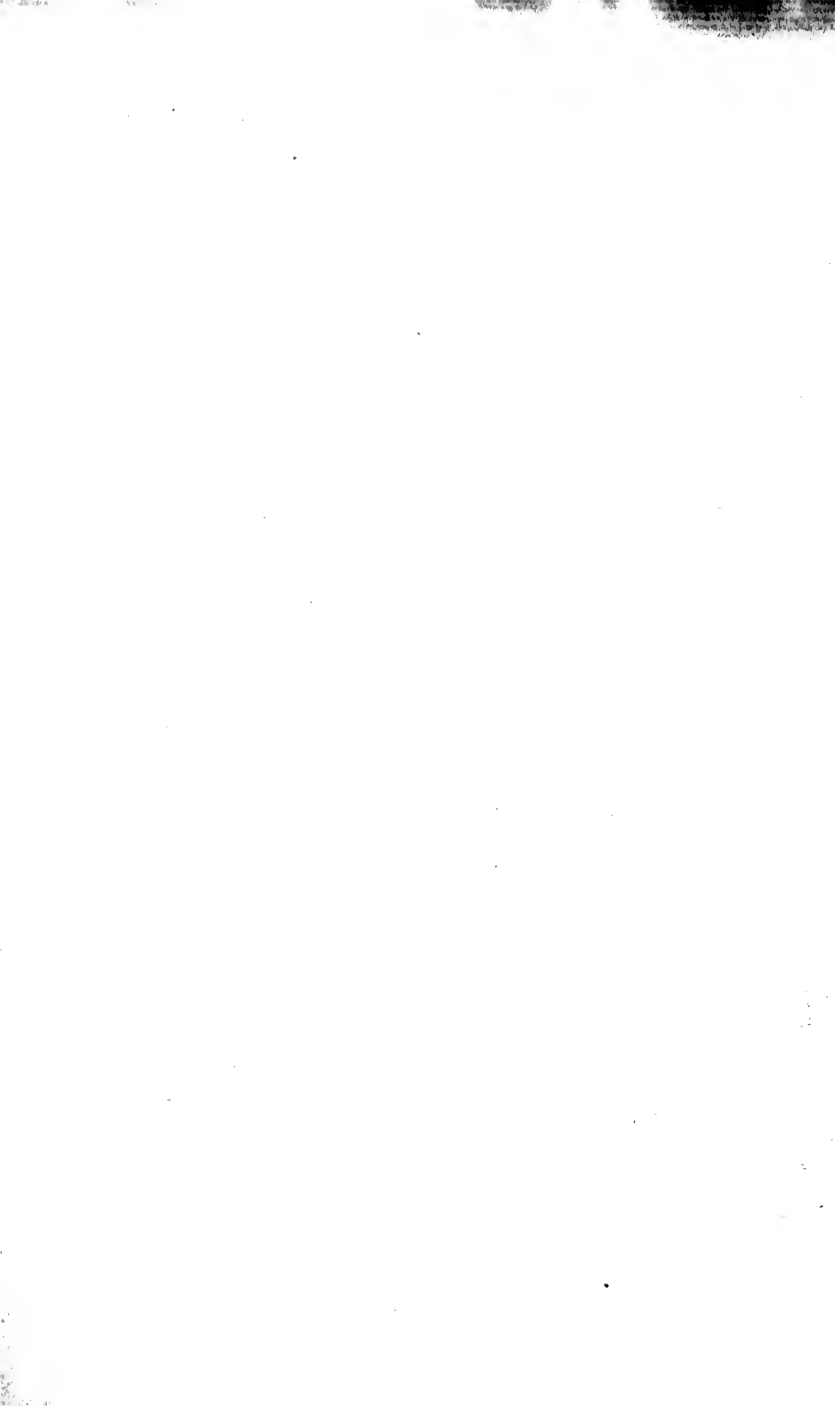




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THE
MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED
CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Principal Librarian of the University of *Cambridge*.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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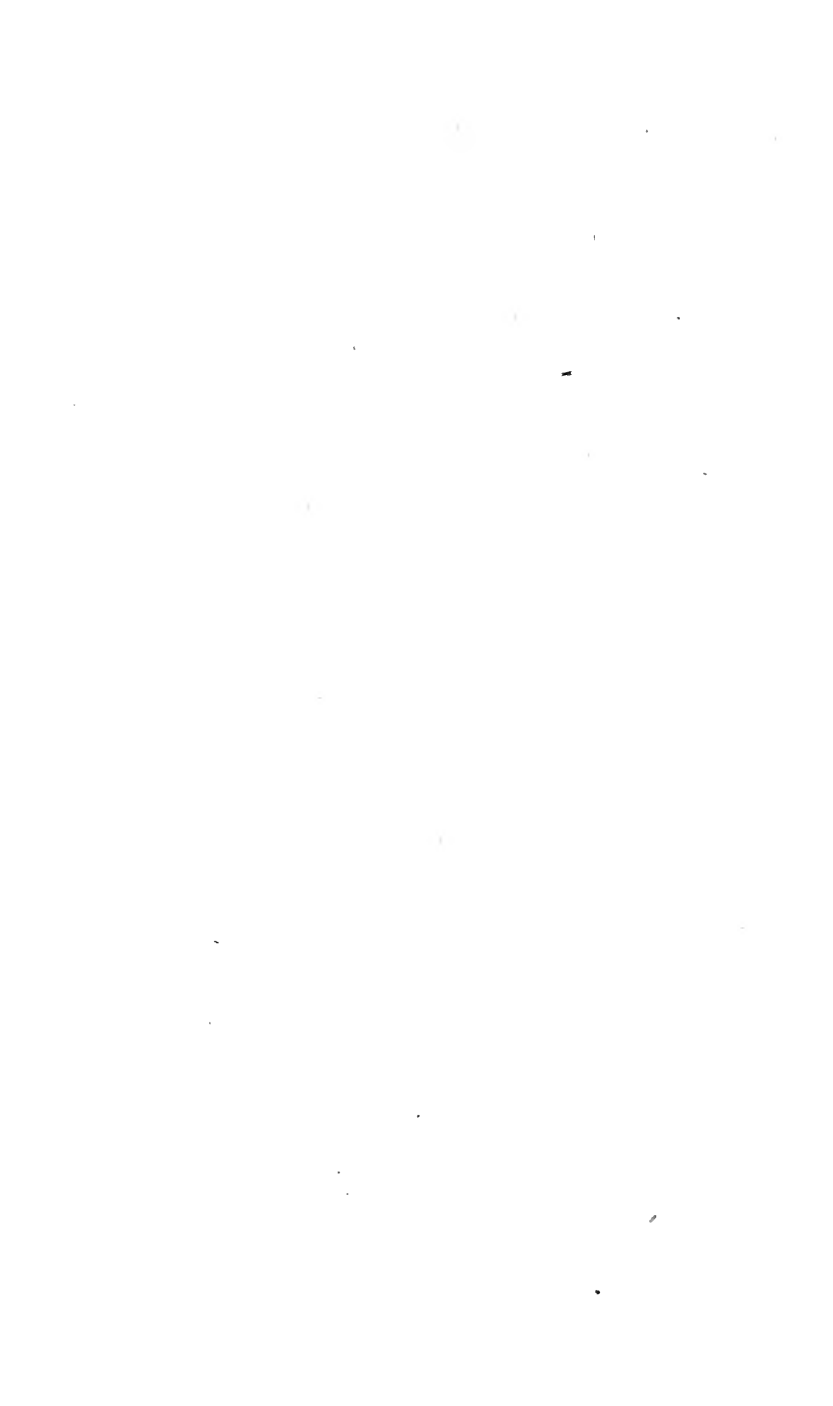
C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I F T H V O L U M E .

- I. *A Letter from Rome, shewing an exact conformity between popery and paganism, with the Prefatory Discourse, in answer to the objections of a popish writer, and a Postscript, in which Mr. Warburton's opinion concerning the paganism of Rome is considered.*
- II. *An Examination of the Lord Bishop of London's Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy, with some Cursory Animadversions on his Appendix, or Additional Dissertation, containing a farther inquiry into the Mosaic account of the Fall.*
- III. *A Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England, shewing, that it was first introduced and practised by our countryman William Caxton, at Westminster; and not, as is commonly believed, by a foreign Printer at Oxford.*

T O



A
L E T T E R
F R O M
R O M E,

Shewing an exact CONFORMITY between

P O P E R Y
A N D
P A G A N I S M:

O R

The Religion of the Present ROMANS,
derived from that of their HEATHEN
ANCESTORS.

1917

1918

1919

1920

To the Right Reverend Father in God,

T H O M A S,

Lord Bishop of NORWICH.

My LORD,

IF the subject of the following sheets be not a sufficient plea, for addressing them to a person of Your Lordship's character, I can alledge another, which will give them a kind of right to Your protection; that it is owing chiefly to Your authority, that they are now offered again to the public, in this new and different form; enlarged with a prefatory answer to the exceptions of a Popish Writer, who has charged them with falsehood and misrepresentation; not in any of the facts, which they contain, but in the

D E D I C A T I O N.

conclusions, deduced from those facts, to the dishonor of his Church. Your Lordship, who in every part of Your life, has distinguished Yourself, by a just zeal against the Popish interest, thought it necessary for me, to take notice of an author, who has the hardiness to revive an exploded cause, and to publish an elaborate defense of the Romish Church in our very Metropolis. Thus far however he must be allowed to act like a generous adversary, in referring the merit of his argument to the trial of the Press; which in all countries, where it can have it's free course, will ever be found the surest guardian of right and truth; and to which this particular country, among the many great blessings, which it enjoys, is manifestly indebted for one of the greatest, *it's deliverance from a Popish Slavery*; as all our Histories testify, from the Reformation, down to this day. In the very infancy of printing amongst us, *Cardinal Wolfey* foresaw this effect of it; and in a Speech to the Clergy, publicly forewarned them, that, *if they did not destroy the Press, the Press would destroy them.*

If my endeavours therefore should be of any service towards verifying the Cardinal's prediction ; or should in any degree answer Your Lordship's views, of giving some check to the restless spirit of *Rome*, which, how often soever repulsed, will always be renewing it's attacks, I shall gain the end, that I proposed by them. But while I was flattering myself with this hope, and fancying myself engaged in a laudable attempt, of disarming these professed enemies of our religion and liberty ; there were some, as Your Lordship knows, even of our own Church, whose displeasure I incurred, and whose resentment I have felt, on the account of this very work : who, from the different motives of party, or envy, or prejudices hastily conceived against me, were ready to join in any clamor, that could blast the credit of my performance. To such of these, as profess to act from any good principle, I have endeavoured to give some satisfaction in my Preface ; but my chief comfort is, in this decline of life, that I can appeal to Your Lordship, who knew me from the beginning of it ; and under all the attempts to depress my character, and all the suspicions

of those, who were strangers to it, continued still to treat me with all the usual marks of Your friendship, as believing me incapable of harbouring any thought, or pursuing any design, which could be injurious to virtue, and true religion.

For Your Lordship had always too enlarged and liberal a way of thinking, to judge of men or things, by the narrow views or prejudices of a party; and superior to all the impressions of envy or spleen, was ever ready to encourage merit, wheresoever You observed it. This has been Your constant rule of acting in the University; where, as a Governor of our Youth, You have lived an example of that discipline, which You enjoined to others; punctual in discharging all the duties of Your Station; nor more forward to prescribe, than diligent to perform every thing, that tended to promote religion, good manners, and good learning.

These same qualities, which now exert themselves in a higher sphere, are acknowledged by the general voice of the Diocese,

over

DEDICATION.

7

over which You preside ; where all people loudly celebrate Your Lordship's unwearied application to the labors of Your Episcopal charge ; Your continual care, as a common Pastor of all, to extend the benefits of it equally to all ; Your beneficence to the poor, obliging behaviour to the rich ; Your generous and hospitable table, open to all, who seek access to You ; where You know, how to unite the character of the Gentleman, with that of the Prelate ; to create an ease and cheerfulness around You, and without descending from Your dignity, to enter into a familiarity with Your guests. By these arts, You have gained the affections both of Your Clergy and Laity ; and in a country, unhappily divided into parties, have effected, what was hardly thought possible, an agreement of all parties in their esteem and praises of Your Lordship. By such happy fruits of Your prudence, Your affability, and your moderation in governing, You have shewn what are the most probable means of healing our public dissensions ; and that the Church, in proportion as it has more such Bishops, will always have the fewer enemies.

D E D I C A T I O N.

That Your Lordship may long enjoy that peculiar vigor of mind and body, which has enabled You to discharge all the important offices, through which You have passed, with honor to Yourself and benefit to the public, is the sincere wish of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged

and faithful Servant,

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

A

Prefatory Discourse.

A Late writer of a *Popish* book, intituled, *The Catholic Christian instructed, &c.* has thought fit, in a preface to that work, to attempt a confutation of my *Letter from Rome*; “ which every reader, *he says*, “ whether Protestant or Papist, would expect, “ that he should take some notice of, as it is “ directly levelled at their ceremonies, and has “ been so well received, as to pass through “ three Editions within the compass of a few “ years.”

I cannot think it strange, that a man, whose avowed design and sole employment amongst us is, to make converts to the *Romish Church*, should treat a work with some acrimony, that was published with no other view, than to blast his hopes, and obstruct his endeavours, to delude the people of this nation: but it gives me a sensible pleasure to observe, what these Missionaries of *Rome* are forced to confess, that my little performance is a real obstacle to their designs; and that one of the first steps necessary towards advancing the *Popish* Interest in *England*,

land, is to overthrow the credit both of the Letter, and it's Author.

Our *Catholic* therefore, in the execution of this task, sets out with a general Accusation against me of *foul play*, and *disingenuity*, and a resolution to suppress the truth; because my charge against them is grounded onely, he says, “ on certain ceremonies and observan-
 “ ces of less moment, without taking notice
 “ of the substantial parts of their religion;
 “ their belief of the Scriptures; of the three
 “ Creeds; of the Trinity; the Eucharist Sa-
 “ crifice, &c. which none will pretend to be
 “ derived to them from the *Pagans*.” This is artfully thrown out, to confound the true state of the question; and to prepossess the reader with a notion, that, instead of *Popery*, I am attacking Christianity itself, and sustaining the cause of Infidelity, not of Protestantism; but every man of sense will discern the fallacy, and observe, that it is *Popery* alone, with which I am engaged; or that System of Ceremonies and doctrines, which is peculiar to the *Romish Church*, as distinguished from other Christian Churches: the source of which I have undertaken to lay open, and by an historical deduction of facts, to trace it's origin in a direct line, from *Pagan* down to *Popish Rome*.

In the farther support of this charge, I shall now proceed to examine our Author's exceptions to it, in the order as they lie in his Preface, and vindicate all the particular proofs of it alledged in my Letter, to which, he has thought proper to give any answer: the chief of which, as he tells us, are, "Incense; Holy Water; Lamps and Candles; Votive offerings; Images; Chapels on the waysides and tops of Hills; Processions; Miracles [a]." On these I shall join issue with him; and endeavour to shew, that his defense of them is not only frivolous and evasive, but tends rather to confirm than to confute the inference which I have drawn from them.

As to several of these articles, he makes one general Apology; that I "am mistaken, in thinking every ceremony used by the Heathens, to be Heathenish, since the greatest part were borrowed from the worship of the true God; in imitation of which, the Devil affected to have his Temples, Altars, Priests, and Sacrifices, and all other things, which were used in the true worship." This he applies to the case of *Incense, Lamps, Holy-water, and Processions*; and adds, "that if I had been as well read in the Scriptures, as I would seem to be in the Heathen Poets, I should have found the use

[a] Pref. ib. p. 4.

“ of all these in the Temple of God, and that
 “ by God’s appointment [b].”

I shall not dispute with him about the origin of these rites; whether they were *first instituted by Moses*, or were of *prior use and antiquity among the Ægyptians*. The Scriptures favour the last; which our *Spenser* strongly asserts, and their *Calmet* and *Huetius* allow: but should we grant him all, that he can infer from his argument, what will he gain by it? Were not all *those beggarly elements*, wiped away by the spiritual worship of the Gospel? Were they not all annulled, on the account of *their weakness and unprofitableness*, by the more perfect revelation of *Jesus Christ* [c]? If then I should acknowledge my mistake, and recall my words; and instead of *Pagan*, call them *Jewish* ceremonies, would not the use of *Jewish rites* be abominable still in a *Christian Church*, where they are expressly abolished and prohibited by God himself?

But to pursue his argument a little farther: while the *Mosaic* worship subsisted by divine appointment in *Jerusalem*, the *Devil likewise*, as he tells us, *had Temples and Ceremonies of the same kind* in order to draw Votaries to his *Idolatrous* worship: which, after the abolition of the *Jewish Service*, was carried on still with

[b] Pref. 5. 8.

[c] Galat. iv. 9. Heb. vii. 18.

great pomp and splendor; and, above all places, in *Rome*, the principal seat of his worldly Empire. Now it is certain, that in the early times of the Gospel, the Christians of *Rome* were celebrated for their zealous adherence to the faith of Christ, as it was delivered to them by the Apostles, pure from every mixture either of *Jewish* or *Heathenish* Superstition; till after a succession of ages, as they began gradually to deviate from that Apostolic simplicity, they introduced at different times into the Church the particular ceremonies in question. Whence then can we think it probable, that they should borrow them? From the *Jewish* or the *Pagan* ritual? From a Temple, remote, despised, and demolished by the *Romans* themselves; or from Temples and Altars perpetually in their View, and subsisting in their streets; in which their Ancestors and Fellow-Citizens had constantly worshiped? The question can hardly admit any dispute: The humor of the people, as well as interest of a corrupted Priesthood would invite them, to adopt such rites, as were native to the soil, and found upon the place; and which long experience had shewn to be useful, to the acquisition both of wealth and power. Thus by the most candid construction of this Author's reasoning, we must necessarily call their ceremonies *Jewish*; or by pushing it to it's full length, shall be obliged to call them, *Devilish*.

He observes; that I begin my charge with the use of *Incense*, as the most notorious proof of their Paganism, and, *like an artfull Rhetorician, place my strongest argument in the front* [d]. Yet he knows, that I have assigned a different reason, for offering that the first: because it is *the first thing*, that strikes the senses, and surprizes a stranger, upon his entrance into their Churches. But it shall be my strongest proof, if he will have it so, since he has brought nothing, I am sure, to weaken the force of it. He tells us, that there was *an Altar of Incense in the Temple of Jerusalem*; and is surprized therefore, how I can call it *Heathenish*: Yet it is evident, from the nature of that institution, that it was never designed to be perpetual; and that, during it's continuance, God would never have approved *any other Altar*, either in *Jerusalem*, or any where else. But let him answer directly to this plain question; was there ever *a temple in the world not strictly Heathenish*, in which there were *several Altars, all smoaking with incense, within one view, and at one and the same time*? It is certain, that he must answer in the Negative: Yet it is as certain, that there were many such Temples in *Pagan Rome*; and are as many still in *Christian Rome*: and since there never was an example of it, but what was *Paganish*, before the times of *Popery*, how

[d] Pref. p. 5.

is it possible, that it could be derived to them from any other source? or when we see so exact a resemblance in the copy; how can there be any doubt about the original?

What he alledges therefore in favor of *incense*, is nothing to the purpose; “that it was used in the Jewish and is of great antiquity in the Christian Church; and that it is mentioned with honor in the scriptures;” which frequently *compare it to Prayer*, and speak of it’s *sweet odors ascending up to God, &c.* which figurative expressions, he says, “would never have been borrowed by the sacred Penmen from Heathenish superstition [e]”: as if such allusions were less proper, or the thing itself less sweet, for it’s being applied to the purposes of Idolatry; as it constantly was, in the times even of the *same Penmen*, and according to their own accounts, on the *Altars of Baal*, and the other *Heathen Idols*: and when *Jeremiah* rebukes the people of *Judah* for *burning incense to the Queen of heaven* [f], one can hardly help imagining, that he is prophetically pointing out the worship now paid to *the Virgin*; to whom they actually *burn incense* at this day under that very title [g].

[e] Pref. p. 6.

[f] Jerem. xliv. 17.

[g] Vid. Offic. Beatæ Virg. *Salve Regnia; Ave Regina cælorum; Domina Angelorum, &c.*

But

But if it be a just ground for retaining a practice in *the Christian Church*, because it was in-joined to the *Jews*; what will our *Catholic* say for those usages, which were actually prohibited to the *Jews*, and never practised by any, but by the *Heathens and the Papists*?—All the *Ægyptian Priests*, as *Herodotus* informs us, had their heads shaved and kept continually bald [b]. Thus the Emperor, *Commodus*, that he might be admitted into that order, got himself shaved, and carried the God *Anubis* in procession [i]. And it was on this account most probably, that the *Jewish Priests* were commanded, not to shave their heads, nor to make any baldness upon them [k]. Yet this *pagen rasure*, or *tonsure*, as they chuse to call it, on the crown of the head, has long been the distinguishing mark of *the Romish Priesthood*. It was on the same account, we may imagine, that the *Jewish Priests* were forbidden to make any cuttings in their flesh [l]; since that likewise was the common practice of certain *Priests and Devotees among the Heathens*, in order to acquire the fame of a more exalted sanctity. Yet the same discipline, as I have

[b] Herodot. l. ii. 36.

Qui grege linigero circumdatus, & grege calvo.

Juv. vi. 33.

[i] Sacra Isidis coluit, ut & caput raderet & Anubin portaret. Lamprid. in Commod. 9.

[k] Levitic. xxi. 5. Ezech. xliv. 20.

[l] Levitic. xix. 28. xxi. 5.

shewn in my *Letter*, is constantly practised at *Rome*, in some of their solemn seasons and processions, in imitation of those *Pagan Enthusiasts*: as if they searched the Scriptures, to learn, not so much what was enjoined by the true religion, as what had been usefull at any time in a false one, to delude the multitude, and support an imposture.

Our Author makes the same apology for *Holy water*, that he has just made for *Incense*; that, in the *Mosaic law*, we find the mention of a water sanctified for religious uses; which cannot therefore be called *Heathenish*; and that I might, with as good a grace have proved *the Sacrament of Baptism to be Heathenish*, as their use of *Holy water* [m]. It is surprizing, to hear such a defense from any one, who calls himself a Christian. *The Sacrament of Baptism* was ordained by *Christ*, in the most solemn manner, and for the most solemn purpose, as the essential rite of our initiation into his Church; while there is not the least hint in any part of the Gospel, that *any other water* was either necessary, or proper, or useful in any degree to the washing away of sin. But our Author's zeal seems to have carried him here beyond his prudence; and he forgets what ground he is treading, if he fancies, that he can defend, in this protestant country, what he might affirm with applause in a *popish*; that *the institutions of Christ* stand upon

[m] Pref. p. 7.

no better foundation, than *the injunctions of the Pope*, or at least of the *Popish Church*.

I have mentioned one use of their *Holy water*, in a Festival at *Rome*, called *the Benediction of horses*, which seems to perplex him. He dares not deny the fact, yet labors to render it suspected, and declares; “that though he had “spent the greatest part of his life abroad, he “had never seen or heard of any such thing[*n*].” But whatever he thinks, or would seem rather to think of it, I know the thing to be true from the evidence of my own eyes: yet as I had no desire, that the reader should take my bare word for that, or any other fact in the Letter, I took care to add such testimonies of it, as every one will allow to be authentic. But if he really be a stranger to so extraordinary a practice, he must be an improper advocate of a cause, of which he owns himself to be ignorant. The learned *Mabillon*, as I have observed, intimates his surprize at this, as well as many other parts of their worship, which he had never seen, till he travelled into *Italy*; but, instead of defending, chuses either to drop them in silence, or to give them up as superstitious: which might have been the case also of our *Catholic*, if he had been better informed of the facts, which he has undertaken to vindicate. But if these men of learning, and teachers of Religion, know so little of what is done at *Rome*, how easy must it be, to impose upon *the poor Catholics in Eng-*

[*n*] Pref. p. 7.

land, and keep them in the dark, as to the more exceptionable parts of their worship, which are openly avowed and practised abroad, to the scandal of all the candid, and moderate even of their own communion.

But though our *Catholic* seems so much ashamed at present of *this Benediction of Horses, in their Church*, I can give him such light into the origin of it, as will make him proud of it probably for the future; from a story, that I have observed in *St. Jerom*; which shews it to be grounded on a *miracle*, and derived from a *Saint*: I mean *St. Hilarion*; the founder of *the Monastic orders in Syria and Palestine* [o].

The story is this: “ a Citizen of *Gaza*, a
 “ Christian, who kept a Stable of running
 “ horses for *the Circensian games*, was always
 “ beaten by his Antagonist, an Idolater; the
 “ master of a rival stable. For the Idolater,
 “ by the help of certain charms, and diabolical
 “ imprecations, constantly, damped the spirits
 “ of the Christian’s horses, and added courage
 “ to his own. The Christian therefore in de-
 “ spair, applied himself to *St. Hilarion*, and
 “ implored his assistance: but *the Saint* was
 “ unwilling to enter into an affair so frivolous

[o] *Necdum enim tunc Monasteria erant in Palaestina, nec quisquam Monachum ante Sanctum Hilarionem in Syria noverat. Ille fundator & eruditor hujus conversationis & studii in hac provincia fuit. Hieron. Op. t. iv. par. ii. p. 78. Ed. Ben.*

A Prefatory Discourse

“ and profane ; till the Christian urging it as a
“ necessary defense against these adversaries of
“ God, whose insults were levelled not so
“ much at him, as at the Church of Christ ;
“ and his entreaties being seconded by the
“ Monks, who were present ; the Saint ordered
“ his earthen jugg, out of which he used to
“ drink, to be filled with water and delivered
“ to the man : who presently *sprinkled his Stable,*
“ *his Horses, his Charioteers, his Chariot, and*
“ *the very boundaries of the course with it.* Upon
“ this, the whole City was in wondrous expect-
“ tation : *the Idolaters* derided what the Chri-
“ stian was doing ; while *the Christians* took
“ courage, and assured themselves of victory ;
“ till the signal being given for the race, the
“ Christian’s horses seemed to fly whilst the
“ Idolater’s were labouring behind, and left
“ quite out of sight ; so that *the Pagans* them-
“ selves were forced to cry out, *that their God*
“ *Marnas was conquered at last by Christ [p].*”
Thus this memorable Function, borrowed ori-
ginally from the *Pagan Sprinklers of the Circen-
sian games*, appears to be as ancient almost in
the Church as *Monkery* itself, and one of the
first inventions, for which *Popery* stands in-
debted to that religious institution.

