and forces all the pleasure of life before it. Let me cease to live, or to remember the burial of my children. May you enjoy health your self, and salute in my name the hap-*

Epist. 16.

py Companions, beginning with father THEOTECNUS and brother ATHANASIUS, and so proceeding to the rest. Or if any other be since associated to them, who is agreeable to you (and to whom, for this very reason of pleasing you, I ought to stand oblig'd) salute him also from me, as one of my dearest friends. If what relates to me be of any concern to you, 'tis well done: tho, even then, I shall be insensible to this favor. What can be more affectionate, what can be more tender, what can be more benevolent or candid? The soul speaks here in every line. A while after the calamities of warr being added to all his other sorrows, he writes
 Epist. 124. *her this Letter beginning with a couple of lines out of HOMER, changing only a word or two.*

*The 'mong the dead profound oblivion reigns,
 E'en there my dear HYPATIA I'll remember!*

I, who am surrounded with the miseries of my country, and who am thoroly weary of it, since I daily see hostile arms, and men slaughter'd like beasts; that I breath air infected with the corruption of dead bodies, and that I hourly expect the like fate my self: for who can hope well, where the very face of the sky is most lamentable, being darken'd by the shadow of carnivorous birds? Yet, notwithstanding all this, I retain an affection for the country: nay, how can I do otherwise? being a Libyan by nation, and born in this place, where I behold no ignoble sepulchers of my ancestors. For your sake alone I fancy I can set light by my country, and, as soon as leisure offers, will banish my self out of it. In Clidophorus I shew'd the like resolutions out of some of his Letters to others: but whether he ever executed them, or how long he liv'd, or where or in what manner he dy'd, is not recorded by any author that I remember.
 Sect. ult.



XI.

ALL this, some will say, we readily grant, that HYPATIA was a Lady of most eminent Learning, and that SYNESIUS, with probably not a few of her other disciples, esteem'd her to be a miracle of virtue and prudence: but what did the rest of the world think of her conduct, what marks of approbation or favor did she receive from the public? To this inquiry, which is very natural in this place, we answer; that never woman was more careis'd by the public, and yet that never woman had a more unspotted character. She was held an Oracle for her wisdom, which made her be consulted by the Magistrates in all important cases; and this frequently drew her among the greatest concourse of men, without the least censure of her manners. The proof of so rare a felicity we chuse to give in the words of the historian SOCRATES. *By reason of the confidence and authority (says he) which she had acquir'd by her Learning, she sometimes came to the Judges with singular modesty; nor was she any thing abash'd, to appear thus among a croud of men: for all persons, on the score of her extraordinary discretion, did at the same time both reverence and admire her.* The same things are confirm'd by NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS *Illustis*, and indeed by whom not? So far was she from that blameable timidity, which is contracted from a wrong education; or from that conscious backwardness, which is inspir'd by guilt.

Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 15.

Vide duos
prios in
locis antea
citatis, ter-
tium verò
in 'Hpa-
tia.

Apud
PHOT. in
cod. 242.
In 'Υπα-
τια.

Hist. lib. 8.
cap. 5.

That the Governors and Magistrates of Alexandria regularly visited her, that all the city (as DAMASCIUS and SUIDAS relate) paid court to her, is a distinction with which no woman was ever honor'd before. And to say all in a word, when NICEPHORUS Gregoras, above quoted, intended to pass the highest compliment on the Princess EUDOCIA, he thought he cou'd not better hit, than by calling her *another* HYPATIA.



XII.



Epist. 81.

T was during this prosperous gale of public favor, that HYPATIA's devoted friend SYNESIUS sent her this recommendatory Letter on the behalf of two young gentlemen, that had a claim depending at Alexandria. *Altho fortune cannot take every thing from me, yet she has a mind to strip me of all she can; she that*

Of many sons, and good, has me bereft.

But to be ambitious of doing the best things, and to assist the unjustly oppress'd, is what she shall never take from me: for farr be it from me, that she shou'd ever be able to conquer my mind. Therefore I hate injustice, since this I may do still: and am also desirous to repress it, but that is one of the things taken out of my power, and which I lost before my children.

Once the Milesians valiant were.

Time

Time also was, when I cou'd be useful to my friends, and when you were wont to call me Others good; as turning to the profit of other men my interest with persons in great authority, whom I made to serve me as so many hands. Now I am left destitute of all, unle's you have any power: for you, together with virtue, I reckon a good of which none will be able to rob me. But you have and will always have power, by reason of the excellent use you make of your credit. Wherefore let NICEUS and PHILOLAUS, virtuous youths and relations, return masters of their own, thro the care of all who honor you, whether private men or magistrates. Thus, as a necessary part of her history, I have inserted at length, all the Letters written to HYPATIA by SYNESIUS, except the 15th Sect. V. wherof I have given the substance; and the 33d in the Collection of his Letters, which is too short to contain any instruction: as likewise the 154th, which, being too long, I have abridg'd Sect. VIII. above,



XIII.



T wou'd be as great a prodigy in nature as HYPATIA was her self, if a Lady of such beauty, modesty, wisdom, and virtue, were not by many eagerly sought in marriage: and, in effect, we find that she was actually marry'd to the Philosopher ISIDORUS, tho SUIDAS In 'Υπα-
τία. says she dy'd a maid; which is not so irreconcilable a thing, as people may be apt to imagine on first thoughts, but, as we shall shew, very likely

to be true. This ISIDORUS succeeded MARINUS in the school, and his *Life* has been written by DAMASCIUS, one of THEON'S Scholars, who therefore had all imaginable opportunities to know whatever regarded HYPATIA and ISIDORUS. His *Life* was abridg'd by PHOTIUS, but we have it not so perfect as he left it: for besides the extreme confusion and incorrectness which appears thro' the whole, the learned VALESIUS gave the world expectations, that he would one time or other publish it twice larger than that we read now in PHOTIUS. However, in such as it still is, DAMASCIUS bestows such Elogies on ISIDORUS, as put him almost above humanity: yet, no way concerning HYPATIA, I pass them over in silence. I frankly confess, that I more than suspect many of the things he reports; as knowing that DAMASCIUS was a great visionary, and, like PHILOSTRATUS with respect to APOLLONIUS *Tyaneus*, design'd to oppose ISIDORUS to those Christian *Saints*, who were celebrated for their miraculous and supernatural attainments. But this ought not to affect his credit in matters of an ordinary nature, and therefore I do not in the least hesitate to believe him, when he positively affirms that HYPATIA was wife to ISIDORUS.

Apud
PHOT. ubi
supra.



XIV.

SUIDAS likewise makes her the wife of the same ISIDORUS, tho he be the very man who tells us she dy'd a Virgin. That matter, considering the great uncertainty in which we are left by the meditated destruction or casual decay of authentic writers, I conceive to stand thus. DAMASCIUS says that ISIDORUS had another wife, whose name was DOMNA, by which he had a Son call'd PROCLUS. She dy'd the fifth day after her delivery, and, according to his Pannegyrist, *she rid the Philosopher of an evil beast and a bitter wedlock.* Now supposing this to happen some time before the tragical end of HYPATIA, and that the latter was betroth'd to ISIDORUS, it might very well be said that she was his wife, and yet that she dy'd a maid. The Author of an *Epigram*, that was made upon her, seems to have been of the same opinion.

In 'Υπα-
τια.

Apud
PHOT. ubi
supra.

In Antho-
log. lib. 1.
pag. 108.
Edit.
STEPH.

*The VIRGIN's starry Sign whene'er I see,
Adoring, on thy words I think and thee :
For all thy virtuous works celestial are,
As are thy learned words beyond compare,
Divine HYPATIA, who dost farr and near
Virtue's and Learning's spotless starr appear.*

The allusion, I say, to the Constellation VIRGO, and the epithet of *Spotless*, wou'd induce me to believe that the writer reckon'd her a Virgin as well as SUIDAS: but I shall conclude nothing from

Αχρηστον
ασπον.

Apud
PHOT. ubi
supra.

from so slender a conjecture, besides that her character is no way concern'd in this particular, tho as a historian I wou'd omit nothing that might illustrate my subject. For this reason it is, that I cannot pass over uncensur'd a reflection of DAMASCIUS, who gravely says, that ISIDORUS *was far superior to HYPATIA; not only as a man to a woman, but as a Philosopher to a Geometrician.* Good and egregious reasoning! as if her skill in Geometry or Astronomy, had been any hindrance to her improvement in every part of Philosophy, wherein she's by so many confest to surpass those of her own, if not of former time: or as if we in England, for example, did reckon King JAMES superior to Queen ELIZABETH; because the first, forsooth, was a man, and the last a woman. But I observ'd before that DAMASCIUS was a sad visionary.



XV.



Lady of such uncommon merit and accomplishments as HYPATIA, daily surrounded with a circle of young Gentlemen, many of 'em distinguish'd by their fortune or quality; besides her frequently appearing in public assemblies, and receiving visits from persons of the first rank, cou'd not possibly fail being sometimes importun'd with addresses of gallantry. Such attempts the severest virtue cannot avoid, tho it can deny encouragement, and make success to be despair'd. How many trials of this kind HYPATIA may have overcome, we are left to imagine rather than

to

to know, thro the silence of Historians; who either thought it below their gravity to record such things, or that the works of those who defended to particulars are lost. One instance however has escap'd the common wrack of good books: nor can I doubt but several others might be contain'd in the *Life of ISIDORUS*, out of which there is reason to believe, that *SUIDAS* pick'd what I am going to relate. He acquaints us therefore, that one of her own Schollars made warm love to her, whom she endeavor'd to cure of his passion by the precepts of Philosophy: and that some reported she actually reclaim'd him by Music, which he judiciously explodes; Music having ever been deem'd rather an incentive to Love, than an antidote against it. But he says with much greater probability, that the spark vehemently solliciting her (not to be sure without pleading the irresistible power of her beauty) at a time when she happen'd to be under an indisposition ordinary to her sex: she took a handkerchief, of which she had been making some use on that occasion, and throwing it in his face, said; *This is what you love, young fool, and not anything that's beautiful*. For the PLATONIC Philosophers held goodness, wisdom, virtue, and such other things, as by reason of their intrinsic worth are desirable for their own sakes, to be the onely real *Beauties*; of whose divine symmetry, charms, and perfection, the most superlative that appear in *Bodies* are but faint resemblances. This is the right notion of PLATONIC LOVE. Wherefore HYPATIA's procedure might very well put a student of Philosophy at Alexandria to the blush, and quite cure him too (which *SUIDAS* assures us was the effect) but wou'd never rebute a Beau in St. JAMES's park, nor perhaps some Bachelors of Divinity at our modern Universities.



XVI.



AT the time that HYPATIA thus reign'd the brightest ornament of Alexandria, ORESTES was Governor of the same place for the Emperor THEODOSIUS, and CYRIL Bishop or Patriarch. As ORESTES was a person educated fiteable to his rank, he cou'd not but take notice of those perfections in HYPATIA, which all the world admir'd besides; and, as he was a wise Governor, he wou'd not be so farr wanting to his charge, as not to ask her advice in matters difficult or dangerous, when every body else consult'd her as an oracle. This created of course an intimacy between them that was highly displeasing to CYRIL, who mortally hated ORESTES. But because this emulation prov'd fatal to HYPATIA, I shall take the subject a little higher. Tis observ'd by SOCRATES, NICEPHORUS, and others, that CYRIL (who was elevated to the see by sedition and force against one TIMOTHY an Archdeacon of no extraordinary reputation) intermedl'd more in temporal or civil matters, than his predecessors took upon them to do, and that the example was greedily follow'd by his successors; *who not keeping within the bounds of their priestly ordination, took upon them an arbitrary kind of principality, and the absolute disposal of affairs.* The first act of authority that CYRIL exercis'd was to shut up the Churches of the Novatians, from which step he proceeded to seize upon their sacred vessels and Church-

SOCRAT.
Hist. l. 7.
cap. 7.
NICEPH.
Hist. lib.
14. cap. 14.

SOCRAT.
Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 13.

Church-ornaments, till at length he robb'd their Bishop THEOPEMPTUS of all he had. Yet these Novatians profess the same Doctrine to a tittle that he did, and differ'd onely in some points of Discipline. But they must be mere novices in *Ecclesiastical History*, who know not that *Discipline* has been ever reckon'd of greater consequence than *Doctrine*; if one may judge by the commotions that have happen'd in Churches, or the duration of their Schisms. The reason is obvious. For if a man believes otherwise than his Teacher, and yet prudentially conforms to the public ritual and Discipline, or perhaps eagerly stickles for it, as thinking it the most conducing to order, be his speculations what you will, still he preserves the Unity of the Church; or, in other words, he obeys his spiritual Governors, and teaches others by his example to do the like: whereas if his belief he ever so right, or at least ever so agreeable to that prescrib'd in the society wherof he's a member; yet if he boggles at any part of the public ritual and Discipline, he then promotes a spiritual rebellion, and rends the Unity of the Church, that is, he weakens the Government of the Clergy. These were the maxims of those times, and hence it sprung, that Schism is counted so damnable a sin in their writings, a sin more dreadful than any other, that it may the better serve for a scare-crow.



XVII.

Ubi suppr.



THE main reason why CYRIL cou'd not bear the Governor, as we are told by SOCRATES, was, that ORESTES *hated the Principality of the Bishops: as well because they transferr'd to themselves much of the power belonging to those appointed Governors by the Emperor; as, in particular, because CYRIL wou'd needs be prying into his actions.* Their Enmity became sufficiently known to the public, by a sedition rais'd against ORESTES, occasion'd by one HIERAX a pitiful schoolmaster, but a profess'd admirer of the Bishop, and a most diligent attendant at his sermons, where he was sure to clap and reclap, according to the rare custom of those times. The Jews spying him in the Theatre, while the Governor was there on some public business, cry'd out, that he came purposely thither to cause mischief: and the uproar, wherof the particulars may be read in the just quoted SOCRATES, terminated in this, that CYRIL expell'd all the Jews out of the City, where they had liv'd in great opulence from the time of ALEXANDER *the great*, to the no small benefit of the place. Were I not accusom'd to read monstrous lyes of this unfortunate nation, especially that thread-bare fiction of crucifying a Child (objected to them here as well as a thousand times afterwards) I thou'd think 'em very rightly serv'd. But even in that case, who can justify CYRIL's licensing the multitude to seize on their goods? And yet why do I ask such a question?

when

Ibid.

when this has ever been the true motive of the barbarities to which they have been expos'd, tho' zeal for Religion has been as shamelessly as wickedly pretended. ORESTES, as became a good Governor, *being grievously concern'd at what had happen'd* (to speak in the words of the Historian) *and sadly afflicted, that so great a city shou'd be so suddenly emty'd of such a multitude of inhabitants, gave the Emperor an account of the whole matter.* We might be certain, were we not expressly told it, that CYRIL was not behind hand on his part. Yet conscious of his guilt, as every reader may collect, he wou'd fain make up with ORESTES, and conjur'd him by the holy *Gospels* to be friends; being constrain'd to this, as NICEPHORUS observes, by the people of Alexandria, who lov'd their Governor. But this last knew him too well to trust him, upon which their difference became irreconcilable. You may therefore expect to hear of vengeance from the Priest, whom the same NICEPHORUS represents proud, seditious, a boutefeu, a persecutor: while the Emperor might thank himself for the disorders that desolated one of his principal cities; for where was it ever otherwise, when the Clergy were permitted to share in the government of civil affairs?

Ibid.

Ibid.

Hist. lib. 14.
cap. 15.Ibid. videatur etiam
SUIDAS.



XVIII.



OW the revenge which CYRIL took of ORESTES, being the prelude to poor HYPATIA's tragedy, I chuse to relate it, as I have done other passages, in the words of honest SOCRATES.

Hist. lib. 7. Certain of the Monks (says he) living in the Nitrian cap. 14. mountains, leaving their Monasteries to the number of about five hundred, flocked to the city, and spy'd the Governor going abroad in his chariot: wherupon approaching they call'd him by the names of Sacrificer and Heathen, using many other scandalous words. The Governor therefore suspecting, that this was a trick plaid him by CYRIL, cry'd out that he was a Christian, and that he was baptiz'd at Constantinople by Bishop ATTICUS. But the Monks giving no heed to what he said, one of 'em, call'd AMMONIUS, threw a stone at ORESTES, which struck him on the head; and being all cover'd with blood from his wound, his guards, a few excepted, fled some one way some another, hiding themselves in the croud lest they shou'd be ston'd to death. In the mean while the people of Alexandria ran to defend their Governor against the Monks, and, putting all the rest to flight, they apprehended AMMONIUS, and brought him before ORESTES; who, as the Laws prescrib'd, publicly put him to the torture, and rack'd him till he expir'd. Not long after he gave an account of all that was done to the Princes. Nor did CYRIL fail to give them a contrary information. He receiv'd the body of AMMONIUS, and, laying it in one of the Churches, he chang'd his name, calling him

THEODO-
SIUS and
HONORIUS.

him THAUMASIUS, and order'd him to be consider'd The ADMIRABLE. as a Martyr; nay, he made his Panegyric in the Church, extolling his courage, as one that had contended for the Truth. But the wiser sort of the Christians themselves did not approve the zeal, which CYRIL show'd on this man's behalf; being convinc'd that AMMONIUS had justly suffer'd for his desperate attempt, but was not forc'd to deny CHRIST in his torments. This account requires no commentary. I shall onely observe with a heathen Philosopher, that at that time the Monks (the fittest executioners of CYRIL's cruelty) were men indeed as to their form, but swine in their lives; who openly committed thousands of execrable crimes, not fit to be nam'd. Whoever, says he, got on a black habit, and wou'd make a grotesque figure in public, obtain'd a tyrannical authority: to such a reputation of virtue, did that race of men arrive! This picture, tho drawn by an enemy's hand, is allow'd by all good judges to be done to the life; and we shall presently have reason, more than sufficient, to be of the same opinion.

EUNAPIUS
in vita AE-
DESII.



XIX.

BUT CYRIL's rage was not yet satiated. Tho ORESTES had the good luck to escape being murder'd, HYPATIA must fall a sacrifice to the Prelate's pride and to the ghost of AMMONIUS. This Lady, as we mention'd above, was profoundly respected by ORESTES, who much frequented and consulted her: for which reason, says SOCRATES, she was not a little traduc'd among HIERONYMUS lib. 2. cap. 22.

the mob of the Christian Church; as if she obstructed a reconciliation between Bishop CYRIL and ORESTES. Wherefore certain hot-brain'd men, headed by one PETER a Lecturer, enter'd into a conspiracy against her, and watching their opportunity when she was returning home from some place, they dragg'd her out of her chair; hurry'd her to the church call'd CESAR's, and stripping her stark naked, they kill'd her with tiles. Then they tore her to pieces, and carrying her limbs to a place call'd Cinaron, there they burnt them to ashes. Nothing short of this treatment, not to be parallel'd among the most savage nations against a woman (and against a woman of such distinction scarce credible, did not two or more of her contemporaries attest it) nothing, I say, but the blood of HYPATIA, shed in the most inhuman manner, cou'd glut the fury of CYRIL's Clergy: for these were the monsters, that putting off all humanity, committed this barbarous murder. SOCRATES tis true distinctly names but one Clergyman, PETER the Lecturer: but NICEPHORUS expressly tells us, that the zealots, led on by this PETER, were CYRIL's Clergy, who hated her for the credit she had with ORESTES; that they were these, who imputed to her the misunderstanding between the Governor and their Bishop; and finally, that they butcher'd her in the time of solemn fasting: which, added to their sanctifying of their villany by perpetrating it in a Church, shows the glorious state of Religion in those pure and primitive times; as some, no less hypocritically than falsely, are pleas'd to stile them. The citizens of Alexandria, on whom certain persons wou'd fain lay this act of popular heat, as they speak by way of extenuation, were too great admirers of HYPATIA's virtue, and too much in the interest of ORESTES, to have any hand in so foul a business, however
prone

prone to tumults. All the circumstances accompanying the fact, clearly prove this: not to repeat the assault so lately made by the Nitrian Monks on the Governor, whom the People rescu'd; tho I will not answer for all the mob, especially when the Clergy loo'd them on.



XX.



BE it so that the Clergy of Alexandria were the murderers (some may say) and that their affection for CYRIL transported them beyond what can be justify'd: how does it appear that he himself had any hand in this black deed, which perhaps he neither knew nor cou'd prevent? For the sake of our common humanity (since true Christianity is not at all concern'd) I wish it were so: but there is such evidence as will not let any man, if not wilfully shutting his eyes against truth, to believe it. DAMASCIUS, who is the other contemporary witness of her murder I meant besides SOCRATES, positively affirms that CYRIL cov'd HYPATIA's destruction, whom he bitterly envy'd; and SUIDAS, who writes the same thing, says, that this envy was caus'd by her extraordinary wisdom and skill in Astronomy: as HESYCHIUS, when he mentions her limbs being carry'd all over the city in triumph, writes that *this befell her on the score of her extraordinary wisdom, and especially her skill in Astronomy.* For CYRIL was a mighty pretender to Letters, and one of those Clergymen who will neither acknowledge nor bear the superiority of any Laymen in this respect,

In vita
ISIDORI.