As to *the Lamps and Candles*, which are con-
stantly burning before the Altars of their Saints,
he tells us once more ; “ that though the De-

[p] Ibid. p. 80.

“ vil had procured them to be set up in his
 “ Temples, yet they were appointed originally
 “ by God for the service of his Tabernacle;
 “ and were not therefore borrowed from the
 “ Heathenish, but the Mosaic worship [q].”
 To which I need not repeat, what I have already
 said on the foregoing articles. I had deduced
 the origin of these lamps from *Ægypt*, upon
 the authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus*: but he
 declares, that *Clemens says no such thing*: yet
 does not think fit to tell us, what it is that he
 has said, nor how near it approaches to the in-
 terpretation, which I have given of it. *Clemens*
 expressly ascribes *the invention of lamps to the*
Ægyptians, in which he is followed by *Eusebius*,
 and since lamps were used in all the *Pagan Tem-*
ples from the earliest times, of which we have
 any notice, I take it for a necessary consequence,
 that the *Ægyptians* were the first, who made use
 of them likewise in their Temples. But let that
 be as it will, this at least is certain, that the use
 of them in Christian Churches was condemned
 by many of the *primitive Bishops and Presbyters*,
 as superstitious and Heathenish. But all these
 our *Catholic* makes no scruple to brand with the
 title of *Heretics* [r]; tho’ many of them, perhaps,
 might more truly be called, *the Protestants of the*
primitive Church; particularly *Vigilantius*; who,
 by all that I have been able to observe about
 him, incurred the Charge of *Heresy* for no other
 crime, than that of writing against “ Monk-

[q] Pref. p. 8.

[r] Ib. p. 13.

ery; the Celibacy of the Clergy; praying for
 “ the dead; worshipping the reliques of Mar-
 “ tyrs; and lighting up candles to them, after
 “ the manner of the Pagans [s].” But St.
Jerom has given the most rational definition of
Heresy, where he says; “ that those who inter-
 “ pret Scripture to any sense, repugnant to that
 “ of the Holy Spirit, though they should never
 “ withdraw themselves from the Church, yet
 “ may be justly called Heretics [t].” By
 which Criterion, *the Romish Church* will be found
 much more *Heretical*, than any of those, who,
 either in ancient or modern times, have separated
 themselves from it’s communion on the account
 of it’s doctrines.

My next instance of their *Paganism* is, the
 number of their *Donaria* or *Votive offerings*,
 hanging around *the Altars of their Saints*: where
 our Author, having nothing to alledge from
 Scripture, nor any example from antiquity, but
 what is purely *Heathenish*, is forced to change
 his tone, and to declare; “ that things inno-
 “ cent in themselves cannot be rendered unlaw-
 “ ful, for having been abused by the Heathens;
 “ and that it cannot be disagreeable to the true
 “ God, that those, who believe themselves to
 “ have received favors from him by the pray-
 “ ers of his Saints, should make a publick ac-

[s] Hieron. Oper. t. iv. par. ii. p. 275, 282. Edit. Be-
 nedict. it. Cave’s Hist. Liter. par. i.

[t] Hieron. ibid. par. i. p. 302.

“knowledgment of it [u].” But can a practice be called innocent, which is a confessed copy of paganish Superstition? which tends to weaken our dependence on God, and to place it on those, who are not probably in a condition, either *to bear, or to help us* [x]? which imprints the same veneration for *the Christian Saints*, that the *Pagans* paid to their *subordinate Deities*; and transfers the honor due to God, to the Altars of departed mortals? Such a worship, I say, so far from being innocent, must necessarily be condemned by all unprejudiced men, as profane and idolatrous; as it will more evidently appear to be, from our consideration of the next article, their *worship of Images*.

On this head, our Catholic pours out all his rage against me; charges me with “slander
“and misrepresentation, and notorious un-
“truths; *says* that I am no better friend to
“Christianity, than to Popery; that I imitate
“the ancient Heretics, and copy my arguments
“from the Apostate *Julian* [y]:” by which he shews, in what manner he would silence me, if he had me under his discipline: but I can easily forgive his railing, while I find myself out of his power; and rejoice, that we live in a country, where he can use a liberty, which no *Popish* Government would indulge to a Protestant. The ground of all this clamor, is, my treating their *Image-worship, as Idolatrous*: yet he does

[u] Pref. p. 9. [x] Ecclesiast. ix. 5, 6. [y] Pref. p. 13.

not pretend to contradict my facts, but the inference onely, that I draw from them; and since he cannot overthrow my premises, is the more enraged at my conclusion.

I had defined *Idols*, upon the authority of *St. Jerom*, to be *Images of the dead*: where he is simple enough to imagine, that I included in my definition, *all images and pictures whatsoever of the dead*; and calls it therefore *a brat of my own, which I falsely father upon St. Jerom* [z]. Yet every man must see, that I could mean no other *images*, but such, as I was there treating of; such, as had *Temples, Altars, and a religious worship* instituted to them; for such are all the *Images of the Popish Church*; and of all such *Images of the dead*, I shall affirm again with *St. Jerom*, that they are true and proper *Idols*.

It is not my present design to enter into a formal discussion of the nature of Idolatry; which according to every sense of it, as our Divines have fully demonstrated, is now exercised in *Popish Rome*, upon the very same principles, on which it was formerly practised in *Pagan Rome*. The purpose of the following *Letter* is, to illustrate this argument by the more sensible evidence of fact; and, in spite of the cavils and evasive distinctions of their Schools, to shew *their worship of Images or of Saints*, call it which they will, to be properly and actually idolatrous.

[z] Pref. p. 10.

But our Author defines *Idols*, “ to be such
“ Images onely, as are set up for Gods, and
“ honored as such ; or in which some divinity
“ or power is believed to reside by their wor-
“ shippers ; who accordingly offer prayers and
“ sacrifice to them, and put their trust in
“ them [a].” Such, says he, *were the Idols of
the Gentiles* : and such, I shall venture to say,
are *the Idols of the Papists*. For what else can
we say of those *miraculous Images*, as they are
called, in every great town of *Italy*, but that
some *Divinity* or *Power* is universally believed
to reside in them ? Are not all their people per-
suaded, and do not all their books testify, that
these Images have sometimes *moved themselves*
from one place to another ; have *wept, talked,
and wrought many miracles* ? And does not this
necessarily imply an *extraordinary power residing
in them* ? In the high street of *Loretto*, which
leads to *the Holy House*, the shops are filled with
Beads, Crucifixes, Agnus’s Dei’s, and all the
trinkets of *Popish* manufacture ; where I observ-
ed *printed certificates*, or testimonials, affixed to
each shop, declaring all their toys to have been
touched by the blessed Image : which certificates
are provided for no other purpose, but to hu-
mor the general persuasion, both of the buyer
and the seller, that *some virtue* is communi-
cated by that touch, from a *power residing in
the Image*.

[a] Pref. p. 11.

In one of the Churches of *Lucca*, they shew an Image of *the Virgin with the Child of Jesus* in her arms, of which they relate this Story, “ That a blaspheming Gamester, in rage and
 “ despair, took up a stone and threw it at the
 “ Infant ; but the Virgin, to preserve him from
 “ the blow, which was levelled at his head,
 “ shifted him instantly from her right arm into
 “ the left, in which he is now held ; while the
 “ blasphemer was swallowed up by the earth
 “ upon the spot ; where the hole, which they
 “ declare to be unfathomable, is still kept open
 “ and enclosed only with a grate, just before
 “ the Altar of the Image. The Virgin how-
 “ ever received the blow upon her shoulder,
 “ whence the blood presently issued, which is
 “ preserved in a Crystal, and produced, with
 “ the greatest ceremony, by the Priest in his
 “ vestments, with tapers lighted, while all the
 “ company kiss the sacred relique on their
 “ knees [b].” Now does not the attestation of this miracle naturally tend to persuade people, that there is an *actual power residing in the Image*, which can defend itself from injuries, and inflict vengeance on all, who dare to insult it ?

One of the most celebrated *Images in Italy* is that of *St. Dominic, of Surriano in Calabria*, which, as their histories testify, was brought down from heaven about two centuries ago, by

[b] See Mr. *Wright's Travels at Lucca*,

the Virgin Mary in person, accompanied by *Mary Magdalene* and *St. Catharine*. Before this glorious picture, as they affirm, “ great numbers
 “ of the dead have been restored to life, and
 “ hundreds from the agonies of death; the
 “ dumb, the blind, the deaf, the lame have
 “ been cured, and all sorts of diseases and mor-
 “ tal wounds miraculously healed:” all which facts are attested by publick Notaries; and confirmed by the relations of Cardinals, Prelates; Generals, and Priors of that Order; and the certainty of them so generally believed, that from the 9th of *July* to the 9th of *August*, the anniversary Festival of the Saint, they have always counted *above a hundred thousand Pilgrims*, and many of them of the highest quality, who come from different parts of *Europe*, to pay their devotions, and make their offerings to this picture [c].

Aringhus, touching upon this subject, in his elaborate account of *Subterraneous Rome*, observes; “ that *the Images of the blessed Virgin*
 “ *shine out continually by new and dayly miracles,*
 “ *to the comfort of their votaries, and the con-*
 “ *fusion of all gainsayers.* Within these few years,
 “ says he, under every Pope successively, some
 “ or other of our sacred Images, especially of
 “ the more ancient, have made themselves il-
 “ lustrious, and acquired a peculiar worship

[c] *La vie de St. Dominic*, p. 599. 4to. à Paris, 1647. it. p. 602.

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“ and veneration by the exhibition of fresh
 “ signs ; as it is notorious to all, who dwell in
 “ this City. But how can I pass over in silence
 “ the Image of St. *Dominic* ; so conspicuous at
 “ this day for it’s never ceasing miracles ;
 “ which attract the resort and admiration of
 “ the whole Christian world. This picture,
 “ which, as pious tradition informs us, was
 “ brought down from heaven, about the year
 “ of our redemption, 1530, is a most solid
 “ bulwark of the Church of Christ, and a
 “ noble monument of the pure faith of Chri-
 “ stians, against all the impious opposers of
 “ Image worship. The venerable Image is
 “ drawn indeed but rudely, without the help
 “ of art or pencil ; sketched out by a celestial
 “ hand ; with a book in it’s right, and a lily,
 “ in it’s left hand ; of a moderate stature, but
 “ of a grave and comely aspect ; with a robe
 “ reaching down to the heels. Those who have
 “ written it’s history, assert, that the Painters,
 “ in their attempts to copy it, have not always
 “ been able to take similar copies ; because it
 “ frequently assumes a different air, and rays
 “ of light have been seen by some to issue from
 “ it’s countenance ; and it has more than once
 “ removed itself from one place to another.
 “ The Worship therefore of this picture is be-
 “ come so famous through all Christendom,
 “ that multitudes of people, to the number of
 “ *a hundred thousand and upwards*, flock annu-
 “ ally to pay their devotions to it, on the Festi-
 “ val

“ val of the Saint; and though it be strange,
 “ which I have now related, yet what I am go-
 “ ing to say is still stranger, that not onely *the*
 “ *original picture*, made not by human, but by
 “ heavenly hands, is celebrated for it's dayly
 “ miracles, but even *the Copy* of it, which is
 “ piously preserved in this City, in the Mona-
 “ stery called *St. Mary's above the Minerva*, is
 “ famous also in these our days for it's per-
 “ petual signs and wonders, as the number-
 “ less votive offerings hanging around it; and
 “ the bracelets and jewels which adorn it te-
 “ stify [*d*].”

All their Apologists indeed declare, what our Catholic also says on this head, “ that they do
 “ not ascribe these miracles to any power in the
 “ Image itself, but to the power of God, who
 “ is moved to work them by the prayers and
 “ intercession of his Saints, for the benefit of
 “ those, who have sought that intercession be-
 “ fore their pictures or Images; and in or-
 “ der to bear testimony to the faith and prac-
 “ tice of the Church in this particular ar-
 “ ticle [*e*].” But how can we think it possi-
 “ ble, that the Deity can be moved to exert his
 “ power so wonderfully for the confirmation of
 “ such ridiculous stories, of *pictures and statues*
 “ *sent down from heaven*; which while they blas-
 “ phemously impute to the workmanship of *Saints*
 “ *or Angels, or of God himself* [*f*], are yet always

[*d*] Aring. Roma Subterranean. tom. ii. p. 464. § 13.

[*e*] Cathol. Christ. p. 251.

[*f*] Imaginem *Sicutus*. Euagr.

so rudely and contemptibly performed, that a moderate artist on earth would be ashamed to call them his own ? Or is it at all credible, that the Saints in heaven should be as busy and ambitious, as their votaries are on earth, to advance the peculiar honors of their several altars, by their continual intercessions at the throne of grace ? Or that their whole care above, if they really have any, which reaches to things below, should be employed, not for the general advancement of religion and piety among men, but of their own private glory and worship, in preference to all their competitors ? No ; the absurdity of such notions and practices makes it necessary to believe, that they were all occasionally forged for the support of some lucrative scheme ; or to revive the expiring credit of some favorite superstition, which had been found highly beneficial to the contrivers of such forgeries. For the very effect, of which they boast, as a proof of the miracle, betrays the fraud ; and *the multitude of pilgrims and offerings*, to which they appeal, instead of demonstrating the truth of the fact, does but expose the real ground of the imposture.

But to return to my Antagonist : if we should ask him once more, whether there ever was a Temple in the world, not purely heathenish, in which there were *any Images, erected on altars*, for the purpose of any religious worship whatsoever ; he must be obliged to answer in the
negative.

negative. He would be forced likewise to confess, that there were many such Temples in *Pagan Rome*, and particularly *the Pantheon*, which remains still in *Christian Rome*; on whose numerous altars as there formerly stood *the Images* of as many *Pagan Divi or Idols*, so there are now standing *the Images* of as many *Popish Divi or Saints*; to whom the *present Romans* pay their vows and offer prayers, as their inclinations severally lead them to this or that particular Altar: And no man will pretend to say, that there is not *the greatest conformity* between the present and the ancient Temple; or that it would not be difficult to furnish out a private room more exactly to the taste of *the old Romans*, than this *Popish Church* stands now adorned with all the furniture of their *old Paganism*.

We are informed by *Plato*, that there were *Images* in the Temples of *Ægypt* from the earliest antiquity [g]: And it appears evidently from Scripture, that they subsisted there, as well as in *Palestine*, before the time of *Moses*. The strict prohibition of them therefore to *the Jews*, while several other rites of the *Heathens* were indulged to them, in condescension to their peculiar circumstances and carnal affections, carries a strong intimation, that *Images* are of all things the most dangerous to true religion; as tending naturally to corrupt it, by introducing Superstition and Idolatry into the worship

[g] Plat. de Legib. l. ii. p. 656. Max. Tyr. Diff. 38.

of God. The *Christian Emperors*, as I have intimated in my Letter, strictly prohibited their *Pagan Subjects*, to light up candles, offer incense, or hang up garlands to senseless Images: For these were then reckoned the notorious acts of genuine *Paganism*? Yet we now see all these very acts performed every day in *Popish* countries to the Images of the *Popish Saints*. In a word, since there never was an Image in the Temple of the true God, in any age of the world, yet a perpetual use of them in all the Temples of the *Heathens*, it is in vain to dispute about their origin; the thing is evident to a demonstration; they must necessarily be derived to the present *Romans*, from those, who always used, and not from those, who always detested them; that is, from their *Pagan*, not their *Christian Ancestors*. They may quibble therefore as long as they please; and talk of their *Decrees and Canons*, contrived to amuse the public, and elude the arguments of Protestants, by subtle and specious distinctions; while every Traveller, who sees what passes at the Shrine of any celebrated Saint, or miraculous Image in Italy, will be convinced by Ocular demonstration, that their people are trained, instructed, and encouraged to believe, that there is a divinity or power residing in those Images, and that they actually offer up prayers and put their trust in them.

For if there is no such belief amongst them, as this *Catholic* affirms, for what purpose do they

they expose *those Images*, so solemnly, and carry them about *processionally*, on all occasions of public distress? Is there any charm in a block of wood or stone, to produce rain, or avert a pestilence? Or, can *senseless Images* have any influence towards moving the Will of God? No; their Priests are not so silly as to imagine it: the sole end of producing them is, not to move God, but the populace; to persuade the deluded multitude, that there *is a power in the Image*, that can draw down blessings upon them from Heaven: A doctrine, that repays all their pains of inculcating it, by a perpetual supply of wealth to the treasury of the Church. This therefore, as it appears from undeniable facts, is the universal belief of *all Popish Countries*; grounded, as they all assert, on the evidence of perpetual miracles, wrought by the particular agency of these *sacred Images*, of which I could produce innumerable instances from their own books.

In a Collegiate Church of regular Canons, called *St. Mary, of Impruneta*, about six miles from *Florence*, there is a *miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary*, painted by *St. Luke*, and held in the greatest veneration through all *Tuscany*: Which, as oft as that State happens to be visited by any calamity, or involved in any peculiar danger, is sure to be brought out, and carried in procession through the streets of *Florence*; attended by the Prince himself, with all the

Nobility, Magistrates, and Clergy ; where it has never failed to afford them present relief in their greatest difficulties. In testimony of which they produce authentic acts and records, confirmed by public Inscriptions, setting forth all the particular benefits miraculously obtained from each procession ; and the several offerings made on that account to the *Sacred Image*, for many centuries past, down to these very times ; from the notoriety of which facts it became a proverb over *Italy*, that *the Florentines had got a Madonna, which did for them, whatever they pleased* [b].

Among the numerous Inscriptions of this sort, there is one in the Church of *Impruneta*, to this effect ; “ That the sacred Image being carried
 “ with solemn pomp into *Florence*, when it was
 “ visited by a pestilence for three years succes-
 “ sively, and received with pious zeal by the
 “ great Duke, *Ferdinand II*, and the whole
 “ body of the people, who came out to meet
 “ it, and having marched about the City for
 “ three days in procession, the fierceness of the
 “ pestilence began miraculously to abate, and
 “ soon after intirely ceased. Upon which the
 “ Magistrates of health, by a general vow of
 “ the Citizens, made an offering of ten thou-

[b] Vid. *Memorie Istoriche della Miracolosa Immagine*, &c. in *Firen.* 1714. 4to. passò in proverbio per tutta l'Italia ; che i Fiorentini hanno una Madonna, che fa à lor modo. *ib.* p. 85.

“ sand ducats of gold, to be employed in pro-
 “ viding portions for twenty young women
 “ of *Impruneta* to be disposed of annually in
 “ marriage, and placed that Inscription as a
 “ Monument of so signal a benefit, A. D.
 “ 1633. [i].”

During the time of these processions, they always inscribe certain hymns, or prayers, or elogiums of the Virgin, over the doors and other conspicuous places of each Church, where the Image reposes itself for any time; in order to raise the devotion of the people towards the sacred object before them. In a procession made A. D. 1711, the following Inscription was placed over the principal gate of one of their great Churches.—“ The Gate of cœlestial
 “ benefit. The Gate of Salvation. Look up
 “ to the Virgin Herself. Pass into me, all ye
 “ who desire me. Whosoever shall find me,
 “ will find life and draw Salvation from the
 “ Lord. For there is no one, who can be
 “ saved, O most Holy Virgin, but through
 “ Thee. There is no one, who can be deli-
 “ vered from evils, but through Thee. There
 “ is no one, from whom we can obtain mercy,
 “ but through Thee.”—In the conclusion are these expressions. — “ *Mary* indeed opens the
 “ bosom of her mercy to all; so that the whole
 “ Universe receives out of her fullness. The
 “ Captive, redemption; the Sick, a cure; the

[i] Ibid. p. 202.

“ Sad, comfort ; the Sinner, pardon ; the Just,
 “ grace ; the Angel, joy ; the whole Trinity,
 “ glory [k].” Now what can we say of a devo-
 tion so extravagant, and blasphemous, but
 that it is a revival of *the old Heresy of the Col-
 lyridians* ; maintained by a *seet of silly women* ;
 who fell into their *foolish error or madness*, as
Epiphanius calls it, *through an excess of zeal to-
 wards the blessed Virgin*, whom they resolved to
 advance into a *Goddeſs*, and to introduce the
 worship of her as such into the Christian
 Church [l].

I cannot diſmiſs the ſtory of *this wonderful pic-
 ture*, without giving the reader ſome account of
 it’s origin, as it is delivered by their writers,
 not grounded, as they ſay, on vulgar fame,
 but on public records, and histories, confirm-
 ed by a perpetual ſeries of miracles.—“ When
 “ the Inhabitants of *Impruneta* had reſolved to

[k] *Janua cœlestis beneficii. Janua Salutis. Ipfam Vir-
 ginem attendite. Tranſite ad me omnes qui concupiſcitis
 me.—Qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam et hauriet ſalutem a
 Domino. Nemo enim eſt qui ſalvus fiat, O Sanctiſſima,
 niſi per Te. Nemo eſt qui liberetur a malis niſi per te.
 Nemo eſt cujus miſereatur gratia niſi per Te.—*

Maria proſecto omnibus miſericordiæ ſinum aperit, ut
 de plenitudine ejus accipiant Univerſi. Captivus redemptionem,
 Ager curationem, Triftis conſolationem, Peccator veniam,
 Juſtus gratiam, Angelus lætitiã, tota Trinitas
 gloriam. Ibid. 234.

[l] Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τῆτο διδάσκαλοις τίνες εἰσὶν, ἀλλ’ ἡ γυναῖκες ;—
 Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἴδοξεν ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ὁ Διάβολος ἐξεμῆν. Epiph. adv.
 Hæc. Vol. I. p. 1058. Edit. Par. 1622. αὐτὸ δὲ αὐτῆς πᾶ-
 ρεπάγου ἰσπεδακότας, κ’ σπαδάζοντας, &c. ibid. p. 1054.

“ build a Church to the Virgin, and were
 “ digging the foundations of it with great zeal,
 “ on a spot marked out to them by heaven;
 “ one of the laborers happened to strike his
 “ pickax against something under ground,
 “ from which there issued presently a com-
 “ plaining voice or groan. The workmen,
 “ being greatly amazed, put a stop to their
 “ work for a while, but having recovered their
 “ spirits after some pause, they ventured to
 “ open the place, from which the voice came,
 “ and found the miraculous Image [m].”
 This calls to my mind a *Pagan* Story, of the
 same stamp, and in the same country, preserved
 to us by *Cicero*, concerning the origin of Di-
 vination. “ That a man being at plough in a
 “ certain field of *Etruria*, and happening to
 “ strike his plough somewhat deeper than ordi-
 “ nary, there started up before him out of the
 “ furrow, a Diety, whom they called *Tages*.
 “ The ploughman, terrified by so strange an
 “ apparition, made such an outcry, that he
 “ alarmed all his neighbours, and in a short
 “ time drew the whole country around him;
 “ to whom the God, in the hearing of them
 “ all, explained the whole art and mystery of
 “ divination: which all their writers and re-
 “ cords affirmed, to be the genuin origin of
 “ that discipline, for which the old *Tuscans*
 “ were afterwards so famous.” Now these
 two stories forged at different times in the same

[22] Ibid. p. 53, &c.

country, and for the same end of supporting an Idolatrous worship, bear such a resemblance to each other, that every one will see the one to have been a bungling imitation of the other; and we may say of *the Popish Madonna*, what *Cicero* says of *the Pagan Tapes*, that none can be so silly as to believe that a God was ever dug out of the ground; and that an attempt to confute such stories would be as silly as to believe them [n]. My design therefore in collecting them was not, so much to expose the folly of them to my Protestant readers, as to admonish our Papists, by unquestionable facts and instances, drawn from the present practice of *Rome*, into what a labyrinth of folly and impiety their principles will naturally lead them, when they are pushed to their full length, and exerted without reserve or restraint; and to lay before them the forgeries and impostures which are practised in their Church, to support the absurd doctrines, which she imposes, as the necessary terms of Catholic communion.

But their constant method of recurring to different Saints in their different exigencies, is nothing else, as many writers have observed, but an exact copy of the *Pagan* superstition, grounded, on a popular belief, that their Saints, like the old Dæmons, have each their *distinct provinces, or præfectures*, assigned to them; some over particular countries, cities, societies,

[n] Cic. de Divin. ii. 23.

and even the different trades of men; others over the several diseases of the body, or the mind; others over the winds, the rain, and various fruits of the earth [o]. So that God's rebuke to the Apostatizing Jews, is full as applicable to the Papists, for committing whoredoms with their Idols, and saying, *I will go after my lovers, who give me my bread and my water; my wooll and my flax; mine oil and my drink—for they did not know, that I gave them their corn and wine and oil, and multiplied their silver and gold, which they prepared for Baal* [p].

Our Catholic proceeds to affirm, that all the devotion paid to their Saints extends no farther, than to desire their prayers, and that the pictures and Images of them, which we see in their Churches, are no more than mere memorials, designed to express the esteem, which they retain for the persons so represented; or as helps to raise their affections to heavenly things; and that every child amongst them knows this to be true [q]. Yet I have demonstrated, from their public Inscriptions, as well as the explicit testimonies of their writers, that those Images are placed by them in their Churches, as the proper objects of religious adoration; and that they ascribe to their *Divi*, or *Saints*, who are represented by them, the very same titles, powers and attributes, which the *Heathens* ascribed to their *Deities*; invoking them as

[o] Orig. con. Cels. 8. p. 339. See Conformity of anc. and mod. ceremon. p. 112, &c.

[p] Hosea ii. 5, 7.

[q] Pref. p. 9, 10, 12.

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Tutelary Divinities; as *presiding over their Temples, and the affairs of men, as most powerfull, invincible, and always ready to help and relieve their votaries* [r]. All which is confirmed by the constant stile of their prayers, and the express language of their *Liturgies, Missals and Breviaries*, set forth at *Rome* by public authority: in which the *Virgin* is called, *the mother of mercy, Hope of the world, the onely trust of Sinners*; and the *Saints* addressed to under the titles of *Intercessors, Protectors and Dispensers of Grace*. *Maldonatus* calls it *an impious and silly error of the Protestants, to think that no religious worship is due to any, but to God*. And some of their *expurgatory Indexes* go so far, as to expunge all those passages of the *Primitive Fathers*, which teach, *that creatures ought not to be adored* [s].