In 'Υπα-
τια.

In 'Υπα-
τια.

In Annot.
ad SOCRAT.
lib. 7. cap.
15.

Vide Suid.
In ΤΙΤΩ-
ΤΙΔ.

be it ever so incontestable to others. But some circumstances of HYPATIA's death, not mention'd in SOCRATES, are preserv'd in the Abridgment of ISIDORUS's *Life* in PHOTIUS, such as VALESIIUS had it; and which I here give you, reader, tho it shou'd cost you the tribute of one téar more to her memory. Upon a time, says DAMASCIUS, CYRIL passing by the house of HYPATIA, saw a great multitude before the door both of men on foot and on horseback; wherof some were coming, some going, and others stay'd. When he inquir'd what that croud was, and what occasion'd so great a concourse? he was answer'd by such as accompany'd him, that this was HYPATIA the Philosopher's house, and that these came to pay their respects to her. Which when CYRIL understood, he was mov'd with so great envy, that he immediately vow'd her destruction, which he accomplish'd in the most detestable manner. For when HYPATIA, as was her custom, went abroad, several men, neither fearing divine vengeance nor human punishment, suddenly rush'd upon her and kill'd her: thus laying their country both under the highest infamy, and under the guilt of innocent blood. And indeed the Emperor was grievously offended at this matter, and the murderers had been certainly punish'd, but that EDESIUS did corrupt the Emperor's friends: so that his Majesty its true remitted the punishment, but drew vengeance on himself and his posterity, his nephew paying dear for this action. This nephew VALESIIUS believes to have been VALENTINIAN whose mother PLACIDIA was aunt to THEODOSIUS.



XXI.



THUS ended the life of HYPATIA, whose memory will ever last, and whose murder happen'd in the fourth year of CYRIL's Episcopate, HONORIUS being the tenth time and THEODOSIUS the sixth time Consuls, in the month of March, in the time of Lent, and in the year 415. *That action, says SOCRATES, brought no small infamy not onely upon CYRIL, but also upon the whole Church of Alexandria: for slaughters, and fightings, and such like things, are quite foren to the Christian Institution.* There's nothing surer, there's nothing truer; but of genuin Christianity there remain'd very little at that time, unless Christianity be made to consist in the bare name and profession: for, were I dispos'd to take this trouble upon me, I shou'd think it no difficult task to show, that neither the doctrines nor distinctions then in vogue were ever taught by CHRIST or his APOSTLES; and that the ceremonies injoin'd or practis'd were all utterly unknown to them. No, no, they were no Christians that kill'd HYPATIA: nor are any Christian Clergymen now to be attack'd thro the sides of her murderers, but those that resemble them; by substituting precarious Traditions, Scholastic fictions, and an usurp'd Dominion, to the salutiferous Institution of the holy JESUS. PHOTIUS is very angry with PHILOSTORGIUS, whom he stigmatizes as an *Impious man*, for saying that *the Homoousians*, or the ATHANASIAN Trinitarians, *tore her to pieces:*

SOCRAT.
Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 15.

Lib. 8. cap
9 Edit.
Gen.

In Differ-
tat. ad PHI-
LOSTORG.
lib. 8.
cap. 9.

pieces: but is he not an *Impudent man*, or something worse that dares to deny this? when none were more remarkable sticklers for the *Homooufion*, than CYRIL and his adherents. This only the truth of history requires to be specially noted: for with me the *Homoionfion* and the *Homooufion* are of no account, in comparison of the *Bible*, where neither of them are to be found. In the mean time twill not be amiss to hear GOTHOFRED on this occasion. *Observe here*, says he, *the ARIAN payson of PHILOSTORGIUS against the Homooufians or Catholics: as if the murder of HYPATIA were the crime of the Catholics, and not of the indiscrete Populace. Thus much however may be gather'd from this passage, that this same HYPATIA was no Catholic.* Admirable GOTHOFRED! Not to say any thing to your ARIAN payson, for which I am not a whit concern'd; neither of the People's guilt, whom I have sufficiently clear'd before; nor yet of the nice distinction between the Populace and the Catholics, as if the bulk of the Catholics, were not the Populace: your conclusion that HYPATIA was not a Catholic is unspeakably acute, when in reality she was not as much as a Christian; her father having been a heathen Philosopher, and her self the wife of one, without the least appearance that she was ever any other with regard to her own persuasion. As for a ridiculous Letter, pretended to be written by her to CYRIL about the Paschal Cycle, tis a manifest forgery: for she was murder'd the sixth year of THEODOSIUS, and therefore one and twenty years before the exile of NESTORIUS, who yet is mention'd in that Letter under the epithet of *Impious*.



XXII.

AND now that CYRIL's name puts me once more in mind of him, how insufferable a burlesquing of God and Man is it to revere so ambitious, so turbulent, so perfidious, and so cruel a man, as a *Saint*? since history shows that this was his just character. But in good earnest this same title of *Saint* has not seldom been most wretchedly conferr'd: for the greatest part of the Saints after CONSTANTINE's reign, and especially since Canonization came in fashion, are made up of three sorts of persons, the least of all others meriting veneration. First, men have been dubb'd Saints, for promoting the grandeur of the Church by all their endeavors, especially, by their writings; which, instead of employing for the happiness or instruction of their fellow citizens, they prostituted to magnify spiritual authority, to the debasing and enslaving of their spirits. The second sort that have been honor'd with Saintship, were Princes and other powerful or rich men, however vicious or tyrannical, who gave large possessions and legacies to the Church; or that with incapacity, faggot, gibbet, sword, and proscription, chastis'd the temerity of such as dar'd to question her decrees. The third sort, were poor groveling visionaries, boasting of their delirious enthusiasms and extasies; or imposing on the ignorant by formal mortifications, falsely reputed devotion, and were recompens'd with this imaginary reward, by those that despis'd their au-

sterity, at the same time that they mainly thriv'd by the credit of it. Tis no wonder then, that when the epithet *Saint*, which peculiarly belong'd to Piety and Innocence, was thus pompously bestow'd on Vice and Impiety, there shou'd prevail that deluge of Ignorance, Superstition, and Tyranny, which overwhelm'd almost the whole Christian world. All the Persecutions that insu'd, were so many forcible means, imploy'd to suppress any efforts that might be us'd for the restoring of Virtue and Learning. By that Anti-christian spirit fell HYPATIA, to whom the Clergy of her time cou'd never forgive, that she was beautiful yet chaste; farr more learned than themselves, not to be indur'd in the Laity; and in greater credit with the civil Magistrate, whom the Clergy of that time wou'd needs drive or lead as their Pack-affe.

F I N I S.



MANGONEUTES:

BEING A

DEFENCE

OF

NAZARENUS.

ADDRESS

To the right reverend JOHN Lord
BISHOP of LONDON,

AGAINST

His Lordship's Chaplain Dr. MANGEY, his
Dedicator Mr. PATERSON, and (who
ought to have been nam'd first) the re-
verend Dr. BRET, once belonging to his
Lordship's Church.

*An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,
Inultus ut flebo puer ?* Horat. Epod. 6.

L O N D O N, Printed in the YEAR 1720.

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MANGO NEUTES.

I.



ONE can justly wonder (my Lord) at the address I now take the liberty of making to you, when they consider, that of all the arguments, us'd on the behalf of Diocesan Episcopacy, these two are not the least important: first, the necessity of a President to admit the Presbyters regularly into the ministerial function, who is consequently to be a judge of their capacities and abilities; secondly, the necessity of an Inspector into the behavior and conduct of those Presbyters, who are therefore to be subject to his Government. For these reasons no Bishop can take it ill, if the misconduct or incapacity of any of his Clergy be dutifully laid before him; especially by one, that has been grievously injur'd by them in both these respects: and, whatever they may fancy (some of whom are but too apt not to fancy the best of their superiors) I shou'd look upon my self as a disparager of Episcopacy, if I did not take it for granted, that every Bishop cou'd not only effectually regulate the manners of his Clergy, which is no greater talent than Lay-magistrates

can

can exercise; but that they likewise every one of them understood all the learned Languages to perfection, particularly those in whom the Scriptures have been originally written, and that they were absolutely appriz'd both of the several systems of Divinity and of all Church-history from the Apostles's time to this day. He, who thinks the contrary, is not of opinion that one person is fitter to rule and examine, than a select number, be they ever so prudent, so pious, or so able: besides that such a man ought to be shrewdly suspected of reflecting on your Lordship, whose frequent and numerous Ordinations we learn by the public papers. Nor do I in the least doubt, for my part, but you take as much care that the young Preachers be duly qualify'd by secular attainments and spiritual gifts, as by canonical titles and the special vocation of the holy Ghost. But lest I might be thought to bespeak your favor, who desire nothing but a clear stage and fair play, I humbly acquaint your Lordship, that some time ago I wrote a Book intitul'd NAZARENUS, which the care of your Diocese, and the examination of so many candidates for the gown, may not have given you time to read; tho' abundance of those who have read it no more than your self, were the forwardest to blame and condemn it. Nevertheless, how giddy and prepossess'd soever some of the Laity may be, none of them prov'd guilty of this gross injustice, till a filthy noise was made by one or two of your Lordship's Clergy, as little masters of the subject as of their tempers; and then some of the most ignorant and sequacious Laity fell in with the cry, whom I shall wholly forget and heartily forgive, as not knowing what they did. But to my no small comfort on the other hand, several persons, distinguish'd by their character no less than their number, found

no

no harm in my book, nay many found what they much approv'd in it; and have readily adopted the plan of Religion therein laid down, or *the essential distinction of Gentil and Jewish Christians*. I have letters of thanks from several learned men on this subject, which I prefer to the applause of all superficial pretenders, as they make sufficient amends for their clamor and senseless calumnies. The occasion of my book was the discovery I made of an apocryphal *Gospel* father'd upon the Apostle BARNABAS, and interpolated if not quite forg'd by the Mahometans. I cou'd not imagine that the communicating of this discovery to the world shou'd be any crime, after the voluminous discussion of such apocryphal pieces by COOK, RIVET, DAILLE', SIMON, ITTIGIUS, GRABE, MILLS, FABRICIUS, and such others; among whom the excellent PFAFFIUS, Professor at Tubinge, is pleas'd to reckon my ¹ self, on account of the *notable Catalogue* he says *I gave in* AMYNTOR. And that same no less celebrated than able and industrious FABRICIUS, whom I have just nam'd, has very lately, in the third volume of his ² *Apocryphal Code of the New Testament*, inserted the whole historical part of NAZARENUS, without altering or omitting one word. But some of your

¹ Quod verò eos attineret, qui vel planè supposititium censentesse Novum Testamentum, aut saltem maximam illius partem, quod veteres Hæretici magno numero arbitrati sunt, nova Evangelia, Acta, Literas, Apocalypses, aliosque libellos orbi Christiano obtrudentes, quorum (præter summos viros Jo. ALA. FABRICIUM in Codice apocrypho Novi Testamenti, Jo. ERNEST. GRABIUM in Spicilegio Patrum, itemque Jo. MILLIUM in Prolegomen. ad Novum Test. part. 2da; & 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. de genuina librorum Novi Testamenti lectione ritè investiganda*. cap. 1. §. 2.

² From page 387, to page 394.

Lordship's Clergy, without your privity or approbation to be sure, have with equal virulence and unfairness attack'd me on this very score. Their procedure puts me in mind of lamenting with your Lordship and all good men, for that perverse disposition in some of our Protestant Clergy, which ought to be solely left to the Popish Clergy, whose Practice as well as Interest it is to keep the people in ignorance. The thing I mean is the strange uneasiness they show, and too manifest to be deny'd, that any of the Laity shou'd ever write on points of Divinity or Ecclesiastical history: whereas by the original right of Nature, and the main principle of the Reformation, tis the privilege of every man, whether by word or by writing, to inform others, or to seek information from them; and this in all places, the Pulpits and other public Chairs onely excepted, which no man may lawfully fill, but they to whom the supreme power has assign'd them. To confine writing on the subjects mention'd to any one set of men, wou'd be the certain way in a short time to have neither true doctrine nor true history; as is the case in fact, where and whenever this practice has been sottishly authoriz'd or even indulg'd. Ignorance becoming thus triumphant begets Credulity, as Credulity unavoidably occasions Lyes; and Lyes have recourse to Force for their support against Reason, which left free wou'd soon expose them to contempt, and then quite explode them. This is the natural progress to that spiritual Tyranny, which as Freemen and Britons, under the best of Kings, with a family educated to protect Liberty civil and religious, I have no apprehension (thanks be to heaven) shou'd happen in our days, nor of a long while afterwards, maugre all machinations to the contrary. Whertore I shall take up none of your Lordship's time, with suggesting means to obviate
such

such a tyranny. But I wish that envious and bitter disposition, which has taken up the room of it in the most groveling spirits, may be reasonably check'd; for as there is no such despicable composition in the world, as ignorance and malice join'd together: so there is no readier way to make the inferior Clergy both disrespected and disregarded, than this odious manner of writing; which I make no question therefore, but you'll exercise your utmost authority either to prevent or to correct in those that are guilty.

II. To come now to the particular Persons of whom I have reason to complain, if their rage and scurrility be not a strong presumption that I am in the right, tis however a certain sign that they are so far in the wrong: as I shall make them appear to be much farther so, by demonstrating that they have had no regard to truth or honor; going directly contrary to plain matters of fact, and attributing designs to me that never came into my head. As tis observ'd of lewd women, that what's uppermost in their thoughts comes soonest into their mouths, calling every other woman *whore* that gives 'em the least provocation: so it may reasonably be thought to fare with certain men, that charge every one who differs from them with *Infidelity*, to which their conduct no doubt is some temptation in weak minds; and if the misrepresentation of my adversaries will not warrant me to abandon all Christianity, yet it will necessarily give me a very indifferent notion of theirs. So far have they been from dealing with me like good Christians, that they have not acted like honest Heathens; who wou'd never (for example) make the objections of others pats for my own, and this even after I had solv'd 'em. I must (forsooth) be an unbeliever for grounding
my

my Religion on the *Scripture*, which I make the sole rule of faith, by which Fathers, Councils, all Christian writings and determinations ought to be try'd. But I hope to convince your Lordship before I have done, that I espouse, as I profess, the Religion truly taught by J E S U S and the Apostles, stript of all fabulous or superstitious disguises, free from all human additions, mixtures, and inventions. That I did not write my book in Latin is the peculiar objection of certain mungrel Divines who study MACCHIAVEL more than the Bible, and who have an admirable project of telling onely half truths, which makes 'em consider'd but as half-politicians, by those who are for telling no truth at all. Now, waving all generalities, I begin with Mr. MANGEY, one of your domestic Chaplains, who's reported to have receiv'd his degree of Doctor, as a reward for clapping a masquerading habit on NAZARENUS: nor shall I wonder if this report proves to be true, having been us'd to bestow ecclesiastical preferments; for I made a Bishop before now in another kingdom, that deserv'd the mitre full as richly as your Chaplain the hood. I sincerely believe Dr. MANGEY, when he says in his Preface, that *he undertook his answer not onely without the incouragement and importunity of friends, but without the privity of some, and against the judgement of others.* Whatever were the reasons of those gentlemen (for discreet friends will not always give their true reasons, but the likeliest to persuade) tis certain they knew the Doctor better than he did himself. His apology for not hearkening to them will never hold water: for if my book be weak and contemptible, and neither my religion nor learning worth notice, how came he to take notice of either of them? what makes him wish that I may retrieve, if possible, the great mischief I have done to Christianity? or is this

page 1.

Ibid.

Ibid. page

2.

Ibid. p. 5.

this a futeable idea of Christianity, that a man who writes weakly and contemptibly, and no way deserving notice, thou'd be able to do it irretrievable mischief? I am a stranger to the discipline us'd about Chaplains, but I beg your Lordship wou'd be mild in correcting him, tho the blunder be so egregious, to give it no harsher name; as, that the best religion, supported by the greatest learning, thou'd run imminent danger from a weak and illiterate creature. I will not say that the Doctor is one of those, who wou'd rather pass for knaves than fools: yet since he, who's so sharp-sighted in discerning the weakness of others, cannot be suppos'd weak himself, what at first sight looks like a blunder, must rather be counted an artifice; and is very plainly the fifth of the twelve, laid to the charge of those that use them, in the *Preface to NAZARENUS*. It is, *that almost in the same* P. 13, 19, *breath they make the same man equally stupid and cunning; telling you in this page, that his whole performance is so insuperably dull and incoherent, as scarce to deserve animadversion: which in the next page they contradict themselves, not onely in the oil and sweat they expend to confute him; but in laying his plot so deep for him, and reporting his skill so formidable, as to call for abler hands, nay sometimes for the magistrate, to take him to task. Your Lordship sees I was a prophet.*

Omnia praecepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.

Virg. Aen. 6. v. 105.

And since your Chaplain says *he cannot tell how many of these foul arts will be laid to his charge;* I answer, every one of 'em, tho none so universally as being foul-mouth'd, which is the tenth. Thus I express it. *If the dispute be about matters of fact,* Ubi supra, *and that a man produces authorities no less apt than*

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numerous,

Pref.

Page 5.

numerous, *this they call a show of reading, or borrow'd Learning* [as he has done more than once or twice] *endeavoring to depreciate what they cannot disprove, and sanctifying their illiberal scurrility with the name of ZEAL: for of all men they are the most bitter and foulmouth'd against an adversary, which the Popish Jesuits commend as meritorious, and which the Protestant Jesuits practise as if it were so; meaning by these last, such as act like the first.* In a word, he cou'd not succede better, if he had purposely intended his book for a Commentary on those 12 artifices, us'd by corrupt Clergymen; and therefore I earnestly recommend the reading of the one to all who have read the other. Conscious of his unjustifiable proceeding, and perhaps dreading your Lordship's displeasure, he promises that if his ZEAL *hath betray'd him to say any bitter thing, unworthy of a Christian or a Clergyman* [I thought till now that all Clergymen look'd upon themselves to be Christians] *he shall very readily retract it.* I am not the man that will desire it, I assure him; as firmly believing he wou'd maintain he was not bitter enough, and that the sharpest stile is most worthy the character of a Clergyman. I know the authorities produc'd for sanctify'd invectives by such as the Doctor, and I willingly consent they shou'd cite JEROM against VIGILANTIUS; with some other Fathers, in comparison of whom fishwomen are reserv'd: but I can by no means approve their abusing the names of the Apostles, who either excuse the excesses into which they unwarily fell; or had that discerning of spirits and extraordinary commission, to which no man now dares pretend.

III. I SHOU'D oneiy mispend your Lordship's time and my own, by insisting any longer on Dr. MANGEY's character of me, or his lan-

guage

guage towards me, which I have solely mention'd for example-sake; being persuaded that his opinion neither has, nor ever will weigh a grain with any man, whose judgement I value. How mean soever my parts or attainments may be, I have learnt this good lesson from an antient sage; that ³ *I ought to esteem that to be great learning, which enables me to bear with the unpoliteness of the ignorant.* But as the Doctor has no right to explain my meaning, whom of all men I wou'd not chuse for it, who's so unhappy in explaining his own, witness his *Plain notions of the Trinity*: so much less ought he or any man be suffer'd to falsify public writings, any more than to counterfeit the public coin; and by a notorious falshood to represent a man doing that, which is not only contrary to his intention, but likewise to the Laws. The very title of his book against me is an imposture. *Remarks upon NAZARENUS, wherein the falsity of Mr. TOLAND's Mahometan GOSPEL, and his misrepresentation of Mahometan sentiments in respect of Christianity, are set forth; &c. The falsity of Mr. TOLAND's Mahometan Gospel, quoth a?* Who wou'd not imagine after this, if a stranger to NAZARENUS, but that I had asserted the truth of that Gospel? which I have been so farr from doing, that I mist no opportunity of detecting the forgery. At first he was very loath, it seems, to believe such a thing of me. *Tho Mr. Toland's name, says he, was wrote in red letters in front, I could not even then suspect him to be either so weak or wicked, as to assert in earnest this Mahometan Gospel.* And have I been so weak or

³ Μεγαλην παιδειαν νομιζει, δι' ην δυνατον εστιν αγνοουντων α παιδευσια. Demophil. Scaten. Pythagor.

Page 10.