The *Abbot de Marolles* relates a conversation, in which he was once engaged, with a *Capuchin*, who had been employed in several missions, and a celebrated Preacher of *France*; in the presence of an *Hugonot Gentleman*; for whose sake the *Abbot* took occasion to speak of *Images* in the same moderate strain, in which our *Catholic* thinks fit to treat them in his present address to *Protestants*; “ That they were placed in their
“ Churches, not for the people to adore, or put

[r] See Letter, p. 42, 43.

[s] *Salve Regina*; *Mater misericordix, vita, dulcedo, & spes nostra, salve. Ad Te clamamus exules filii Evæ, &c. Offic. Beat. Virg. Maldonat. in Mat. v. 35. Index Expurgat. Madrid 1612.*

“ their trust in them, but to edify their senses,
 “ by the representation of holy things. But
 “ the *Abbot's* discourse gave offence both to
 “ *the Friar and the Preacher*; they insisted on a
 “ higher degree of veneration, urged the stories
 “ of their *miraculous Images*, and the extraordi-
 “ nary devotion that was paid by the Pope, the
 “ Bishops, and the whole Church to some of
 “ them, which had been known to speak, or
 “ were brought down from heaven, or made
 “ by the hands of Apostles and Angels; or
 “ had been consecrated on the account of some
 “ *particular Virtues*, and were carried for that
 “ reason in processions, and worshipped on Al-
 “ tars, as well as the sacred reliques; whose
 “ miracles could not be contested by any, but
 “ *obstinate Hereticks*; who would sooner re-
 “ nounce the testimony of their senses, than be
 “ convinced of their errors. In short; the Ca-
 “ puchin declared, that the authority of the
 “ Church was the sole rule of faith; and that
 “ to resist it, was a manifest rebellion, and wor-
 “ thy of the last punishment [1].” And this
 opinion

[1] Mais tout ce discours ne plut pas encore au Religieux,
 ni mesmes à M. Hersaut, qui vouloit quelque chose de plus;
 pour preuve de quoy, l'un & l'autre mirent en avant les
 Images miraculeuses, & marquerent mesmes les respects
 extraordinaires, que le S. Pere, les Evesques, & toute l'Eg-
 lise rendent à quelques unes, qui ont parlé, ou qui sont de-
 scendues du Ciel, ou qui ont été façonnées de la propre
 main des Apostres, & des Anges, ou qui sont consacrées
 pour *quelque vertu particuliere*, lesquelles à cause de cela se
 portent

opinion after all, maintained by the *Friar*, is the genuin notion of *Image-worship*, which prevails at this day in the *Romish Church*, and especially in *Italy*, as I have fully demonstrated by the facts above recited.

I have said in my *Letter*, that several of the ancient Heroes were more worthy of veneration, than some of the modern Saints, who have dispossessed them of their Shrines; and that I should sooner pay divine honors to the Founders of Empires than to the Founders of Monasteries. This our Author aggravates into a heavy charge against me; as if I were offended, to see the *Heathen Temples converted into Christian Churches*, and had actually preferred the *Pagan Deities*, before the *Martyrs of Christ* [u]. Where, according to his custom, he either widely mistakes, or wilfully misrepresents my meaning; for as to the genuin Saints and Martyrs of the *Christian Church*, that is, all those, who in past ages, have lived agreeably to the rules of the Gospel, or died in the defence of it, I reverence them

portent en procession & sont reverées sur les Autels, aussi bien que les saintes Reliques, dont les miracles ne peuvent estre contestez, que par les Heretiques opiniaftres, qui combattent mesmes le tesmoignage des sens, quand il s'agit de la conviction de leur erreur.—Le Capucin estima, qu'il falloit defendre tout ce qui l'Eglise reçoit;—que cela seul estoit la regle de la foy: & que ce seroit une rebellion manifeste d'y resister ce qui ne seroit digne de rien moins, que du dernier chastiment. — *Memoires de M. de Marolles*, par. i. p. 164. [u] *Pref.* p. 12, 13.

as highly, as they ought to be revered by any Christian, yet shall never be induced to worship them: I consider them as illustrious proofs of the excellence of the Christian doctrine; and shining examples of piety and fortitude to all succeeding ages. But as for *the Popish Saints*, I believe several of them to be wholly fictitious; many more to have spent their lives contemptibly; and some of them even wickedly: And out of these three Classes, let our Author chuse where he will; out of *the fictitious, the contemptible, or the wicked*; I shall venter to affirm once more, that I would sooner worship *Romulus*, or *Antonine*, than any of them: sooner pay my devotion to the *Founders*, than to *the disturbers of kingdoms*; sooner to *the benefactors*, than to *the persecutors of mankind*; and this is the whole, that I have ever meant.

But our Author calls it a notorious falsehood to say, “ that many of their Saints were never heard of but in their Legends; or had no other merit but of throwing kingdoms into convulsions, for the sake of some gainfull imposture [x]: Yet I have produced several instances of the first sort, which every reasonable man must think decisive; in the case of *Evodia*, *St. Viar*, *Amphibolus*, *Veronica*: but *no such Saints*, he says, *were ever honored in their Church*: by which he means nothing more, as he himself explains it, than, that they never were *formally canonized, and entered into the Roman*

[x] Pref. p. 14.

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Martyrology [y]; which is nothing to the purpose; since, as I have shewn from unquestionable authority, they were all honored with *Altars and Images, and openly worshipped in Catholic Countries, as Saints and Martyrs*; and that *Veronica* in particular, though the name onely of a *picture*, was advanced into a *person*, by the Authority of *Pope Urban*; and placed as such upon an Altar, in the face of all Christendom, in *St. Peter's at Rome* [z]. Yet all men, who know any thing of History, either sacred or profane, must necessarily be convinced, that the whole story, not onely of *the Saint*, but of *the picture also*, which they expose on certain Festivals with the greatest pomp, and for the original of which different Cities contend, is a mere cheat and forgery.

It is a thing confessed, and lamented by the gravest of their own Communion, that the names and worship of *many pretended Saints*, who never had a real existence, had been fraudulently imposed upon the Church. The celebrated Dr. *John de Launoy* was famous for clearing the Calendar of several, who had long been worshipped in *France, as the Tutelary Divi* of some of their principal Towns: so that it used to be said of him, “ that there never passed
“ a year, in which he did not pluck a Saint out
“ of Paradise [a].” In the *Catacombs of Rome*,

[y] Pref. p. 14, 15. [z] See Letter, p. 38, 39.

[a] Bayle Dict. in LAUNOY.

which

which, in the times of Heathenism, was the burial place of the Slaves, and poorer Citizens, and where the bones of *Pagans and Christians* lie jumbled promiscuously together, if they happen to find *a little vial, or piece of glass tinged with red*, at the mouth of any particular hole, they take it presently, and the learned *Montfaucon* informs us, for a certain proof of *Martyrdom*; and, by the help of the next inscription, that they can pick up from some neighbouring Grave-stone, presently create a *new Saint and Martyr to the Popish Church*. *Mabillon*, as I have observed, wishes, “ that they would
 “ be more scrupulous on this head; and not
 “ forge so many fabulous stories of Saints,
 “ without any certain name; nor impose Pa-
 “ ganish inscriptions for Christian upon the
 “ Church [b].”

Our *Catholic* himself, in this very work, where he is labouring to give the most specious turn to every part of their worship, is forced to allow such a confusion and jumble among the *Martyrs and their reliques*, as approaches very nearly to what I am now affirming: he says, “ that
 “ many of their Saints having born the same
 “ name, it easily happens, that the reliques,
 “ which belong to one, are attributed to ano-
 “ ther, and that there are many ancient Mar-
 “ tyrs, whose names at present are unknown,
 “ yet whose reliques have all along been honor-

[b] *Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 225.*

“ ed in the Church; and that it was easy for
 “ the ignorance of some, or the vanity of o-
 “ thers, to attribute to them the names of other
 “ Saints [c].” *The old Athenians* were called
superstitious by the Apostle, for erecting an *Altar*
to the unknown God; but our *Papists*, we see, by
 their own confession, *erect Altars to unknown*
Saints, and unknown reliques.

Upon the mention of these *reliques*, I cannot help observing, that *the superstitious veneration and solemn translations* of them, which make so great a part of *the Popish* worship, afford another instance of a practice clearly derived to them from Paganism; the whole process and ceremonial of which, as it is exercised at this day, may be seen in *Plutarch's* account of *the translation of the bones of Theseus*, from the Isle of *Scyrus* to *Athens*: and as this resolution was first suggested to the *Athenians* by an Apparition of *Theseus* himself, and enjoined to them afterwards by *the Delphick Oracle*; so *the discovery and translation of their reliques in the Romish Church*, are usually grounded on some pretended *vision or revelation* from heaven.

“ When *Cimon* then had conquered the
 “ Island of *Scyrus*, where *Theseus* died, being
 “ very solicitous, as *Plutarch* relates, to find
 “ out the place, where he lay buried, and un-
 “ able to procure any information about it, he

[c] *Cathol. Christian*, p. 246.

“ happened

“ happened to espy an eagle upon a rising
 “ ground, pecking the earth with it’s beak, and
 “ tearing it up with its talons; and conceiving
 “ this to be a divine omen and sign to him, he
 “ began immediately to dig, and found the
 “ coffin of a man of more than ordinary size,
 “ with a brazen lance and sword lying by him;
 “ all which he took away with him into his
 “ Galley, and transported to *Athens*; where
 “ the whole body of the people, upon notice of
 “ his arrival, came out to receive the *sacred re-*
 “ *liques in a solemn and pompous procession*, per-
 “ forming public sacrifices and expressing all
 “ the same marks of joy, as if *Theseus* himself
 “ had been returning to them alive. They
 “ interred his bones in the midst of the City,
 “ where his Sepulchre is still a Sanctuary for
 “ Slaves and the meaner Citizens; *Theseus*
 “ having always been esteemed a particular Pa-
 “ tron of the poor and distressed. The chief
 “ *Festival*, which they celebrate annually to his
 “ honor, is *the 8th of October*; on which he re-
 “ turned victorious from *Crete* with the young
 “ Captives of *Athens*, yet they observe likewise
 “ *the 8th* of every month, as a kind of inferior
 “ Holyday or memorial of him [d].”

But to pursue the objections of our *Catholic*;
 he declares my account of *St. Oreste*, whose
 name I suppose to have been derived from the
 mountain *Soraete*, on which his *Monastery* now

[d] Plutar. in *Thef.* ad fin.

stands ; to be ridiculous beyond measure ; yet Mr. Addison, who was no ridiculous Author, has related it as a certain fact ; which he borrowed probably from some of their own writers, or at least from some of the Antiquaries of Rome, among whom I heard the same story, But if the notion of *fictitious Saints*, be so notoriously false, as he asserts it to be, let him tell us, if he can, in what History we may find the acts of those very Saints, whom I have named, and whom their Church adopts as genuin, *St. Oreste, Baccho, Quirinus, Romula, and Redempta, Concordia, Nympha, Mercurius* [e].

The creation of *Saints* is become as common almost, as the creation of Cardinals ; there having seldom been a Pope, who did not add some to the Calendar. *Benedict XIIIth canonized eight*, in one Summer ; and his Successor *Clement XIIth*, the last Pope, *four more*. During my stay at Rome, I saw the *Beatification* of one *Andrew Conti*, of the family of the Pope, then reigning, *Innocent XIIIth* ; for this is another source of supplying *fresh Saints to the Church* ; when to humor the ambition of the Pope, or the other Princes of that Communion, this honor is conferred on some of their name and family : and as there must be a testimony of miracles, wrought by every person *so canonized or beatified*, either when living or dead, so I was curious to inquire, what miracles were ascribed to

[e] See Letter, p. 37, 38.

this *beatified Andrew*; which I found to be nothing else, but a few contemptible stories, delivered down by tradition, which shewed onely the weakness of the man, and the absurdity of believing, that God should exert his omnipotence for the production of such trifles [f].

As to the proof of miracles, which is essential to these *Canonizations*, every one will conceive, how easy it must be in a function, contrived to serve the interest of the Church, and the ambition of it's rulers, to procure such a

[f] The *Papists*, in their versions of the Scriptures into the modern tongues, have contrived, by various falsifications, to make them speak the language of their *Missals and Breviaries*, in order to sanctify their novel rites by the authority of the Apostles; and make the people believe, that they had been practised from the times even of the Gospel. Thus to countenance this practice of *beatifying or making Saints* in the church, they have rendered a passage of *St. James*, c. v. 11. not as it ought to be, *Behold how we account those blessed*; but, *Behold how we BEATIFY those, who have suffered with constancy*: and in favour also of their *processions*; where it is said, *Heb. xi. 30*; *that the walls of Jericho fell down, after they compassed it about seven days*: their versions render it, *after A PROCESSION of seven days around it*. And to give the better color to their trade of *Pilgrimages*, *St. Paul*, according to their versions, requires it, as the qualification of a good widow, *that she have lodged PILGRIMS*, 1 Tim. v. 10. and *St. John* praises *Gaius*, for having dealt faithfully with *PILGRIMS*—3 John ver. 5. See a treatise entituled, *Poperly an enemy to Scripture*, where the learned and ingenious Author, *Mr. Serces*, has given a large collection of these falsifications, made to support their several frauds and innovations.

testimonial of them, as will be sufficient for the purpose. In *the Deifications of ancient Rome*, the attestation also of a miracle was held necessary to the act. In the case of *Romulus*, one *Julius Proculus*, a man said to be of a worthy and upright character, took a solemn oath, “ that *Romulus* himself appeared to him, and ordered him to inform the Senate, of his being called up to the assembly of the Gods, under the name of *Quirinus* [g];” and in *the Deifications of the Cæsars*, a testimony upon Oath, of an *Eagle’s flying out of the funeral pile, towards heaven*, which was supposed to convey the soul of the deceased, was *the established proof of their Divinity* [b]. Now as these *pagan Deifications* are the onely patterns in history, for *the Popish Canonizations*; so the invention of miracles is the single art, in which *modern Rome* is allowed to excell *the ancient*.

In the *Jesuit’s College at St. Omer’s*, the Father, who shewed us the House, happening to produce some *relique*, or memorial of *St. Thomas*, which he treated with much reverence, one of our company asked me, what *Thomas* he meant? upon which I unwarily said, “ it is *Thomas Becket*, who is worshipped as a great Saint, “ on this side of the water:” *yes, Sir*, replied the *Jesuit*, with a severe look, *if there is any faith in history, he deserves to be esteemed a Great*

[g] Vid. Plutar. in vit. Romuli. Dionys. Halicar. l. ii. p. 124.

[b] Dio. Cass. p. 598, 842.

Saint. But I may venture to affirm in *England*, what I did not care to dispute in a *College of Jesuits*, that this celebrated *Thomas* had more of *the rebel*, than of *the Saint* in him; was a *Prelate* of a most daring, turbulent, seditious spirit; inflexibly obstinate, insatiably ambitious, intolerably insolent; whose violence *the Pope* himself endeavoured in vain to moderate; as it appears from such monuments, as *the Papists* themselves must allow to be authentic, a collection of *Becket's own Letters*, preserved still in *the Vatican*, and printed some years ago in *Brussels* [i].

From these Letters, I say, it appears, that not onely the King, and the whole body of his Barons, but even *the Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy*, openly condemned his behaviour as highly rash

[i] Prudentiam tuam monemus, consulimus & omnimodis exhortamur, ut — prænominato Regi in omnibus, & per omnia, salva honestate Ecclesiastici ordinis, deferre fatigas, & ejus tibi gratiam, & amorem incessanter recuperare intendas, &c.

Alexander Papa Thomæ Cántuariensi Archi-episcopo scripta Ann. 1164.

Discretionem tuam rogamus, monemus, consulimus, & suademus, ut in omnibus tuis & Ecclesiæ agendis te cautum, providum, & circumspectum exhibeas, & nihil pro-
pere vel præcipitanter, sed mature & graviter facias, ad gratiam & benevolentiam illustri Regis Anglorum recuperandam, quantum, salva libertate Ecclesiæ & honestate officii, poterit, enitaris modis omnibus & labores.

Vid. Epist. & Vit. Div. Thomæ. 2 Vol. 4to. Bruxellis. 1682. l. i. Ep. 4, 43. — it. vid. l. ii. 1, 94, &c.

and criminal; they charged him with being the sole “ disturber of the peace of the kingdom [k]; “ that while he was making all that stir about “ the liberties of the Church, he himself was “ the chief infringer of them; that he was not “ ashamed to publish the most notorious lies in “ favor of his own cause; that he refused to “ restore to the King forty thousand marks, “ which had been committed to him in “ trust [l]; that he was guilty of the most “ detestable ingratitude to the King, whom he “ treated worse than a Heathen or Publican, “ though he had been raised by him from the

[k] Ad eundem diem ex præcepto Regio, Archi-episcopi, Episcopi, & cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati convocantur.—Constituta die Catholici Principis conspectui se præsentat Regni Turbator & Ecclesiæ. Qui de suorum meritorum qualitate non securus Dominicæ Crucis armat se vexillo, tanquam ad Tyranni præsentiam accessurus. Vid. ibid. l. i. Ep. 29.

Alexandro Papæ & omnibus Cardinalibus Inimici Thomæ.

[l] Totis enim studiis Dominus Cantuariensis desudat, ut Dominum nostrum Regem anathemate, Regnumque ejus interdicti pœnæ constringat. Potestatem, quam in ædificationem non in destructionem Ecclesiæ suscepisse oportuerat, sic exercet in subditos, ut omnes in Regis odium, & totius Regni Nobilium tentet inducere, & eorum substantiis direptionem, cervicibus gladium, aut corporibus exilium intente studeat procurare.—Libertatem prædicat Ecclesiæ, quam se Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ viribus intrudendo sibi constat ademisse.—Notoria, quæ nec notâ, nec veritate subnixa sunt, asserat: & in hunc modum plurima, qua potest potestate, confundat. Ad hæc, quadraginta marcarum millia, vel amplius, ut sui asserunt, bonæ suæ fidei commissa, Domino nostro Regi solvere, vel, quod justum est, exhibere detrectat. Et Regi suo negat & Domino, quod nec Ethnicæ denegare debuerat aut Publicano, &c. ibid. l. ii. Ep. 33.

Alexandro Papæ Episcopi & Clerus Angliæ:

“ lowest

“ lowest condition, to the highest favor, and
 “ entrusted by him with the command of all
 “ his dominions, and made his Chancellor,
 “ and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, contrary to
 “ the advice of his Mother, the Empress, and
 “ the remonstrances of the Nobility; and to
 “ the great grief and mortification of the whole
 “ Clergy [m]:” all which *the Bishops and Clergy*
of the Realm expressly affirm in their common
 Letters, not onely to *the Pope*, but to *Becket*
himself; accusing him likewise of “ traitorous
 “ practices, and of using all endeavours to excite
 “ the King of *France*, and the Court of *Flan-*
 “ *ders*, to enter into a war against his King and
 “ Country [n].” When he was cited by the
 King, to answer for his male administration,
 before the Bishops and Barons of the Realm, he
 absolutely refused to appear; declaring himself

[m] Infedit alte cunctorum mentibus, quam benignus
 vobis Dominus Rex noster extiterit, in quam vos gloriam
 ab exili provexerit, & in familiarem gratiam tam lata vos
 mentè susceperit, ut—& dissuadente Matre sua, Regno re-
 clamante, Ecclesiá Dei, quoad licuit, suspirante & inge-
 miscente, vos in eam, qua præstis, dignitatem, modis om-
 nibus studuit sublimare, &c. *ibid.* l. i. Ep. 126.

Thomæ Cantuariensî Archi-episcopo Clerus Angliæ.

[n] Asserebat Rex & suorum pars melior, quod idem
 Archi-episcopus serenissimum Regem Francorum in eum
 graviter incitaverat, & Comitem Flandrensem consanguini-
 neum suum, qui nullum prius gerebat rancorem, ad ipsum
 subito diffidendum, & guerram pro posse faciendam indux-
 erat, sicut sibi pro certo constabat & evidentibus patebat in-
 diciis. *ib.* l. ii. 28. Alexandro Papæ Willielmus & Otto Car-
 dinales.

“ responsible to none but God; and that as
 “ much as the soul was superior to the body,
 “ so much were all people obliged to obey him
 “ rather than the King, in all things relating
 “ to God and his Church; who had established
 “ Bishops to be the Judges and Fathers of
 “ Kings themselves; and as neither law nor
 “ reason allowed children to judge their parents,
 “ so he renounced the judgment of the King
 “ and the Barons, and all other persons what-
 “ soever, and acknowledged no Judge, but
 “ God and his sovereign Vicar on earth, the
 “ Pope [o].” Yet this man is now adored, as
 one of the principal Saints and Martyrs of the
Romish Church; whose character I have chosen
 to insist upon the more particularly, as it will
 teach us by an illustrious example, from our
 own history, what kind of merit it is, that has
 exalted so many others in the same Church, to
 the same honors.

Let our *Catholic* tell us also, if he pleases,
 what opinion his Church entertains of *Garnet*
the Jesuit, who was privy to the *Gunpowder plot*,
 and hanged for his treason: if he dares to speak
 his mind, he will declare him to be a *Saint and*
Martyr of Christ; for such he is held to be at
Rome and St. Omer's: yet all Protestants will
 rank him, I dare say, among those Saints,
 whom I justly call *the disturbers of Kingdoms*;

[o] La vie de Saint Thom. Archevesque de Canterb.
 P. 129;

and who merited the honor of their *Sainthood*, not by spreading the light of the Gospel, but scattering Firebrands and destruction through the world.

Our Author cannot comprehend, why I should bring in the *adoration of the Host* among the other articles of my charge; since, by my own confession, I find no resemblance of it in any part of the *pagan* worship [p]: but I have given a good reason for my not finding it there, which might have taught him also, why I brought it in; because it was too absurd for the Practice even of *the Heathens*, who thought, that none could ever be so mad, as to make it a point of religion, *to eat their God*, This I shewed from the authority of *Tully*; whom I prefer therefore, he says, *to the Apostles and Evangelists*: as if those sacred writers had expressly declared *the sacramental bread, to be God*; which all Protestants deny, in that gross and ridiculous sense, in which *the Papists* interpret them. But as it is not my present purpose to examine the real merit of *Transubstantiation*, so I shall take notice onely of one argument that he alledges for it, which, if it has any force, must be allowed indeed to be conclusive; that “ the unerring authority of the Church has declared it to be true, and enjoined the belief of it;” and after such a decision, “ that it

[p] See Pref. p. 15.

“ is the part of an Infidel, rather than a Christian, to ask, how can this be ? [q]”

This is the last resort of *Popery* ; the summ of all their reasoning ; to resolve all religion into an *implicit faith*, and a slavish obedience to the authority of the Church ; which by *innumerable texts of Scripture*, says our Author, is declared to be the indispensable duty of every Christian [r]. We may spare ourselves then the pains of thinking and inquiring ; drop the perilous task of studying the Scriptures ; *the Church*, like an indulgent mother, takes all that trouble upon herself ; warrants her doctrines to be divine ; and ensures our salvation, on the single condition of taking her word for it. But all Protestants must see the horrible effects of such a principle ; an *Inquisition* ready to satisfy all their doubts ; a prison and tortures prepared for those, who dare to ask their priests, what *Nicodemus* asked our Saviour, *How can these things be ?* Thus our *Catholic*, in mentioning the case of a Protestant, converted to their faith, who may happen to be possessed still with some scruples declares, “ that he has nothing to fear in conforming himself to the authority of the Church, but very much, in making any scruple to hear and obey his spiritual Guides [s].”

In this doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, we see a remarkable instance of the prolific nature of

[q] See Catholic Christian, p. 32, 47, 52, 57.

[r] Ibid. p. 47.

[s] Ib. p. 65, 66.

error; and how one absurdity naturally begets another: for the first consequence of it was, to render one half of the sacramental institution superfluous, by denying the cup to the Laity; though our Saviour expressly commanded *all his disciples to drink of it*, and declared, *that without drinking, they could have no Life in them* [1]. Yet grant them their *Transubstantiation*, and the conclusion is natural, as our *Catholic* has deduced it; “for whosoever, says he, receives the body of Christ, most certainly receives his blood at the same time, since the body, which he receives, is a living body, and cannot be without Blood. There is no taking Christ by pieces; whoever receives him, receives him whole; and since he is as truly and really present in one kind, as in both, he brings with him consequently the same grace, when received in one kind, as when received in both [2].” But if they were disposed to use their reason on this occasion, a conclusion, so contradictory to the express institution of the Gospel, would convince them of the falsehood of those principles, by which they were led into it; and oblige them to distrust their premises, which have always been disputed, rather than reject a clear precept of *Christ*, on which there never was, or can be any reasonable dispute.

[1] Matt. xxvi. 27. John vi. 53. 1 Cor. xi. 23.

[2] Cathol. Christian, p. 64, 65.

As to my 6th and 7th instances of their *Paganism*, since our *Catholic* has offered nothing upon them worth the pains of considering, I shall refer the reader to my *Letter*, without troubling him with any thing farther about them, and proceed to the more important article of their *miracles*.

Here he begins to grow warm again, and declares, “ that I am always offended with miracles, wherever I meet with them ; and is sorry, that I do not speak out in favor of my friends the Freethinkers, and shew the *Jewish* and *Christian* miracles to be no better, than those of the *Pagans* [x].” This is the constant refuge of baffled zealots, to throw the odium of *infidelity and free thinking* on those, who dare to expose their impostures. But he hoped perhaps to find some even of our own Church ready to join with him in the cry ; since he appears to be no stranger to the offence, which the freedom of *this very Letter* had given to certain men, who are too apt to consider their own opinions, as the standard of Christian faith ; and to treat even the defenders of our religion as desertors, if they do not submit to act under their direction, and defend it by their principles. These men imagined, that I had attacked the *popish miracles* with a gaiety, that seemed to condemn all miracles, and particularly those of our

[x] Pref. p. 4, 17.

Saviour; by invalidating the force of *those rules*, which Mr. *Leslie* had established, as *the criterion of true miracles*: whereas the truth of the matter is, as I have often declared it to my friends, that at the time of writing *the Letter*, I had never read Mr. *Leslie's* treatise, nor so much as knew, *what his rules were*.