RENUS *has offer'd so weak proofs for his Gospel of BARNABAS, that one wou'd suspect, that he meant not so much to prove this true, as to make it probable that all the rest were false or uncertain.* But still I ask where I have offer'd any proof for the truth of it? and whether his imputeing such a thing to me against all evidence, be a good proof that he has more respect for the four *Gospels*, than I have for that of BARNABAS? A true or canonical *Gospel* I have not dreamt of making it, nor so much as even the work of BARNABAS, whom I no where affirm to have written a *Gospel*; but that *among the numerous GOSPELS handed about in the primitive Church, and pronounc'd apocryphal by the majority of Christians, there was one attributed to BARNABAS.* You see I discours'd of apocryphal books, which are many of 'em specify'd in the margin of that passage; where I do not say that a *Gospel was written by BARNABAS*, but that one *was anciently attributed to him*, than which there is nothing more undeniable. Speaking afterwards of the discovery of a *Gospel* so call'd, I do not say, *we have at length found out the Gospel of BARNABAS*, but *the Gospel father'd of old upon BARNABAS, and that not in its original purity.* What can there be more decisive, or what cou'd be less ambiguously express'd? As I have carefully read all the publish'd apocryphal pieces, going under the names of the Apostles, or of their companions and immediate successors, I have with several others, who were at the same pains, form'd such an idea of them;

Nazarenus,
page 6.

Ibid. page
21.

as to guess pritty near by the stile and contents at the time of writing them, over and above the presumptive evidence arising from the first time we find them mention'd. After the most leisurely perusal of the book in question, I conclude it was originally a Christian forgery, like the *Gospels of JAMES, of the Infancy of JESUS, and of NICODEMUS*, which you know are still extant intire: but, as I remark'd in NAZARENUS, that MAHOMET and the Mahometan writers make much use of such apocryphal pieces; so this has been remarkably interpolated by some Mahometan, which is a pious fraud that I wish were confin'd to those onely of that sect. After this mature examination I cou'd safely say, *that this Gospel might in the main be the antient Gospel of BARNABAS: tho the Mahometan Interpolations were too palpable not to be easily distinguish'd.* I spoke to the same purpose before, and thence concluded, *that the Gospel of BARNABAS was not yet extinct, as all Christian writers had hitherto imagin'd.* But what Gospel of BARNABAS? not one written by himself, since we have no evidence that he left any such monument: but the Gospel that was antiently attributed to him, father'd upon him, and forg'd under his name, which are the expressions I so often use; supposing withall, that BARNABAS's differing from PAUL, and quitting his company, *did probably give a handle to IMPOSTORS of framing a Gospel in his name.* As I cou'd not be more express, My Lord, so the following remark appears not to have been made at random. *Here you have not onely a new Gospel, but also a true one, if you believe the Mahometans. But how honest soever they may be represented, this is a topic where none are to be credited without the utmost caution; since, tho every GOSPEL forbids lying,*

Page 21
3c.

Page 61.

Page 9.

Page 34.

Page 15

- yet never are more lyes told than about the Gospel. There needs not a greater proof of it, than the numberless lies that have been spread about this same Gospel of BARNABAS, which forbids lying no less than the best. After all these passages, Doctor MANGEX, if he had not thought wilful misrepresentation an evangelical duty, might spare the pains he has taken, in the 17th and following pages of his book, to prove against me that this Gospel is not genuin; and to show me, who never thought of it, which way I shou'd go about to prove it to be so. For neglecting this, *an errant bungler* and *a heretic in Criticism* are names too gentle for me; to make amends for which, he afterwards
- Page 83. found out that of *a sorry unbelieving Critic*. Another crime for which he has arraign'd me, is affirming that the antients mention'd this Gospel of BARNABAS: which they cou'd not do, says
- Page 13. the Doctor, because GELASIUS, the *first who mentions it*, liv'd near five hundred Years after CHRIST. And did I averr that any mention'd it before him? or did I even make him the first mentioner? having observ'd, that the *Decree bearing his name*, was attributed by some to DAMASUS before him, as by others to HORMISDAS after him: notwithstanding which observation after several others, he has the candor to charge me with
- Page 7. *great ignorance or sly artifice, in either not knowing or concealing, that this Canon, in the opinion of the ablest Critics, is not so old as the date it bears.*
- Page 13. Your Lordship perceives, that I was neither so ignorant nor so sly: but whether it were ignorance or slyness in your Chaplain to represent me thus, I leave your self to determine. Now, be it GELASIUS or DAMASUS, or any of those the Critics please, that first mention'd it; was he not antient with respect to us? are not those of the fourth and fifth centuries reckon'd antients by all

all men? and were not the compilers of those *Indexes of the Scriptures*, which I quoted as witnesses of what past in their own times, *antient Ecclesiastical writers*? Here I take occasion to add part of another to them, out of the Chancellor SEGUIER's Library, mention'd in the *Catalogue* of it by the learned MONTFAUCON, and which may be read there by the curious.

Εὐαγγέ-
λιον κατὰ
Ματθαίου,
καὶ Εὐαγγέ-
λιον κατὰ
Μαρκ-
κου, Pag.

IV. I HAVE hitherto dwelt upon things falsely laid to my charge, and now come to a thing justly imputed to me, but which is no less unjustly than amazingly deny'd by my adversary; when the unanimous current of all competent witnesses, ancient and modern, are against him. It is, that I call Mahometanism *the Religion of the four books*: and that *tho the Mahometans do hold by Tradition that ADAM, NOAH, ENOCH, ABRAHAM, and other Patriarchs and Prophets, had several books divinely sent 'em (even to the number of 104) containing divine revelations; yet the onely obligatory ones are, according to them, the Pentateuch of MOSES, the Psalms of DAVID, the Gospel of JESUS, and the Alcoran of MAHOMET.* This I confess to have said, and will abide by it. But let's hear the Doctor. *To prove that the Mahometans receive the Gospel, he observes, that tho they believe 104 [he shou'd have added books, since all books are not Gospels] to be sent from heaven, et four of them are only obligatory. He quotes the names of several writers, to prove this particularly in respect of the Gospel, but he artificially omits their words.* The cause, My Lord, requires no artifice, and I us'd none: nor have I therefore omitted the words of my Authors, except where they were nothing to the purpose. RELAND's *Compend* (for example) and GABRIEL Sionis, whom he quotes after me, reckon up with

194.

See Nazarenus, cap. 3 & 4. pag. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

pag. 25.

others the ten books sent to ADAM, fifty to SETH, thirty to ENOCH, and ten to ABRAHAM, which I pass by, for being no longer obligatory, as I observ'd before; and onely insisted on the four, with which both of them conclude, and whose titles they give, these being the books on which the Mahometans directly profess to ground their Religion. To those two writers I added the words of ALGAZEL, and that of another *Formulary* out of MARACCI's *Prodromus*. The words of LEVINUS WARNER I omitted for the same reason, of not superfluously crowding my book. But since the Doctor seems as fond of words, as others of things, I shall here oblige him with the words of some more Authors, whose authority is unexceptionable. The first shall be the *Treatise concerning the manners, conditions, and wickedness of the Turks*, printed at Paris in the year of CHRIST 1511 by HENRY STEPHENS; together with RICOLDUS, whom the Doctor himself quotes after others under the Gothic name of RICHARD, and of whom I shall take occasion to say something before I have done. The Author of the *Treatise concerning the manners and conditions of the Turks* was twenty years a captive among them, and attain'd to that knowledge in their doctrine and in their language (even to the forgetting of his own) that he was judg'd fit for the Priesthood, and deserving to enjoy no small benefice, wou'd he continue among them, as he once intended. Now follow his words. *The *general opinion of almost all the Turks*

4. Communis opinio omnium ferè Turcorum de Lege eorum talis est. Dicunt enim primum Prophetam magnum, cui datus fuit Lex primitus a Deo, fuisse MISSAH; id est, MOSES, cui datus est liber *Tefrit*, quem nos *Pentateuchum* nominamus: et omnem hominem, qui eo tempore legem observasset, salvatum esse.

Turks concerning their Law is this. They say that the first great Prophet, to which God gave originally a Law was MISSAH, that is, MOSES, to whom was given the book Tefrit, which we call the Pentateuch; and that every one, who then observ'd this Law, was sav'd. But that after the malice and negligence of men had, in process of time, corrupted this Law, as a remedy of such prevarication was chosen the second great Prophet DAJIT, by us call'd DAVID; to whom was given the book Czabúr, which we stile the Psalter. This, after the manner of the former, being successively observ'd and corrupted, there was also added the third great Prophet YESSE, that is, JESUS; to whom was sent the third Law with the book Vigilis, which we name the Gospel, and which in its time was to all the means of Salvation. This being at length antiquated like the preceding books, MAHOMET was chosen the fourth Prophet, who from God receiv'd a Law with the book call'd the Aicoran; which alone, all the former being evacuated, is by them fully and firmly preach'd and asserted to contain the necessary means of salvation, till another succedes. This they think shall not happen in this World: and as Christians believe the New Testament is come

Cum autem, per successum temporis, humana malicia et negligentia hanc legem corrupisset, in hujus praevaricationis remedium electus est secundus Propheta magnus DAJIT, quem nos DAVID dicimus; cui datus est liber Czabúr, quem nos Psalterium vocamus. Quo, prioris modo, servato et corrupto, tertius quoque Propheta magnus subjunctus est YESSE, id est JESUS; cui tertia lex cum libro Vigilis, quem nos Evangelium dicimus, missa est, quae suis temporibus omnibus causa salutis fuit. Ea tandem, praecedentium modo evacuata, quartus electus est MAHOMETES, qui legem cum libro, qui Aicoranus dictus est, a Deo accepit; quae, evacuatis omnibus antehabitis, sola necessitatem salutis (donec alia super-veniret) plenè et indubitanter ab eis praedicatur et dicitur habere. De conditionibus, & nequitia Turcorum libellus, &c. cap. 13. pag. 42. folio versò.

Page 14.

into the room of the *Old*, which yet is the foundation on which the other is built; so the Mahometans believe concerning the succession of the four books, the authority of the three former being frequently alledg'd in all their writings. There is nothing more certain, notwithstanding Dr. MANGEY will venture to affirm, that tho the Mahometans do acknowledge a Gospel to have been formerly sent from heaven to JESUS, yet they allow that Gospel no force or authority, they produce no testimonies from it, nor do any of them read it as a sacred book. Our present Gospels, which, as I remark'd in more than one place of NAZARENUS, they brand with corruption and falsification, they neither read nor quote: but that their writings contain numerous passages out of a Gospel, said by them to be that of JESUS, and which they allow to be divine whether extant or not, I promise to show your Lordship, whenever you please to honor me with your commands. His own fryar RICHARD, who's so far from being judicious and sincere, that he's in many things both ignorant and fabulous, yet in his 2d chapter owns, that not onely the Christians, but also the Saracens themselves hold the Law of MOSES, and the Prophets, and the GOSPEL, to be from God. *We have the truth of the Gospel*, says he, *to which the Alcoran it self bears witness, and approves it.* His whole 3d chapter is to prove, that the *Alcoran* is not the Law of God, because not attested to be so by the *Old and New Testament*, which the Mahometans themselves must necessarily believe by their own principles. But that is not our present Gospel, as RICOLDUS well remarks, which they pretend is corrupted many ways, and particularly because the name of MAHOMET is raz'd out of it. I leave the Dr. to verify these quotations by the original words.

words. In the 15th chapter RICOLDUS says that *the Saracens are nothing, unless they fulfill the Law and the Gospel*. He's very large on the same argument in the following chapter; and in the 17th he says the Mahometans maintain, that the *Alcoran* succeeded the *Gospel*. The *Gospel* therefore, whether truly extant or not, is in their opinion part of the foundation of their Religion, as the *Old Testament* is of ours. This I asserted with the best judges, and Dr. MANGHEY has the temerity to deny it. That they have more books than the bulk of Christians imagine, I cou'd bring many vouchers, or at least that they pretend to have such. I shall here content my self with the testimony of the reverend Mr. *Edward Terry*, in his *Voyage to the East Indies*. He was Chaplain to the Ambassador Sir THOMAS ROWE, and Rector of Greenford in Middlesex. *The Mahometans say, that they have the books of MOSES; but they have very much corrupted that story, in ascribing that to ISMAEL which is said of ISAAC, as if ISMAEL shou'd have been sacrific'd and not ISAAC—They say that they have the book of DAVID's Psalms, and some writings of SOLOMON, with other parcels of the Old Testament; which if so, I believe are made much to vary from the story. I believe so too, and affirm'd as much in NAZARENUS; yet am fully persuaded that they have a Pentateuch and Psalms such as they are, and that they often sing portions of the last, which is not now the subject before me. But because the words and authority of one who was not onely an Englishman, but likewise a Batchelor of Divinity, may weigh more with Dr. MANGHEY about the four books, than those of Arabian Mahometans, or Christian foreners; I shall produce those of THOMAS SMITH B. D. out of his Remarks upon the manners, religion, and government of the Turks. He was afterwards Dr. SMITH, commonly*

Page 277.

Gen. 22.

monly nicknam'd *Togray*, and as staunch a Churchman as my adversaries cou'd wish. *It is the highest unkindness in the world*, says he, *not to believe them, when they swear one particular Oath; for then they are most serious, and desire to remove all possible suspicion of falsehood: which is, BY THE TRUTH OF THE FOUR BOOKS the thing is so or so, or I will do this or that; meaning the Law of MOSES, the Psalter of DAVID, the Gospel of JESUS, and the Alcoran of MAHOMET, for they look on the three first also as sacred, and reverence their authority.* If I had not this gentleman to bear me out, with several others that shall appear when necessary, I make no doubt but the Doctor wou'd question the very existence of my nameless Arabians, who judge it needless to trouble him at present. Nor is this conjecture at all improbable, since notwithstanding Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE's account, which was printed on purpose to prevent all sinister surmises, he calls the notice I give of the *Gospel of BARNABAS a sham discovery.* I wou'd have the Doctor to know that I am no coiner, and that I think an impious coiner of a book under the name of an Apostle, to deserve as severe a punishment, as a false coiner of money, bearing the King's name and inscription. The reality of my discovery is sufficiently known to all Europe: and so will now the reality of the Mahometans allowing the four books to be the foundation of their Religion, to any man that cou'd doubt of it before. Wherefore, as your Lordship bears an awful regard to the good faith requir'd by the light of Nature, and the sacred truth injoin'd by the precepts of the *Gospel*, I hope you'll procure me due reparation from your dome-

Page 103.

Page 3.

5 See *Menagiana* Edit. Amst. vol. 4. p. 321. Also NAZARENVUS. Append. II. pag. 9—13.

tic, for averring that *I have utter'd a falshood in saying, that it is the constant and general belief of Mahometans, that these four books [the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Alcoran] constitute the foundation of their Religion, or that Mahometanism is generally call'd [I said, call'd by some] the Religion of the four books.* That I have made this undeniably evident I appeal to the public, which I doubt not will do me justice, both in this point and the rest of the controversy, thou'd your Lordship happen to forget it. Page 27.
Nazaren.
page 11.

V. WHEN the Doctor discourses of Mahometan Christianity (a subject he had better let alone, since he knows so little about it) he's very angry with such as speak well of the Mahometans where they deserve it: for in other respects those persons are as little favorers of Mahometanism, as any Chaplain you have, or the most orthodox in your diocese. He quotes my self representing the Mahometans as *a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither*: but stops short there, whereas I go on and say, that *they are farr from being the best.* What kind of Christianity allows this proceeding one of your Lordship's great reading and experience can best tell; but tis manifest that the Mahometans, whom (after PETER MARTYR by name, and hundreds not nam'd) I stil'd a sect or sort of Christians, allow no such disingenuous dealing: and are therefore in this respect better, than such as use it or connive at it; as they are likewise better than Idolatrous Christians, than tritheistical Chritions, than persecuting Christians, than several other sorts of false Christians I cou'd easily specify. No consideration shall prevail with me to refuse any party of men the good qualities or principles they may have, notwithstanding their bad ones. This same dispo-

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Ibid.
Pref. p. 3.

disposition of mind has brought the late no less learned than modest ADRIAN RELAND under Dr. MANGEY's displeasure. Indeed he's not without company in his anger: nor do I wonder at it in a tribe of men who declaim'd against *Moderation* in Queen ANNE's reign, and against *Sincerity* under King GEORGE, in this however very consistent with their own principles and practises. RELAND in the Preface to his *Two books concerning the Mahometan Religion*, professedly detests the false accounts which most men give of other men's Religion, which he exemplifies in the calumnies of the Heathens against the Jews, of the Heathens and Jews against the first Christians, of the Papists against the Reform'd, and of almost all sects against their adversaries. *And I apprehend,* ' says he, *that my present labor in examining the Mahometan Religion, and setting it forth such as really it is in it self, may give occasion to our adversaries, of propagating the same calumny with greater confidence. Yet I shall not suffer my self by so vain an apprehension to be frighted from going on with my undertaking. We ought to search after the Truth wherever it lies, and it is a laudable endeavor in my opinion to set a stop to lies, and to acquaint every one that desires it, with a Religion which is spread farr and wide: not to exhibit it disguiz'd, not overspread with the clouds of false-*

6 Et vereor, ne ipse hic labor meus in indaganda Religione Mahomedica, & ea exhibenda uti revera est. occasionem daturus sit adversariis nostris, eandem calumniam majori fiducia propagandi. Nec tamen patiar me tam vano metu ab incepto deterri. Veritas, ubicunque est, indagari debet; & laudabile studium mihi videtur mendacis obicem ponere, & Religionem longè latèque diffusam unicuique qui volet conspiciendam exhibere: non fucatam, non obrectam maledicentiae vel errorum nebulis, sed ita uti docetur in Templis & Scholis Mohammedicis; ut certis ictibus eam impetere, & si non animo ipsorum Turcarum, nostro saltem veritatem ejus persuadere possimus. *Edis. secund. pag. 8. n. 4.*

Good

hood and mistakes, but as it is taught in the Mahometan Temples and Schools; that we may strike home at it with sure blows, and be able, if not to persuade the Turks against it, yet to convince our selves of its vanity. Then a good deal lower it remains, says he, that I add a word or two concerning my self, and intreat the reader not to misconstrue to a bad sense whatever labor I may have bestowed in writing these two books. It was not my design to palliate or beautify, much less to propagate or defend the Mahometan Religion, which I execrate. Whoever shou'd thus judge of me, wou'd highly injure both me and the truth. I was oblig'd, if I propos'd truth as the scope of my writing, to apologize for the Mahometan Religion in many things, which are falsely attributed to them. If any body thinks it a better way to spread those lies, which without any foundation of good authority, are told of the Turks; as that they are fools, asses, madmen, devils, or if any thing worse be said of them, than with me to reject them: he may do it for all me, who experience more and more every day, that the world loves to be cheated, and to be govern'd by preconceiv'd opinions. But Dr. MANGEY affirms that Professor RELAND has Page 43. given a favorable, and, in some respects, a false account of the Mahometans; and makes them to be

7 Restat ut de me aliquid addam, & lectorem rogem, ne in malam partem interpretetur laborem qualemcunque meum, duobus hifce libris impensum. Non fuit mihi propositum religionem Mahomedicam (quam execror) palliare aut fucare, nedum propugnare aut defendere. Qui hoc de me judicium ferret, nae ille gravem mihi injuriam faceret, & a vero aberraret. Debui patrocinium causae Mohammedicae suscipere, si vera scribere vellem, in multis quae falso iis tribuuntur. Si quis illa mendacia, quae nulla auctoritate suffluta de Turcis narrantur, malit propagare, ut bardi illi, & amini, & infani, & diaboli, & si quid pejus, audiant, per me licet; qui quotidie magis magisque experior mundum decipi velle, & praeeconceptis opinionibus regi. *ibid.* p. 47. n. 13.

bely'd

*bely'd and misrepresented by the Christian writers, in respect of the absurdities of the Alcoran. This last part of the accusation is true enough, which ought to be no such mighty wonder, since the Christians so grossly bely one another every day : but as to the first part, that in any point he has given a false account of them, neither Dr. MANGHEY, nor any else, can ever show against the most candid of men. In the meantime, he did from his heart abhor the real fables and absurdities of the Mahometans, as did his and my Master * SPANHEMIUS ; who yet, as became a person of unsophisticated Learning and an ingenuous spirit, instead of railing at MAHOMET for a frantic and senseless fellow (tho heartily owning him to have been a wicked Impostor) says ⁹ it is certain, that he was richly furnished with natural endowments, of a beautiful presence, having a subtle genius, agreeable manners, showing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every body, fortitude against his enemies, and above all things a reverend regard for the name of God. Somewhat lower (after mentioning the provision he made against drunkenness, extortion, gaming, luxury, and swearing) he affirms, what every one must own who reads the *Alcoran*, that ¹⁰ he was severe against perjur'd persons, adulterers,*

8 He likewise heard TRIGLAND and MARK, at whose public Lectures I attended: yet tis not alone to his fame, but also to his writings that I appeal, as to his candor. Facts are obstinate things.

9 Id certum, 1. naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Muhammedem, forma præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facietis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ ceteris reverentiam divini nominis. *Hist. Eccles. secul. 7. cap. 7. lem. 5. col. 1209.*

10 Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut & divinarum laudum. *Ibid. lem. 7. col. 1213.*

murderers,

murderers, backbiters, prodigals, misers, false witnesses, &c. He was a great preacher (continues he) of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, reverence to parents and superiors, and of the praises of God. The impostures, lyes, disguises, and inventions of MAHOMET in other respects, did not hinder the most zealous among the Protestant Historians, to give him a good character, where he thought him deserving it. Passing over Dr. PRIDEAUX, whose immortal work of *The Connection between the Old and New Testament* is the most learned, as it is the most entertaining, that has appear'd in Britain for a considerable time; and omitting several others who scorn'd to take advantage of Mahometanism, or rather to expose themselves, by countenancing the ill-invented stories of lying Fryars, and petulant but servil and shallow Chaplains: I shall only quote a passage out of MARACCI, who in another place (quoted also by RELAND before me) says that ¹¹ *this Superstition contains every thing that's found plausible or probable in the Christian Religion, and that seem conformable to the law or light of Nature.* This is enough, I think, to hold 'em for a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither. But the passage I specially mean is this. *I have* ¹² *been always of opinion, experience and reason persuading me, that if the Alcoran and the Gospel be propos'd to those nations [namely the Jews and the Gentiles] they will still imbrace the Alcoran and the Mahometan Superstition, sooner than the Gospel and the Christian*

¹¹ Habet nimirum hæc Superstitio quicquid plausibile ac probabile in Christiana Religione reperitur, &c. In præfat. ad Prodrom. Alcoran. The words wou'd take up too much room, and I have translated them as literally as cou'd be.

¹² Ego semper in ea opinione fui (experientiâ id mihi & ratione suadente) quod si Alcoranus & Evangelium, &c. Of the rest of the original words I say as in the foregoing citation.

Religion; unless that beforehand they be carefully instructed, as to the truth of the Gospel, and the lyes and frauds of the Alcoran. For at first sight those things contain'd in the Alcoran will appear more conformable to the dictates of corrupt nature, than what the Gospel proposes; as, that there is one God, omnipotent, omniscient, the creator and ruler of all things, and who has nothing in common with created beings; that fervent and frequent prayers be address'd to him; that alms be distributed to the poor, holy pilgrimages undergone, the body mortify'd with fastings, and justice observ'd; that modesty, beneficence, piety, and other virtues be practis'd; that wrong be done to no man, and that thefts, adulteries, murders, with other crimes be avoided; that worldly things be despis'd, as transitory, and good works perform'd: moreover, that all men are to give an account to God of their actions; that in heaven eternal happiness is prepar'd for the good, in the injoyment of those things which human nature desires with the greatest ardor; that eternal punishment is prepar'd in hell for the wicked, with other the like things, which for certain occur every where in the Alcoran. But if a Heathen hears a Minister of the Gospel propose to him one God in three persons, God made man, a poor, crucify'd God, who was dead and bury'd, the Mystery of the Eucharist, the necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, marriage with one wife, the indissoluble knot of wedlock, a life join'd to perpetual affliction, doing good to one's enemies, the highest happiness consisting in things which neither eye saw, nor ear heard, nor enter'd into the heart of man; with such other things, that either surpass the conception of human understanding, or are most difficult, if not impossible, to the natural state or weakness of man, and that he compares them with the doctrines of the Alcoran, he will instantly reject those, and embrace these. How well MARACCI has judg'd

I refer to every one's consideration: but I am persuaded he was no favorer of Mahometanism, against which he has strenuously written; as I myself declar'd, in terms than which I cou'd find no stronger, that *the Alcoran is the grossest of all Impostures*. Of this Dr. MANGY, according to his usual fair dealing, takes no notice: but *thinks it not unseasonable to set forth the Mahometan sentiments in relation to the Christian Religion, that the world may see, what sort of Christianity is allow'd by NAZARENUS*. Not the Christianity that allows this proceeding, no more than the Mahometan Christianity, I assure him. I am convinc'd by this time, that your Lordship will not expect I shou'd trouble my self or others with his account of the Mahometan sentiments, of which he knows as little, as he's unwilling to do them justice; who have as much right to fair usage, as the best Christians in the world.

Nazaren.

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VI. NOR yet, my Lord, wou'd I take notice of what he says concerning the *Nazarens* and *Ebionites*, since he understands much less of this matter; were it not for the strange mistakes committed on this occasion, by one who has the opportunity of learning better things from your Lordship: tho, by his quality of Doctor, one wou'd think he shou'd by this time be able to teach others. His whole second chapter is one continu'd thread of shameful errors and prevarications. In the ninth chapter of my book I said, that *the Jewish converts to Christianity were term'd Nazarens from JESUS of Nazareth, and that it appears all the first Christians were so; since PAUL himself is, in the Acts of the Apostles, call'd a ringleader of the Heresy of the Nazarens*. To this Dr. MANGY makes two exceptions: the one, that they were not so call'd at the beginning, nor

Page 26.

at any time but by their enemies; the other implies, that they were not so denominated from JESUS of Nazareth. To prove the first I produc'd the

Acts. 24. 5. place of the *Acts* just now quoted, by which it undeniably appears, that they were call'd *Nazarens*, whether by themselves or others, before

Ibid. 11. 26. they were term'd *Christians* at Antioch. That they were so call'd by themselves I quoted ¹³ EPIPHANIUS who expressly affirms it even of the Apostles, as the Doctor himself cannot deny; tho

Page 6. but a few lines before, he's positive *that no one writer of antiquity ever own'd the name of Nazaren*. EPIPHANIUS, to be sure, is not a writer of antiquity, for he liv'd so little a while since as the 4th century; and the Apostles, we all know, were later writers, since they liv'd but in the first century. Yet PAUL owns the name: for charg'd with being a ringleader of the heresy of the Nazarens,

Acts 24. 5. 14. he answer'd, *after the way they call Heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers*; that is, after the way of the Nazarens. By the by, a man of quite another character than the Doctor, as well for learning as for moderation, and who sees with his own eyes; gave a friend of mine at Tunbridge, that communicated them to me a good while ago, some manuscript Remarks on NAZARENUS.

MS. Page 6. Among other things, he thinks that my account seems to lead one to imagine that EPIPHANIUS deriv'd the name of *Jessicans* from JESUS, which, adds this worthy person, *he did not*: and then remarking that those *Jessicans* were the *Efficans* of PHILO (who I agree with him were no Christians) he wou'd prove his assertion by showing, that EPIPHANIUS derives them from JESSE the father of DAVID. That he supposes so much is

13. Harref. 19. num. 4, 5, 6, 7.

certain :

certain : but tis as certain that he derives the name likewise from JESUS, which I shall rather think has escap'd the gentleman's diligence, than impute it to any wilful oversight. The words of EPIPHANIUS in the very same paragraph are, *twas* ¹⁴ *either therefore from the name of JESSE, or from that of JESUS our Lord, that they were call'd Jesseans.* To return to Dr. MANGEY; EPIPHANIUS affirms over again, that the first Christians did not onely give ¹⁵ themselves the name of *Nazarens*, but farther that they were so call'd by all ¹⁶ others. That this was so is clear from the *Scripture* it self, without troubling our heads about the *Fathers*. It was expressly prophes'd of JESUS (about which Dr. MANGEY is quite silent) that he shou'd be call'd a *Nazaren*, from the place of his abode ; which was no more a term of reproach, than the denominations that so many Philosophers, and other famous men, have in all ages obtain'd from their several countries. There was nothing more usual. *And he came* (says MATTHEW) *and dwelt in a city call'd Nazareth, that it might be fulfill'd which was spoken by the Prophets, he shall be call'd a Nazaren.* Wherefore he's call'd JESUS of *Nazareth* by his friends as well as by his foes, by himself as well as by the Devil. The multitude that was for him, no less than that which was against him, distinguish'd him by this title. So did they that went to apprehend him, so did the false witnesses against STEPHEN, and so did PONTIUS PILATE : but the same was also done by two of his own disciples walking with him to Emaus, by PHILIP

Mat. 2. 23.
& 21. 11.
Mar. 1. 24.
& 10. 47.
& 14. 67.
& 16. 6.
Luke 4.
34. & 18.
37 & 24.
19. Jhn 1.
45. & 18.
5. 7. & 19.
19. Acts 1.
22 & 3. 6.
& 4. 1. 5. &
6. 14. &
10. 38. &
22. 8. &
26. 9. &c.

14. Καὶ οἱ τοὶ Ἰησοῦαι οἱ τοὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐπεκλήσαντο Ἰησοῖται, &c. Ibid. num. 4.

15. Ibid. num. 5.

16. Ibid. num. 6.

the Apostle, by PETER, and by PAUL. An Angel tells the women at the sepulchre, *ye seek JESUS of Nazareth*; and JESUS himself tells PAUL, *I am JESUS of Nazareth whom thou persecutest*. The texts to prove these particulars I have mark'd in the margin, according to the order of their places in the Evangelical writers: and Dr. MANGEY may, if he pleases, by the help of his *Concordance*, reduce them to their proper heads. By reason MATTHEW says, *it was spoken by the Prophets, that JESUS shall be call'd a Nazaren*, JEROM, as if the works of all the Prophets were entirely extant, wou'd needs find this prophesy in the ¹⁷ *old Testament*, where no writer has the least mention of it. He thinks he sees it in the eleventh chapter of ISAIAH, as others in the 13th of *Judges*, both cited in the margin of our larger English Bibles. But the words in the two places are most different in sense, tho somewhat approaching in sound. That in ISAIAH is *Netzer*, a branch; and that in *Judges* is *Nazir* a separate person, spoken of SAMSON, who was indeed a Nazarite, whereas JESUS was none. But what are *Netzer* or *Nazir*, to JESUS's dwelling in the city of *Nazareth*? which MATTHEW expressly assigns as the reason of the designation *Nazaren*, while nothing like such a reason appears in any Prophet of the *old Testament*. Tho JEROM, in the place above cited, is angry with those who produce such texts out of apocry-

Mat. 2. 23.

נָזִיר
נֶזֶר

17. In Evangeliiis & apostolis multa de veteri Testamento legimus quae in nostris codicibus non habentur, ut est illud, ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum [Mat. 2. 15.] et quoniam Nazaracus vocabitur [Ibid. 2. 23.] — Interrogemus ergo eos, ubi haec scripta sint? et cum dicere non potuerint, de libris Hebraicis proferamus. Primum testimonium est in OSEE [11. 1.] Secundum in ESAIA [11. 1.] &c. — In Praefat. ad Pentateuch. Videntur idem de eodem in lib. 4. Commentar. in Esai. 11. 2.

phal books, which ORIGEN has often done; yet in other places he admits the same plea "himself," for he was a perfect ambidexter, and at times would say any thing. As JESUS therefore was call'd JESUS *the Nazaren*, or of the city of Nazareth; so his followers from him were also call'd *Nazarens*, both by themselves and others. 'Tis evident that the name was more antient than PAUL's persecution of the Christians: for he says, that *he verily thought with himself, he ought to do many things contrary to the name of JESUS of Nazareth*; that is, against those call'd after this name, *Nazarens*, as the thing it self shows, and as the bare name signify'd no more than to detect the persons. The proverbial speech to which the Doctor alludes, to prove that they were reproachfully call'd Nazarens by their enemies, and which was us'd by NATHANAEL asking Philip, *can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* Acts 16. 9. John 1. 46. shows he has laid more stress on some ignorant Commentators of the *Gospel of JOHN*, than on the words of the *Gospel* it self. If NATHANAEL had meant *any good thing* in the strict sense of the words, his question must have been as ignorant as impertinent; since abundance of good things came from thence, and that PHILIP himself was a Galilean. But his true meaning is explain'd a little lower in the same *Gospel*, where some said, *shall CHRIST come out of Galilee?* Ibid. 7. 4. which demand was founded on a mistaken notion they

18. Quærat aliquis quisnam sit iste qui dicat, surge qui dormis et exurge a mortuis, aut cujus testimonio sit abusus PAULUS? Et quidem qui simplici responsione contentus est, dicet in reconditis eum prophetis, et his quæ vocantur apocrypha, hæc læta in medium protulisse; sicut in aliis quoque illum fecisse, manifestum est: non quod Apocrypha comprobarer, sed quomodo et Arati, et Epimenidis, et Menandri versibus sit abusus ad ea quæ voluerat. *Ad Ephes. 5. 14.*

Ibid. ver. had, that *out of Galilee shou'd arise no prophet*. They doubted therefore that JESUS was not the *Messias*; because they, being ignorant of the place of his birth, thought from that of his abode that he was a Galilean: not out of any content, as the Doctor pleasantly fancies, but for the plain reason there given, *shall CHRIST come out of Galilee? hath not the Scripture said, that CHRIST cometh out of the seed of DAVID, and out of the town of BETHLEHEM, where DAVID was?* To them that read the *Bible* with attention, this is the clearest case in the world; and therefore I will not, as having solv'd some extraordinary difficulty, cry out to the Doctor,

Σὺ δὲ μοι, φίλε, κρυπτοῦ παζε.

Mat. 2. 23. To cut the matter short, *Nazaren* from the City of Nazareth, and *Nazarite* from separation or special dedication, are of very different origin; and, however approaching somewhat in sound, yet are differently ¹⁹ spelt. The middle radical letter of the first is *n*, or ours but not the German *z*; and that of the last is *s*, *ts*. The Apostle MATTHEW

1. 5. 19. Our English translators of the *Bible* have inaccurately render'd both the letters *Sajin* and *Tzade* by *Z*, which the French and we pronounce otherwise than the Italians and the Germans. The same Translators have confounded the aspirate letters *He*, *Heth*, *Caph*: all which either they express by *h*, properly answering to the first; or they sometimes quite omit the aspiration, as we cou'd show by many examples. The reason is, because we have not that Hebrew sound in our Language, which the Dutch affix to *ch* and the Greeks to their *χ*. On this occasion the reader is to note, that it is indifferent whether he says MOHAMMED or MUHAMMED, because the Arabic *Dammia* is sometimes pronounc'd as an obscure *o*, and sometimes as the Italian *u*, the Grec *ou*, or our *oo*: but Use, the absolute sovereign of words (to whose pleasure I submit in this as in other names) has made MAHOMET current in these parts of the World.

The Greeks write Μα-
χουεδ,
Μαχου-
μεδ, Μα-
αμουεδ,
Μαα-
μεδ, &c.

is on my side, and your Lordship's Chaplain (with what abettors I value not) is on the other side.
Coelum tonat, taceant ranae.

VII. HAVING thus shown that it was prophesy'd of CHRIST *he shou'd be call'd a Nazaren*, and the reason of this appellation, as well as that it was neither originally a mark of contemt, and that it no way alluded to *Netzer* or the *Branch* in ISAIAH; I need not be at any great pains now to make out against Dr. MANGEY, that *Nazaren* was not from *Nazir*, a *Nazarite*, or separate Person: for, in the first place, JESUS was no Nazarite, having drunk Wine, to allege no more of the conditions requir'd in the 6th of *Numbers*; and in second place, the true reason is given by MATTHEW, from his dwelling in the city of Nazareth. Yet so fond is the Doctor of his criticism against the exprels words of *Scripture*, that he quotes ²⁰ HESYCHIUS and ²¹ PHAVORINUS, who both of 'em visibly describe the *Old Testament* Nazarites, without any regard to the *New Testament* Nazarens; and his third Lexicographer ²² SUIDAS patly distinguishes the two words, making *Nazaren* to be *from Nazareth of Galilee*, and *Nazarite* to be *one separated and dedicated to God*. These last are also the words of the just nam'd PHAVORINUS and HESYCHIUS: one-ly that the first, following the conceit of several who judg'd of older times by their own, stiles ^{So does} the Nazarites *Monks*, as others ridiculously do ^{SUIDAS.}

20. Ναζιραῖος [which is nothing to Ναζωραῖος or Ναζαρηνός] ὁ δὲ ἀπεχαιρετὸν καὶ ἀφιερῶμεν.

21. Ναζωρεῖος μοναχός, ἡγιασμένος καὶ ἀφιερῶμεν τῷ θεῷ.

22. Ναζαρηνός ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. Ναζιραῖος δὲ θεῷ ἀπεχαιρετὸν καὶ ἀφιερῶμεν. To the same purpose are many other passages I could produce.

So do JEROME and AUGUSTIN.

ELIJAH and ELISHA. Certainly, my Lord, it will not be for the honor of the Tippet and Scarf, that a Doctor and withal a Bishop's Chaplain shou'd know so little of the *Bible* and Ecclesiastical Antiquity. I cannot as much as charge him with profiting even by *Lexicons*, however he may be bewilder'd by words of a near sound in *Indexes*. Many such we know there are, and that they are sometimes confounded, or taken for one another. Some write them as near to their native stock as they can, others according to the analogy of the language in which they write themselves, and many (without being so nice) use either manner indifferently; which is not altogether blameworthy, provided they take care to distinguish their subject, when there is a difference. Of this sort are ²³ *Esseans* and *Essenes*, which are two ways of expressing the same thing. And, to come nearer home, of the same sort are ²⁴ *Nazaren*, *Nazarean*, *Natzarean*; and *Nazarite* or *Nazirite*, and so on. Without controversy these are not seldom confounded, and even by the same men, which I am farr from approving, tho I can bear with it. As for my self, I think it indifferent which of the two words *Nazarean* or *Nazaren* any shall use, when speaking of the person of JESUS of Nazareth, or of the persons denominated from him; the first word being to be found in MATTHEW, and the second in MARK: and therefore I have constantly written *Nazaren*, as not onely equally authorized by the *Gospel* (tho ascrib'd by Dr. MANGEY to the negligence of transcribers) but also as much more us'd by the most accurate Ecclesiastical writers in Latin.

23. Esseni et Essæi, Εσσηαιοι.

24. Ναζαρεται. Ναζαρηνοι, Ναζαρεται, Nazareus, Nazarenus; Ναζαραι, Ναζιραι, Naziræus, Nazarita. SUIDAS, who distinguishes well at the beginning, does afterwards fall into the confusion, of which I was speaking.

The

The *Old Testament* *Nazarites* or *Nazirites* ought never to be confounded with the *New Testament* *Nazarens*; this being a further reason why I have always us'd the last word instead of *Nazarean*, which others may prefer if they please, it being proper enough. Your Lordship will readily believe that I shall procede as I have begun, notwithstanding the censure of your Chaplain, that *I have blunder'd in my very title, since, if I wou'd* Page 9. *have denominat'd my book from the sect I defend, I shou'd have call'd it Nazaraeus and not Nazarenus.* Of the same acumen and fairness is his saying, *NAZARENUS was sensible, that it wou'd not be* Page 55. *for the honor of his sect to be call'd from any single person, since that alone is a mark of some defection from the truth.* Is it so? I protest I never knew this before, and shou'd now be sorry it were true. Why? is not the name of *Christian* from a single person? unless the Doctor distinguishes between a man's name and his surname, or between these and his title or office, which are all so many designations of a single person. But I admire how such a crotchet came into his head, for I dreamt of nothing like this; besides that for certain my sect is call'd from a single person, even *JESUS of Nazareth*, as in these very words I declar'd in *NA-* Page 25. *ZARENUS.* It was not therefore the no less imaginary than fantastical fear of a single author, that made me say the *Nazarens* were also call'd *Ebionites* from their poverty; but because they said so ²⁵ themselves, whom I believe before their ene- Vide Nazarens. pag. 26, 27, 23, 29. mies, the ridiculous coiners of *EBION*: and moreover, because I brought substantial vouchers for the same thing, which indeed speaks sufficiently for it self. However, my Lord, *he must tell me* Page 57. *[and he has my free leave] that EBION, with*

25. Epiphani. Haeretic. 30. n. 17.

which I have adorn'd my margin, is not in the Syriac copy [and did I say it was, or will he say that copy is as old as the time of the Apostles?] nor in the Hebrew text of MUNSTER [admirable! a translation made t'other day] nor doth it any where signify Evangelical Poverty. It certainly signifies the Poverty under which they labor'd, beggary, or the want of their goods, which they laid at the Apostles feet; for which reason they were not ashamed of this name, as ²⁶ EPIPHANIUS relates. I cou'd adorn my margin with seven other Hebrew words for *Poor* out of the common *Lexicons*, and in my text show that one of them signifies a poorness of mind, that is neither evangelical nor philosophical; without needing to point out an example of it, after the drudgery I have now been oblig'd to undergo in weighing of words and measuring of syllables. The Doctor will in time see my margins very much adorn'd with Hebrew, and so have an occasion to detect my ignorance in Oriental Learning, since he cannot do it in Irish. I am amaz'd he sticks at this language, since undoubtedly he has undertaken a task infinitely more difficult to perform, than Irish is to learn. *There was not a doctrine* (says he) *receiv'd by the whole Church, during the three first centuries, that I will not take upon me to defend.* Ay marry! here's a Master of defence able to play at theological quarterstaff, with any wight that dares enter the lists with him! I do not wonder therefore that a Champion of such redoubted prowess (who yet will be humbly ask'd what was the whole Church, how many witnesses are requisite to shew her uniform belief, and what were the doctrines she universally believ'd? some of which, may notwith-

Acts 2. 44,
 45. & 4.
 34, 35, &c.