My onely view was, to expose the forgery of *the popish miracles* in the strongest manner that I was able; and in spite of all the evidence, which they pretend to produce for them, to shew, that they stood upon no better ground, than those of their *Pagan Ancestors*. I had observed, not onely from books, but from experience, what these Cavillers perhaps were not so well apprized of, that *the pretence of miracles* was the grand support of the *Romish Church*, and what gave a sanction to all their other frauds; that their constant appeal to a divine power, exerting itself miraculously amongst them, gave them not onely their chief advantage against Protestants, but furnished *the Deists* also with the most obvious arguments against revelation itself: for “these pious cheats, as Mr. *Leslie* says, are the forest disgraces of Christianity; which have bid the fairest of any one contrivance, to overturn the certainty of the miracles of Christ, and the whole truth of the Gospel, by putting them all on the same foot [y].” To destroy the authority

[y] See *Leslie's* Short method with the Deists, p. 24. Vol. 1. of his Works.

therefore of these cheats, was to sap the foundations of *Popery*, and overturn the main pillar, on which it's power subsists : which was the real motive of my dwelling *longer on this*, than on any other article, as our Catholic observes [z], as well as of treating it with that freedom which alarmed even some of our Protestants.

That my sentiments therefore on this head may neither be mistaken, nor suspected ; and that I may give satisfaction, as far as I am able, to all, whom, by any freedom of expression, I may possibly have offended, either in this, or in any other of my writings, I take this occasion to declare ; that I look upon *miracles*, when accompanied with all the circumstances proper to persuade us of the reality of the facts, said to be performed, and of the dignity of the end, for which they were performed, to be the most decisive proofs, that can be given, of the truth and divinity of any religion. This was evidently the case of *the Jewish* and of *the Christian miracles* ; wrought in such a manner, as could leave no doubt upon the senses of those, who were the witnesses of them ; and for the noblest end, for which the Deity can be conceived to interpose himself ; the universal good and salvation of man. For *the Jewish* and *Christian dispensations* are but different parts of one and the same Scheme ; mutually illustrating and confirming each other's authority : And

[z] Preface, p. 4.

from this view of them, in which they should always be considered, as necessarily connected, and dependent on each other, we see the weakness of that objection, commonly made to *the Mosaic* part, on the account of it's being calculated for the use onely of a peculiar people; whereas in truth, it was the beginning, or first opening of an universal System; which, from the time of *Moses*, was gradually manifested to the world by the successive missions of *the Prophets*, till *that fullness of time or coming of the Messiah*, when *life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel*, or the chief good and happiness of man perfectly revealed to him.

That *Miracles* have ever been thought the most authentic proofs of a divine mission, seems to be declared by the sense of all nations: Since there never was a religion pretending to be divine, which did not support that pretension by an appeal to them: Yet the innumerable forgeries of this sort, which have been imposed upon mankind in all ages, are so far from weakening the credibility of *the Jewish and Christian miracles*, that they strengthen it. For how could we account for a practice so universal, of forging miracles for the support of false religions, if on some occasions they had not actually been wrought, for the confirmation of a true one? Or how is it possible, that so many spurious copies should pass upon the world, without some genuin original, from which they
were

were drawn; whose known existence and tried success might give an appearance of probability to the counterfeit? Now of all the miracles of antiquity, there are none that can pretend to the character of originals, but those of *the Old and New Testament*; which though the oldest by far, of all others, of which any monuments now remain in the world, have yet maintained their credit to this day, through the perpetual opposition and scrutiny of ages; whilst all the rival productions of fraud and craft have long ago been successively exploded, and sunk into utter contempt. An event, that cannot reasonably be ascribed to any other cause, but to the natural force and effect of truth, which, though defaced for a time by the wit, or depressed by the power of man, is sure still to triumph in the end, over all the false mimicry of art, and the vain efforts of human policy.

As to Mr. *Leslie's* rules, of distinguishing the true from false miracles, I have lately perused and considered them; and whatever force they may be supposed to have, I would not advise an Apologist for Christianity to trust his cause to that single issue. Mr. *Leslie* himself does not do it; but suggests several other arguments for the divinity of our religion, so strong and conclusive, that *even miracles themselves*, as he declares, *would not be sufficient to over-rule them* — [a]. His marks however are so far certainly good,

[a] See *Leslie*, *ib.* p. 21.

that no pretence of miracles can deserve any attention without them; yet it does not necessarily follow, that all the miracles, in which they may be found, ought to be received as true; since as far as I have been able to observe, within the compass of my reading, several might be produced both from *Popery* and *Paganism*, which seem to possess them all, and are yet unquestionably false.

I have charged the Popish Church in my *Letter* with many instances of *forged miracles*, to which this Author does not think fit to make any particular reply, but contents himself with a general answer, which must needs be thought curious: for he observes, *that whether the miracles, which I have pitched upon, be true or false, there is nothing at least heathenish in them; and consequently nothing that shews the conformity, which I pretend to demonstrate, between Popery and Paganism* [b]. Which is in effect to say, that allowing them to be forged, yet they were not forged by *Pagan*, but by *Christian Priests*; not for the purposes of *Pagan*, but of *Christian superstition*, so that I cannot with any propriety call them *heathenish*.—But are they not all copied from the patterns of *Paganism*? Are they not applied to the same purposes of fraud and delusion; to keep their people in a slavish subjection to an *Idolatrous worship*; and to acquire wealth and power to the priesthood? This cer-

[b] Pref. p. 18.

tainly is downright *Paganism*, and the most detestable part of it.

He proceeds however to assert with his usual gravity, “ that God has been pleased in every
 “ age, to work most evident miracles in their
 “ Church, by the ministry of his Saints; in
 “ raising the dead to life; in curing the blind
 “ and the lame; in casting out Devils; in heal-
 “ ing inveterate diseases in a moment, attested
 “ by the most authentic monuments; which
 “ will be a standing evidence to all nations,
 “ that the Church, in which they are wrought,
 “ is not that Idolatrous Pagan Church, which
 “ I pretend it to be, but the true Spouse of
 “ Christ — [c].” This is the constant voice of
 all *the Romish Apologists*; that *the Catholicism*
of their Church is demonstrated by the notoriety of
their miracles [d]. But since the end of all mira-
 cles is to convert unbelievers; if their miracles
 be really wrought by the power of *Christ*, why
 are they not wrought, like *the miracles of Christ*,
 in open day-light; in the midst of unbelieving
 nations; not for the acquisition of gain or
 power to particular persons, but for the bene-
 volent ends of conferring some general good, by
 reforming men’s lives, enlightening their un-
 derstandings, and promoting truth and peace
 and charity amongst men? Why are none of

[c] *Ib.* 18, 19.

[d] *Nostram Ecclesiam demonstrabimus esse veram Ec-
 clesiam miraculis.* Bellarm. de *Eccles. Milit.* l. iv. c. 14.

them wrought in *protestant* countries, for whose conversion they are always alledged; but huddled over among their own bigotted votaries: prepared by an habitual credulity, to receive any imposture, that their Priests can invent [e]?

While St. *Thomas's* Shrine flourished at *Canterbury*, his Saintship was demonstrated by *perpetual miracles* [f]; in which, as the Historians

[e] *M. de Marolles* takes occasion to observe, from a fact, which happened in *Paris*, 1644, how easily people, possessed with a superstitious regard to miracles, can persuade themselves, that they see, what in truth has no existence. The story is this; a certain man, out of a mere whim, or with design perhaps to try his pistol, shot it off against a sign in the Street, on which *the Virgin Mary* was painted. The neighbourhood being alarmed, ran out to see what was the matter; and observing *the Virgin* to be pierced through with the bullet, conceived it to be done by some *Heretic*, or *Blasphemer*, in open defiance of their religion, and amazed at so daring an impiety, fancied that they saw *drops of blood* issue from the wound: of which the whole multitude was so strongly convinced, that there were thousands ready to depose, that they had seen it with their own eyes: the story became famous, and a Copper-plate of it was printed; till being ridiculed by men of sense, and found to be wholly imaginary, the Copper-plate was ordered to be suppressed, and the miracle fell gradually into contempt. But if it had not happened in a country, where the Protestants at that time were very numerous, it might have been stamped perhaps for as genuin a miracle, as many others of the same coinage, which I have taken notice of in the present work.

[f] *John of Salisbury*, who lived at the time, with a great reputation of learning and integrity, and wrote *Becket's life*, whose friend and disciple he was, speaking of the place and

rians of those times tell us, he far outdid not only all other Saints, but even *our Saviour* himself. There were two volumes of them preserved in the Church of *Canturbury*; and another book in *France*, in which there was an account of *two hundred and seventy*. *Peter of Blois*, a celebrated writer of that age, after drawing a parallel between *Thomas the Apostle*, and *Thomas*

manner of his burial, says, “ Where to the glory of God
 “ many and great miracles are now wrought by him, the
 “ people flocking thither in crouds, that they may see in o-
 “ thers, and feel also in themselves the power and mercy of
 “ him, who is ever wonderfull and glorious in his Saints.
 “ For in the place, on which he suffered, and where his body
 “ likewise was deposited that night before the great Altar;
 “ and also where he was at last buried, the paralytic are
 “ healed; the blind see; the deaf hear; the dumb speak;
 “ the lame walk; the Devils are cast out; all who are sick
 “ of fevers, or other diseases, are cured; and what was
 “ never heard of in the days of our fathers, the dead are
 “ raised. See Vit. S. Thomæ Epistolis præfix. Vol. i. 142.”

Pope Alexander, the third of that name, in a Letter to the Church of *Canterbury* upon the subject of *Thomas's Canonization*, about four years after his death, says,—The whole body of the faithfull must necessarily rejoice to hear of the wonderfull works of the holy and reverend man *Thomas*, your late Archbishop: But you must needs be filled with a more exalted joy, who behold his miracles with your own eyes, and whose Church has the peculiar honor of possessing his most sacred remains. We on our part having considered the glory of his merits, by which his life was made so illustrious, and having received full and certain information of his miracles, not onely from common fame, but from the testimony of our beloved Sons, *Albertus*, and *Theoduinus*, Cardinal Priests, and Apostolic Legats, and of a great number of other persons, have solemnly canonized the aforesaid Archbishop, &c. *Ib.* p. 170.

the Martyr, says, “ I do not pretend to com-
 “ pare a Martyr with an *Apostle*; for an *Apostle*
 “ is greater; but it is glorious for us to have a
 “ *Martyr*, who bears the name of an *Apostle*,
 “ and who equals or surpasses him in his mira-
 “ cles. That great *Apostle* cannot take it amiss
 “ that the Holy Spirit should enable others to
 “ work greater wonders, and in greater num-
 “ ber than him: Since the Lord both of the
 “ *Apostles and Martyrs* is content to be outdone
 “ by them himself in this particular: *Ye shall*
 “ *do*, says he, *not onely these works, that I do;*
 “ *but greater works than these shall ye do* [g].”
 Which prediction, as they declare, was literally
 fulfilled by St. *Thomas*: “ Whose blood being
 “ collected with care immediately after his
 “ death, not onely cured all distempers, but
 “ raised even great numbers of the dead to life:
 “ And when the quantity was found insufficient
 “ for the demand, that was made of it, they
 “ were forced to supply it with water; the least
 “ drop of which, when tinged with the Martyr’s
 “ blood, and administered to the sick, or infus-
 “ ed into the mouths of the dead, had all the
 “ same effects; so that it was sent abroad into
 “ all parts of the Christian world, as an infal-
 “ lible cure for all kinds of diseases [b].”

[g] John xiv. 12.

[b] La vie de St. Thomas, p. 442. 4to. it. Vita Italicè,
 p. 430. &c. Pet. Blefens. Epist. 17, & 46. Baron Ann. 1173.
 N^o. vii. Speculum Sanctor. ap. Labbè Biblioth. Nov. &c.

The fame of these miracles drew Kings and Princes from abroad; and infinite crouds at home, with dayly offerings to his Shrine: but this harvest was no sooner over, than the power of the Saint fell with the gain of the Priest; and all his miracles ceased, when the honor of his Altar stood most in need of their support; so that, the place where he was formerly worshipped, and where such mighty wonders were once wrought, is now shewn as a monument onley of the folly and superstition of our Ancestors. But though he works no miracles in *England*, where his bones lie deposited; he works them still in foreign countries, and will continue to do so, as long as there is a Popish Church and a Priesthood, who find their interest in supporting them. For, as *Lactantius* justly observes, “among those, who seek power and gain from their religion, there will never be wanting an inclination to forge and to lie for it [i].”

They tell us indeed of *many miracles* of the greatest kind, wrought by their Missionaries in *India*: but they all rest upon no other authority, than the suspected relations of those Missionaries; and are even contradicted by some of their gravest writers. A Royal Professor of *Salamanca*, in one of his public lectures, says; “it does not appear to me, that the Christian faith has been propounded to the *Indians* in

[i] Lactan. de fals. relig. i. 4.

“ such a manner, as would reasonably induce
 “ them to receive it; for I hear of *no miracles*
 “ performed amongst them, nor of such exam-
 “ ples of the Christian life, as there ought to be;
 “ but on the contrary, of much scandal and im-
 “ piety.” Another learned *Jesuit*, who had
 spent many years among the *Indians*, in a treatise
 on the method of converting them, *says* ;
 “ What signifies all our preaching? What
 “ stress can we lay upon it? We work *no mira-*
 “ *cles* [k].” But among all the boasted mira-
 cles of these Missionaries, they have never so
 much as pretended to *the gift of tongues*; which
 is the first thing necessary to the conversion of
 barbarous nations; and without which all their
 preaching, and even miracles themselves would
 be useless: Yet St. *Xaverius* himself, *the Apo-*
stle of the Indies, and one of *their great Saints*
and workers of miracles, laments, in several of
 his letters, the insuperable difficulties, which
 he had to struggle with in his Mission, and his
 incapacity of *doing any good in those countries, for*
the want of this gift. And in *Japan* particular-
 ly, where, according to his account a plentiful
 harvest was open to him, and great numbers
 disposed to become Christians; “ God grant,
 “ *says he*, that I may soon learn their language,
 “ so as to be able to explaine things divine, and
 “ do some service at last to the Christian cause.
 “ For at present indeed, I am nothing better
 “ than a statue among them; and while they
 “ are talking and inquiring many things about

[k] Hospinian de Origin. Jesuitar. p. 230.

“ me, am quite dumb through my ignorance
 “ of their tongue: but I am now acting the boy
 “ again in learning the elements of it [1].”

Sir *Thomas Roe*, in a Letter to the *Archbishop of Canterbury* from the Court of *the great Mogul*, relates a fact very applicable to our present subject; “ That the Jesuit’s House and Church in
 “ that country happening to be burnt, the Cru-
 “ cifix remained untouched, which was given
 “ out as a miracle. The King called for the
 “ Jesuit, and questioned him about it; but he
 “ answered ambiguously: The King then
 “ asked, whether he did not desire to convert
 “ him; And being answered in the affirmative,
 “ replied; You speak of your great miracles,
 “ and of many done in the name of your Pro-
 “ phet; if you will cast the Crucifix into a fire
 “ before me, and it does not burn, I will be-
 “ come a Christian. The Jesuit refused the
 “ trial, as unjust; answering, that God was
 “ not tied to the call of man; that it was a Sin
 “ to tempt him; and that he wrought miracles
 “ according to his own will; yet he offered to
 “ cast himself into the fire, as a proof of his
 “ own faith, which the King would not allow.

[1] Itaque cum neque illi meam, neque ego illorum linguam intelligerem, &c. Xaverii Epist. l. v. Sane laboriosum est, eorum, quibuscum verferis, funditus ignorare sermonem. ib. i. 14. Faxit Deus, ut ad divinarum explicationem rerum, *Japonicam* linguam condiscamus quam primum. Tum demum aliquam Christianæ rei navabimus operam. Nam nunc quidem inter eos tanquam mutæ quædam statux versamur, &c. ib. l. iii. 5.

“ Upon

“ Upon this, there arose a great dispute, begun
 “ by the Prince ; a stiff Mahometan, and hater
 “ of Christians ; who urged, that it was rea-
 “ sonable to try our religion after this manner ;
 “ but withal, that if the Crucifix did burn, then
 “ the Jesuit should be obliged to turn Moor :
 “ He alledged examples also of miracles said to
 “ be wrought for less purposes, than the con-
 “ version of so mighty a King ; and spoke
 “ scornfully of Jesus Christ.” Yet nothing
 could move *the Jesuit*, to expose the Authority
 of his religion to the hazard of so dangerous a
 trial [m].

But as in the case of all beneficial impostures,
 the security of the managers is apt to push them
 at last to an extravagance, that betrays the
 whole cheat, so it has happened in the affair of
the Popish miracles ; which have been carried to
 such a height of impudence and absurdity, as
 renders them wholly contemptible ; while all
 their *greater Saints*, and especially *the Founders*
of the Monastic Orders, St. Francis, St. Dominic,
 &c. are preferred, not onely *to the Apostles*, but
 to *Christ* himself, for the number and impor-
 tance of their miracles ; many of which are
 authorised by *the Bulls of Popes*, condemning all
 as *Heretics*, who do not believe them [n] ;
 though they are all pretended to be wrought for

[m] See Collection of Travels published by *Churchill*,
 p. 805, 806.

[n] Vid. *Hospinian*. p. 398, 438.

no other end, but the propagation of *Enthusiasm* and *Monkery*, and the confirmation of certain doctrines and rites, which are not onely uselefs, but apparently hurtfully to mankind.

If any fuch miracles therefore were ever wrought, of which there is the greateft reason to doubt, we muft neceffarily afcribe them to *the power of the Devil*; endeavouring by fuch delufions to draw men away from the worfhip of the true God. This we are warranted to think probable, by the principles of our Religion, and the authority of the primitive Fathers? who exhort us on all fuch occafions, *to try the miracles*, by their end and tendency, and the nature of that doctrine, which is propofed to be eftablifhed by them: for though miracles carry the ftrongeft prefumption, as I have faid, of the divinity of a doctrine in whofe favour they are alledged, yet they are intended chiefly to rouse the attention of the world to the preacher or prophet, who pretends to perform them; that his commiffion may be openly examined, whether it be of God or not.

The *Jefuit Maldonatus*, in his *Comment on Matt. vii. 22.* obferves, “ That *St. Chryfoftom*, “ *Jerom*, *Euthemius*, *Theophylact*, prove by “ feveral instances, that real miracles had been “ performed by thofe, who were not Catholic “ Christians.” *St. Chryfoftom* declares, “ that “ miracles are proper only to excite fluggifh
“ and

“ and vulgar minds; that men of sense have
 “ no occasion for them; and that they fre-
 “ quently carry some untoward suspicion along
 “ with them [o].” “ We are to take notice,
 “ *says St. Jerom*, that some are said to have
 “ the gifts of the Spirit, who do not hold the
 “ truth of the Gospel, which may serve to
 “ silence those Heretics, who if they can but
 “ work a miracle, fancy presently, that they
 “ have demonstrated the truth of their
 “ faith [p].” “ If miracles, *says St. Austin*, are
 “ wrought in the Catholic Church, it’s Catho-
 “ licism is not thereby manifested, because
 “ miracles are wrought in it; but the miracles
 “ themselves are to be received, because they
 “ are wrought in a Church, that is Catholic.”
 And *Theororet* tells us, “ that we are com-
 “ manded, not to give credit to them, when
 “ the performers of them teach things contrary
 “ to true piety [q].”

If agreeably then to the injunctions of the Apostles, and Primitive Fathers, we sit down to examine the pretended miracles of *Rome*, we shall find them always the most numerous, and the most confidently attested, in proportion to the absurdity of the doctrine or practice, in

[o] Vide Chrysoft. Oper. Edit. Benediſt. T. v. 271. a. 376. b. T. viii. 296. a. 205, 455.

[p] Vid. Hieron. in Galat. iii. Oper. T. iv. p. 251. Edit. Bened.

[q] Vid. Hoſpin. de doctrina Jeſuit. p. 388.

whose favor they are alledged; as in the case of *Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the worship of Images, Reliques, Crucifixes, Indulgences, and all the tricks of Monkery*; as if miracles were of no other use, but to subvert the reason and senses of mankind, and confound all the distinctions between right and wrong: but if there be any rule of judging of their reality, or any power in man to discern truth from falsehood; we must necessarily conclude, from *the nature and end of the Popish miracles*, that whatever testimonies may be brought to support them, they were all; without exception, either *wrought by wicked spirits, or forged by wicked men.*

I have now run through every thing, that seemed worthy of any notice in my adversary's Preface; where I have the satisfaction to observe, that though he accuses me so freely of *slander and falsehood*, yet he has not denied so much as one of the numerous facts, on which I ground my charge of their *paganism*. It was upon the strength of these facts, that I first offered my Letter to the judgement of the public, and the favorable reception which it has met with, shews, that it is not thought trifling, and foreign to the purpose, as he affirms it to be; but pertinent and decisive of the question, which it professes to illustrate. It is a folly therefore to attack the credit of it, till he comes prepared to overthrow the facts, on which it is built; for while these are allowed to be firm,

the inference is undeniable, “ that Popery has
 “ borrowed it’s principal ceremonies and doc-
 “ trines from the rituals of Paganism.”

The truth of this charge is so evident to all, who know any thing of antiquity, that though a Missionary, as we may imagine, would be glad to conceal it even from Papists, and much more from Protestants, whom he is endeavouring to convert, yet all their own writers, who have any candor and learning, make no scruple to acknowledge it. *M. de Marolles* informs us, how he once surprized a great Archbishop of France, by a frank declaration of it : which he afterwards demonstrated to him at large, by a particular deduction of it through many of the same instances, on which I have insisted in my Letter [r]. The learned *Du Choul* also thus concludes his book *on the Religion of the old Romans* : “ If we consider the case at-
 “ tentively, we shall find very many institu-
 “ tions of our religion to have been borrowed
 “ from the ceremonies of the *Ægyptians* and
 “ the *Gentiles*—all which our Priests now make
 “ use of in our mysteries, by referring to the
 “ onely true God, *Jesus Christ*, what the igno-

[r] Un jour que j’étois auprès de Monf. de la Feuillade, Archevesque d’Embrun — l’occasion s’étant offerte de luy dite, que beaucoup de ceremonies du Paganisme avoient été sanctifiées par la pietè de nostre Religion, ce qui ne s’estoit point fait sans mystere ; je m’apperceus, qu’il s’en etonna un peu : Sur quoy je luy demandai audience, &c. *Memoires de Marolles*, par. ii. p. 209.

“ rance

“ rance, false religion, and senseless supersti-
 “ tion of the *Pagans* had applied to their
 “ Gods, and to mortal men after their conse-
 “ cration [s].”

Our *Catholic* however concludes his work in a very different stile: and in a kind of triumph for an imagined victory, undertakes by my own way of reasoning, to demonstrate *the same Conformity between the English and Roman Church*, which I have attempted to shew between *Popery and Paganism*; from the number of observances, which our Church still retains from the old Religion of Rome: in consequence of which, he says, “ if
 “ my argument be right, our Protestantcy at
 “ last will be found to be nothing better than
 “ heathenish Idolatry.” But if we recollect the definition, which I have given above, of *Popery*, the question will be reduced to a short issue; by considering onely, whether any of those particulars, which prove their religion to be *paganish*, are retained still in ours; whether we have any *incense, holy water, or lamps* in our Churches; any *votive offerings* hanging round our pillars; any *miraculous images*; any *adoration of Saints*; any *altars in the streets, the waysides, and tops of hills*; any *processions*; *miracles, or monkery amongst us*: if after all our reformation, we retain any of these, we are so far undoubtedly as criminal as they; but if none of them can be found upon us, we are clear at

[s] De religione Veter. Romanor. ad fin.

least from all that *pagan idolatry*, which glares out so manifestly from every part of *the Popish worship*.

All that he can object to us on this head, amounts to no more than this; "That there are several observances retained in our sacred Offices, which we use in common with the Church of *Rome*:" we own it: but take them all to be such, as we may retain with innocence. We profess to retain all, that is truly Christian; all, that is enjoined by the Gospel, or by just inference deducible from it. But if besides all this, they can discover any thing amongst us, that they can claim as their own: or that may properly be called *Popish*; I should willingly resign it to them; and consent to any expedient, that may remove us farther still from *Popery*, and unite us more closely with all sober Protestants. But whether any thing of this sort be remaining in our present establishment; or how far any of the instances, which he declares to have been borrowed from *Rome*, may want a review or farther reformation, as it is not the part of a private man to determine, so I shall refer it, as I ought, to the Judgement of my Superiors. But it is high time to put an end to the reader's trouble, to which I shall beg leave onely to add the following *anonymous Letter*, which has some relation to my present Subject, and was sent to me by the post, while I was employed on the life of *Cicero*.

“ S I R,

“ S I R,

“ You are desired by one of your Subscribers,
 “ instead of amusing yourself with writing *the*
 “ *life of Cicero*, to answer *the Catholic Christian*,
 “ written (as the Author declares) in answer to,
 “ and in order to shew your false reasonings in
 “ your comparision of *the Popish and Pagan*
 “ *ceremonies of religion*—*This Catholic Christian*
 “ abuses the Protestant Religion, taxes it’s
 “ Divines with false translations and quotations
 “ out of Scripture, which he pretends, they
 “ do not understand or misapply, to make out
 “ their own *Heretical* doctrines. — Such scan-
 “ dalous reproaches brought upon yourself,
 “ and also upon the Protestant Religion by
 “ your writings, make it incumbent on you,
 “ to wipe off these stains, which by your means
 “ are contracted, before you enter upon any
 “ other subject.

“ *I am yours, &c.*”

“ P. S. It had been honest and fairer, to
 “ have answered the book, than to have com-
 “ plained *to the Bishop of London*, against the
 “ Printer, and got him put into Prison.”