Page 124.

²⁶ Ubi supra.

standing be prov'd false) I do not wonder, I say, he shou'd promise, that *whenever I am so good as my word as to print my History of the sacred Canon, I shall have him once more for my Adversary.* But since one good turn requires another, I promise him that he shall never have me for his, for which I leave him to assign what cause he pleases. I have learnt from the same Sage to whom I own'd my obligations once before, *not²⁷ to be more afraid of the threats of fools, than of the blows of the sick.* But tho I shall never enter into argument with him, I hold my self bound at any time to detect his fallacies for more reasons than your Lordship, whose hours are better imploy'd, cares to hear.

Pref. p. 3.

VIII. AS for what concerns the summary account I gave of *the antient Irish Christianity before the Papal Corruptions and Usurpations*, tis worthy observation, that I quoted no other but Latin or English writers to prove it; whereas he declines animadverting on that part, under pretence of not understanding *the Irish language and customs*: leave-
ing me elsewhere to *spend my critical conjectures upon Irish, where I may hope few will examine me.*²⁷ Ibid. work, p. 57.
Notwithstanding his contemptible contempt, so I shall: and in such a manner, I hope, that the ablest Critics will not onely think my time well spent; but thank me withall, be their nations or religions ever so different. At least it shall be my endeavour to obtain their pardon, if I merit not their applause: since they'll not onely be no less capable judges of my performance (which, relating to Irish, may seem a riddle to the Doctor) than of my diligence and candor in a work of uni-

²⁷ Οὐτ' ἀφ' ὧν πλὴν, οὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' αἰετῶν-
Σα. Demophil. Similitud.

Letter 76,
speaking
of the Pro-
testants of
France.

versal benefit. In the mean time, if he thinks the Protestant interest, or in other words, liberty of thinking, to be any thing; which as father PAUL honestly said, *is the onely good thing in this world*: he ought no more to speak disparagingly of the Irish nation, than to judge of the first Irish Christians by those that succeeded in after ages. BARONIUS intending to affront, does that real honor to the Irish and Albanian Scots (for both these held the same doctrines and had the same Doctors) as to assert, that in the 8th century ²⁸ *they sow'd those tares, with which the northern countries are overspread in our time*: which, in other words not very different, is to say, that *they laid the foundation of the northern Heresy*. And what, pray, were those tares, or points of Heresy that they disseminated? The principal was, to use his own words, *that* ²⁹ *ill-boding and hitherto unknown monstrous doctrine, that Confession of sins was not to be made to the Priest, but to God alone*. He produces the Letter of ALCUIN to the Scots on this occasion (if it be ALCUIN's) which was publish'd by CANISIUS a little ³⁰ before. But BARONIUS was either grossly mistaken, or spoke against his own conscience, when he said this doctrine was hitherto unknown; whereas a very little time before, this might be most truly said of his special

²⁸ Inter Scotos disseminari coepta Zizania, quae nostro seculo boreales provincias occuparunt. *Ad annum 778. num. 23.*

²⁹ Infautum haftenus inauditumque ostentum, Confessionem peccatorum non esse faciendam Sacerdoti, sed Deo tantum. *Ibid.*

³⁰ *The words of the Letter to this purpose, after commending the innocent lives of the Scotch brethren and fathers, are: dicitur verò neminem ex Laicis suam velle confessionem Sacerdotibus dare; quos a Deo Christo, cum sanctis Apostolis, ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus — Deo vis, o homo, confiteri, quem nolens volens latere non possis; ecclesiae Christi, in qua peccasti, satisfacere negligis — Forte si Deum latere, sicut hominem, potuisses, nec Deo plusquam homini confiteri voluisses. Epist. 26.*

and auricular Confession in order to penance and the authoritative Absolution of a single Priest. Besides those other Irish holy men, whom I mention'd in the second part of NAZARENUS, and who converted to Christianity so great a share of Britain, of upper and lower Germany, with other countries; tis incontestably own'd by the Learned, that SEDULIUS the younger, SAMSON, VIRGIL, and CLAUDIUS CLEMENS, with his companion and assistant ADELBERT, a Frenchman bred in Ireland, were the most noted witnesses of truth, and the most strenuous opposers of error, in that age: openly decrying the abuses which had already got footing, as well as those which were daily creeping in. They specially signaliz'd themselves against the usurp'd authority and tyranny of the Roman See, the superstitious feasts and fasts ordain'd by it, the ignorance and leudness of the priests and friars, vain traditions, the worship of images, saints, or angels, prayers for the dead and purgatory, the celibacy of the clergy, honoring of reliques, going on pilgrimages, and the like. On the other hand, they highly recommended the reading of the *Scriptures*, as the onely sure antidote against all these fictions and abuses: and tho they were not quite free, or durst not declare themselves to be so, from the infection of that dark and dismal time; yet, by many of their enemies own confession, they were the most learned and pious that liv'd in it. Much lower than this, in the 14th century, we had among many others RICHARD FITZ-RALPH, a native of Dundalk where his anniversary is still observ'd, some time Chancellor of Oxford, Dean of Litchfield, and finally Archbishop of Armagh. He was Scholar to the famous JOHN BACONTHORPE, stil'd *the resolute Doctor*, and contemporary with the glorious WICLIF, before whose

pub-

publication of the *Bible* in English, he got the same translated into Irish. He was grievously persecuted by the Fryars, to whose impostures he was a mortal enemy, and openly declar'd against their impudence, luxury, idleness, craft, and superstitions, before the Pope and his Cardinals at Avignon, in the year 1357. Many other such instances I cou'd produce, were it as necessary for your Lordship as your Chaplain, to show that the antient Irish ought not to be indiscriminately abus'd, by any who has a real value for Liberty civil or religious.

The Doctor
says for be-
ing a kind
of *Parians*.
page 106.

Act. 11. 26.

IX. IF this be a digression, tis one of the most excusable on several accounts, and particularly because it is not so long as to make us lose sight of the subject we had last in hand; I mean the Christians being first call'd by themselves and all others *Nazarens*, from *JESUS of Nazareth* their founder: but not out of any contempt at the beginning, tho afterwards this denomination became a mark of reproach, when the Jewish Christians were thrust out of the Church, and pronounc'd Heretics by the Gentile converts; who, two or three excepted, were wholly ignorant of the Hebrew original, and very slighty vers'd in the Translations of the *Bible*. I shall now quit this subject, onely beg leave to remark to your Lordship, that the name *Christian*, wherein I glory no less than in that now more particular one of *Nazaren*, has not wanted orthodox Doctors to pervert the occasion of it. What we know for certain is, that *the Disciples were first so call'd at Antioch*: but whether by themselves or others, by friends or foes, is uncertain; tho some think it was by the latter, from the words of *TACITUS*, which are ambiguous were he a judge of the fact,
that

that ³¹ being odious for their crimes, the vulgar call'd them *Christians*. But nothing is surer, than that the account of CYRIL of Jerusalem is absolutely false. JESUS CHRIST (says ³² he) being the son of God, has vouchsaf'd to call us *Christians*. But some body will say, the name of *Christians* is new, nor has it been in use heretofore: and things newly done are frequently contradicted, for their very novelty-sake. The Prophet prevented this objection, saying, to those that serve me will be given a new name, which shall be blessed on the earth. Let us ask of the Jews, do ye serve the Lord or not? Show therefore your new name: for you are call'd Jews and Israelites by MOSES and by the other Prophets, both after the return from Babylon and to this day. Where then is your new name? But we, after that we serve the Lord, have a new name; new indeed, but which will be blessed on the earth. This name comprehends the whole world: for that of the Jews extends onely to a certain country, but the *Christians* to the ends of the earth, seeing the name of the onely begotten son of God is preach'd. Sure the Jews must have been extremely ignorant or wilfully blind, that cou'd resist the evidence of such admirable reasoning, and such profound understanding of the *Scriptures*, from Patriarch CYRIL. What is there left for us to do in this case? That CHRIST himself gave his followers the name of *Christians*, we are told by CYRIL; and that they were first so call'd at Antioch long after his death, we are told by LUKE. *Utrum horum?* If you believe the last, you contradict an Apostle; if you believe the first you contradict a Bishop, which is not seldom the

Isa. 65. 15, 16. but miserably perverted, as the Fathers are wont to do.

³¹ Quos, per flagitia invidios, vulgus *Christianos* appellabat. Anan. 15. cap. 44.

³² Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστός, θεοῦ υἱὸς ὢν, Χριστῶντος καὶ ἀποστόλους καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἧς τῆς &c. Cat. ches. 10. pag. 89. Edit. Par.

most dangerous of the two. But lest CYRIL might stand alone, as he does not, in giving a wrong account of the name *Christians*; there were afterwards certain Canons forg'd, pretended to have been decreed in the second Council of ³³ Antioch (for if but two or three Apostles, or a few more Christians, met on any special occasion, they must presently be transform'd into a Council) the first wherof ordains, *that such as believe in the Lord JESUS, who were by those of his time call'd Galileans, should for the future be call'd Christians.* To much the same purpose ³⁴ SUIDAS; who (tho the Doctor over-looks it) makes *Nazaræus* and *Nazareus* to be the very ³⁵ same, as well as the *New Testament*, and *Jerom* in his Version of it, with many others: so farr is *Nazareus* from being a blunder of transcribers, as we sufficiently made out before. Very readily granting to Dr. MANGY (who is not concern'd in the passage of CYRIL, unless he makes himself so) that the Christians were nicknam'd by their ignorant enemies *Galileans*, I leave to him the defence of those several Apostolical Synods, that are enumerated by the ancients. I pass over abundance of things that he most wrongfully imputes to me, but cannot overlook the malicious turn he gives to one of my Queries for Information to travellers, the greatest marks of candor and exactness I cou'd possibly give. The second Querie is this. *Since we find*

³³ TURRIAN. pro Canon. Apostol. lib. 1. cap. 25. & alii plurimi.

³⁴ Ἰστοῖον δὲ, ὅτι, ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλεως Ρωμης, Πετερου τοῦ ἀποστόλου χηρεστοῖνται ἔτι Εὐσεβιον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, μέγατο-μασθησαν ἢ παλαι λεγόμενοι Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, χηρεστοῖσι. In voce Ναζωραῖοι.

³⁵ Ναζωραῖοι, ὁ ἀπο τῆς Ναζαρετ, ὡς καὶ Ναζαρεν. In voce Ναζωραῖοι.

that

that the Mahometans charge our Gospels with corruption and alteration in many things, and particularly that MAHOMET's name was raz'd out of them, as likewise out of the Pentateuch and the Psalms; you are to inquire of the most learned, judicious, and candid among them, how they can prove such expunctions or interpolations, if they have no authentic copies to confront with ours? or, in case they pretend to have such copies, you are further to inquire, what use they make of 'em? whether any part of their Gospel be ever read in their Moschs? or whether it is to be perus'd only by the Clergy and the learned? That the Mahometans charge our Gospels with those alterations, is on all hands undeniable: and who sees not, that the design of my Query was to know, whether the Gospel attributed to BARNABAS or any other (for RELAND says they have one in ³⁵ Arabic and Spanish) be of any public authority among them; and to have such books brought into the hands of the curious, as I did that of BARNABAS? None but Dr. MANGEX is capable to suppose, that I cou'd think any other copies of the Gospel, except Mahometan forgeries, cou'd contain MAHOMET's name. But without restraining my inquiry, as I carefully did my self, to Mahometan Countries, he says in the most general terms: *and that he may not come* Appendix to Nazaren. pag 14.
behind any Mussulman of them all in their daring Page 34.
stupid conjectures, he proposeth it as a grave Querie for
travellers; whether any copies of the holy Scriptures,
with MAHOMET's name in them, can be found to
confront with ours! If such a vile practice meets with no discouragement, your Lordship knows of whom I cannot possibly have a good opinion: and that

³⁵ Evangelium aliquod apud ipsos est, quod ex scriptis bonis & malis confutum Arabicè & Hispanicè manuscriptum extat. De Reliq. Mahommed. lib. 1. pag. 23. in nota b.

Page 93.

Nizaren.

P. 53.

Page 19.

I cannot help believing it is not the Church of Rome alone, that judges no faith ought be observ'd towards Heretics. Another foul misrepresentation (unless it be meritorious to use some men at such a rate) is, that *I approve the Sabbatharians, for the same reason that I do all persons and things, that are against the Establishment*: whereas I onely accounted for and excus'd their scruple, but shew'd at the same time that none of the Gentile Christians was bound to the observation of the Jewish Sabbath, that the practice of the Jewish Christians was ignorantly drawn by some of those of the Gentile stock into the nature of a precept, or as an example of indispensable imitation; that the present Sabbatharians were wrong in the application of what the Jewish Christians and some of the misled Gentile Christians did, with the rest that may be read in my book, to which I refer your Lordship. This, one wou'd think, is not approving, but correcting and converting; and I fancy I cou'd produce more Seventh-day Sabbath-men convinc'd by my reasoning, than your Chaplain can Arians or Socinians reduc'd to orthodoxy by his *Plain notions*. I forbear making a collection of several passages where he affects to talk as nostrums, of things long since made public by the Learned, of which I shall onely give two examples. He *suspects the latter part of the Epistle of BARNABAS, to be a part of that antient Doctrine, scatter'd thro'out the Apostolical Constitutions*. But the famous DODWELL declar'd this suspicion many years ago, and it has been since transcrib'd, tho candidly under his name, by the no less famous ³³ FABRICIUS, not to speak of Dr. GRABE. Thus again

he vehemently suspects, that the prohibition of things Page 103
 strangl'd does not belong to the text: whereas the
 learned CURCELLEUS (whom he has transcrib'd
 without naming him) did labor this point above
 half a century since, and, towards the very be-
 ginning of the chapter about it, says; that he defer-
 vedly ³⁸ suspects this clause, being not only not ac-
 knowledg'd by many antient Fathers, but even directly
 rejected as supposititious or foisted. I shall not in
 this place enter into the merits of this cause, but
 I am persuaded, that if I us'd no more formali-
 ty about questioning the genuineness of a passage
 in the text; it wou'd be loudly proclaim'd, that
 no *Scripture* was to stand in the way of my whim-
 sies. I observ'd before one of the Doctor's fine
 Criticisms about the origin of the word *Nazaren*,
 widely different from the reason given for it
 by MATTHEW. His making me say *Periclete* for
Paraclete (which I never did, but that the Ma-
 homerans pretended *Pericylte* shou'd be read in-
 stead of *Paraclete*) and then charging me with
 want of skill in Greec, is of a piece with the rest of
 his conduct. At his frequent nibbling and falsifying
 of this sort elsewhere, I scorn to stop; as all judi-
 cious readers laugh at his thraſonic and positive
 way of writing, supported by nothing but the
 want of knowing facts, or the fancy that others
 will not examine them.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΤΗ-
 76 & not
 ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΗ-
 76, Na-
 zaren. p. 13.

X. AS no justice is to be done to my self, so
 it seems I must do none to others, or they at least
 ought not to receive it at my hands. We shou'd
 be at a fine pass indeed if certain envious and prag-
 matical creatures, whose notions are as narrow as

38 Sed meritò nobis suspecta est, cum a multis antiquis Patribus
 non agnoscat, imò tanquam supposita disertè rejiciatur. *Diatriba*
de esu sanguinis, cap. 11. pag. 131.

Page 4.

Page 24.

their love of riches and power insatiable, shou'd, like the fryars abroad, prescribe to us what conduct to observe; and make us afraid to whom we talk, or who shou'd talk to us. God be prais'd, my Lord, it is not come to that yet. For my own part, I abhor, I disdain so pitiful and servile a disposition. I shall with the utmost alacrity embrace every occasion of rendring their due to all sorts of men, be their country or party what you please; and will acknowledge what is valuable in my worst enemies, as well as in my best friends. Nevertheless your Chaplain is much displeas'd that the Lord Bishop of BANGOR shou'd be commended by me, and wou'd have his Lordship do something to renounce my favors and compliments, as he calls them. I did indeed upon a natural occasion, in the Preface to NAZARENUS, from my heart extoll his Lordship's undaunted courage, in nobly supporting the cause of Mankind, of Christianity, of the Reformation, and of the Laity, against the enemies of them all; notwithstanding the malicious, scurrilous, and barbarous treatment with which he met for so doing. For these reasons I profess to reverence him in the profoundest manner, tho absolutely unknown to him, as I am so still; and tho we shou'd differ in many things, as I am certain we do: uniformity of sentiments in all things not being thought by me either desirable or expedient, let alone that it is impossible. My good opinion of this excellent Prelate, who continues to be so rancorously abus'd by the enemies of the Protestant Religion and the Royal family, is still the same; nor shou'd I alter it, had he the weakness to reject my just praises: for many brave men have been perfectly run down before now by clamor and calumny, and forc'd wretchedly to succumb before the most worthless of mortals. But this I augurate will
never

never be his Lordship's case, that first Principle of the Reformation which he maintains daily getting ground, even by the opposition made to it: and he in the prosecution of it, showing himself to be sway'd by none of those sordid aims, which might slacken his ardor; or by such mean politics, as wou'd be sure to fully his fame. Nor is he the only one among our present Bishops for whose piety and learning I have, on many occasions, testify'd my unfeign'd respect. What if I differ from their Lordships in some speculative points of a dubious or difficult nature? I sincerely agree with them in the life of Christianity, in mutual charity, in the toleration of tender consciences, in the love of knowledge, the hatred of superstition, and the preservation of civil liberty. 'Tis doubtless more unwarrantable in my adversaries to differ from them about these eternal truths, than for me to differ from them about any disputable institutions, were they in the right, and I happen to be ever so much in the wrong. Their disapproving me in some points, wou'd never induce me to disown what I approv'd in them. Some of the best friends I have in the world differ from me in many things, which hinders them not from loving and esteeming me (which affections are reciprocal) on the account of other things, more important to life and society. I frankly declar'd in NAZARENUS, that I convers'd with men of all nations and religions; provided they were masters of any art, science, or other good quality, by which I might reap benefit or entertainment. They, who teach their followers to avoid any, except men of flagitious lives, are afraid their ignorance or their deceit may be discover'd. But let it be owing to what motive you will, it cannot procede from the knowledge of truth, which

Pref. p. 23,
24.

must be proof against all the attacks of error ; nor yet from the love of truth, which leads to inquiry, and consequently to promiscuous communication. How little this social virtue is practis'd needs not be told, since men of different opinions in religion are taught to shun each other, as if it were a fundamental article of their faith. It becomes at least as habitual as if it were so. I cou'd never admire CONRAD RITTERSHUSIUS after reading the following passage, where, speaking of AUSONIUS, *I particularly wonder*, says, ³⁹ *he, that a Christian man shou'd cultivate a friendship (and no vulgar one, but so intimate as for the one to call the other father) with SYMMACHUS, a most bitter enemy to this profession : for that such he was, appears from his own Address to the Emperors; and from the answers made to it by PRUDENTIUS and AMBROSE. This, I repeat it, is to me a wonder: for what agreement can there be in other things between those, who disagree in the very foundation, which is the true Religion? But in friendship there is requir'd a perfect agreement, as well in things divine as human.* Pray, who has a right to require such a chimera, such an impossibility? and as for your question, I answer, that men who differ about the true Religion, may very well agree and receive mutual improvement in all things besides : otherwise the true Religion must be the foundation of agreement in critical

³⁹ Miror et illud, potuisse virum Christianum cum insensissimo hujus nominis hoste SYMMACHO (talem enim illum fuisse constat ex ipsius relatione ad Augg. et PRUDENTII atque AMBROSII ad eam responsione) amicitiam colere, nec eam vulgarem, sed intimam adeo ut alter alterum patrem indigaret. Mirum hoc. inquam. mihi: nam quae ceteris de rebus consensus esse potest? ubi in fundamento ipso, quod est vera religio, aliqui dissentiant. In amicitia autem rerum divinarum et humanarum consensus summa requiritur. *In Epist. ad SOLOM. PANTHERUM.*

learning,

learning, poetry, painting, mechanics, and what not. If the philosophers and travellers of antiquity had made the tenets of their peculiar sects, or of the religions of their country, the tests of intercourse and endearment wherever they dwelt or travell'd; we had been ignorant at this time of a thousand things, no less useful than ornamental to life, which they learnt by a free and friendly communication with all men.

XI. The opposite conduct renders many, who wou'd pass for men of letters, both savage and senseless Misanthropes. I remember Mr. WORTON, whom I do not reckon in this number, speaking of SPINOSA, has this ⁴⁰ passage, which per- Page 47.
 haps he wou'd not at present justify. Mr. TOLAND *affects to treat him tenderly, and says, he thinks all men ought to be so treated in matters of mere speculation, leaving their immoral actions (if they be guilty of any) to the care of the law, and the animadversion of the magistrate.* So I think still, notwithstanding I differ from SPINOSA in the very ground-work of his Philosophy, and that I was at that same time confuting him. I can commend the man in many things, whom in other things I leave or oppose: nor is there any procedure that exposes writers to more ridiculous extravagancies, than thinking themselves oblig'd to answer every thing he advances, from whom they differ in any one thing. Had Mr. WORTON made this reflection, he wou'd not think it inconsistent, that I call SPINOSA a great man, yet say *his system of matter without motion is indigested and unphilosophical.* Tis so for certain, as I have unanswerably demonstrated to one Let. to
EUSEB.
Page 47.

⁴⁰ Letter to EUSEBIA, occasioned by Mr. TOLAND's Letters to SERENA.

Page 73.

of his best friends: and yet SPINOSA was for all that a great and a good man in many respects, as may not onely be seen by his works; but also by the *Account of his Life* since that time publish'd by COLERUS, a Lutheran minister, tho as contrary to some of his sentiments as any man breathing. This same spirit of thoro-stitch opposition led Mr. WOTTON to discover a mystery, of which I little dreamt, in my addressing three *Letters* to SERENA, a Lady the most accomplish'd then in the world. *It is probable he look'd for an easy prey,* says he, *when he directed his three first letters to a woman. If indeed your sex shou'd enter into the irreligious notions, which now prevail too much among men, the next generation wou'd be irrecoverably lost: so that I wonder not, to see the Ladies address'd to in books of this sort. When they are prevail'd with, the work is done. But, God be thanked, Religion keeps up its authority in a great measure with your sex still, and God grant it may ever do so.* Forbearing all other remarks on these lines, I beg your Lordship to observe, that Religion is here, by a Divine of the Church of England, made to subsist only by the women; and that, without their influence, it wou'd, for all the men, be irrecoverably lost even in the next generation. I am as much ashamed and concern'd, my Lord, for this singular passage, as if it had been penn'd by my self, or on my behalf; considering what is proverbially meant in every bodies mouth, by the *devout female sex*. The women have been in all ages noted for supporting SUPERSTITION, grounded on fanciful, gaudy, timorous, and weak notions of the superintending powers; which therefore ought to be ever carefully distinguish'd from RELIGION, grounded on the clearest ideas of God, and the strongest reasonings about his goodness, power, and providence.

dence. In the mean time I shall help my friend to a couple of eminent writers, whose authority he may use against me if he pleases. The one's a Heathen, the other a Christian. *Tis a thing universally taken for granted*, says ⁴¹ STRABO, *that women are the ringleaders of Superstition; they teaze their husbands into all sorts of worship of the Gods, into the observation of feasts and fasts: but tis a rare thing that any man, leading a single life, is found to be such a person.* For all my interest in the Batchelors, and my respect for the Ladies, I am sorry the Zeal of the women shou'd for the most part appear the very same in Turkey as in Christendom, among the Heathens as among the Jews. But not to forget the other writer, *when the Priests come into a family*, ⁴² says Mr. SELDEN, *they do as a man that wou'd fire a house. He does not put fire to the brickwall, but thrusts it into the thatch. They work upon the women, and let the men alone.* HIPPOCRATES, a greater man than either of them, attributes this proneness of the women to Superstition ⁴³ *to their very nature, as being of a more weak and fearful disposition than the men.* How true this may be I will not inquire, especially when they are *jilly women* ^{2 Tim. 3. 6, 7.} *laden with sins, led away with diverse lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowlege of the truth*, to use the Apostle PAUL's expressions. Yet doubtless their excesses of this kind, and their being so easy a prey to designing Priests, is as

⁴¹ Ἀπαντες γὰρ τῆς Δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγοὺς οἰοῦνται τὰς γυναῖκες; αὐταὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας περιχαλονται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιπλεονδεσπείας τῆς θεῶν, καὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ πορνειῶν: σπανιον δ' εἶ τις ἀνρ, κατ' αὐτὸν ζῶν, εὐερίσκειται τοιούτως. Lib. 7. pag. 456. edit. Amst.

⁴² In his Table-talk, page 105. edit. Lond. 1716.

⁴³ Ἀσθενέστερη γὰρ καὶ λιγροψυχότερη φύσις ἢ γυναῖκα. Περὶ παρ' ἑσέων. cap. 1.

Page 15.

much owing to education as to nature, if not more; as I shew'd in the Preface to those *Letters to SERENA*, which gave Mr. WOTTON an opportunity of complimenting the women at the expense of his own order. But what will not a man say, who's resolv'd to throw whatever he meets in his way at his adversary? without considering, that, instead of hurting the other, it may defile or burn his own fingers. Thus Mr. WOTTON in his *Letter to EUSEBIA*, when Mr. TOLAND speaks of bugbears, and elves, and genii, and such like cant; he means the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST God and Man, of three persons in the Trinity, of the Redemption wrought by our blessed Saviour upon the Cross, of heaven and hell, of good and evil spirits. A man must be planet-struck or infatuated that either believ'd this himself, or thought he cou'd make others believe it. In a *Letter concerning the origin and force of Prejudices*, the first of those to "SERENA", as I was showing the successive growth and increase of Prejudices thro every step of our lives, I begun with the impressions we receive in the womb, from the constitution of both our Parents, or from accidents particularly befalling our mothers, and then proceeded thus. *We are presently after our birth deliver'd to nurses, ignorant women of the meanest vulgar, who infuse into us their errors with their milk; frightening us into quiet with the menaces of raw-head and bloody-bones, buggle-boes and bull-beggars. And lest we shou'd be lost by wandering abroad, or drop into wells or rivers, they terrify us with stories of spirits and hobgoblins; making us believe that all lonesom places are haunted, and that the invisible powers are principally active and mischievous*

Page 4, 5.

in the night time. What is thus invented at the beginning to keep children under government (a government that indeed makes 'em miserable slaves ever after) is believ'd by them in good earnest when they grow older, whereby the whole generation and country come to be persuaded of it at last: and this to such a degree, that many people, otherwise prudent enough, dare not sleep alone in a chamber, nor travel but by day-light; much less have they the courage to enter into empty houses, or churches. From our Nurses we are brought home, where we are still put into worse hands among idle and ignorant servants; whose chiefest entertainments are discourses of fairies, elves, witchcrafts, walking ghosts, fortune-telling, consulting astrologers, or such other chimerical doings: delighting to fright or delude one another, not seldom to carry on their private intrigues; which things, however intended, never fail to make fatal impressions on the children, and for the most part our parents are not wiser. Then we are sent out to school, whither all the youths come equally infected from home, and hear of nothing there but demons, nymphs, genii, satyrs, fauns, apparitions, prophecies, transformations, and other stupendous miracles. We tell all our stories over again among our selves, and what may be conceal'd from a child in a prudent family, he's sure to hear of it at school, &c. I go on in the same manner, without the least allegory or other disguise, to the peculiar prejudices contracted in Universities, Churches, Courts, and all stations of life; and have now produc'd this long passage, not onely because your Lordship was out of England, when my book was publish'd: but also to show that a man must have abandon'd all regards of conscience, and believe others destitute of common sense, when he gravely assures, that when I ^{the} speak of bugbears, and elves, and genii, and such-like cant, I mean the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST

God and Man, of three persons in the Trinity, and of the Redemption wrought by our blessed Saviour on the Cross, &c. I have never from the beginning to this day treated of these doctrines in any of my books, nor even mention'd them except where I deny'd the charge of *Socinianism*; the authors of which aspersion I do here in my turn charge with falshood, hypocrisy, fraud, and impiety. After shamelessly defaming a Man, and doing their utmost to ruin him by the meanest of practices; yet when they are detected or disappointed, they make not the least advance towards restoring the good name of him they have injur'd: but, like the adulterous woman in the book of *Proverbs*, they wipe their mouths, and say, we have done no wickedness.

Prov. 30,
29.

XII. NOR is what I have here written on occasion of Mr. WOTTON, any digression (my Lord) but serving for example to the subject of the last and the preceding Paragraph: which is, that certain men 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. These are the men who give Religion the deepest wounds, and who are not onely the real and most dangerous unbelievers, but who likewise tempt the unwary and inconsiderate to become such: for if they were heartily persuaded 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 doctrines, but because they perceive their practice glaringly contrary to their profession. Now since I am on this head, and that, at the beginning of this *Letter*, I made out my right to demand

demand justice of those among your Lordship's Clergy, who had injur'd me; I shall lay before you the cause of some reasonable complaint, I conceive to have against Dr. HARE, a Prebendary of your own Cathedral. This learned gentleman hooking me into a work of his, without the least occasion or provocation, I publish'd the following advertisement on the 2d of last February, in the *Postman* and in *St. James's Evening Post*. 'Whereas
 ' the Reverend Dr. HARE, in the *Postscript* to the
 ' 4th edition of his *Sermon* (Church-Authority vindicated) publish'd last friday, speaking of the right
 ' reverend the Bishop of BANGOR's writings, uses
 ' the following words in page 48; It must be allow'd his Lordship judges very truly, when he
 ' says, they are faint resemblances of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH: for envy it self must own, his
 ' Lordship has some likeness to that great man; just such a one as Mr. TOLAND has to Mr.
 ' LOCKE, who, in *Christianity not Mysterious*, is often quoted to support notions he never dreamt
 ' of. Now this is to inform all those who have not read *Christianity not Mysterious*, that I have
 ' never nam'd Mr. LOCKE in any edition of that book; and that farr from often quoting him, I have
 ' not as much as brought one quotation out of him to support notions he never dreamt of. I hope
 ' Mr. LOCKE himself may be heard in a matter, wherein he's so nearly concern'd. In the dispute between him and the then Bishop of Worcester, Dr.
 ' STILLINGFLEET, his Lordship was pleas'd to affirm, that what he oppos'd in my book was built
 ' on Mr. LOCKE; of which allegation the latter in his second Reply, sufficiently shews the falsity.
 ' The Author of *Christianity not Mysterious*, says Works, he, supposes that we must have clear and distinct
 ' ideas of whatever we pretend to any certainty 438.
 ' of in our mind. Your Lordship calls this a new
 ' way

Ibid page.
440.

Ibid. page
443.

‘ way of reasoning. The Gentleman of this new
 ‘ way of reasoning, in his first chapter, says som-
 ‘ thing which has a conformity with some noti-
 ‘ ons 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, granting that I made use of*
 ‘ *words somewhat like his (as who has read any good*
 ‘ *Philosopher, that does not do the same?) I hum-*
 ‘ *bly 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 Lordship, upon which my book
 ‘ is brought in, there is not one syllable of cer-
 ‘ tainty 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 oppo-*
 ‘ *sition to him, I leave to the judgement of the pub-*
 ‘ *lic) upon which Mr. LOCKE reply’d, I am sup-*
 ‘ *pos’d to say, that the cause why I continue un-*
 ‘ *satisfy’d is, that the Author mention’d went up-*
 ‘ *on a ground different from mine: and, to sa-*
 ‘ *tisfy 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 pa-*
 ‘ *ra-illel places out 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 no-*
 ‘ *tions he never dreamt 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 re-*
 ‘ *gard to the Bishop of BANGOR: for which favor*
 ‘ *of introducing me into so good company, I thank*
 ‘ both

‘ 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 kindness.

JOHN TOLAND. Every body did me all the justice then, I cou’d require on this occasion, except Doctor HARRIS himself: who, farr from giving glory to God, and ingenuously acknowledging his fault, gets infered 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 proceeded 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 ⁴⁵ writer, can possibly save the Doctor from oblique dealing: as the drawing me by the head and shoulders into his pamphlet, was unnecessary; if not spiteful, with regard to me or some other. I say it again, that it wou’d have been no condescension below his dignity, since he vouchsaf’d 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 courser name, than I am willing to give, out of the respect I pay him on other accounts. He shall find no man more ready to proclaim his real merit, as I shall have some

⁴⁵ *A short Essay upon Lying; or a defence of a reverend DIGNITARY, who suffers under the Persecution of Mr. TOLAND, for a Lapsus calami.* 1710.

occasion to do so, before I finish this Letter. 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. WHISTON; *tho I approve not all his sentiments* (said he to an impertinent zealot) *yet I esteem him, as suffering for what he's persuaded to be the truth.* What a reproach is this to his Protestant Persecutors, out of the mouth of one of the Roman communion!

XIII. I KNOW not if I ought to reckon one Mr. PATERSON, who dedicated his book to your Lordship, among my adversaries, whether his design or his performance be consider'd. The book was not originally intended against me, and was even offer'd to the Press, before the little, that is said about me at the beginning and the end, came into his thoughts. The body of it is all patch'd up of Mr. LESLEY's *four Marks*, miserably disfigur'd, as one running may perceive. He who told him, that to make it pass for an *Answer to NAZARENUS* might help the sale, intended him I believe a kindness; nor wou'd I grudge him getting a penny by my name, tho I fancy he us'd it so unartfully as to miscarry in his aim. He's so little appriz'd of the subject I handle, as to write this passage. *The title of NAZARENUS promises something of Gentile Christianity, which fill'd me with vain expectations of a new System of Mythology, a second edition of Myttagogus Poeticus, by Mr. J. TOLAND; or something of that nature like the rest:* whereas both in my preface and in my book, I show'd that those of the gentile

gentile race, who believ'd on CHRIST, were not bound to the observation of the ceremonial and national Laws of the Jews, and were in this respect call'd Gentile Christians in contradistinction to the Jews; which last were to add the doctrine of CHRIST to their peculiar Ritual and Economy (sacrifices excepted) which they are ever indispensably oblig'd to follow, to the utmost of their power wherever they live. How well I prove this point is another consideration: but I have offer'd so much towards it, that I fancy none of my readers, except Mr. PATERSON, cou'd be at a loss to guess what I meant by *Gentile Christianity*. His insipid upbraiding of that most illustrious Reformer CALVIN (whom he, and his brother MANGHEY affect to stile JOHN CALVIN, by way of contentment) as *incroaching on the sacred Priesthood* (tho the word *Priesthood* was disown'd by CALVIN as well as the thing) demonstrates his profound ignorance; especially, when, a few pages afterwards, he reckons ZUINGLIUS and BEZA among *the holy Successors of the Apostles*. Let him find some assistants who will undertake to shew, that CALVIN stood upon a different bottom from ZUINGLIUS and BEZA; or acknowledge that he was, no less than they, one of *the Apostles's holy Successors*. If he's not able to do the first, nor any else for him, your Lordship will own that your Dedicator understood nothing of what he wrote, and that his quarrel is with the mere sound of the word CALVIN. Tis indeed a name that has founded harshly in the ears of all High-Churchmen from the beginning, as being no friend to their unscriptural Traditions, nor to the superstitious Worship and priestly Dominion they wou'd establish by their means. Such as aim'd onely at English Popery, have treated him with the disdainful smile, the spiritual leer, and a sort of

Page 70.
In the sense
that Priest
stands for
[?] 'Is-
cariot, Sa-
cerdos.
Page 77.

modest malignity, easily declining into canker'd malice: while they, who look'd farther with a wishful eye towards Roman Popery, never observ'd any measures with him, but vented all the rage of their hearts in the most scurrilous and opprobrious terms, whenever they had occasion to mention him. What a heap of scandal against him cou'd I produce, out of the writings of profest advocates for the Church of England, but in effect her most dangerous enemies! nor did I ever want a surer mark, wherby to discover an unsound Protestant, or a conceal'd Papist, than to hear any speak disrespectfully of those two blessed instruments of restoring Christian Liberty, LUTHER and CALVIN. As they magnanimously pleaded against the pretended infallibility of others, and honestly avow'd their own fallibility; so being men of like frame with the rest of their species, they had their passions and mistakes. The just rule, with respect to all mankind, is to denominate a person from his predominant qualities. He's the wisest who's guilty of the least follies, and the most virtuous who commits the fewest faults. Those Reformers had their follies and their faults, which their true admirers are as farr from denying, as drawing into example. But when I compare their failings with their excellencies, and above all when I consider their courage, in essaying to deliver from the basest slavery a world sottishly bewitch'd by fraudulent Priests, the most ungenerous, the most implacable, and cruellest of enemies, I hesitate not to give 'em the preference over all the Conquerors of antiquity. The very designing what they actually perform'd, is above the completest victory over the most numerous host of barbarians. Considering the gross ignorance of the ages immediately preceding the Reformation, the bigotry of the greatest Princes, the vast influence of the Clergy, and the stupendous
super-

superstition of the People; I am surpriz'd with infinitely more wonder, that those Heroes discover'd so many truths, than that they continu'd in any errors. And upon the whole I am fully perswaded, that had they been as strenuously seconded by those who came after them, as they themselves began; nay had not their measures been in great part imprudently chang'd, and a composition recreantly made in many things with the enemy, Europe had long ere now enjoy'd the glorious peace of the *Gospel*, or UNIVERSAL TOLERATION, well consistent with NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS: but both of them, as to their ultimate design of making men wiser and better, wholly incompatible with any ECCLESIASTICAL MONARCHY, or other Church-constitution whatever independent on the State. I have done with Mr. PATERSON, after begging the favor of your Lordship, whose authority he professedly reveres, to make him alledge the place, not in NAZARENUS only, but in any book I ever wrote, where *I oppose the Anabaptists*? as he affirms I pretend to do, and with them the Donatists; for as to the Papists, tis freely granted: and if he cannot show you any thing like this, then to know of him, for serving what purpose he told so palpable an untruth? also further to convince him, that no good end can be serv'd by such wicked means. The question here is not what I think of the Anabaptists? but why I shou'd be brought on the stage opposing those, with whom I never had a controversy? and to whom I have willingly done ⁴⁶ justice (as I shall be ever ready to do to all parties) when by others mistaken or misrepresented. I

Page 70.

⁴⁶ See *State-Anatomy*, part 2d, pages 60, 61, 62, 73, *ad finem usque*.

Page 52,
&c.

shou'd never make an end, if I collected all the fictions of this sort, that are spread by others with as compos'd an air of gravity and assurance, as if they were undeniable facts. Nor are they vagrant Service-readers alone (the noted scandal of the Church, by their saying or doing any thing for a morsel of bread) who authorize this detestable practice. Have not some silly Laymen, after Dr. MANGEY's insinuating so much without blushing, reported that I did revile the Apostle PAUL, and call'd him all to nought? This expression I heard with my own ears, in an Inn where I was not known. Whereas, in the first place, every thing of that kind in my book is out of the works of the *Fathers*, so much commended by my adversaries, and wherof Clergymen are commonly the editors. In the second place, I deliver'd them as the aspersions or false notions of PAUL's antagonists; so that if I have in this respect abus'd him, the writers of the *New Testament* and the primitive Apologists have dealt as ill by JESUS CHRIST, the calumnies of whose enemies they have freely recorded, as occasion requir'd. But, in the third place, I have with a candor which has not been return'd to me, and which I did not expect (since certain persons I need not name seldom use it towards each other) defended the Apostle of the Gentiles, against the 47 prejudices of the very sect, whose principal tenets I espouse, as to the original plan of Christianity. I have defended PAUL, I say, against the *Nazarens*, for which those adventurers, who were not able to do it, or rather who expose him still more to the Jews, are intemperately angry with me: a violent presum-

47 For the allegations see Nazarenus, in pages 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35: for the defence, see pages 36, 37, 38, 51, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, &c.

tion that I am in the right. At least they have brought things to that pass, by their ordinary conduct in this respect, that such a conclusion is generally drawn from the levity, buffoonery, and scurrility of their stile; no less than from their cavilling, prevarication, perverse insinuations, downright falsifying and falsehoods. The best on't is, that when they are told of the bitterness and unfairness so unbecoming their profession, when flagrant instances are produc'd to prove them; then they complain aloud of being sacrilegiously abus'd, that the whole Order, that all Religion, that CHRIST himself, are levell'd at thro their sides. But again the worst on't is, that they're not onely laught at and disbeliev'd; but those believ'd to be as guilty, or indeed more blame-worthy, who, having the power, show not the will, to discountenance and restrain them.