I do not know, how far my unknown Cor-
 respondent will think himself obliged to me, for
 performing the task, that he prescribes, of de-
 fending my *Letter from Rome*, from the cavils
 of *the Catholic Christian*: I am in hopes how-
 ever

ever, that my pains may be of some use, as well to admonish all serious *Papists*, of the fraud and foppery of their own worship, as to deter Protestants from running over to a Church, so notoriously corrupt and *Heathenish*. — As to the charge intimated in the postscript, of *procuring the imprisonment of the Printer, instead of answering the Author*, it would have left indeed a just reproach upon me, if there had been any truth in it; but if any man has been imprisoned, or put to any trouble, on the account of that book, I declare, that I am an utter stranger to it; that I have not the honour to be known to the *Bishop of London*; and that no personal provocation whatsoever could induce me, to desire the imprisonment of any man for the sake of his religion. My aversion to *Popery* is grounded, not onely on *it's paganism and idolatry*, but on it's being calculated for the support of despotic power, and inconsistent with the genius of a free government. This I take to be it's real character; which I do not however extend to the particular professors of it; many of whom I know to be men of great probity, politeness, and humanity; who through the prejudice of education, do not either see the consequences of what they are trained to profess, or through a mistaken point of honor, think it a duty to adhere to the religion of their Ancestors. With these I can live, not only in charity, but in friendship; without the least inclination to offend them any farther, than by obstructing

obstructing all endeavours to introduce a religion amongst us, which would necessarily be ruinous to the liberty of our country. Thus much I thought myself obliged to say upon the occasion of the foregoing Letter, that while *the Papists* look upon me as an enemy, they may consider me at least as a fair one; an enemy to *the idolatrous and slavish principles of their Church*; but free from all prejudice, or enmity to their persons.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

*T*HE following reflections were the subject of several Letters written by me from Rome, to my friends in England; and as the argument of them was much upon my thoughts, and always in my view, during my stay in Italy, so there hardly passed a day, that did not afford me fresh matter and proof for the confirmation of it, till my collections grew up to the size in which they now appear. Upon a review of them at my return, I found it necessary, for the sake of method and connection, to dispose them into one continued argument, and to collect into one view, under the form of a single Letter, what had been more slightly and separately touched in several.

Many writers, I know, have treated the same subject before me; some of which I have never seen; but those, whom I have looked into, handle it in a manner so different from what I have pursued, that I am under no apprehension of being thought a Plagiary, or to have undertaken a province already occupied. My observations are grounded on facts, of which I have been an eye witness myself, and

which others perhaps had not the opportunity of examining personally, or considering so particularly as I have done : and in my present representation of them, I have not claimed the allowed privilege of a Traveller, to be believed on my own word, but for each article charged on the Church of Rome, have generally produced such vouchers, as they themselves will allow to be authentic.

Much leisure, with an infirm state of health, was the cause of my journey to Italy ; and on such an occasion, I thought it my duty, to use the opportunity given me by Providence, towards detecting and exposing, as far as I was able, the true spring and source of those impostures, which, under the name of Religion, have been forged from time to time for no other purpose, than to oppress the liberty, and engross the property of mankind.

But whatever be my opinion of the general scheme of that religion, yet, out of justice to the particular professors of it, I think myself obliged to declare, that I found much candor, humanity, and politeness in all those, whom I had the honor to converse with ; and though my character and profession were well known at Rome, yet I received particular civilities from persons of the first distinction both in the Church and the Court.

A

L E T T E R

F R O M

R O M E.

S I R,

I AM sensible, that by this time you cannot but be desirous to have some account of the entertainment, that I have met with in *Rome*; for as you have often heard me declare a very high opinion of the pleasure, which a curious man might reasonably expect to find in it, so you will be impatient to hear, how far my expectation has been answered, and my curiosity satisfied. You have observed, without doubt, from my former letters, that the pleasure of my travels seemed to grow upon me in proportion to the progress, which I made on my journey, and to my approach towards *Rome*; and that every place, which I had seen the last, still pleased me the most. This was certainly true in my road through *Lyons, Turin, Genua,*

F 2

Florence;

Florence; but is much more remarkably so with regard to *Rome*; which, of all the places that I have yet seen, or ever shall see, is by far the most delightful: since all those very things, which had recommended any other place to me, and which I had been admiring before, single and dispersed, in the several cities through which I passed, may be seen in *Rome*, as it were in one view, and not onely in greater plenty, but in greater perfection.

I have often been thinking, that this voyage to *Italy* might properly enough be compared to the common stages and journey of life. At our setting out through *France*, the pleasures that we find, like those of our youth, are of the gay fluttering kind, which grow by degrees, as we advance towards *Italy*, more solid, manly, and rational, but attain not their full perfection till we reach *Rome*, from which point we no sooner turn homewards, than they begin again gradually to decline, and though sustained for a while in some degree of vigor, through the other stages and cities of *Italy*, yet dwindle at last into weariness and fatigue, and a desire to be at home; where the traveller finishes his course, as the old man does his days, with the usual privilege of being tiresome to his friends, by a perpetual repetition of past Adventures.

But to return to my story. *Rome* is certainly of all cities in the world the most entertaining
to

to strangers: for whether we consider it in it's ancient, or present; it's civil, or ecclesiastical state; whether we admire the great perfection of arts in the noble remains of *Old Rome*; or the revival of the same arts in the beautiful ornaments of *modern Rome*; every one, of what genius or taste soever, will be sure to find something or other, that will deserve his attention, and engage his curiosity: and even those, who have no particular taste or regard at all for things curious, but travel meerly for the sake of fashion, and to waste time, will still spend that time with more satisfaction at *Rome*, than any where else; from that easy manner, in which they find themselves accommodated with all the conveniences of life; that general civility and respect to strangers; that quiet and security, which every man of prudence is sure to find in it. But one thing is certainly peculiar to this city; that though travellers have generally been so copious in their descriptions of it, and there are published in all parts of *Europe* such voluminous collections of it's curiosities, yet it is a subject never to be exhausted: since in the infinite variety of entertainment, which it affords, every judicious observer will necessarily find something or other, that has either escaped the searches of others, or that will at least afford matter for more particular and curious remarks, than a common traveller is capable of making, or a general collector has time to reflect on. The *learned*

Montfaucon, speaking of the *Villa of Prince Borghese*, says, though it's *Antique monuments and rarities have been a hundred times described in print, that many more of them still have been overlooked and omitted, than are yet published [a]*. And if this be true of one single collection, what an idea must we have of the immense treasure of the same kind, which the whole city is able to furnish?

As for my own journey to this place, it was not, I own, any motive of devotion, which draws so many others hither, that occasioned it. My zeal was not bent on visiting the *holy thresholds of the Apostles*, or *kissing the feet of their successor*. I knew, that, their *ecclesiastical antiquities* were mostly fabulous and legendary; supported by fictions and impostures, too gross to employ the attention of a man of sense. For should we allow, that *St. Peter* had been at *Rome*, (of which many learned men however have doubted [b],) yet they had not, I knew, any *authentic monuments* remaining of him; any *visible footsteps* subsisting, to demonstrate his residence among them: and

[a] Adeo ut cum sexcenties in descriptionibus, quæ de villa Burghesiana in publicum emissæ sunt, monumenta bene multa enumerata recensitaque sint, multo plura prætermissa sint inobservata. *Diar. Ital.* c. xvi.

[b] De Petri Romam adventu, sede xxv. annorum, supremo capitis supplicio ibidem, nemo, qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere posset. *Scalig. in Joh. xviii.* 31. it. Vid. *Frid. Spanh. Miscellan. Sacræ Antiq.* I. iii. *Dissertat.* iii.

should we ask them for any evidence of this kind, they would refer us to the *impression of his face on the wall of the dungeon, in which he was confined*: or to a *fountain in the bottom of it, raised miraculously by him out of the rock, in order to baptize his fellow-prisoners* [c]: or to the *mark of our Saviour's feet in a stone, on which he appeared to him, and stopped him, as he was flying out of the city from a persecution then raging*: In memory of which, there was a *Church built on the spot, called St. Mary delle Piante, or of the marks of the feet*; which falling into decay was supplied by a chapel, at the expense of our Cardinal Pool [d]. But the *stone itself, more valuable, as their writers say* [e], *than any of the precious ones; being a perpetual monument and proof of the Christian Religion; is preserved with all due reverence in St. Sebastian's Church*; where I purchased a print of it, with several others of the same kind. Or they would appeal perhaps to the evidence of some *miracle wrought at his execution*; as they do in the case of *St. Paul in a Church called, At the three*

[c] Due gloriose memorie lasciarono di se in questa prigione i detti santi Apostoli, &c. Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. v. c. 13. Rione di Campitelli. It. Vid. Aringhi Rom. subterr. l. ii. c. 1. It. Montfauc. Diar. Ital. c. xiii. p. 174.

Unda deest: Petri virga Tarpeia Rupes
Percussa, e Petris larga fluenta dedit, &c.

[d] Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. Rione di Ripa 21.

[e] Vid. Aring. ibid. l. iii. c. 21. Lapis vero ille dignissimus & omni pretioso lapidi antefendus, in D. Sebastiani ecclesiam translatus, ibidem, quo par est religionis cultu, in perenne Religionis Christianæ monumentum asservatur. Ibid

Fountains; the place where he was beheaded: on which occasion, it seems, “ Instead of blood
 “ there issued only milk from his veins; and
 “ his head, when separated from the body,
 “ having made three jumps upon the ground,
 “ raised at each place a spring of living water,
 “ which retains still, as they would persuade us,
 “ the plain taste of milk;” of all which facts we have an account in *Baronius*, *Mabillon*, and all their *gravest authors* [f]; and may see printed figures of them in the description of *modern Rome* [g].

It was no part of my design, to spend my time abroad, in attending to the ridiculous fictions of this kind: the chief pleasure, which I proposed to myself, was to visit the genuine remains, and *venerable reliques of Pagan Rome*; the *authentic monuments of antiquity*, that demonstrate the certainty of those histories, which are the entertainment, as well as the instruction of our younger years; and which, by the early prejudice of being the first knowledge that we acquire, as well as the delight, which they give, in describing the lives and manners of

[f] Cum sacrum caput obtruncaretur, non tam fluenta sanguinis, quam candidissimi lactis rivuli, &c.

It. In ipso autem Martyrii loco tres adhuc perexigui jugiter fontes, &c. horum primus cæteris dulcior saporem lactis præ se fert, &c. Aring. l. iii. c. 2. It. vid. Baronii Annal. A. D. 69. It. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 142.

[g] Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. c. 17. Rione di Ripa.

the greatest men, who ever lived, gain sometimes so much upon our riper age, as to exclude too often other more useful and necessary studies. I could not help flattering myself with the joy, that I should have, in viewing the *very place* and *scene* of those important events, the knowledge and explication of which have ever since been the chief employment of the learned and polite world; in *treading that ground*, where at every step we stumble on the ruins of *some fabric* described by the *Antients*; and cannot help setting a foot on the *memorial* of some *celebrated action*, in which the *great heroes of antiquity* had been personally engaged. I amused myself with the thoughts of taking a turn in those very walks, where *Cicero* and his friends had held *their philosophical disputations*, or of standing on that very spot, where he had delivered some of his *famous orations*.

Such fancies as these, with which I often entertained myself on my road to *Rome*, are not, I dare say, peculiar to myself, but common to all men of reading and education; whose dreams upon a *voyage to Italy*, like the descriptions of the *Elysian fields*, represent nothing to their fancies, but the pleasure of finding out and conversing with *those ancient Sages and Heroes*, whose characters they have most admired. Nor indeed is this imagination much disappointed in the event; for, as *Cicero* ob-

serves

serves, “ [b] Whether it be from nature, or
 “ some weakness in us, it is certain, that we
 “ are much more affected with the sight of
 “ those places, where great and famous men
 “ have spent most part of their lives, than ei-
 “ ther to hear of their actions, or read their
 “ works:” and he was not, as he tells us,
 “ so much pleased with *Athens* itself, for it’s
 “ stately buildings or exquisite pieces of art, as
 “ in recollecting the great men whom it had
 “ bred; in carefully visiting their sepulchers;
 “ and finding out the place where each had
 “ lived, or walked, or held his disputations [i].”
 This is what every man of curiosity will, in the
 like circumstances, find true in himself; and
 for my own part, as oft as I have been ramb-
 ling about in the very *rostra of old Rome*, or in
 that *temple of Concord*, where *Tully* assembled
 the Senate in *Catiline’s* conspiracy [k]; I could
 not help fancying myself much more sensible of
 the force of his eloquence; whilst the impres-
 sion of the place served to warm my imagina-

[b] Natura. de nobis hoc, inquit, datum dicam, an er-
 rore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus Memo-
 ria dignos viros acceperimus multos esse versatos, magis
 moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audia-
 mus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus. Cic. de Fin. v.

[i] Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operi-
 bus magnificis exquisitisque antiquorum Artibus delectant,
 quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habi-
 tare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare sit solitus; studioseque eorum
 etiam sepulchra contemplor. De Legib. ii. 2.

[k] Vid. Orat. in Catilin. 3, 4. It. Phil. ii. 4.

tion to a degree almost equal to that of his *old audience*.

As therefore my general studies had furnished me with a competent knowledge of *Roman History*, as well as an inclination, to search more particularly into some branches of it's antiquities, so I had resolved to employ myself chiefly in inquiries of this sort ; and to lose as little time as possible, in taking notice of the fopperies and ridiculous ceremonies of the *present Religion* of the place. But I soon found myself mistaken ; for the whole form and outward dress of their worship seemed so grossly *idolatrous and extravagant*, beyond what I had imagined, and made so strong an impression on me, that I could not help considering it with a particular regard ; especially when the very reason, which I thought would have hindred me from taking any notice of it at all, was the chief cause, that engaged me to pay so much attention to it : for nothing, I found, concurred so much with my original intention of conversing with the ancients ; or so much helped my imagination, to fancy myself wandering about in *old Heathen Rome*, as to observe and attend to their *religious worship* ; all whose ceremonies appeared plainly to have been copied from the *rituals of primitive Paganism* ; as if handed down by an uninterrupted succession from the *priests of old*, to the *priests of new Rome* ; whilst each of them readily explained and called to my mind some passage of a *classic author*,

author, where the *same ceremony* was described, as transacted in the *same form and manner*, and in the *same place*, where I now saw it executed before my eyes: so that as oft as I was present at any religious exercise in *their Churches*, it was more natural, to fancy myself looking on at some *solemn act of idolatry in old Rome*, than assisting at a worship, instituted on the principles, and formed upon the plan of Christianity.

Many of our Divines have, I know, with much learning and solid reasoning charged, and effectually proved the *crime of idolatry on the Church of Rome*: but these controversies (in which there is still something plausible to be said on the other side, and where the charge is constantly denied, and with much subtilty evaded) are not capable of giving that conviction, which I immediately received from my senses; the surest witnesses of fact in all cases; and which no man can fail to be furnished with, who sees *Popery*, as it is exercised in *Italy*, in the full pomp and display of its pageantry; and practising all its arts and powers without caution or reserve. This *similitude of the Popish and Pagan Religion*, seemed so evident and clear, and struck my imagination so forcibly, that I soon resolved to give myself the trouble of searching to the bottom; and to explain and demonstrate the certainty of it, by comparing together the principal and most obvious parts of each worship, which, as it was my first employment after I came to *Rome*, shall be the subject of my first Letter.

Letter. Reserving therefore to my next, the account, that I design to give you of the *antiquities* and other *curiosities* of the place, I shall find matter enough for this time, to tire both you and myself, in shewing the *source and origin* of the *Popish Ceremonies*, and the exact *conformity* of them with those of their *Pagan ancestors*.

The very first thing that a stranger must necessarily take notice of, as soon as he enters their *Churches*, is the use of *incense* or *perfumes* in their *religious offices*: the first step, which he takes within the door, will be sure to make him sensible of it, by the offence, that he will immediately receive from the smell, as well as smোক of this *incense*; with which the whole Church continues filled for some time after every solemn service. A custom, received directly from *Paganism*; and which presently called to my mind the old descriptions of the *Heatben temples and altars*, which are seldom or never mentioned by the *ancients* without the epithet of *perfumed* or *incensed* [1].

In some of their *principal Churches*, where you have before you, in one view, a *great num-*

[1] — Τέμενος βωμός τε θύεις. Hom. Il. ψ. 143.

— *Thuricremis cum dona imponeret Aris.*

Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 453.

Theocrit. Id. ζ. 123. Hom. Il. θ. 43. Virg. Æn. iv. ver.

486.

Sæpe Jovem vidi, cum jam sua mittere vellet,

Fulgmina, thure dato sustinuisse manum.

Ovid.

ber

ber of altars, and all of them smoaking at once with *steams of incense*, how natural is it to imagine one's self transported into the *temple of some Heathen deity*, or that of the *Paphian Venus* described by *Virgil*?

— Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo
Thure calent aræ, fertisque recentibus halant.

Æn. i. 420.

Her hundred altars there with garlands crown'd,
And richest incense smoaking, breath around
Sweet odors, &c.

Under the *Pagan Emperors*, the use of *incense* for any purpose of religion was thought so contrary to the obligations of *Christianity*, that, in their persecutions, the very method of *trying and convicting a Christian*, was by requiring him *onely*, to throw the least grain of it into the censer, or on the altar [m].

Under the *Christian Emperors*, on the other hand, it was looked upon as a *rite* so peculiarly

[m] Maximus dixit: Thure tantum Deos, Nicander, honorato. Nicander dixit: Quomodo potest homo Christianus lapides & ligna colere, Deo relicto immortalis? &c. Vid. Act. Martyr. Nicandri, &c. apud Mabill. Iter. Ital. t. i. Par. ii. p. 247.

Adeo ut Christianos verè sacrificare crederent, ubi summis digitis paululum thuris injecissent acerram, &c. Vide Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 9.

Non est in eo tantum servitus Idoli, siquis duobus digitulis thura in bustum aræ jaciatur. Hieron. Oper. t. iv. Epist. ad Heliod. p. 8.

heathenish

beatbeniſh, that [n] the very *places or houſes*, where it could be proved to have been done, were by a *law of Theodoſius conſiſcated to the government*.

In the *old bas-reliefs*, or *pieces of ſculpture*, where any *Heathen ſacrifice* is repreſented, we never fail to obſerve a *boy in ſacred habit*, which was always white, attending on *the prieſt*, with a little *cheſt or box* in his hands, in which this *incenſe* was kept for the *uſe of the altar* [o]. And in the ſame manner ſtill in the *Church of Rome*, there is always a *boy in ſurplice*, waiting on the *prieſt* at the *altar* with the ſacred utenſils, and, among the reſt, the *Thuribulum* or *vessel of incenſe*, which the *prieſt*, with many ridiculous motions and croſſings, waves ſeveral times, as it is ſmoking, around, and over the altar in different parts of the ſervice.

The next thing, that will of courſe ſtrike one's imagination, is their uſe of *holy water*: for nobody ever goes in or out of a *church*, but is either *ſprinkled by the prieſt*, who attends for that purpoſe on ſolemn days, or elſe ſerves himſelf with it from a *vessel*, uſually of marble,

[n] Namque omnia loca, quæ Thuris conſtiterit vapore fumâſſe, ſi tamen ea fuiſſe in jure thurificantium probabitur, ſiſco noſtro adſocianda cenſemus, &c. Jac. Gothof. de Stat. Paganor. ſub Chriſtian. Imper. leg. xii. p. 15.

[o] Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. tom. ii. Plate 23, 24, 25.

Da mihi Thura, puer, pingues facientia flammæ.

Ovid. Trift. v. 5.

placed

placed just at the door, not unlike to one of our *baptismal fonts*. Now *this ceremony* is so notoriously and directly transmitted to them from *Paganism*, that their *own writers* make not the least scruple to own it. The *Jesuit la Cerda*, in his notes on a passage of *Virgil*, where this practice is mentioned, says, *Hence was derived the custom of holy Church, to provide purifying or holy water at the entrance of their Churches* [p]. *Aquaminiarium* or *Amula*, says the learned *Montfaucon*, was a *vase of holy water*, placed by the *Heathens* at the entrance of their *Temples*, to *sprinkle themselves with* [q]. The same vessel was by the *Greeks* called *Περίρραντήριον*; two of which, the one of *gold*, the other of *silver*, were given by *Cræsus* to the *Temple of Apollo at Delphi* [r]: and the custom of *sprinkling themselves* was so necessary a part of all their religious offices, that the method of *excommunication* seems to have been by prohibiting to offenders the approach and use of the *holy-water pot* [s]. The very composition of this *holy-water* was the same also among the *Heathens*, as it is now among the *Papists*, being nothing more than a *mixture of*

[p] *Spargens rore levi*, &c. *Virg. Æn. vi. 230. vid. Not.*

[q] *Vid. Montfaucon. Antiquit. t. ii. P. i. l. iii. c. 6.*

καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις

*Αφουδρανάμενοι σείχσειε ναός.

Eurip. Ione, v. 96.

[r] *Herodot. l. i. 51. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.*

[s] *Vid. Æschin. Orat. contra Ctesiphon. 58.*

fall with common water [t] : and the form of the *sprinkling-brush*, called by the ancients *asperorium* or *aspergillum* (which is much the same with what the *priests* now make use of) may be seen in *bas-reliefs*, or *ancient coins*, wherever the *insignia*, or *emblems of the Pagan priesthood* are described, of which it is generally one [u].

Platina, in his lives of *the Popes*, and other authors, ascribe the institution of this *holy-water* to *Pope Alexander the first* ; who is said to have lived about the year of *Christ* 113 : but it could not be introduced so early, since, for some ages after, we find the *primitive fathers* speaking of it, as a custom purely *heathenish*, and condemning it as *impious* and *detestable*. *Justin Martyr* says, “ That it was invented by *dæmons*, in “ imitation of the true baptism signified by the “ *Prophets*, that their votaries might also have “ their pretended purifications by water [x] : ” and the Emperor *Julian*, out of spite to the *Christians*, used to order the victuals in the mar-

[t] Porro singulis diebus Dominicis sacerdos Missæ facrum facturus, aquam sale adspersam benedicendo revocare debet, eaque populum adspargere. Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 21.

ἔπειτα δ' ἄλεσον μεμιμῆσιν, ὡς νεύμασιν,

Θαλλῶ ἐπιρροῶσιν ἐξέμμενον ἀελαῖες ἕδωρ. Theocrit. κδ. 95.

[u] Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. t. ii. P. i. l. iii. c. 6. It may be seen on a silver coin of Julius Cæsar, as well as many other Emperors. Ant. Agostini discorso sopra le Medaglie.

[x] Καὶ τὸ ληθὲν δὴ τῆτο ἀκάσαιες οἱ Δαίμονες διὰ τῆ προσφῆτε περιρρυμῆσιν, ἐπέστησαν κ' ἐναντίον αὐτῶς εἰς τὰς τὰ ἱερα αὐτῶν ἐπιδοαίωσας. Just. Mart. Apol. i. p. 91. Edit. Thirlb.

kets to be *sprinkled with holy-water*, on purpose either to starve, or force them to eat, what by their own principles they esteemed polluted [y].

Thus we see what contrary notions the *Primitive* and *Romish Church* have of this ceremony: The first condemns it as *superstitious, abominable, and irreconcilable* with *Christianity*; the latter adopts it as highly *edifying* and *applicable* to the improvement of *Christian piety*: the one looks upon it as the *contrivance of the Devil to delude mankind*; the other as the *security of mankind* against the *delusions of the devil*. But what is still more ridiculous than even the *ceremony itself*, is to see their learned writers gravely reckoning up the several virtues and benefits, derived from the use of it, both to the soul and the body [z]; and to crown all, producing a long *roll of miracles*, to attest the certainty of each virtue, which they ascribe to it [a]. Why may we not then justly apply to the *present people of Rome*, what was said by the *Poet* of it's *old inhabitants* for the use of *this very ceremony*?

*Ab nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Flumineâ tolli posse putetis aquâ!*

Ovid. Fast. ii. 45.

Ah, easy Fools, to think that a whole Flood
Of water e'er can purge the Stain of Blood!

[y] Vid. Hospinian. de Orig. Templor. l. ii. c. 25.

[z] Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 21. It. Hospin. ibid.

[a] Hujus aquæ benedictæ virtus variis miraculis illustratur, &c. Durant. ibid.

I do not at present recollect whether the *ancients* went so far, as to apply the use of this *holy-water* to the purifying or blessing *their horses, asses, and other cattle*; or whether this be an improvement of *modern Rome*, which has dedicated a *yearly festival* peculiarly to this service, called, in their vulgar language, the *benediction of horses*, which is always celebrated with much solemnity in the month of *January*; when all the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood send up *their horses, asses, &c.* to the *convent* of St. *Anthony*, near St. *Mary the Great*, where a *priest in surplice* at the Church-door *sprinkles* with his brush all the *animals* singly, as they are presented to him, and receives from each owner a gratuity proportionable to his zeal and ability [b]. Amongst the rest, I had my own horses blest at the expence of about *eighteen pence* of our money; as well to satisfy my own curiosity, as to humour the coachman; who was persuaded, as the common people generally are, that some mischance would befall them within the year, if they wanted the benefit of this *Benediction*. *Mabillon*, in giving an account of this function, of which he happened also to be an eye-witness, makes no other re-

[b] Ma ogni forte d'animali a questo santo si raccomanda, e pero nel giorno della sua feste sono portate molte offerte a questa sua chiesa, in gratitudine delle gratie, che diversi hanno ottenute da lui sopra de'loro bestiami. Rom. modern. Giorn. vi. c. 46. Rione de'Monti.

reflection upon it, than that it was *new* and *unusual* to him [c].

I have met indeed with some hints of a practice, not foreign to this, among the ancients; of *sprinkling their horses with water in the Circensian Games* [d]: but whether this was done out of a *superstitious view*, of inspiring any virtue, or purifying them for those races, which were esteemed sacred; or merely to refresh them under the violence of such an exercise, is not easy to determine. But allowing the *Romish Priests* to have taken the hint from some *old custom of Paganism*; yet this however must be granted them, that they alone were capable of cultivating so coarse and barren a piece of superstition, into a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of *forty or fifty idle Monks*.

No sooner is a man advanced a little forward into their *Churches*, and begins to look about him, but he will find his eyes and attention attracted by a number of *lamps* and *wax candles*, which are constantly burning before the *Shrines* and *Images of their Saints*. In all the *great Churches*,

[c] In Festo Sancti Antonii prope S. Mariam Majorem, ritus nobis insolitus visus est, ut quicquid equorum est in urbe ducantur cum suis phaleris ad portam ecclesiæ, ubi aqua lustrali ab uno e patribus omnes & singuli asperguntur, dato annuo censu. Mabill. It. Ital. p. 136.

[d] Vid. Rubenii Elect. ii. 18.

of Italy, says Mabillon [e], they hang up lamps at every altar: a sight, which will not only surprize a stranger by the novelty of it, but will furnish him with another proof and example of the conformity of the Romish with the Pagan worship; by recalling to his memory many passages of the Heathen Writers, where their perpetual lamps and candles are described as continually burning before the altars and statues of their Deities [f].

Herodotus tells us of the Ægyptians, (who first introduced the use of lights or lamps into their temples) [g] that they had a famous yearly festival, called, from the principal ceremony of it, the lighting up of candels [h]: but there's scarce a single festival at Rome, which might not for the same reason be called by the same name.