XIV. WHATEVER the event may be (my Lord) with regard to your Chaplain and Dedicator, you'll be intirely acquitted of all concern for Dr. BRET, who is no longer a member of our national Church, nor of any other Church on earth, if I rightly understand him: for, to use his own words (in his treatise of *TRADITION necessary to explain and interpret the holy SCRIPTURES*) if therefore I am ask'd, says he, *Page 5: what communion I am of, I must answer that I am of the communion of the Primitive Church, of that Church which our SAVIOR and his Apostles first planted at Jerusalem, from whence it gradually overspread the whole world, and from whence obtain'd the name of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church.* But since Communion with some particular Church is prest as indispensable by most Clergymen (the Catholic Church being an abstracted idea from all particular Churches, or rather the idea of what those

- those Churches ought to be) if there be no particular Church subsisting according to the plan of *that Church, which our SAVIOR and his Apostles first planted at Jerusalem*, then the Doctor is of no real but onely of an ideal Communion: as I remember old Mr. STEPHENS us'd to say, that he communicated with the Greec Church *in voto*. Let's particularize. That the Church of Rome agrees not with the primitive Church, the Doctor himself has taken the greater pains to prove, in that he was injuriously charg'd with going over to Popery. *The Greec Church is tainted with the like corruptions*, of Superstitious and Idolatrous worship, as the Church of Rome. The foren reform'd Churches are farr from coming up to the Apostolic Church, because *they all, as it were with one consent, cast off the order of Bishops*. But mark the consequence: they are not therefore so much as Christians, or such as can expect no salvation by their Christianity. *As they despis'd the authority of the Fathers (says the Doctor) and the unanimous consent and Tradition of the whole Church, and trusted onely to their OWN UNDERSTANDING in the interpretation of the Scriptures, they fell into this fatal error, and thereby depriv'd themselves of that Ministry which CHRIST had instituted; and consequently of the BENEFIT of the Word and Sacraments, which he had autoriz'd his Apostles and their Successors, and such as were ordain'd by them, to minister: which being administer'd by others not so autoriz'd, are not of his INSTITUTION, and therefore INEFFECTUAL.*
- The Church of England at the Reformation, tho in her practice she deviated in some material points from the consentient Tradition of the truly primitive and Catholic Church, yet still she declar'd this to be the rule she ought to proceed by. This Church, in the Doctor's opinion came nearest to the primitive Communion of any Church in this part of the world

world at least; but the present Church of England has deviated from it in several material points, *Ibid.* such (to follow his own enumeration) as are *Chrism* or ointment in the office of Confirmation: mixing *Water* with the Eucharistical wine: making an Oblation of the bread and wine, as a proper Sacrifice of the representative body and blood of CHRIST: invoking the descent of the HOLY GHOST on the elements so offer'd, to make them CHRIST's body and blood in power and effect: anointing the sick with oil: and praying for the dead, which have dy'd in the Lord with the sign of faith. All these (continues the Doctor) are plainly wanting in the present Liturgy of the Church of England, and yet were constantly us'd and practis'd in that Church, which she her self accounts most pure. For these, and certain political reasons (needless here to be specify'd) the Doctor has actually broke off Communion with the present establish'd Church: and as he has not declar'd for any of the Eastern Churches, much less consonant than ours to the primitive Church; so, my Lord, I shall take a convenient opportunity to demonstrate that his conventicle is in all respects unlike to that Church, which our SAVIOR and his Apostles first planted at Jerusalem (this being the primitive Church, most properly so call'd) wherein none of his material points were practis'd or appointed (that of anointing to quite another purpose excepted) any more than they are found in our present Liturgy, or in use among the other Reform'd Churches. I have been the more particular on this head, to show that your Lordship is not answerable for any excesses, into which a man has run, who has forsaken the communion of that Church, in which you hold so considerable a rank. *Those that extoll* Page 5.
her, as truly Catholic and primitive in all respects,
says he, when she is apparently not so in divers ma-
terial

terial points, do but indeed expose her and themselves also; by asserting what all, that are well acquainted with the doctrine and religion of the primitive Church, must see is not so. Nay, the Popish Churches of Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, are in some respects preferr'd by him to our English Church:

Page 105. for he says it is very certain that these, and all other Churches of that communion, have not fallen either from themselves in their antient integrity, or from the Apostolical Churches which were their founders [contrary to the assertion of our thirtieth Canon] in the use of Chrism at Confirmation, in mixing water with the Sacramental wine, in the oblation of the bread and wine in the Eucharist as a proper Sacrifice, in the unction of the sick, and in praying for the faithful departed. It is confess'd these Churches, adds he, have corrupted and abus'd those institutions, or some of them at least: but the Church of England has not thought fit to reform the abuses, but has forsaken and rejected the things themselves. The equivocation of his *Primitive*, and the Nonentity of his *Catholic Church*, I shall take another occasion, as I just hinted, to set in as clear a light as I can. In the mean time, Dr. BRETT is as much superior to Dr. MANGEY and Mr. PATERSON in learning as in temper. He draws very subtle conclusions from principles, in my judgement, both precarious and false: but if they are once admitted by those in dispute with him, they'll find it difficult to ward off the force of those conclusions, which wou'd signify nothing against the first Reformers; or those who, following them at present, make the *Scriptures* the sole ule of their Religion, exclusive of all pretences from Tradition. However, the Doctor's mistakes ought to be no barr to his abilities, which are not a little supported by his diligence. These talents, wherever found, deserve respect, tho they do not
com=

command submission : and therefore I'me sorry a man shou'd resemble those so much in any one thing, to whom he's so unlike in most other things. But so it is, that with relation to the Canonical books of the *New Testament*, the Apocryphal *Gospel of BARNABAS*, and the *Gospel of the HEBREWS* long ago destroy'd, I have the same reason of complaint against Dr. BRETT, as against Dr. MANGEY, Mr. PATERSON, or any other: and consequently what I have reply'd to them, may serve for an adequate answer to him, so far as he joins in the same accusation ; for which reason I wou'd not be at the pains of quoting any passages from him to this purpose, did they not lead me to other things, not foren to the subject. The *Fathers*, as not only I prov'd in AMYNTOR, but Mr. DOWEL and others long before me, frequently quoted Apocryphal books, as if they had been Canonical, or without advertising that they were not so. This led me to propose for information the following difficulty to their admirers. *How the immediate successors of the Apostles cou'd so grossly confound the genuin writings of their masters, with such as were falsely attributed to them? or, since they were in the dark about these matters so early, how came such as follow'd 'em by a better light? The Answer*, says Dr. BRETT, is *very easy if we have recourse to Tradition, otherwise it is insolvable : and therefore*, continues he, *I do not wonder that Mr. TOLAND in this book decries Tradition, and calls us to the Law and to the Testimony, to the New Testament and to that alone, both for doctrine and discipline. I have done so :* but expressly declar'd it was *Oral Tradition*, or stories and practises father'd upon the Apostles long after they were dead, which I maintain'd, as I do still, to be the most chimerical things in nature; none of them being timely or sufficiently

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ently attested, not to speak of the inconsistency of most of 'em, with what the Apostles did, and said, and wrote. As for written testimony, uninterrupted and unsuspected, duely convey'd and honestly preserv'd (which any one, for me, may call *Written Tradition*) I never deny'd it, nor ever will. I give him my promise, that I shall not dispute the genuineness of any book, which can be made out to me by the like evidence, to that upon which I have receiv'd HOMER or VIRGIL, DEMOSTHENES or CICERO. It was not therefore, as the Doctor no less rashly than uncharitably asserts, to destroy the evidence of the books of the *New Testament* that I reject *Oral Tradition*; but because I reject certain things set up by this *Tradition*, without, besides, and against the authority of those *books*. Well then: if it is not to destroy the books of the *New Testament*, that I discard *Oral Tradition*, it is at least to introduce some other *Scriptures* as of equal authority. Mr. TOLAND knew well, that if he cou'd not make Apostolical Tradition and Succession pass for a chimera, it wou'd be in vain for him to attempt to make his new-found Mahometan Gospel of Barnabas pass for genuin Scripture, or to obtrude upon us the old Apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews, &c. Where have I ever made this attempt? or where did I offer the least hint, that I ever intended to do any thing like it? I have given demonstration to the contrary, in this very Letter, about the Gospel of BARNABAS; and as for the Gospel of the HEBREWS, I have not allow'd so much to it, as he does himself: for speaking of several books quoted by the Fathers, *They were not books written*, says he, *to deceive or cheat the world* [were they not, Doctor?] *but with an honest intention* [of making people believe what was not true.] But without glozing any more upon him at this time, thus

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Ibid. pag. 7.

thus he goes on. *The two Gospels, that according to the Hebrews, and that according to the Egyptians, were both written by honest and well-meaning men, who having heard the Apostles preach, and discourse of our Savior's life and actions, according as they remember'd and apprehended them, but being not divinely inspir'd and directed by the holy Ghost, their memories or their apprehensions failing them sometimes, they were guilty of involuntary mistakes.* DR. MILLS and DR. GRABE say no more; and cou'd I believe as much, I wou'd take them for good evidence, without requiring Inspiration, when the means were at hand for thoro Information. The utmost I said of the Gospel of the HEBREWS was, *that were it still remaining, it wou'd have finish'd or prevented abundance of controversies, otherwise not easy to be determin'd; for which reason diverse pious and learned men do now highly regret the loss of the same.* It wou'd set us right about the Nazarens, if it did no more: since these, as I remark'd, believ'd it authentic; and that it might be so for all IRENEUS's airy demonstration, that there cou'd be neither more nor fewer than four Gospels. DR. BRETT cou'd not deny that the Fathers quoted Apocryphal books, *and perhaps, says he, they do not always so plainly show, that they do not believe them to be genuin Scriptures. But what then? do they ever tell us that they are Scripture, that they are any part of the divinely inspir'd writings. No such thing.* No, say you? If the fact be so, then I can neither read nor write, and I have impos'd upon the world both in AMYNTOR and NAZARENUS. To wipe off this heinous charge, and to lay the imposture where it ought, I shall here produce a few examples out of many, where the Fathers directly call such books *Scripture*, and part of the *divinely inspir'd writings*. IRENEUS, who's the Doctor's chief champion for

Nazaren.
Pag. 79.

Ibid. pages
78 and 78.
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for *Tradition*, quoting the *Pastor* of HERMAS, calls it *Scripture*. *Well therefore has the* ⁴⁸ *SCRIPTURE pronounc'd, which saith*, and so goes on with a quotation out of it. *Divinely therefore that power*, says ⁴⁹ CLEMENS *Alexandrinus, which speaks to HERMAS by REVELATION*, and so elsewhere. The Author of the *Homily concerning* ⁵⁰ *Dice-players*, commonly join'd to the works of CYPRIAN, terms it likewise *Divine Scripture*: and tho ORIGEN speaks doubtfully of it in many places, yet ^{Ad cap. 16.} ^{ver. 14} in his explanation of the *Epistle to the* ⁵¹ *Romans*, he believes it *divinely inspir'd*. TERTULLIAN makes the book of ENOCH, which he often quotes, to have been *dictated by the* ⁵² *HOLY GHOST*: and, what's pleasant enough, he strains his invention against those who rejected it, to show how this antediluvian work might be preserv'd for all the ⁵³ *Flood*. What made him so fond of this book, was the smutty conceit, that the Angels, not always true to their guardianship, fell in love with the fair daughters of men, who cou'd not prove cruel to such heavenly creatures; and so they begot no meaner a race than Giants, which is a gigantic argument for *Tradition*. TERTULLIAN was not the onely Father, that hand-

⁴⁸ Bene ergo pronunciavit Scriptura, quae dicit, &c. *Adversus Haeres.* lib. 4. cap. 3.

⁴⁹ Οὕτως τοιούτων ἡ δύναμις, ἢ τῷ Ἑρμα κατὰ ἀποκαλύψιν λαλοῦσα *Stromat.* lib. 1. pag. 356.

⁵⁰ Dicit enim Scriptura divina, vae erit pastoribus: &c. *Homil. de Aleator.*

⁵¹ Puto tamen quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius, qui Pastor appellatur; quae scriptura valde mihi utilis videretur, et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata. *Explanat. in Epist. ad Roman.* lib. 10.

⁵² Haec igitur ab initio praevidens spiritus sanctus, etiam ostia in superstitionem versura praececinit per antiquissimum prophetam ENOCH. *De Idololatr.* lib. 4. cap. 15.

⁵³ De cultu foeminar. lib. 1. cap. 2.

ed down this amorous piece of Divinity, so like to the gallantry of the Heathen Demons with the pritty maids of antiquity. But if all other shifts shou'd fail, the same TERTULLIAN has one admirable argument in store, to support the credit of the book of ENOCH; and indeed it has afforded help at a dead lift, to many other books no less spurious and ridiculous. It is, that ⁵⁴ *ENOCH prophesies of CHRIST, and we ought not to reject any kind of thing, says he, that makes for us, or that is for our purpose: for we read that every Scripture, tending to edification, is divinely inspir'd.* Ay, ay: my *New Testament* tells me it ⁵⁵ is, *all Scripture given by inspiration of God is also profitable for doctrine, &c.* Now here's another good argument for *Tradition*, to be drawn from the sincerity and critical acumen of the Fathers. But that some charge may be handsomly made out against me, I do upon this occasion averr, and take upon me to prove it whenever requir'd, that farr the greatest part of the Apocryphal books of the *Old Testament* were coin'd by some of the Christians themselves, while others quoted them as antient; tho never acknowledg'd by the Jews, neither at that time, nor ever since. Even TERTULLIAN shall for the nonce bear witness to one part of this asseveration. The prophesy of ENOCH, says ⁵⁶ he, *may for this cause seem to be rejected by the*

⁵⁴ Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino praedicavit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertinet ad nos: et legimus omnem scripturam divinitus sedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Πασα γραφή θεοπνεύστος ἐστὶ καὶ ωφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, &c. 2 Tim. 3. 16.

⁵⁶ A Judaeis potest jam videri propterea rejecta, sicut et cetera ferè quae Christum sonant: nec utque mirum hoc, si scripturas aliquas non receperunt de eo locutas, quem et ipsum coram loquentem non erant recepturi. *Ibid.*

Jews, as are almost all the rest, which speak of CHRIST: nor verily is this any wonder, that they receive not certain Scriptures which spoke of him, when they were not to receive himself speaking to them in person. SCRIPTURE, Scriptures, divine Scripture, dictated by the holy Ghost, Revelation, Prophecy, divine Inspiration, and such like, are the words of the quotations I have now made: and yet the Fathers, according to

Ubi supra. Dr. BRET, *never tell us that the Apocryphal books they cite are Scripture, nor any part of the divinely inspir'd writings. No such thing.* In another

Pref. pag. 9. place he calls it *a charge in gross, and deserving no answer till particulars are produc'd.* Some I have here produc'd, and shall more when he answers these. CLEMENS Alexandrinus speaks too positively of the *57 Preaching of PAUL*, not to believe it genuin, recommending the SYBILS with HYSTASPES: and as to the passages for the Inspiration of the SYBILS themselves, believ'd by the Fathers, they are too numerous and too manifest to need any place in this Letter. The Doctor's soft distinction, that the Fathers

Ubi supra. *do not always so plainly show, that they do not believe the Apocryphal books which they cite to be genuin Scriptures, will not do: for besides the places where they plainly call them Scriptures, or express themselves by words that are equivalent; there are a world of other places where they so join their testimonies to those of the acknowledged Scriptures, that any one who does not take them as given for equal proofs (which most readers will naturally do) must think the distinction both sophistical and knavish. In short, there's nothing on which the Fathers laid their hands that they did not deprave and corrupt, but above*

all things the sacred *Scriptures*, which no men in the world were less fit to explain; as appears by their forc'd allegories, delirious etymologies, fanciful allusions, their impertinent and farr-fetch'd interpretations: so that I cannot help being of SCALIGER's mind, that *the reading of the Fathers would never make me a Christian. They're full of silly stuff.* Yet these are the conveyers of that *Tradition*, against which the lies which have been spread of my own book within so short a space, is to me no small objection. However because *Tradition* is the pretence for supporting all the superstition, tyranny, and other abuses, which have so much disfigur'd and perverted Christianity in most parts of the world, I ingage to publish a tract on this subject very soon: as the greatest service I think can be done, especially at this time, to the Church of England in particular; in which there are no less than three or four Schisms, on account of certain doting or designing practises introduc'd by the Fathers. This is the piece I have hinted twice already. And, since Dr. MANGEY, according to his usual modesty, says *it is easy for me to promise books which I dare not or cannot write*; I promise that I both will write, and dare publish a treatise concerning TRADITION before Midsummer next, my life and health continuing.

XV. HITHERTO, my Lord, you were little or nothing concern'd in what I have discours'd about Dr. BRETT, bating what charitable disposition you may have for reducing him to that Church he has unhappily deserted: for it has been a kind of fate attending certain persons, who made SCHISM so terrible, so damnable a sin, not

58. Je ne me ferois jamais Chretien à lire les Peres: ils ont beaucoup de fadaïses. *Scaligeriana*, pag. 125.

onely to run into a Schism themselves from the *Church of England*, which in their mouths us'd to found the purest as well as the best constituted Church in the world; but likewise to have one or two Schisms in their own schismatical Conventicle, headed by men who agree in nothing, but disowning King GEORGE and your Lordship's right. They who so pathetically recommended unity, have set up altar against altar; they who so eagerly press for Uniformity, have compil'd a new *Liturgy*, liable to all the exceptions of the Dissenters against the *Book of Common-prayer*, and further contaminated with the most fabulous and ludicrous practises of Popery. That part of their *Liturgy*, which contains the Communion Office, the Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick, I have now before ⁵⁹ me, of which I presume to give your Lordship some account, because I conclude it is not fallen yet into your hands; since otherwise tis to be reasonably suppos'd, that your Diocese had heard of these Innovations before now, in a more public and authoritative manner. After putting *Water* into the cup, mixing it with the wine, which they pretend to be of Apostolic institution, and a custom borrow'd from the Jews (tho SCALIGER is not the onely learned man who ⁶⁰ denies it) there is a *prayer* wherein the Supper is call'd an UNBLOODY SACRIFICE; which expresseion, constituting the very essence of the *Mass*, has been unanimously re-

⁵⁹ London, printed for JAMES BETTENHAM, at the Crown in Paternoster-row, 1718.

⁶⁰ De mettre de l'eau dans le vin in Sacrificio & Coena, nunquam factum est; nec fit apud Judaeos & Samaritanos, nec fiebat etiam in Sacrificiis apud Ethnicos. Vinum illud vocabatur Vinum spurcum. Mirum est illos, tam proximos temporibus Apostolorum, tam turpiter errasse. *Scaligeriana*, pag. 252. part 2.

jected as unscriptural, nay as unchristian, by all the Reform'd. At the words of Institution, not onely the sign of the *Cross* is made over the bread in pronouncing THIS IS MY BODY; but the figure of a Cross appears between the syllables BO and DY thus, BO✠DY, as in COR✠PUS in the *Mass-book*. So it is in BLO✠OD, without which, and if not nick'd in that instant of pronounciation, perhaps the Elements had still continu'd ordinary bread and wine. What impressions are to be made by these Crosses, and the words being printed in Capital letters, I leave others to judge for themselves. I take it, for my part, to be conjuring, and just as effectual. In the *Prayer for the whole state of CHRIST's Church*, among other alterations are these words: *We commend unto thy mercy all thy servants, who are DEPARTED hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace.* This old and odd fancy gave birth to those prayers for the dead, which brought forth *Purgatory* at last; and which next to special or private *Confession*, for which these Gentlemen have already declar'd, is the most profitable trick that the Priests ever invented. Consecrated bread and wine is to be reserv'd, and carry'd to the houses of such, as, *thro sickness or other urgent cause*, cannot come to church. The next step will be a bell clinking before, and the next to that people devoutly knock'd down that will not bow; that is, worship the Priest who carries God. The Bishop is to *anoint every one who's confirm'd with Chrism or Ointment, making the sign of the Cross upon their forehead, and saying: N. I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, I anoint thee with holy ointment.* Then the Bishop shall lay his hand upon the head of the person he's confirming (as the Priest is to lay his wonder working hand on every thing he's consecrating) and

say, *I lay my hand upon thee* [a singular favor] *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.* There follows the form of consecrating the Chrism or Ointment, and the Bishop may keep some of it by him consecrated. The matter of this Ointment for Confirmation (a very Sacrament as these use it) is *sweet oil of Olives, and pretious balsom, commonly call'd balm of Gilead.* APAGE NUGAS! Away with these fopperies and fooleries, shame upon this trumpery and enchantment, as the old Reformers were wont to call them by their right names. In the visitation of the Sick, the words of the Apostle JAMES are thus interpolated. *Is* JAMES 5. 14. *any sick among you, let him call for the Elders, that is the Priests, of the Church, &c.* This is no less bold than sacrilegious: nor will the printing it in a different character be any excuse, which is a nicety the bulk of those who read will not observe, as they who are not able to read cannot do it. The sick person (*after the company withdraws*) is to make a special confession of his sins, *the Priest assisting him* [that is pumping him] *by asking such questions, as he shall think proper.* There are rare directions for such Soul and Sin-pumpers in the Church of Rome, which suggest those crimes of which an ordinary sinner would never dream, and that give him an appetite for dainties he never tasted. But no matter, the more one sins, the oftener he goes to confession, whereby the Priest becomes equally master of his secret and his purse. In pronouncing Absolution, the Priest is to lay his sacred hand on the sick person's head, which is a proper emblem of a soft place there. The Oil (for they have also an Unction of the sick) is to be *sweet Oil of Olives.* But what will become of people where there is no sweet oil, or no oil at all? The prayer for consecrating this oil, *is not to be us'd again till it be all spent;*

spent; which is not the way to keep it sweet, unless Consecration has the virtue of preserving it so. The Priest *shall anoint the sick person upon the forehead, making the sign of the Cross*, and saying a Prayer that shall never be said over me. The Priest, *when no others can be gotten*, may communicate alone with the sick person. But it would be endless, my Lord, to show how the Church-Liturgy is mangl'd and transform'd by those superlative Church-men. I have not their Offices of public or private *Baptism* (if they have printed any) to see whether they make the children taste milk and honey, or give them the communion: rites as old as their crossing and chrism, nay mention'd by the same persons. Nor do I know whether they exorcise or *conjure the Devil* out of those they baptize; which tho not of so antient date as those other rites, yet is kept in the first edition of King EDWARD's Liturgy, for which those of the newest separation pretend an extraordinary respect. I would fain know further, whether they order the baptiz'd not to be wash'd for a whole week after, whether they kiss them, and crown them, and cloath them in white: practises as old as the cross or chrism, and all upon the same foot; let them make what exceptions or restrictions they please, as I shall show in my treatise of *Tradition*. The truth of it is, the leaders of the new Schism grew ashamed to have a distinction without a difference, for they soon found that scruples about the Royal title alone would not bring people from the public Churches to their meetings: and therefore the Church it self must be represented as much out of order as the Monarchy, both whose defects these gentlemen were to repair. To this end the veneration, profest by some eminent Churchmen for the *Fathers*,

did not a little contribute: and since Dr. BRETT took the liberty of guessing my intentions, I hope I may be as bold with his, which I take to be well exprest by the common saying, that *half a loaf is better than no bread*. Since they cou'd not recover at once that pomp and pageantry, that authority and dominion, so agreeable to the pride of Priests, which they lost at the *Reformation*, and which have by such as themselves been ever since regretted; they went about to introduce them again by small degrees, and as it were imperceptibly. *Popery* being odious, *Protestancy* must be pretended; and especially the time of King EDWARD, a name still dear to all that hate Idolatry and Superstition. Wherefore the first edition of his *Liturgy*, that is, the first steps for a *Reformation*, which are ever imperfect, must be the standard of perfection. If King EDWARD's name be any thing but a mask (as plainly it serves for no other purpose) we learn by all Historians, that, had he liv'd, he wou'd not have stopt even at the second edition of the *Liturgy*; for which, and certain other reasons, some High-Church writers came little short of thanking God for his death. So that Half-Popery, in the sense of these men, is preferable to perfect Protestancy. After thus giving your Lordship in few words, what I think to be the true account of this matter; I know Dr. BRETT will cry he's no Papist, or owns not the twelve articles added by the *Council of Trent* to the Apostle's *Creed*, and I readily believe him: but it signifies nothing to good Protestants, whether unwarrantable authority be establish'd at Rome, or Canterbury, or Wittemberg, or Geneva; whether the Superstitions introduc'd into the Church be antient or modern, of Eastern or Western original, deduc'd from Fathers or Councils.

cils. These things they'll decry with equal vigor every where: and as the Roman Church, whose head is the POPE, has exceeded all others in tyranny, forgery, and superstition, in adding to the *Bible* and taking from it, in equalling it not substituting *Traditions* to its dictates, these things wherever practis'd are figuratively term'd POPERY, in the same proportion as the *Species* is to its *genus*; and in no other sense is the Doctor reckon'd a *Papist*, or the innovations of his Liturgy *Popery*. They are a rare shooing horn for literal Popery (several of the Nonjurors having actually gone over to that communion) and as such will be oppos'd by all that love the liberty of the *Gospel* or their Country.

XVI. THE truth of the matter is, my Lord, that of the Protestant Churches some were never reform'd enough, and that others of them are going back from their Reformation; and this in more or fewer points, in things of greater or less importance: so that the taxing any of them on these accounts, is not unchurching them, nor yet departing from their communion, which is by no means to be done for every slight error or disorder. The case I acknowledge to be otherwise, when the points contended for lead to Idolatry, Tyranny, Confusion, or the like: and this is the reason I can bear with Consubstantiation, tho not with Transubstantiation; the first being indeed a speculative error, but the last actual Idolatry. More examples I need not give in this place, nor will I dwell upon the wide difference between voluntarily tolerating some things erroneous, and rigorously pressing the necessary observation of them; which alters their very nature, and from indifferent makes them essential:

but in one thing I am persuaded that all Christian Churches are at present defective, and this is the notion they have about the Jewish Law, as if JESUS CHRIST had abolish'd it, even with respect to that same nation to whom it was peculiarly given. This I take to be a palpable error, but not a sufficient motive for making a separation; since none of the Gentiles were to observe this Law, and that therefore no Christian Churches now in the world are much affected by the mistake: tho' antiently pernicious to both Jews and Gentiles, and this not for a small season, nor in mere niceties. The little that has been said by my adversaries, concerning the distinction I maintain to have been originally intended of JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANS, has serv'd but to confirm me the more in my notion of this matter. I mean ' that the Jews, tho' associating ' with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging ' them for brethren, were still to observe their ' own Law throout all generations; and that ' the Gentiles, who became so farr 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. In NAZARENUS I shew'd the advantages of this scheme for the better understanding of the *Scriptures*, for the reconciling of many difficulties otherwise insoluble,

soluble, the uniting of the Jews and Gentiles in those principles no less useful and generous than eternally true, and which alone must constitute the most perfect or universal Religion. I hinted that a great many of the observances in the *Old Testament*, tho generally mistaken for Religion, were only national and commemorative Ceremonies, wherein no other people were concern'd, any more than in their municipal sanctions, solely calculated for that Government: and that the MOSAIC LAW was perpetually binding to the Jews, Sacrifices only excepted. Upon this foot the first converts to Christianity among the Jews, or the NAZARENS and EBIONITES (of whom the no less candid than able and laborious Dr. WHITBY rightly says, *these are not the names of persons, who are the authors of any sects; but of the Jews which believ'd in JESUS, and yet were zealous observers of the Law*) the NAZARENS, I say, did, together with the doctrine of CHRIST, observe their national and distinguishing rites of circumcision, the passover, with the like: and so fully convinc'd am I of the justice of their procedure in this respect, that, if born a Jew, I had still continu'd one; notwithstanding that I shou'd not the less become a Christian, which wou'd be the true fulfilling of the Law. I shou'd without all question have defended this scheme, from the plain words and scope of both the *Testaments*, had no *Fathers* ever mention'd the NAZARENS. This is the sense, this is the system that first offers it self, in perusing the *new Testament* after the *Old*; and were it not for those *Fathers* and their followers, it wou'd still naturally offer it self to every Reader. I cannot but admire, by the way, how so capable a person as Dr. BRETT, shou'd commit so great a paralogism as I am going

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ing to show. *The first Christians*, says he, *were the twelve Apostles, the seventy Disciples, and such other as our SAVIOR receiv'd into his Church in his own life-time: but that any of these were afterwards of the sect of the NAZARENS, or EBI-ONITES, does not appear.* I have made it appear above in this very Letter against Dr. MANGÉY, that JESUS of Nazareth's followers were, after him, call'd NAZARENS by their friends and by their foes: but that writers shou'd afterwards call the first disciples NAZARENS, when this name was turn'd from its original sense and made odious, I neither pretended to prove, nor expected that any else shou'd attempt it. Yet it is incontestably imply'd by such as say the NAZARENS were the first converts from among the Jews, unless they deny the Apostles and the seventy disciples to have been of that nation. But I am above taking any advantage of writers seldom consistent with themselves. To return therefore from whence I digress'd, the NAZARENS subsisted, and had numerous Churches in the East, above 300 years; and, till the great dispersion of the Jews under the Emperor ADRIAN, the Christians of Jerusalem were all NAZARENS. All their Bishops were of the Circumcision, not one of them of the Gentile race, till MARCUS who was the sixteenth. The preceding fifteen are thus reckon'd by historians: JAMES the brother of JESUS, SIMON the Son of CLEOPAS, JUSTUS, ZACHARY, TOBIAS, BENJAMIN, JOHN, MATTHEW, PHILIP, SENECA, JUSTUS the second, LEVI, EPHRAIM, JOSEPH, and ⁶¹ JUDE. I said that the Chri-

⁶¹ Euseb. H. E. lib. 5. cap. 12. Nicephor. Chronograph. in cap.
Ὅπου γεγονάσι πατερᾶρχαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ut alios non citem.
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ftians of Jerusalem were all NAZARENS, but I shou'd have said with ⁶² Sulpitius Severus, that *almost all the inhabitants of Jerusalem did at the same time believe on CHRIST and observe their own Law*. Nor had there been long e'er now a Jew in the world, who did not profess Christianity, were it not that the Gentile Christians would needs force them to quit their Law. This prov'd of very pernicious consequence, JESUS CHRIST having never taught or commanded the abrogation of the Law. Nor was it any more declar'd abolish'd by the *Apostles*, all the passages alledg'd out of them to this purpose, being manifestly forc'd and wrested: and if men might not change this Law, which I suppose will be granted on all hands, I desire to know where God has done it? In the mean time the learned Dr. HARE, whom I had occasion to mention before, has with as much judgement as brevity and perspicuity, stated this point; tho he draws a consequence, that will not follow from his premisses. Showing in his Sermon, intitul'd *Church-authority vindicated*, that *binding and loosing* did not ⁶³ mean, as many have imagin'd, *a power given by CHRIST to his apostles of retaining or abolishing such parts of the Jewish Law, as they shou'd think fit*; and then farther showing in a Marginal ⁶⁴ note, that *the binding and loosing us'd by the Jewish Doctors, was not assuming to themselves a power to dispense with, or to annul any thing that was clearly commanded by any Law of MOSES, but to explain the sense of them, and to*

⁶² Militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare iussit, quae Iudaeos omnes Hierosolymae aditu arceret; quod quidem Christianae fidei proniciebat, quia tum penè omnes Christum Deum sub Legis observatione credebant. *Hist. sac. lib. 2.*

⁶³ In pages 21, 22, 23, &c. of the first Edition.

⁶⁴ Ibid. page 23.

explain

explain the questions that shou'd arise de licitis aut non licitis in lege, &c. Now this certainly, pursues he in the same note, is very different from a power to abrogate the Laws themselves here contended for. Nothing can be more contrary to the whole conduct of our SAVIOR, while on earth, than this interpretation. He declar'd on all occasions, that he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it. He was very exact in observing himself, and obliging others to observe every the least command of it: and there was nothing be avoided with more CARE, than to give A JEALOUSY to the Jews that he had such A DESIGN, as he's suppos'd to have declar'd to his Apostles in these words. The abrogating of the ceremonial part of the Jewish Law, seems to have been one of the things, which the Disciples as yet were not able to bear, Joh. 16. 12. and tis plain from several places in the Acts, particularly c. 21. 20. that they had not the LEAST APPREHENSION of this being our Savior's meaning, neither when he spoke these words, nor for several years after his death. The truth is, that at last when the judicial and ceremonial parts of the Law were to cease, they rather expir'd of themselves upon the destruction of the City and Temple, which was a total dissolution of the Jewish Polity, than were abrogated by any AUTHORITATIVE DECLARATION or ACT of the Apostles. Nothing remain'd but Synagogue-worship, which being of human institution, did not want a divine commission, either to alter, or to put an end to it. Now since CHRIST avoided nothing with more care, than to give a jealousy to the Jews that he had such a design, as abrogating their Law; and that the Apostles did not abrogate it by any authoritative declaration, or act: it will seem past question, that a matter of such consequence,

quence, a Law so solemnly given by God himself, that had continu'd so long, and was so frequently pronounc'd to be of perpetual obligation, shou'd not be declar'd nul and void by the event, which is most commonly, even in ordinary affairs, a very wrong as well as unfair way of judging. The Jewish Polity was totally dissolv'd at the Babylonish captivity, and Jerusalem laid in ashes; yet the Jews did not then conclude themselves dispens'd from observing all that they possibly cou'd of their Law, as they sollicitously do at this day: nor want they menaces for their neglect of it, nor prophetic hopes to see it reestablish'd (in which expectation I profess my self rooted) maugre all the revolutions that shall befall them. The shortness or length of their dispersion is no sure rule of judging the case, which, as I said just now, is not to be determin'd by consequences. Besides that the maintainers of this abrogation are little agreed among themselves. The Law was not to cease, say most, when CHRIST was born; nor, say some, when he began his ministry; nor, say others, at his death; nor, say others yet, till the destruction of Jerusalem: neither are they to this day agreed about the steps of their gradual abolition, but go on from supposition to supposition; several of 'em contradictory, and all precarious. But they mistake the men with whom they have to deal, and to whose laughter they frequently expose themselves. *It must be granted* (says Dr. Kidder, the once worthy Bishop of Bristol, well vers'd in the Hebrew learning) that *“some of the antient, and many of the modern Christians, have defended their own*

doctrines, and disputed against the Jews, with such weak and insufficient arguments; that they have thereby only harden'd the Jews, and given a blow to their own cause. Many Scriptures have been misapply'd: and the Jews have been assaulted by noise and clamor, by idle legends and strain'd interpretations, rather than by all the ways of rational conviction. And very often Force has been us'd instead of Reasoning; and, instead of allowing them to be men of wit and sense (as in truth they are) and treating them humanely, we have us'd them barbarously: and with great inhumanity persecuted them, whom we ought to have convinc'd. Nor are we ever like to convert the Jews (says this excellent scholar in another ⁶² place) while we teach any doctrines against COMMON SENSE, and against the EXPRESS LETTER of the Law of MOSES. I will not take upon me to declare, what are the doctrines he meant against common sense, whatever others have done or may still do. I cou'd guess very near: but certainly nothing is more against the express letter of the Law of MOSES, than the abrogating or annulling of this Law, otherwise than as a punishment of disobedience to it; and then tis always with a promise of restoration in due time, upon their serious and thoro amendment. Wherefore the Doctrine of the Old NAZARENS being in it self a matter of the highest importance, and I being earnestly prest both by the words of the present, and the letters of the absent, to treat of this subject expressly, by setting it in the clearest light (as being the likeliest means to illustrate and recommend the true Christianity) I shall do my indeavour, after

he best manner I can to give my friends content, and at the same time to perform my duty to the World. For, My Lord, notwithstanding the imputations of Heresy and Infidelity so often publish'd by the Clergy, as lately in the vauntingest manner by one not unknown to you (the whiffing and the ignorant 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 chieftest aims. CIVIL LIBERTY and RELIGIOUS TOLERATION as the most desirable things in this World, the most conducing to peace, plenty, knowlege, and every kind of happiness, have been the two main objects of all my writings. But as by Liberty I did not mean Licentiousness, so by Toleration I did not mean Indifference, and much less an Approbation of every Religion that I cou'd suffer. To be more particular, I solemnly profess to your Lordship, 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 infinitely prefer before all others. I do over and over again repeat CHRIST and his APOSTLES, exclusive of either Oral Tradition, or the determinations of Synods: adding, what I declar'd 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 vulgar; as the defenders of *Tradition* must hold, or else quit their plea. On the contrary, tis recorded that the Common people heard JESUS gladly; and he was not onely follow'd by
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diverse of the female sex, but also among the converts of PAUL are reckon'd of the honorable women not a few. This supposes, that, being well inclin'd and unprejudic'd, they easily comprehended the evidence of the Christian doctrine, which they prefer'd to their native but less edifying religions. And certainly one of the most distinguishing advantages of true Christianity is this, that neither poverty, nor want of learning, nor the hurry of particular callings, can hinder any person from acquiring it, without which it cou'd not properly be a perfect Religion: but rather on the same foot with the Traditional worship of the degenerate Jews, the awful Mysteries of the bewilder'd Heathens, or with the secret Initiations of certain mungrel Philosophers; whereas it supplies the imperfections of the first, detects the vanity of the second, and prevents the impostures of the third. Not the borrow'd terms and tenets of antient perplexing Sophisters, nor the barbarous jargon and distinctions of later scholastic wranglers, neither the precarious hypotheses of conceited Theorists, nor the pretended inspirations of wild Enthusiasts, were then the establish'd Articles of Faith. Truth was not carry'd by a majority of Voices, nor any thing taught for truth, but what visibly tended to make men either wiser or better. Riddles about the Person of CHRIST, were not substituted then to his doctrines; nor the circumstantial made the fundamentals, nor the history of Christianity made the essence of the same. And here, my Lord, I wou'd address my self to those who are more knowing, to be inform'd, for what purpose any thing can serve, which does not render us either wiser or better than we were before? And if it be granted to be to no good purpose (as I can yet perceive

ceive 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 himself, or tolerably explain to others? Such are the decrees of God, the immediate state of departed souls, the manner of God's subsistence, of his understanding, or of his providence, with other subjects, which, tho' deem'd more easy, are not better known than these. Requiring people to believe what they cannot understand, is ordering 'em to make bricks without straw. Hence in great part procede the divisions of Christians, tho' this be not the onely cause: whereas nothing is 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, of regulating manners, of directing conscience, of illuminating the understanding, of stating particular duties, of fixing the hope of rewards to the good, of planting the fear of punishment in the wicked, of propagating mutual love, forbearance, and peace among all mankind, of improving, conducting, and supporting civil society. This is not the Religion of those,

—*Quorum, quicquid non creditur, Ars est;*

nor will they thank me for this description, who have turn'd CHRISTIANITY into a plan of dominion, a system of gain, and a school of contention: as in the first preaching of it, such as glorv'd in being the onely true Church, were those Scribes and Pharisees who most resisted its

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progress,

progreſs, and the Priests were of all others its fiercest Enemies; neither is this to be reputed a wonder, since there is no such satyr in the world against Priestcraft as the *Gospel of CHRIST*, which made the Priests never cease till they brought him at last to the Cross. I beg your Lordship's pardon, if I have been more prolix than stands with your leisure: not doubting however, but you'll procure me reparation from those of your Clergy that have injur'd me; and prevent others from falling hereafter into the like gross falshoods, wilful mistakes, or ridiculous follies. I am with all due respect,

My Lord,

Sept. 17: 1720.

Your Lordship's

most obedient Servant,

J. T.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

THE author passing the summer in the country, and not always seeing the last revise, the Reader is desir'd to correct the following errors of the press ; or if he finds any more, they are left to his candor.

In the Preface.

Page xviii, line 44, political *read* philosophical. p. xxi, l. 6, *ῥωπνια* r. *ῥωπνια*. p. xxii, l. 3, receipts r. receipts.

In the Work.

Page 9, line 32, for RAMUZZI *read* RAMUSIO. p. 12, l. 28, perversnefs r. perversnefs. p. 31, l. 31, attributes r. attribute. p. 59, l. 10, *dele* his. p. 111, l. 3, BAROMIUS r. BARONIUS. p. 120, l. 6, His r. This. p. 122, l. 3, oimr r. omit. p. 145, l. 33, and r. and an. p. 168, l. 21, first r. list. *Ibid.* l. 22, last r. first. p. 178, l. 1, most r. more.

In the inner Margin.

Page 10, line 2, eodum *read* eodem. p. 14, l. 5, *הַלְלוּ* r. *הַלְלוּ*. p. 18, l. 15, M gos r. Magos. p. 20, l. 4, coe itus r. coelitus. p. 38, l. 2, reheri r. refiere. p. 175, l. 6, Scotch, r. Scottish.

In the outward Margin.

Page 15 *□* *read* *□*. p. 82, *κααι* r. *κααι*. p. 165, Acts 1. 22. r. Acts 2. 22. *Ibid.* Jo. 1. 45. r. Jo. 1. 46.