The primitive writers frequently expose the folly and absurdity of this heathenish custom [i]:

[e] Ad singulas ecclesiæ aras (qui ritus in omnibus Italiæ Basilicis observatur) singulæ appensæ sunt Lampades. Mabil. It. Ital. p. 25.

[f] Placuerè & Lychnuchi pensiles in delubris.

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxiv. 3.

Vidi Cupidinem argenteum cum Lampade.

Cic. in Verr. ii.

Centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacrauerat ignem.

Virg. Æn. iv. 200.

[g] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. c. 16.

[h] Καὶ τῆ ἀστῆ ἕνομα λέγεται λυχνολία.

Herod. l. ii. 62. Edit Lond.

[i] Hospin. de Orig. Templor. l. ii. 22.

they light up candles to God, says *Laëtantius*, as if he lived in the dark: and do not they deserve to pass for madmen, who offer lamps to the Author and Giver of Light?

In the collections of *old inscriptions*, we find many instances of presents and donations from private persons, of *lamps and candlesticks* to the *temples and altars of their gods* [k]: a piece of zeal, which continues still the same in modern *Rome*; where each Church abounds with *lamps of massy silver*, and sometimes even of *gold*: the *gifts of Princes*, and other persons of distinction: and it is surprizing to see, how great a number of this kind are perpetually burning before the *altars* of their *principal Saints*, or *miraculous Images*; as *St. Anthony of Padua*, or the *Lady of Loretto*; as well as the vast profusion of *wax candles*, with which their Churches are illuminated on every great festival: when the *high altar*, covered with *gold and silver plate*, brought out of their treasuries, and stuck full of *wax lights*, disposed in beautiful figures, looks more like the rich *side-board of some great Prince*, dressed out for a feast, than an *altar* to pay divine worship at.

But a stranger will not be more surprized at the number of *lamps* or *wax lights*, burning before their *altars*, than at the number of *offerings*,

[k] CUPIDINES II. CVM SVIS LYCHNVCHIS ET LV-
CERN. Grut. Insc. clxxvii. 3.

or *votive gifts*, which are hanging all around them, in consequence of *vows*, made in the time of danger; and in gratitude for deliverances and cures, wrought in sickness or distress: a practice so common among the *Heathens*, that no one *custom of antiquity* is so frequently mentioned by all their writers; and many of their *original donaria* or *votive offerings* are preserved to this day in the *cabinets of the curious*, viz. *images of metal, stone, or clay*, as well as *legs, arms, and other parts of the body*, which had formerly been hung up in their *temples*, in testimony of some divine favor or cure effected by their *tutelar deity* in that particular member [1]: but the most common of all *offerings* were *pictures*, representing the history of the miraculous cure or deliverance, vouchsafed upon the vow of the donor.

*Nunc, dea, nunc succure mihi; nam posse mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.*

Tibul. El. i. 3.

Now, goddess, help, for thou canst help bestow,
As all these pictures round thy altars show.

A friend of *Diagorus the philosopher*, called the *Atheist*, having found him once in a *temple*, as the story is told by *Cicero* [m], *You*, says he,

[1] Vid. Montfauc. Antiquit. t. ii. Par. 1. l. iv. c. 4, 5, 6.

[m] Cic. Nat. Deor. 1. iii. 253.

who think the Gods take no notice of human affairs, do not you see here by this number of pictures, how many people, for the sake of their vows, have been saved in storms at sea, and got safe into harbour? Yes, says Diagoras, I see how it is; for those are never painted, who happen to be drowned. The temples of *Æsculapius* were more especially rich in these offerings, which *Livy* says, were the price and pay for the cures, that he had wrought for the sick [n]: where they used always to hang up, and expose to common view, in tables of brass or marble, a catalogue of all the miraculous cures, which he had performed for his votaries [o]: a remarkable fragment of one of these tables is still remaining and published in *Gruter's* [p] *Collections*, having been found in the ruins of a temple of that God, in the island of the *Tiber* at *Rome*: upon which the learned *Montfaucon* makes this reflection; that in it are either seen the wiles of the Devil, to deceive the credulous; or else the tricks of Pagan Priests, suborning men to counterfeit diseases and miraculous cures [q].

[n] Tum donis dives erat, quæ remediorum salutarium ægri mercedem sacraverant Deo. Liv. l. xlv. 28.

[o] Τὸ ἱερὸν πολλὰς ἔχοντος αἰεὶ τῶν τε καμνόντων, καὶ τῶν ἀνακειμένων πινακῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀναγεγραμμένοι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ θεραπείαι.

Strabo, t. i. 515.

[p] Gruter. Inscript. p. 71.

Et Montfauc. Antiq. t. ii. p. 1. l. iv. c. 6.

[q] Ibid.

Now this piece of superstition had been found of old so beneficial to the *Priesthood*, that it could not fail of being taken into the scheme of the *Romish Worship*: where it reigns at this day in as full height and vigor, as in the *ages of Pagan Idolatry*; and in so gross a manner, as to give scandal and offence even to some of their own communion. *Polydore Vergil*, after having described this practice of the ancients, “ in the
 “ same manner, *says he*, do we now offer up in
 “ our Churches little images of wax; and as oft
 “ as any part of the body is hurt, as the hand
 “ or foot, &c. we presently make a vow to
 “ God, or one of his Saints, to whom upon
 “ our recovery we make an offering of that
 “ hand or foot in wax: which custom is now
 “ come to that extravagance, that we do the
 “ same thing for our cattle, which we do for
 “ ourselves, and make offerings on account of
 “ our oxen, horses, sheep; where a scrupulous
 “ man will question, whether in this we imi-
 “ tate the religion or the superstition of our
 “ ancestors [*r*].”

The *altar of St. Phillip Neri*, says *Baronius* [*s*], “ shines with votive pictures and
 “ images,

[*r*] Pol. Verg. de Inv. Rer. l. v. 1.

[*s*] Baron. Ann. i. An. 57. n. 162. It. Aring. Rom. Subter. l. i. c. 30. it. l. vi. 27.

This *Philip Neri* is a Saint in high esteem in all parts of *Italy*, where he has many Churches dedicated to him: he
 was

“ images, the proofs of as many miracles ; receiving every day the additional luster of fresh offerings from those, who have been favored with fresh benefits :” amongst whom the present *Pope* himself pays, as I have been told, a yearly acknowledgment, for a miraculous deliverance, that he obtained by the invocation of *this Saint*, when he had like to have perished under the ruins of a house, overturned in an earthquake.

There is commonly so great a number of these *offerings* hanging up in their *Churches*, that, instead of adding any beauty, they often give offence, by covering or obstructing the sight of

was founder of the congregation of the oratory, and died about a century and half ago : his body lies under his altar, with the following inscription, in a fine Church called *Chiesa Nuova*, which was founded and built for the service of his congregation ; where we see his picture by *Guido*, and his statue by *Algardi*. Cardinal *Baronius*, who was one of his disciples, lies buried too in the same Church.

CORPVS

S. PHILIPPI NERII CONGR. ORATORII
 FVNDATORIS
 AB IPSO DORMITIONIS DIE ANNOS
 QVATVOR ET QVADRAGINTA
 INCORRVPTVM DIVINA
 VIRTVTE SERVATVM OCVLIS FIDELIVM
 EXPOSITVM A DILECTIS IN CHRISTO
 FILIIS SVB EIVSDEM S. PATRIS ALTARI
 PERPETVAE SEPVLTVRAE MORE MAIORVM
 COMMENDATVM EST
 ANNO SALVTIS M.DC.XXXVIII.

some-

something more valuable and ornamental : which we find to have been the case likewise in the *old heathen temples* ; where the *Priests* were obliged sometimes to take them down, for the obstruction, which they gave to the beauty of a fine pillar or altar [t]. For they consist chiefly, as has been said, of *arms* and *legs*, and little *figures* of *wood* or *wax*, but especially *pieces* of *board* painted, and sometimes indeed *fine pictures*, describing the manner of the deliverance obtained by the *miraculous interposition* of the *Saint* invoked : of which *offerings*, the *blessed Virgin* is so sure always to carry off the greatest share, that it may truly be said of her, what *Juvenal* says of the *Goddeſs Isis*, whose religion was at that time in the greatest vogue at *Rome*, that the *painters* get their *livelihood* out of her.

Pictores quis nescit ab Iside paſci ?

As once to *Isis*, now it may be said,
That *Painters* to the *Virgin* owe their Bread.

As oft as I have had the curiosity to look over these *Donaria*, or *votive Offerings*, hanging round the *Shrines* of their *Images*, and consider the several stories of each, as they are either expressed in painting, or related in writing, I have always found them to be *mere copies*, or *verbal translations* of the *originals* of *Heathenism* : for

[t] Ab his columnis, quæ incommodè opposita videbantur, signa amovit, &c. Liv. l. xl. 51.

the *vow* is often said to have been *divinely inspired*, or *expressly commanded*; and the cure and deliverance to have been wrought, either by the *visible apparition*, and *immediate hand of the tutelar Saint*, or by the notice of a *dream*, or some other *miraculous admonition* from heaven.

“ There can be no doubt, *say their Writers* [*u*],
 “ but that the Images of our Saints often work
 “ signal miracles, by procuring health to the
 “ infirm, and appearing to us often in dreams,
 “ to suggest something of great moment for our
 “ service.”

And what is all this, but a revival of the *old impostures*, and a repetition of the same *old stories*, of which the *ancient inscriptions* are full [*w*],
 with

[*u*] Extra omnem controversiam est, Sanctorum Imagines mirifica designare miracula, ut & debilibus valetudo bona per eos concilietur, sæpeque in somniis apparentes optima quæque nobis consulant. Durant de Ritib. l. i. c. 5.

[*w*] SILVANO SALVTARI
 L. MANLIVS SATVRNINVS
 EX VISO POSVIT.
 Gruter. p. 65.
 MINERVAE. MEMORI
 CAELIA IVLIANA.
 INDVLGENTIA. MEDICINARVM
 EIVS. GRAVI. INFIRMITATE.
 LIBERATA. D. P.

with no other difference, than what the *Pagans* ascribed to the imaginary help of *their Deities*, the *Papists* as foolishly impute to the favor of *their Saints*? As may be seen by the few instances, that I have subjoined, out of the great plenty, which all *books of antiquities* will furnish: and whether the reflection of *Father Montfaucon* on the *Pagan Priests*, mentioned above, be not, in the very same case, as justly applicable to the *Romish Priests*, I must leave to the judgment of my Reader.

But the gifts and offerings of the kind, that I have been speaking of, are the fruits onely of vulgar zeal, and the presents of inferior people; whilst princes and great persons, as it used to be

SILVANO

&c.

SOMNIO MONITA.

ib. 62.

IOVI OPT. &c.

FLAVIVS COSMVS

IVSSV DEI FECIT.

20.

And that this is the stile also of votive Inscriptions among the *Papists*, we see by the following one in a Church at *Milan*.

DIVAE. SAVINAE, &c.

LIVIA. EVPHEMIA. IN

ACERBO. STOMACHI.

CRVCITATV. OPEM. NACTA.

V. S. M. D. XI.

of old, [x] frequently make *offerings* of large *vessels*, *lamps*, and even *statues* of *massy silver* or *gold*; with *diamonds*, and all sorts of *precious stones* of incredible value; so that the *Church of Loretto* is now become a *Proverb* for it's riches of this sort, just as *Apollo's Temple at Delphi* was with the ancients on the same account.

’Οὐδ’ ὅσα λαΐνῳ εἶδος ἀφῆτορῳ ἐντὰς ἑέρσει
Φοίβῃ Ἀπόλλωνῳ. Il. ι. 404.

Nor all the wealth *Apollo's Temple* holds
Can purchase one day's life, &c.

In the famed treasury of this *Holy House*; one part consists, as it did likewise among the *Heathens*, of a *wardrobe*. For the *very Idols*, as *Tertullian* observes, *used to be dressed out in curious robes*, of the choicest stuffs and fashion [y]. While they were shewing us therefore the great variety of rich habits, with which that treasury abounds; some covered with *precious stones*, others more curiously embroidered by such a *Queen*, or *Princess*, for the use of the *miraculous Image*; I could not help recollecting the picture which *old Homer* draws of *Queen Hecuba of Troy*, prostrating herself before the *miraculous Image of Pallas*, with

[x] Consul Apollini, Æsculapio, Saluti dona vovere, & dare signa inaurata jussus: quæ vovit, deditque. Liv. l. xl. 37.

[y] Cum ipsis etiam Idolis induantur prætextæ & trabæ, &c. De Idololat. p. 116. Edit. Rigalt.

a present of the richest and best wrought gown,
that she was mistress of.

Τῶν ἐν ἀειραμένη Ἐκάθη φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη,
Ὅς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἠδὲ μέλιστος;
Ἀστὴρ δ' ὡς ἀπέλαμπε, &c. Il. ζ. 293.

A gown she chose, the best and noblest far,
Sparkling with rich embroid'ry, like a star, &c.

The mention of *Loretto* puts me in mind of the surprize, that I was in, at the first sight of the *holy Image*: for it's face is as black as a *Negro's*; so that one would take it rather for the representation of a *Proserpine*, or *infernal Deity*, than, what they impiously stile it, of the *Queen of Heaven*. But I soon recollected, that this very circumstance of it's complexion, made it but resemble the more exactly the *old Idols of Paganism*, which, in *sacred* as well as *profane Writers*, are described to be *black with the perpetual smoak of lamps and incense* [z].

When a man is once engaged in reflections of this kind, imagining himself in some *Heathen Temple*, and expecting as it were some *sacrifice*, or other *piece of Paganism* to ensue, he will not be long in suspense, before he sees the finishing act and last scene of *gemin Idolatry*, in crowds of bigot votaries, prostrating themselves before some *Image of wood or stone*, and paying divine

[z] Baruch. vi. 19, 21. Arnob. l. vi.

honors to an *Idol* of their own erecting. Should they squabble with us here about the meaning of the word, *Idol*, St. *Jerom* has determined it to the very case in question, telling us, that by *Idols* are to be understood the *Images of the Dead* [a]: and the *worshippers of such Images* are used always in the *stile of the Fathers*, as terms synonymous and equivalent to *Heathens* or *Pagans* [b].

As to the practice itself, it was condemned by many of the wisest Heathens, and for several ages, even in *Pagan Rome*, was thought impious and detestable: for *Numa*, we find, prohibited it to the *old Romans*, nor would suffer any *Images* in their *Temples*: which constitution they observed religiously, says *Plutarch* [c], for the first *hundred and seventy years of the City*. But as *Image worship* was thought abominable even by some *Pagan Princes*, so by some of the *Christian Emperors* it was forbidden on pain of death [d]: not because these *Images* were the representations of *Dæmons*, or *false Gods*, but

[a] *Idola intelligimus Imagines mortuorum. Hier. Com. in Isa. c. xxxvii.*

[b] *Innumeri sunt in Græcia exterisque nationibus, qui se in discipulatum Christi tradiderunt, non sine ingenti odio eorum qui simulacra venerantur. Pamphili Apol. pro Orig. vid. Hieron. Op. tom. v. p. 233. Ed. Par.*

[c] *Vid. Plutar. in Vit. Num. p. 65. C.*

[d] *Pœnæ capitis subjugari præcipimus, quos simulacra colere confiterit. Vid. Gothof. Comment. de statu Pagan. sub Christian. Imperatorib. Leg. vi. p. 7.*

because

because they were *vain senseless Idols*, the work of men's hands, and for that reason unworthy of any honor: and all the instances and over-acts of such worship, described condemned by them, are exactly the same with what the *Papists* practise at this day, viz. *lighting up candles; burning incense; hanging up garlands, &c.* as may be seen in the *law of Theodosius* before-mentioned; which confiscates that *house or land, where any such act of Gentile superstition had been committed* [e]. These Princes, who were influenced, we may suppose, in their constitutions of this sort, by the advice of their bishops, did not think *Paganism* abolished, till the *adoration of Images* was utterly extirpated; which was reckoned always the *principal* of those *Gentile Rites*, that, agreeably to the sense of the *purest ages of Christianity*, are never mentioned in the *imperial laws*, without the epithets of *prophane, damnable, impious, &c.* [f].

What opinion then can we have of the present practice of the *Church of Rome*, but that by a change onely of *name*, they have found means to retain the *thing*; and by substituting *their Saints* in the place of *the old Demigods*, have but

[e] In nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris, vel accendat lumina, imponat thura, ferta suspendat:

Si quis vero mortali opere facta, & ævum passura simulacra imposto thure venerabitur — is utpote violatæ religionis reus, ea domo seu possessione multabitur, in quam consistenter gentilitia superstitione famulatum. Ibid. Leg. xii. p. 15.

[f] Ibid. Leg. xvii. 20.

set up *Idols of their own*, instead of those of their *Forefathers*? In which it is hard to say, whether their assurance, or their address is more to be admired, who have the face to make that the principal part of *Christian worship*, which the *first Christians* looked upon as the most criminal part even of *Paganism*, and have found means to extract gain and great revenues out of a practice, which in *primitive times* would have cost a man both life and estate.

But our notion of the *Idolatry of modern Rome* will be much heightened still and confirmed, as oft as we follow them into those *Temples*, and to those very *Altars*, which were built originally by *their Heathen ancestors*, the *old Romans*, to the honor of their *Pagan Deities*; where we shall hardly see any other alteration, than the *shrine* of some *old Hero* filled by the meaner statue of some *modern Saint*: nay, they have not always, as I am well informed, given themselves the trouble of making even this change, but have been content sometimes to take up with the *old Image*, just as they found it; after *baptizing* it onely, as it were, or consecrating it anew, by the imposition of a *Christian name*. This *their antiquaries* do not scruple to put strangers in mind of, in shewing their *Churches*; and it was, I think, in that of *St. Agnes*, where they shewed me an *antique statue* of a *young Bacchus*, which with a new name, and some little change of drapery, stands now worshipped under the title of a *female Saint*.

Tully

Tully reproaches *Clodius*, for having publicly dedicated the statue of a common strumpet, under the name and title of the Goddess Liberty: a practice, still frequent with the present Romans, who have scarce a fine image or picture of a female Saint, which is not said to have been designed originally by the sculptor or painter, for the representation of his own mistress: and who dares, may we say ironically with the old Roman [g], to violate such a Goddess at this; the statue of a whore?

The noblest Heathen Temple now remaining in the world, is the *Pantheon* or *Rotunda*; which, as the inscription [b] over the portico informs us, having been impiously dedicated of old by *Agrippa* to *Jove* and all the Gods, was piously reconsecrated by *Pope Boniface the fourth*, to the blessed *Virgin* and all the Saints. With this single alteration, it serves as exactly for all the purposes of the *Popish*, as it did for the *Pagan worship*, for which it was built. For as in the old Temple,

[g] Hanc Deam quisquam violare audeat, imaginem meretricis? Cic. pro Dom. 43.

[b] PANTHEON, &c.

Ab Agrippa Augusti Genero

Impie Jovi, Cæterisq; Mendacibus Düs

A Bonifacio IIII. Pontifice

Deiparæ & S. S. Christi Martyribus Pie

Dicatum,

&c.

every one might find *the God* of his country, and address himself to that *Deity* whose religion he was most devoted to; so it is the same thing now; every one chuses the *Patron* whom he likes best; and one may see here *different services*, going on at the same time at *different altars*, with distinct congregations around them, just as the inclinations of the people lead them, to the worship of this or that particular *Saint*.

And what better title can the *new Demigods* shew, to the adoration now paid to them, than the *old ones*, whose shrines they have usurped? Or how comes it to be less criminal to *worship Images*, erected by the *Pope*, than those which *Agrippa*, or that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* set up? If there be any real difference, most People, I dare say, will be apt to determine in favor of the *old possessors*: for those *heroes of antiquity* were raised up into *Gods*, and received *divine honors*, for some *signal benefits*, of which they had been the *authors* to mankind; as the *invention of arts and sciences*; or of something highly useful and necessary to life [*i*]: whereas of the *Romish Saints*, it is certain, that many of them were never heard of, but in their own *legends or fabulous histories*; and many more, instead of

[*i*] Suscepit autem vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficio excellentes viros in cælum fama, & voluntate tollerent, &c. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii. 223.

Imitantem Herculeum illum, quem hominum fama, beneficiorum memor, in concilium cælestium collocavit. Off. iii. 299.

any services done to mankind, owe all the honours now paid to them, to their *vices* or their *errors*; whose merit, like *that of Demetrius in the Acts* [k], was their skill of raising rebellions in defence of *an Idol*, and throwing kingdoms into convulsions, for the sake of some *gainful imposture*.

And as it is in the *Pantheon*, it is just the same in all the other *Heathen Temples*, that still remain in *Rome*; they have only pulled down *one Idol* to set up *another*; and changed rather the name, than the object of their worship. Thus the little *Temple of Vesta*, near the *Tiber*, mentioned by *Horace* [l], is now possessed by the *Madonna of the Sun*; [m] that of *Fortuna Virilis*, by *Mary the Egyptian*; [n] that of *Saturn*, [o] (where the public treasure was anciently kept) by *St. Adrian*; that of *Romulus and Remus* in the *Via Sacra*, by two other brothers, *Cosmas and Damianus*; [p] that of *Antonine the Godly*, by *Laurence the Saint* [q]: but

[k] Act. Apost. xix. 23.

[l] Carm. l. i. 2.

[m] Rom. Mod. Giorn. ii. Rione di Ripa. v.

[n] Ibid. iv.

[o] Ib. Gior. v. Rione di Campitelli, xv.

[p] Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Templum Geminis
Urbis Conditoribus superstitiosè dicatum

A Felice III. S. S. Cosmæ & Damiano Fratribus
Piè consecratum, vetustate labefactatum

In splendidiorem formam redegit

Ann. Sal. M.DC.XXXIII.

[q] Ibid. xvi.

for my part, I should sooner be tempted, to prostrate myself before the statue of a *Romulus* or an *Antonine*, than that of *Laurence* or a *Damian*; and give *divine honors* rather, with *Pagan Rome*, to the *founders of empires*, than with *Popish Rome*, to the *founders of Monasteries*.

At the foot of *Mount Palatin*, in the way between the *Forum of Circus Maximus*, on the very spot, where *Romulus* was believed to have been suckled by the wolf, there stands another little round *Temple*, dedicated to him in the early times of the republic, into which, for the present elevation of the soil without, we now descend by a great number of steps. It is mentioned by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who says, that in his time there stood in it a *brazen statue of antique work, of the wolf giving suck to the infant Brethren* [r]; which is thought by many to be the same, which is still preserved and shewn in the Capitol; though I take this rather, which now remains, to have been another of the same kind, that stood originally in the Capitol, and is mentioned by *Cicero* to have been there struck with lightning [s]; of which it retains to this day the evident marks in one of

[r] Καὶ τέμερόν ἐστιν ἕνθα εἰκὼν καίτοις τὸ πάθος, λύκαινα παιδοῖς δυοῖ τὰς μαστὰς ἐπέχεσα, χαλκεα στήνημιλι παλαιᾷς ἐρλασίως. Dion. Hal. l. i. 64. Edit. Hudson.

[s] Tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meminissis. Orat. in Catil. iii. 4.

it's hinder legs: it is however to one or the other of these celebrated statues, that *Virgil*, as *Servius* assures us, alludes in that elegant description:

— *Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentis pueros & lambere matrem
Impavidos: Illam tereti cervice reflexam
Mulcere alternos, & fingere corpora lingua.*
Æn. viii. 631.

The martial twins beneath their mother lay,
And hanging on her dugs, with wanton play,
Securely suck'd; whilst she reclines her head
To lick their tender limbs, and form them as
they fed.

But to return to my story: from the tradition of the wonderful escape, which *Romulus* had in this very place, when exposed in his infancy to perish in the *Tiber*; as soon as he came to be a God, he was looked upon as singularly propitious to the health and safety of young children: from which notion, it became a practice for nurses and mothers, to present their *sickly infants* before his shrine in this little *Temple*, [t], in confidence of a cure or relief by his favor: now when this *Temple* was converted afterwards

[t] A questo Tempio dedicato à Romolo portarano le Donne Romane ad offerir i loro figliuolini, quando pativano di qualche infirmità; e perche questa usanza andavano seguitando l'istisse ancora fatte Christiane, &c. Rom. Moderna, Giornata 2da. c. xxxvi. Rione di Ripa.

into a *Church*; lest any piece of superstition should be lost, or the people think themselves sufferers by the change, in losing the benefit of such a protection for their children: care was taken to find out in the place of the *Heathen God*, a *Christian Saint*, who had been exposed too in his infancy, and found by chance like *Romulus*; and for the same reason, might be presumed to be just as fond of children, as their *old Deity* had been: thus the worship paid to *Romulus*, being now transferred to *Theodorus*, the old superstition still subsists, and the custom of presenting children at *this shrine* continues to this day without Intermision; of which I myself have been a witness, having seen, as oft as I looked into *this Church*, ten or a dozen women decently dressed, each with a *child* in her lap, sitting with silent reverence before the *altar of the Saint*, in expectation of his *miraculous influence* on the health of the infant.

In consecrating these *Heathen Temples* to the Popish worship, that the change might be the less offensive, and the *old superstition* as little shocked as possible, they generally observed some resemblance of quality and character in the *Saint*, whom they substituted to the *old Deity*:
 “ If in converting the profane worship of
 “ the *Gentiles* (says the *Describer of modern*
 “ Rome [u]) to the pure and sacred worship
 “ of

[u] Si nel revoltare il profano culto de Gentili nel sacro e vero, osservarono i fedeli qualche proportione, qui la ritrovarono

“ of the Church, the faithful use to follow some
 “ use and proportion, they have certainly hit
 “ upon it here, in dedicating to the *Madonna*,
 “ or *holy Virgin*, the Temple formerly sacred
 “ to the *Bona Dea*, or good Goddess.” But
 they have more frequently on these occasions
 had regard rather to a *similitude of name* between
 the *old* and *new Idol*. Thus in a place formerly
 sacred to *Apollo*, there now stands the *Church*
of Apollinaris; built there, as they tell us, [x]
 that the *profane name of that Deity*, might be
 converted into the *glorious name of this Martyr* :
 and where there anciently stood a *Temple of*
Mars, they have erected a *Church to Martina*,
 with this inscription :

*Martyrii gestans virgo Martina coronam,
 Ejecto hinc Martis numine, Templam tenet.*

Mars hence expell'd; *Martina*, martyr'd maid,
 Claims now the worship, which to him was paid,

In another place, I have taken notice of an
Altar erected to *St. Baccho* [y]; and in their

trovarono assai conveniente nel dedicare à Maria Vergine
 un Tempio, ch'era della bona dea — Rom. Mod. Gior. ii.
 Rion. di Ripa x.

[x] La Chiesa di S. Apollinari fu fabbricata in questo
 luogo d' Christiani; affinche il profano nome d' Apolline
 fusse convertito nel santo nome di questo glorioso Martire.
 Ibid. Gio. iii. 21.

[y] Ibid. Gior. vi. 37.

stories of their *Saints*, have observed the names of *Quirinus*, *Romula* & *Redempta*, *Concordia*, *Nympha*, *Mercurius* [z]: which, though they may, for any thing that I know, have been the genuin names of *Christian Martyrs*, yet cannot but give occasion to suspect, that some of them at least have been formed out of a corruption of the *old names*; and that the adding of a modern termination, or *Italianizing* the *old name* of a *Deity*, has given existence to some of their present *Saints*: thus the corruption of the word *Soraete* (the old name of a mountain mentioned by *Horace* [a] in sight of *Rome*) has, according to *Mr. Addison*, added one *Saint* to the *Roman Calendar*; being now softened, [b] *because it begins with an S*, into *St. Orafte*; in whose honor a monastery is founded on the place: a change very natural, if we consider that the *title of Saint* is never written by the *Italians* at length, but expressed commonly by the single letter *S*. as *S. Oraete*: and thus this *holy mountain* stands now under the protection of a *Patron*, whose being and power is just as imaginary, as that of it's old guardian *Apollo*:

Santi custos Soractis Apollo. Virg. *Æn.* ix.

No suspicion of this kind will appear extravagant to those, who are at all acquainted with

[z] *Aringh. Rom. Subter.* l. ii. 21. l. iii. 12. l. iv. 16, 22. l. v. 4.

[a] *Carm.* l. i. 9.

[b] *Addison's Travels from Pesaro, &c. to Rome.*

the

the *History of Popery*; which abounds with instances of the grossest forgeries both of *Saints* and *Reliques*, which, to the scandal of many even among themselves [c], have been imposed for genuin on the poor ignorant people. It is certain, that in the earlier ages of Christianity, the *Christians* often made free with the *sepulchral Stones of Heathen monuments*, which being ready cut to their hands, they converted to their own use; and turning downwards the side, on which the *old epitaph* was engraved, used either to inscribe a new one on the other side, or leave it perhaps without any *inscription* at all, as they are often found in the *Catacombs of Rome* [d]. Now this one custom has frequently been the occasion of ascribing *Martyrdom* and *Saintship* to persons and names of mere *Pagans*.

Mabillon gives a remarkable instance of it in an *old stone*, found on the grave of a *Christian* with this inscription [e],

D. M.
IVLIA EVODIA
FILIA FECIT
MATRI.

[c] Utinam hanc religionem imitentur; qui sanctorum recens absque certis nominibus inventorum fictas historias comminiscuntur ad confusionem verarum historiarum, imo & qui Paganorum Inscriptiones aliquando pro Christianis vulgant, &c. *Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 225.*

[d] Ab immanibus enim & pervetustis superstitiosæ urbis constructionibus atque sepulchris ad suos obtegendos tumulos Christiani lapides non raro auferre consueverant. *Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. iii. c. 22.*

[e] Vid. *Mabill. Ibid.*

And because in the same grave there was found likewise a *glass vial*, or *lacrymatory vessel*, tinged with a reddish color, which they call [*f*] *blood*, and look upon as a certain proof of *martyrdom*, this *Julia Evodia*, though undoubtedly a *Heathen*, was presently adopted both for *Saint* and *Martyr*, on the authority of an *inscription*, that appears evidently to have been one of those above-mentioned, and borrowed from a *heathen Sepulchre*. But whatever the party there buried might have been, whether *Heathen* or *Christian*; it is certain however, that it could not be *Evodia herself*, but her mother only, whose name is not there signified.

The same author mentions some *original papers*, which he found in the *Barbarine Library*, giving a pleasant account of a negociation between the *Spaniards* and *Pope Urban the VIIIth*, in relation to this very subject [*g*]. The *Spaniards*, it seems, have a *Saint*, held in great reverence in some parts of *Spain*, called *Viar*; for the farther encouragement of whose worship, they solicited the *Pope*, to grant some *special indulgencies* to his altars; and upon the *Pope's* desir-

[*f*] Si forte rubore quodam in imo tincta vitrea ampulla fuerit, pro argumento Martyrii habetur. Mont. Diar. It. p. 118.

[*g*] Alterum notatu dignum, quod Urbanus ab Hispanis quibusdam interpellatus de concedendis indulgentiis ob cultum Sancti, cui nomen VIAR, &c. allatus est lapis in quo hæ literæ reliquæ erant S. VIAR, &c. Vid. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 145.

ing to be better acquainted first with his character, and the proofs, which they had of his *saintship*, they produced a *stone* with these *antique letters* S. VIAR. which the antiquaries readily saw to be a small fragment of some *old Roman Inscription*, in memory of one, who had been *Præfetus VIARum*, or *overseer of the highways*.

But we have in *England* an instance still more ridiculous, of a *fictitious saintship*, in the case of a certain *Saint*, called *Amphibolus*; who, according to our *Monkish Historians*, was *Bishop of the isle of Man*, and *fellow Martyr and disciple of St. Alban*: yet the learned *Bishop Usher* has given good reasons to convince us, that he owes the honor of his *saintship*, to a mistaken passage in the *old acts or legends of St. Alban* [b]: where the *Amphibolus* mentioned, and since revered as a *Saint and Martyr*, was nothing more than the *cloak*, which *Alban* happened to have at the time of his execution: being a word derived from the *Greek*, and signifying a *rough shaggy cloak*, which *ecclesiastical* persons usually wore in that age.

They pretend to shew us here at *Rome*, two *original impressions of our Saviour's Face*, on two different *handkerchiefs*; the one, sent a present

[b] Usher. de Britan. Eccles. primord. c. xiv. p. 539. 4^{to}.

It. Ep. Lloyd's Histor. Acc. of Ch. in Gr. Brit. c. vii.

by himself to *Agbarus Prince of Edeffa*, who by letter had desired a picture of him ; the other, given by him at the time of his execution, to a *Saint*, or *holy woman* named *Veronica*, upon a *handkerchief*, which she had lent him to wipe his face on that occasion : both which handkerchiefs are still preserved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmost reverence ; the first in *St. Silvester's Church* ; the second in *St. Peter's* ; where in honor of this *sacred relique*, there is a fine *altar* built by *Pope Urban the VIIIth*, with the statue of *Veronica* herself, with the following inscription [*i*] :

SALVATORIS IMAGINEM VERONICAE
 SVDARIO EXCEPTAM
 VT LOCI MAIESTAS DECENTER
 CVSTODIRET URBANVS VIII.
 PONT. MAX.
 MARMOREVM SIGNVM
 ET ALTARE ADDIDIT CONDITORIVM
 EXTRVXIT ET ORNAVIT.

But notwithstanding the authority of *this Pope*, and his *inscription*, this *VERONICA*, as one of their best authors has shewn [*k*,] like

[*i*] Vid. Aringh. Rom. Subterr. tom. ii. p. 453.

There is a prayer in their books of offices, ordered by the rubric, to be addressed to this sacred and miraculous picture, in the following terms—*Conduct us, O thou blessed figure, to our proper home, where we may behold the pure face of Christ.*—See Conform. of Anc. & Mod. Ceremonies, p. 158.

[*k*] Hæc Christi Imago à recentioribus VERONICÆ dicitur : imaginem ipsam veteres VERONICAM appellabant, &c. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 88.

Amphibolus,

Amphibolus, before-mentioned, was not any *real person*, but the name given to the *picture itself* by the *old writers*, who mention it; being formed by blundering and confounding the words *VERA ICON*, or *true Image*, the title inscribed perhaps, or given originally to the handkerchief, by the first contrivers of the imposture.

These stories however, as fabulous and childish as they appear to men of sense, are yet urged by grave authors in defence of their *Image-worship*, as certain proofs of its *divine origin*, and sufficient to confound all the *impious opposers* of it [1].

I shall add nothing more on this article, than that whatever worship was paid by the *ancients* to their *heroes* or *inferior deities*, the *Romanists* now pay the same to their *Saints* and *Martyrs*; as their *own inscriptions* plainly declare; which,

[1] *Imaginem hanc ab Edesenorum civitate translata, condigno ad hæc usque tempora venerationis cultu in D. Silvestri ecclesiâ, veluti divinum quid & perenne sacrarum imaginum monumentum, pariter ac propugnaculum adversus insanos Iconoclastas asservari, & suspiciendam fidelibus adorandamque proponi.*

Sacrofancta autem Redemptoris Imago, gemmarum Theauris quibusque longe anteferenda, in Vaticana Basilica, quo par est venerationis cultu asservatur. Aringh. Rom. Subt. t. ii. l. v. c. 4.

Effigie più d'ogni altra sublime è adoranda, par esser non fattura di mano Angelica o' d'humana, mà del Fattor medesimo degli Angeli & degli huomini. Rom. Mod. Gior. i. Rion. di Bor.

like

like those mentioned above of *St. Martina*, and the *Pantheon*, generally signify that the *honors*, which of old had been impiously given in that place to the false God, are now piously and rightly transferred to the Christian Saint : or, as one of their celebrated Poets expresses himself in regard to *St. George*,

*Ut Martem Latii, sic nos Te, Dive Georgi,
Nunc colimus, &c.* Mantuan.

As *Mars* our Fathers once ador'd, so now
To thee, O *George*, we humbly prostrate bow.

And every where through *Italy*, one sees their sacred inscriptions speaking the pure language of *Paganism*, and ascribing the same Powers, Characters, and Attributes to their Saints, which had formerly been ascribed to the Heathen Gods ; as the few here exhibited will evince.

Popish Inscriptions.

[m] MARIA ET FRANCISCE
TVTELARES MEI.
DIVO EVSTORGIO
QVI HVIC TEMPLO
PRAESIDET.

NVMINI
DIVI GEORGII
POLLENTIS POTENTIS
INVICTI.

DIVIS
PRAESTITIBVS IUVANTIBVS
GEORGIO STEPHANOQVE
CVM DEO OPT. MAX.

Pagan Inscriptions.

MERCVRIO ET MINERVAE
DIIS TVTELARIB. [n]
DII QVI HVIC TEMPLO
PRAESIDENT.

NVMINI
MERCVRII SACR.
HERCVLI VICTORI
POLLENTI POTENTI
INVICTO
PRAESTITI IOVI

S.
DIIS.
DEABVS
QVE. CVM
IOVE.

[m] Vid. Boldonii Epigraphica, p. 439. It. p. 348. It. p. 422. It. 649.

[n] Gruter. Corp. Inscript. p. 50. It. Cic. Or. pro Lege Man. 15. It. Grut. p. 54. It. p. 50. It. p. 22. It. ib. p. 2.

Baldonius

Boldonius censures the author of the last inscription, for the absurdity of putting the *Saints before God himself*; and imitating too closely the *ancient* inscription, which I have set against it, where the same impropriety is committed in regard to *Jupiter*:

As to that celebrated *act of Popish Idolatry*, the *Adoration of the Host*, I must confess, that I cannot find the least resemblance of it in any part of the *Pagan Worship*: and as oft as I have been standing by at *Mass*, and seen the whole congregation prostrate on the ground, in the humblest posture of adoring, at the *elevation of this consecrated piece of bread*; I could not help reflecting on a passage of *Tully*; where speaking of the absurdity of the *Heathens* in the choice of *their Gods*, *But was any man*, says he, *ever so mad as to take that which he feeds upon for a God* [o]? This was an extravagance reserved for *Popery* alone; and what an *old Roman* could not but think too gross, even for *Egyptian Idolatry* to swallow, is now become the *principal part of worship*, and the distinguishing *Article of Faith*, in the *Creed of modern Rome*.

But their *temples* are not the only places where we see the proofs and overt-acts of their *superstition*: the whole face of the country has

[o] Sed equum tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo rescatur, Deum credat esse? Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii.

The visible characters of Paganism upon it; and wherever we look about us, we cannot but find, as St. Paul did in Athens [p], clear evidence of it's being possessed by a *superstitious and idolatrous* people.

The *old Romans*, we know, had *their Gods*, who presided peculiarly over the *roads, streets, and highways*, called *Viales, Semitales, Compitales*: whose little *temples* or *altars* decked with flowers, or whose *statues* at least coarsly carved of wood or stone, were placed at convenient distances in the public ways, for the benefit of travelers, who used to step aside to pay their devotions to these *rural Shrines*, and beg a prosperous journey and safety in their travels [q]. Now this custom prevails still so generally in all *popish countries*, but especially in *Italy*, that one can see no other difference between the *old* and *present superstition*, than that of changing the name of the *Deity*, and *christening* as it were the *old Hecate in triviis*, by the new name of *Maria in trivio*; by which title, I have observed one of their Churches dedicated in this city [r]:

[p] Act. Apost. xvii. 17.

[q] Ut religiosus viantium moris est, cum aliquis locus, aut aliquis locus sanctus in via oblatus est, votum postulare, donum apponere, paulisper assidere.

Neque justius religiosam moram viatori objecerit aut ara floribus redimita — aut truncus dolamine effigiatus, &c.

Apuleii Florid. i.

Invoco vos, Lares viales, ut me bene juvetis.

Plaut. Merc. v. 2,

[r] Rom. Modern. Gior. Rion. di Colonna, c. xi.

A LETTER from ROME.

and as the Heathens used to paint over the ordinary *Statues of their Gods*: with red or some such gay color [s]; so I have oft observed the coarse *Images of these Saints* so daubed over with a gaudy red, as to resemble exactly the description of the *God Pan* in *Virgil*;

Sanguineis ebuli baccis minioque rubentem. Ecl. x.

In passing along the road, it is common to see travellers on their knees before these *rustic altars*; which none ever presume to approach without some act of reverence; and those, who are most in haste, or at a distance, are sure to pull off their Hats at least, in token of respect: and I took notice, that our postilions used to look back upon us, to see how we behaved on such occasions, and seemed surprized at our passing so negligently before places esteemed so sacred.

But besides these *Images* and *Altars*, there are frequently erected on the road huge *wooden crosses* [t], dressed out with flowers, and hung round with the trifling offerings of the country people; which always put me in mind of the *superstitious veneration*, which the *Heathens* use.

[s] Fictilem fuisse & ideo miniari solitum. Plin. Hist. l. xxxv. 12. & a Censoribus Jovem miniandum loc. Ibid. l. xxxiii. 7. It. Pausan. ii. 2.

[t] Sanctæ Imagines & Cruces in viis publicis eriguntur, & nos propter Deum, & puram erga sanctos ejus fidem, sancta ejusmodi ubique erecta adoramus & salutamus. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 6.

A LETTER from ROME.

to some old *trunks of trees* or posts, set
in the highways, which they held *sacred* [u],
or of that *venerable Oak* in *Ovid*, covered with
garlands and votive offerings :

*Stabat in his ingens annofo robore quercus ;
Una nemus : Vittæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.*

Met. viii.

Rev'rend with Age a stately Oak there stood,
It's Branches widely stretch'd, itself a Wood,
With Ribbands, Garlands, Pictures cover'd o'er,
The Fruits of pious Vows from Rich and Poor.

This description of the *Pagan Oak* puts me in
mind of a story, that I have met with here, of
a *Popish Oak* very like it, *viz.* how a certain
person, devoted to the worship of the *Virgin*,
hung up a *picture of her* in an *Oak*, that he had
in his vineyard, which grew so famous for *it's*
miracles, that the *Oak* soon became covered with
votive offerings, and rich presents from distant
countries, so as to furnish a fund at last for the
building of a *great Church* to the *miraculous*
picture ; which now stands dedicated in this city,
under the title of *St. Mary of the Oak* [x].

But

[u] Nam veneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris,
Seu vetus in trivio florida ferta lapis.

Tibul. El. i. 11.

[x] Essendo egli divotissimo della Madonna, fece di-
pingere l'immagine di lei, e l'appese ad una Quercia — dove
comminciò a manifestarsi con molti miracoli, intanto che
fino dall'Africa, e da Constantinopoli l'erano mundati voti

in

But what gave me still the greater notion of the superstition of these countries, was to see those *little Oratories*, or *rural Skrines*, sometimes placed under the cover of a *tree* or *grove*; agreeably to the descriptions of the *old idolatry*, in the *sacred* as well as *profane* writers [y]; or more generally raised on some *eminence*, or, in the *phrase of Scripture*, on *high places*; the constant scene of *idolatrous worship* in all ages; it being an universal opinion among the *Heathens*, that the Gods in a peculiar manner loved to reside on *eminences* or *tops of mountains* [z]: which *Pagan notion* prevails still so generally with the *Papists*, that there is hardly a *rock* or *precipice*, how dreadful or difficult soever of access, that has not an *Oratory*, or *Altar*, or *Crucifix* at least, planted on the *top* of it.

Among the rugged *mountains of the Alps* in *Savoy*, very near to a little town called *Modana*, there stands on the *top of a rock*, a *chapel*, with a *miraculous Image* of *our Lady*, which is visited with great devotion by the people, and sometimes, we were told, by the *King himself*; being famous, it seems, for a *miracle* of a singular kind, (*viz.*) the restoring of *dead-born children to life*; but so far onely, as to make them

in tanta quantità, che vi si fece una gran Chiesa.—Rom. Modern. Gior. iii. c. 30. Rion. della Reg.

[y] *Lucus & Ara Dianæ.* Hor.

[z] Αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφαῖσι καθίστητο κούρει γαίων,

Il. O. 50.

capable of *Baptism*, after which they again expire: and our landlord assured me, that there was daily proof of the truth of this *miracle*, in children brought from all quarters to be presented before this Shrine; who never failed to shew manifest tokens of life, by *stretching out their arms*, or *opening their eyes*, or even sometimes *making water*, whilst they were held by the priest in presence of *the Image*. All which appeared so ridiculous to a *French* gentleman, who was with me at the place, but had not heard the story from our landlord, that he looked upon it as a banter or fiction of my own, till I brought him to my author, who with his wife, as well as our *Voiturins*, very seriously testified the truth of it; and added farther, that when the *French* army passed that way in the last war, they were so impious, as to throw down this *sacred Image* to the bottom of a vast precipice hard by it, which, though of wood only, was found below entire and unhurt by the fall, and so replaced in it's *Sbrine*, with greater honor than ever, by the attestation of this *new miracle*.

On the top of *Mount Senis*, the highest mountain of the *Alps*, in the same passage of *Savoy*, covered with perpetual snow, they have another *Chapel*, in which they perform divine service once a year, in the *Month of August*; and sometimes, as our guides informed us, to the destruction of the whole congregation, by the accident

accident of a sudden tempest in a place so elevated and exposed. And this surely comes up to the description of that worship, which the *Jews* were commanded to extirpate from the face of the earth: “Ye shall utterly destroy
 “ the places wherein the nations served their
 “ Gods, upon the high mountains and upon
 “ the hills, and under every green tree: And
 “ ye shall overthrow their altars, break their
 “ pillars, burn their groves, and hew down
 “ the graven Images of *their Gods* [a].”

When we enter their towns, the case is still the same, as it was in the country; we find every where the same marks of *Idolatry* and the same reasons to make us fancy, that we are still treading *Pagan ground*; whilst at every corner we see *Images* and *Altars*, with *lamps* or *candles* burning before them; exactly answering to the descriptions of the *ancient writers* [b]; and to what *Tertullian* reproaches the *Heathens* with, that *their streets, their markets, their baths were not without an idol* [c]. But above all, in the *pomp* and *solemnity* of their *Holy-days*, and especially their *religious processions*, we see the

[a] Deuteron. xii. 2, 3.

[b] Ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεῶν. Xenoph. I. iv. It. Eurip. Elec. 387. Μὴ γὰρ εἰς Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυαὶ, &c. Lucian. in Prometh.

Omnibus vicis Statuæ, ad eas Thus & Cerei. Cic. Off. iii. 26.

[c] De Spectac. c. viii.

genuin remains of *Heathenism*, and proof enough to convince us, that this is still the *same Rome*, which *old Numa* first tamed and civilized by the arts of religion: who, as *Plutarch* says [d],
 “ by the institution of supplications and pro-
 “ cessions to the Gods, which inspire reverence,
 “ whilst they give pleasure to the spectators,
 “ and by pretended miracles, and divine appa-
 “ ritions, reduced the fierce spirits of his sub-
 “ jects under the power of superstition.”

The descriptions of the *religious pomps and processions* of the Heathens come so near to what we see on every *festival of the Virgin* or other *Romish Saint*, that one can hardly help thinking these *Popish ones* to be still regulated by the *old ceremonial of Pagan Rome*. At these solemnities the *chief magistrate* used frequently to assist in robes of ceremony; attended by the *Priests* in *surplices* [e], with *wax candles* in their hands, carrying upon a *pageant* or *thensa* the *Images of their Gods*, dressed out in their best

[d] Τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις κὶ πομπαῖς κὶ χορείαις ἅμα σεμνότητι διαγωγῆν ἐπίχαρον κὶ φιλόθεωπον ἠδονὴν ἐχέσαις, δημαγωγῶν κὶ τιθασέων τὸ θυμοειδές, &c. ἐδέλω τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας, &c. Ibid. Plutar. in Numa, p. 16.

[e] Antilibites sacrorum candido linteamine — ad usque vestigia frictum injecti. Deum proferebant insignes exuvias, quorum primus lucernam præmicantem claro porrigebat lumine, &c.—Eas amœnus lectissimæ juventutis, veste niveâ pranitens sequebatur chorus, carmen venustum iterantes.—Magnus præterea sexus utriusque numerus, luminis, teddis, cereis, &c. Apul. ibid. Vid. Pausan. ii. 7.

cloaths :

cloaths : these were usually followed by the principal youth of the place, in white linen vestments or surplices, singing hymns in honor of the God, whose festival they were celebrating ; accompanied by crowds of all sorts, that were initiated in the same religion, all with flambeaux or wax candles in their hands. This is the account which Apuleius, and other authors give us of a Pagan procession ; and I may appeal to all, who have been abroad, whether it might not pass quite as well for the description of a Popish one. Monsieur Tournesfort, in his travels through Greece, reflects upon the Greek Church, for having retained and taken into their present worship many of the old rites of Heathenism, and particularly that of carrying and dancing about the Images of the Saints in their processions, to singing and music [f] : the reflection is full as applicable to his own, as it is to the Greek Church, and the practice itself so far from giving scandal in Italy, that the learned Publisher of the Florentine Inscriptions takes occasion to shew the conformity between them and the Heathens, from this very instance of carrying about the pictures of their Saints, as the Pagans did those of their Gods, in their sacred processions [g].

In one of these processions, made lately to St. Peter's in the time of Lent, I saw that ridiculous

[f] Tournesfort, Lit. iii. 44.

[g] Cui non abludunt (si sacra cum profanis conferre fas est) pictæ tabulæ Sanctorum imaginibus exornatæ, quæ, &c. Inscrip. Antig. Flor. p. 377.

penance of the *flagellantes*, or *self-whippers*, who march with *whips* in their hands, and lash themselves as they go along, on the bare back, till it is *all* covered with blood; in the same manner, as the *fanatical Priests* of *Bellona* or the *Syrian Goddesses*, as well as the votaries of *Isis*, used to slash and cut themselves of old, in order to please the *Goddesses*, by the sacrifice of their own blood: which *mad piece of discipline* we find frequently mentioned, and as oft ridiculed by the *ancient writers*.

But they have another exercise of the same kind, and in the same season of Lent, which, under the notion of penance, is still a more absurd mockery of all religion: when on a certain day, appointed annually for this discipline, men of all conditions assemble themselves towards the evening, in one of the Churches of the City; where whips or lashes made of cords are provided, and distributed to every person present; and after they are all served, and a short office of devotion performed; the candles being put out, upon the warning of a little bell, the whole company begin presently to strip, and try the force of these whips on their own backs, for the space of near an hour: during all which time, the Church becomes, as it were, the proper Image of Hell: where nothing is heard but the noise of lashes and chains, mixed with the groans of these self-tormentors; till fatiated with their exercise, they are content to
 put

put on their cloaths, and the candles being lighted again, upon the tinkling of a second bell, they all appear in their proper drefs.

Seneca, alluding to the very fame effects of *fanaticifm* in *Pagan Rome*, fays; “ So great is
 “ the force of it on difordered minds, that they
 “ try to appeafe the Gods by fuch methods, as
 “ an enraged man would hardly take to revenge
 “ himfelf. But, if there be any Gods, who
 “ defire to be worfhipped after this manner,
 “ they do not deferve to be worfhipped at
 “ all: fince the very worft of Tyrants, though
 “ they have fometimes torn a tortured people’s
 “ limbs, yet have never commanded men to
 “ torture themfelves [*b*].”

But there is no occafion to imagine, that all the blood, which feems to flow on thefe occafions, really comes from the backs of thefe Bigots: for it is probable, that, like their *frantic Predeceffors*, they may ufe fome *craft*, as well as *zeal*, in this their fury; and I cannot but think, that there was a great deal of juftice in that edict of the *Emperor Commodus*, with regard to thefe *Bellonarii*, or *whippers of antiquity*, though it is ufually imputed to his cruelty, when he

[*b*] Tantus eft perturbatæ mentis furor, ut fic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem feviunt.—
 Dii autem nullo debent coli genere, fi & hoc volunt—
 Terribiliffimi tyranni laceraverunt aliquorum membra; neminem fua lacerare jufferunt. *Seneca Fragm. apud Lipfii Elect. l. ii. 18.*

commanded,

commanded, that they should not be suffered to impose upon the spectators, but be obliged to cut and slash themselves in good earnest [b].

If I had leisure to examine the pretended miracles, and pious frauds of the Romish Church, I should be able to trace them all from the same source of Paganism, and find, that the Priests of new Rome are not degenerated from their predecessors, in the art of forging these holy impostures; which, as Livy observes of old Rome [i], were always multiplied in proportion to the credulity and disposition of the poor people to swallow them.

In the early times of the republic, in the war with the Latins, the Gods Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared on white horses in the Roman army, which by their assistance gained a complete victory: in memory of which, the General Posthumius vowed and built a Temple publicly to those Deities; and for a proof of the fact, there was shewn, we find, in Cicero's time, the mark of the horses hoofs on a rock at Regillum, where they first appeared [k].

[b] Bellonæ fervientes vere execrare brachium præcepit, studio crudelitatis. Lamprid. in Commodo, 9.

[i] Quæ quo magis credebant simplices & religiosi homines, eo plura nunciabantur. Liv. l. xxiv. 10.

[k] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. 5. Ib. ii. 2. Vid. de Div. i.

Now this *miracle*, with many others, that I could mention of the same kind [l], has, I dare say, as authentic an attestation, as any which the *Papists* can produce: the decree of a *Senate* to confirm it; a *Temple* erected in consequence of it; *visible marks* of the fact on the spot where it was transacted; and all this supported by the concurrent testimony of the *best authors of antiquity*; amongst whom *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* says [m], that there were subsisting in his time at *Rome* many evident proofs of it's realty, besides a *yearly festival*, with a solemn *sacrifice* and *procession* in memory of it: yet for all this, these stories were but the jest of men of sense, even in the times of *Heathenism* [n]; and seem so extravagant to us now, that we wonder, how there could ever be any so simple, as to believe them.

What better opinion then can we have, of all those of the same stamp in the *Popish Legends*, which they have plainly built on this foundation, and copied from this very original? Not content with barely copying, they seldom fail to improve the old story, with some additional forgery and invention of their own. Thus in

[l] Cic. Nat. D. ii. 2. Plutar. in vita P. Æmil. Val. Max. c. viii. 1. L. Flor. l. i. 11. l. i. 12.

[m] Dion. Halic. l. vi. p. 337. Edit. Hudson.

[n] Aut si hoc fieri potuisse dicis, doceas oportet, quomodo, nec fabellas aniles proferas. Cic. ibid. iii. 5.

the present case, instead of *two persons* on *white horses*; they take care to introduce *three*; and not only on *white horses*, but at the head of *white armies*; as in an old history of the holy wars, written by a pretended eye-witness, and published by *Mabillon*, it is solemnly affirmed of *St. George, Demetrius, and Theodorus* [o]. They shew us too in several parts of *Italy*, the *marks of hands and feet on rocks and stones*, said to have been effected miraculously by the *apparition* of some *Saint or Angel* on the spot [p]: just as the *impression of Hercules's feet* was shewn of old on a stone in *Scythia* [q], exactly resembling the footsteps of a man. And they have also many *Churches* and public monuments [r] erected, in testimony

[o] Tres itaque milites persequentes illos sedebant super albos equos—credenda est ista veritas, & nullo modo prohibenda—hoc vero firmatum est testimonio eorundem Turcorum—Isti vero fuerunt Christi milites Sanctus Demetrius, Sanctus Georgius, & Sanctus Theodorus, quos Deus mandavit, &c.

Adjuvante eos Domino & visibiliter mittente eis in adiutorium sanctos suos Bellatores, videl. Demetrium multotiens, aliquando Georgium, necnon & interdum Theodorum; aliquando totos tres cum suis dealbatis exercitibus, videntibus non solum Christi militibus, sed etiam ipsis inimicis Paganis, &c. Vid. Bell. Sac. Hist. in Mabill. Iter. Ital. t. i. Par. ii. p. 138, 155.

[p] Si conserva poi in questa Chiesa una pietra, sopra la quale apparendo l'Angelo in Castello, vi lascio le piante de suoi piedi impresse, e d'un fanciullo paiono le vestigia. R. Mod. Gior. v. Rion. di Campetalii, c. 1.

[q] Herodot. l. iv. p. 4. 251. Edit. Lond.

[r] There is an Altar of marble in *St. Peter's*, one of the greatest pieces of modern sculpture, representing in figures

testimony of such miracles, viz. of *Saints and Angels fighting visibly for them in their battles*; which though always as ridiculous as that above-mentioned, are not yet supported by half so good evidence of their reality [s].

“ The religion of *Ceres of Enna* was celebrated, as *Cicero* informs us, with a wonderful devotion, both in public and private, through all *Sicily*: for her presence and divinity had been frequently manifested to them by numerous prodigies, and many people had received immediate help from her in their utmost distress. Her Image therefore in that Temple was held in such veneration, that whenever men beheld it, they fancied themselves beholding either *Ceres* herself, or the figure of her at least, not made by human hands, but dropt down to them from heaven [t].” Now if, in the place of *Ceres of Enna*,

as large as the life, the story of *Atilla* King of the *Hunns*, who in full march towards *Rome* with a victorious army, in order to pillage it, was frightened and driven back by the apparition of an Angel, in the time of Pope *Leo* the first.

The Castle and Church of *St. Angelo* have their title from the apparition of an Angel over the place, in the time of *Gregory* the Great. Rom. Moder. Giorn. i. Rion. di Borgo i.

[s] Divum Jacobum nationis Hispanicæ, qui armatus sæpe visus in sublime præire ac protegere acies Hispanorum, nobilesq; iis victorias in sacris bellis conciliare. Boldonni Epigraph. l. ii. p. 349.

[t] Mira quædam tota *Sicilia* privatim ac publice religio est *Cereris Ennensis*. Etenim multa sæpe prodigia vim ejus numenque

Enna, we should insert into this relation, *our Lady of Loretto*; or of *Impruneta*, or any other *miraculous Image in Italy*; the very same account would suit as exactly with the history of the modern Saint, as it is told by the present *Romans*, as it formerly did with that of *Ceres*, as it is transmitted to us by the Ancients. And what else indeed are all their *miraculous Images*, which we see in every great town, said to be made by *Angels*, and sent to them from *heaven* [u], but mere copies of the ancient *Fables*, or the Διοπετὲς Ἄγαλμα, or *Image of Diana dropt from the clouds* [w]; or the *Palladium of Troy*, which, according to *old Authors* [x], was a wooden statue three cubits long, which *fell from heaven*.

numenque declarant: multis sæpe in difficillimis rebus præfens auxilium ejus oblatum est, &c. In Verr. iv. 49.

Alterum autem Ennæ (simulacrum Cereris) erat tale, ut hominis eum viderent, aut ipsam se videre Cererem, aut effigiem Cereris, non humana manu factam, sed cælo delatam arbitrarentur. Ib. v. 7.

[u] Sed quorsum hic Sancti Dominici imaginem, quæ apud Surrianum in Calabria jugibus nunc miraculis præfulget, silentio obvolvimus? de Cælo quippè, ut pia traditio est, hæc primum anno 1530 delata validissimum adversus impios iconoclastas propugnaculum exhibet. Aring. Rom. Subter. l. v. c. 5.

De imagine illa, quæ cum ab Angelis confecta fuerit; ἀχειρότυπος vocatur, nil nisi tritum succurrit. Montfauc. Diar. ibid. 137.

[w] Act. Apost. c. xix. 35.

[x] Vid. Pitisci Lexic. Antiquitat.

In one of their Churches here, they shew a picture of the Virgin, which, as their Writers affirm [y], was brought down from heaven with great pomp, and after having hung a while with surprizing luster in the air, in the sight of all the Clergy and people of Rome, was delivered by Angels into the hands of Pope John the First, who marched out in solemn procession, in order to receive this celestial present. And is not this exactly of a piece with the old Pagan story of King Numa, when, in this same City, he issued from his palace, with Priests and people after him, and with public prayer and solemn devotion received the ancile, or heavenly shield, which, in the presence of all the people of Rome, was sent down to him with much the same formality from the clouds [z]? And as that wise Prince, for the security of his heavenly present, ordered several others to be made so exactly like it, that the original could not be distinguished [a]; so the Romish Priests have thence taken the hint, to form, after each celestial pattern, a number of copies, so perfectly resembling each other, as to

[y] Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. Rion. di Ripa, c. xliii.

[z] A media Cælum regione dehiscere cœpit :

Submisere oculos cum duce turba suos.

Ecce levi scutum versatum leniter aura

Decidit, a populo clamor ad astra venit, &c.

Ov. Fast. l. iii.

[a] Plura jubet fieri simili cœlata figurâ ;

Error ut ante oculos insidiantis eat.

Ov. Fast. l. iii.

occasion endless squabbles among themselves about their several pretensions to the *divine original*.

The *rod of Moses*, with which he performed his *miracles*, is still preserved, as they pretend, and shewn here with great devotion, in one of the principal *Churches*: and just so the *rod of Remulus*, with which he performed his *auguries*, was preserved by the *Priests*, as a *sacred relique* in *old Rome*, and kept with great reverence from being *touched or handled* by the people [b]: which *rod* too, like most of the *Popish reliques*, had the testimony of a *miracle* in proof of it's sanctity; for when the *Temple*, where it was kept, was burnt to the ground, it was found intire under the *ashes*, and untouched by the flames [c]: which same *miracle* has been borrowed and exactly copied by the *present Romans*, in many instances; particularly, in a *miraculous Image* of our *Saviour* in *St. John Lateran*; over which the flames, it seems, had no power, though the *Church itself* has been twice destroyed by fire [d].

Nothing is more common among the *miracles of Popery*, than to hear of *Images*, that on cer-

[b] Παραλαβόντες οι ιερείς τὸ ξύλον ὡσπερ ἄλλό τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀψυσον ἐφύλακτον. Plutar. in Camil. 145. D.

[c] Possunt & illa miraculorum loco poni: Quod deusto sacrario Saliorum, nihil in eo præter lituum Romuli integrum repertum est. Valer. Max. c. viii. 10. It. Cic. de Divin. i. 17. Plut. in Rom.

[d] E questa imagine non s'abbruciò, essendo la Chiesa stata abbruciata due volte. Rom. Moder. Gior. vi. Rion. di Monti xi.

tain occasions had spoken; or *shed tears*; or *sweat*; or *bled*: and do not we find the very same stories in all the *Heathen Writers*? Of which I could bring numberless examples from *old* as well as *new Rome*, from *Pagan* as well as *Popish legends*. Rome, as the Describer of it says [e], *abounds with these treasures, or speaking Images*: but he laments the negligence of their ancestors, in not recording, so particularly as they ought, the *very words and other circumstances of such conversations*. They shew us here an *Image of the Virgin*, which reprimanded Gregory the Great, for passing by her too carelessly: and, in St. Paul's Church, a crucifix, which spoke to St. Bridgith [f], Durantus mentions another Madonna, which *spoke to the sexton*, in commendation of the piety of one of her votaries [g]. And did not the *Image of Fortune* do the same, or more, in *old Rome*? Which, as

[e] Non si puo negare, che per le grande abbondanza, che ha' Roma in simili tesori, non siano stati negligenti i nostri Maggiori, in darne buon conto à posterì loro. Rom. Mod. R. di Monti xxi.

[f] Vi è una Madonna detta di St. Gregorio, della quale si dice, che un giorno passando il detto Pontifice, & non salutandola, gli dicesse, &c. Ibid. Gior. v. Rion. di Campetalli.

Ad sanctum Paulum, ubi vidimus ligneam Crucifixi imaginem, quem sancta Brigida sibi loquentem audivisse perhitur. Mabill. D. Italic. p. 133.

[g] Imaginem Sanctæ Mariæ custodem Ecclesiæ allocutam & Alexii singularem pietatem commendasse. Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 5.

Authors say, *spoke twice in praise of those matrons, who had dedicated a Temple to her* [b].

They have a Church here dedicated to *St. Mary the Weeper*, or to a *Madonna* famous for shedding tears [i]: They shew an *Image* too of *our Saviour*, which for some time before the *Sacking of Rome* wept so heartily, that the good fathers of the *Monastery* were all employed in wiping its face with cotton [k]: And was not the case just the same among their *ancestors*, when on the approach of some public calamity, the *statue of Apollo*, as *Livy* tells us, wept for three days and nights successively [l]? They have another *Church*, built in honor of an *Image*, which bled very plentifully, from a blow given to it by a blasphemer [m]: And were not the *old Idols* too as full of blood, when as *Livy* relates, all the

[b] Fortunæ item Muliebris simulacrum, quod est in via Latina, non semel, sed bis locutum conflat, his pæne verbis: Bene me, matronæ, vidistis, riteque dedicastis. Valer. Max. i. 8.

[i] S. Maria del Pianto. Rom. Mod. Gior. iii. Rion. della Regofa v.

[k] Dicono, ch'avanti il sacco di Roma pianse piu volte, e li Padri ci veniffero ad afsiugar le lagrime con bombace. Ib. Gior. vi. Rio di Mon. xxxi.

[l] Apollo triduum & tres noctes lacrymavit. Liv. l. xliii. 13.

[m] Comminciarono a tirarle de' sassi nel viso, e nè uscì fangue, del quale si vedono infin' hora i segni, &c. Rom. Mod. Gior. iii. Rio. di Ponte xvii.

Images in the temple of Juno were seen to sweat with drops of it [n]?

All which *prodigies*, as well *modern* as *ancient*, are derived from the same source, *viz.* the *contrivance of priests or governors*, in order to draw some gain or advantage out of the poor people, whom they thus impose upon.

Xenophon, though himself much addicted to *superstition*, speaking of the *Prodigies*, which preceded the battle of *Leuctra*, and portended victory to the *Thebans*, tells us, that *some people looked upon them all as forged and contrived by the magistrates [o]*, the better to animate and encourage the multitude: and as the *originals* themselves were but *impostures*, it is no wonder, that the *copies* of them appear such *gross and bungling forgeries*.

I have observed a story in *Herodotus [p]*, not unlike the account, which is given of the *famed travels of the house of Loretto*; of *certain sacred mystical things*, that *travell'd about from country to country*, and, after *many removals and journeys*, settled at last, for good and all, in *Delus*. But this *imposture of the holy house* might be fug-

[n] Signa ad Junonis Sospitæ sudore manavere. Liv. xxiii. 31.

Ad lucum Feroniæ sanguine sudarunt. Ib. xxvii. 4.

[o] Οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσι ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν πρῶτον ἐκείνων. Xenoph. Ellen. l. iv.

[p] Herodot. l. iv. p. 235. Edit. Lond.

gested rather, as Mr. *Addison* has observed [q], by the extraordinary veneration paid in *old Rome* to the *cottage of it's founder Romulus*: which was held sacred by the people, and repaired with great care from time to time, with the same kind of materials, so as to be kept up in the same form, in which it was originally built [r]. It was turned also, I find, like this other *cottage of our Lady*, into a temple, and had divine service performed in it, till it happened to be burnt down by the fire of a sacrifice in the time of *Augustus* [s]; but what makes the similitude still more remarkable is, that this pretended *cottage of Romulus* was shewn on the *Capitoline Hill* [t]: whereas it is certain, that *Romulus* himself lived on *Mount Palatin* [u]: so that, if it had really been the house of *Romulus*, it must needs, like the holy house of *Loretto*, have taken a leap in the air, and suffered a miraculous translation, though not from so great a distance, yet from one hill at least to the other.

[q] *Addison's Travels from Pesaro to Rome.*

[r] *Dion. Halicar.* l. i.

[s] Συκνή ἢ τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἐξ ἰεραρχίας τινός, ἣν οἱ ποιητικῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπιποιήκισαν, ἐκαύθη. *Dio.* l. xlvi. p. 383.

[t] *Per Romuli casam, perque veteris Capitolii humilia tecta juro.* *Val. Max.* l. iv. c. 11.

Item in Capitolio commonefacere potest & significare mores vetustatis Romuli casa in arce sacrorum. *Vitruv.* l. ii. c. 1. *Vid. etiam Macrobi.* Sat. i. 15. *Virg. Æn.* viii. 65.

[u] Περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Παλάτιου κατέβαιον. *Plutarch.* in *Rom.* p. 30.

Ῥωμύλος μὲν τὸ Παλάτιον κατέχων, Τάτιος δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον. *Dion. Hal.* l. ii. p. 110. *Ed. Hudf.*

But if we follow their own writers, it is not the *holy house of Loretto*, but the *homely cradle of our Saviour*, that we should compare rather with the *little house of Romulus*: which cradle is now shewn in *St. Mary the Great*, and on *Christmas-day*, exposed on the high altar to the adoration of the people; being held in the same veneration by *present Rome*, as the *humble cottage of it's founder* had been by it's *old inhabitants*. *Rome*, says *Baronius* [x], “ Is now in possession
 “ of that noble monument of Christ's Nativity,
 “ made only of wood, without any ornament
 “ of silver or gold, and is made more happily
 “ illustrious by it, than it was of old by the
 “ cottage of *Romulus*; which, though built
 “ only with mud and straw, our ancestors pre-
 “ served with great care for many ages.”

The *melting of St. Januarius's Blood at Naples*, whenever it is brought to his *head*, which is done with great solemnity on the day of his *festival* [y], whilst at all other times it continues

[x] Porro in Christi natalis nobile monumentum ex ligno confectum nullâque argenti vel auri cælaturâ confectum, Roma possidet, eoque multo feliciùs illustratur quàm tugurio Romuli; &c. Vid. Baron. An. i. Christi v. It. Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. vi. 1.

[y] De sancti Januarii cruore mirum quiddam narratur in Breviario Romano — quod ejus sanguis, qui in ampulla vitrea concretus asservatur, cum in conspectu capitis ponitur, admirandum in modum colliquificeri videtur. Aringh. Rom. Subter. l. i. 16.

dried and congealed in a glass phial, is one of the *standing* and most *authentic miracles of Italy*. Yet Mr. *Addison*, who twice saw it performed, assures us, that instead of appearing to be a *real miracle*, he thought it *one of the most bungling tricks, that he had ever seen* [z].

Mabillon's account of the fact seems to solve it very naturally, without the help of a *miracle* [a]: for during the time that a *Mass* or two are celebrated in the Church, the other priests are tampering with this *phial of blood*, which is *suspended all the while in such a situation; that as soon as any part of it begins to melt by the heat of their hands, or other management, it drops of course into the lower side of the glass which is empty; upon the first discovery of which, the miracle is proclaimed aloud, to the great joy and edification of the people.*

But by what way soever it be effected, it is plainly nothing else, but the *copy of an old cheat* of the *same kind*, transacted near the *same place*, which *Horace* makes himself merry with in his journey to *Brundisium*; telling us, how the priests would have imposed upon him and his friends, at a town called *Gnatia*, by persuading them, that the *Frankincense in the temple used to*

[z] *Addison's Trav.* at Naples.

[a] Ad præsentiam capitis colliquiferi videtur, ampullæ eâ parte, qua sanguis, naturaliter in subjectam ampullæ partem cadere debet, suspensâ; missâ interim una duæve, dum sanguis decidat, celebrantur. *Mabill. Iter. Ital.* p. 106.

dissolve and melt miraculously of itself, without the help of fire [b].

In the *Cathedral Church of Ravenna*, I saw in *Mosaic work* the pictures of those *Archbishops* of the place, who, as all their historians affirm [c], were chosen for several ages successively by the special designation of the *Holy Ghost*, who, in a full assembly of the Clergy and People, used to descend visibly on the *person elect, in the shape of a Dove*. If the fact of such a descent be true, it will easily be accounted for by a passage in *Aulus Gellius* (whence the hint was probably taken) who tells us of *Archytas the Philosopher and Mathematician*, that he formed a *Pigeon of wood so artificially, as to make it fly by the power of Mechanism, just as he directed it [d]*. And we find from *Strada*, that many tricks of this kind were actually contrived for the diversion of *Charles the fifth* in his Monastery, by one *Turrianus*, who made *little birds fly out of the room*

[b] Hor. Sat. i. v. ver. 98.

[c] Quis enim nescit, quod sacrae testantur historix, tunc temporis cum Fabianus in summum Pontificem salutatus est, Columbam cœlitus advenisse, ejusque capiti insidendo suffragium detulisse? &c. Hoc idem in complurium Ravenatum Episcoporum electionibus solenne extitit, quorum memoriam Rubeus recolit. Hist. Raven. &c. Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. vi. c. 48.

[d] Plerique nobilium Græcorum affirmatissime scripserunt, simulachrum Columbæ e ligno ab Archyta ratione quadam, disciplinaque mechanica factum volasse: Ita erat libramentis suspensum, &c. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. x. 12.

and

and back again, by his great skill in *Machinery* [e].

It would be endless to run through all the *Po-pish Miracles*, which are evidently forged, or copied from the *originals of Paganism*; since there is scarce a *Prodigy* in the *old Historians*, or a *Fable* in the *old Poets*, but what is transcribed into *their Legends*, and swallowed by their silly Bigots, as certain and undoubted facts.

The story of *Arion the Musician*, riding triumphant with his harp on the *back of a Dolphin*, that took him up when *thrown over-board at Sea*, is, one would think, too grossly fabulous, to be applied to any purpose of Christian *Superstition*: Yet our *present Romans*, so far surpass the *old* in *Fable* and *Imposture*, that out of this *single story* they have coined *many of the same stamp*, viz. of *Dolphins taking up and bringing ashore* with great pomp several of *their Saints*, both dead and alive, who had been *thrown into the Sea*, by *Infidels*, either to drown, or to deprive them of burial [f].

The *fable of the Harpies*, those *furies* or *winged monsters*, who were so troublesome to *Æneas* and his *Companions* [g], seems to be copied in the

[e] Vid. Gronovii Not. in Gell. Ibid.

[f] Quos Judex submersos in mare necavit; sed Delphinatorum obsequio corpora eorum ad littus delata sunt: Sed de obsequio Delphinatorum martyribus impenso plura infra suo loco. Aringh. Rom. Subterr. l. i. c. 9, 10.

[g] Virg. Æn. iii. 211.

very first Church within the walls of Rome, close to the gate of the people, as it is called, by which we enter it from the north : where there is an Altar with a public inscription [b], signifying, that it was built by Pope Paschal the Second, by divine Inspiration, in order to drive away a nest of huge dæmons or monsters, who used to perch upon a tree in that very place, and terribly insult all who entered the city.

The Popish Writers themselves are forced to allow, that many both of their reliques and their miracles have been forged by the craft of Priests, for the sake of money and lucre. Durantus, a zealous defender of all their ceremonies, gives several instances of the former; particularly of the bones of a common thief, which had for some time been honored with an altar, and worshipped under the title of a Saint [i]. And for the latter; Lyra, in his Comment on Bel and the Dragon,

[b] Altare à Paschali Papa II. divino afflatu
ritu solemnè hoc loco erectum,
quo dæmones proceros
nucis arbori insidentes,
transeuntem hinc populum dirè insultantes,
confestim expulit,
Urbani VIII. pont. max. auctoritate
excelliorem in locum quem conspiciis
translatum fuit
An. Dom. M.DC.XXVII.

[i] S. Martinus altare, quod in honorem Martyris exstructum fuerat, cum ossa & reliquias cujusdam latronis esse deprehendisset, submoveri jussit. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 25.

observes, *that sometimes also in the Church, very great cheats are put upon the people, by false miracles, contrived, or countenanced at least, by their priests for some gain and temporal advantage [k]. And what their own Authors confess of some of their miracles, we may venture, without any breach of charity, to believe of them all; nay, we cannot indeed believe any thing else without impiety; and without supposing God to concur in an extraordinary manner, to the establishment of fraud, error, and superstition in the world.*

The *refuge or protection* given to all, who fly to the *Church* for shelter, is a *privilege* directly transferred from the *heathen temples* to the *Popish Churches*; and has been practised in *Rome*, from the time of it's *founder Romulus*; who, in imitation of the *Cities of Greece*, opened an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary* to *fugitives* of all the *Nations [l]*.

But we may observe the great moderation of *Pagan*, above that of *Popish Rome*, in regard to this custom; for I do not remember that there ever was more than *one Asylum* in the times of the *Republic*; whereas there are now *some hundreds* in the same city; and when that single one

[k] Aliquando fit in Ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis à sacerdotibus, vel eis adhaerentibus propter lucrum temporale, &c. Vid. Nic. Lyr. in Dan. c. xiv.

[l] Romulus, ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
Quilibet huc, inquit, confuge, tutus eris.

Ov. Fast. iji.

· (which

(which was opened rather for the increase of it's inhabitants, than the protection of criminals) was found in the end to give too great encouragement to mischief and licentiousness; they enclosed it round in such a manner as to hinder all access to it [m]: whereas the present *Popish Sanctuaries* stand perpetually open, not to receive strangers, but to shelter villains; so that it may literally be said of these, what *our Saviour* said of the *Jewish temple*, that *they have turned the House of Prayer into a Den of Thieves* [n].

In the *early ages of Christianity* there were many limitations put upon the use of this privilege by *Emperors and councils*; and the greater crimes of *murder, adultery, theft, &c.* were especially excepted from the benefit of it [o]: but now they scruple not to receive to *sanctuary*, even the most detestable crimes; and it is owing without doubt to this policy of *holy Church*, that murders are so common with them in *Italy* on slight provocations; whilst there is a *Church* always at hand and always open, to secure offenders from legal punishment; several of whom have been shewn to me in different places,

[m] Οὕτω γὰρ περιεφράχθη, ὥστε μηδὲνα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸ δυναθῆναι. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 385.

[n] Matth. xxi. 13.

[o] Neque Homicidis, neque Adulteris, neque virginum raptoribus, &c. terminorum custodias cautelam; sed etiam inde extrahes, & supplicium eis inferes. Justin. Novel. xvii. c. 7.

walking about at their ease, and in full security within the bounds of their *sanctuary*.

In their very *Priesthood* they have contrived, one would think, to keep up as *near a resemblance* as they could, to that of *Pagan Rome*: and the *sovereign Pontif*, instead of deriving his succession from *St. Peter*, (who, if ever he was at *Rome*, did not reside there at least in any worldly *pomp* or *splendor*) may with more reason, and a much better plea, style himself the *Successor* of the [*p*] *Pontifex Maximus*, or *chief Priest of old Rome*; whose *authority* and *dignity* was the greatest in the *Republic*; and who was looked upon as the *arbiter or judge of all things*, civil as well as sacred, human as well as divine: whose power, established almost with the foundation of the City, “ was an omen (says *Polydore Vergil*) and sure presage of that priestly “ Majesty, by which *Rome* was once again to

[*p*] Multa divinitus, Pontifices, a majoribus nostris inventa, nihil præclarius, quam quod vos eisdem, & religionibus Deorum Immortalium & summæ Reipublicæ præesse voluerunt. Cic. pro Dom. i.

Maximus Pontifex dicitur, quod maximus rerum, quæ ad sacra & religiones pertinent, judex fit, vindexque contumaciæ privatorum, magistratumque. Fest. l. xi. in voce *Max*.

Quod Judex atque Arbiter habeter rerum divinarum, humanarumque. Id. in *Ordo Sacerdotum*.

T. Coruncanium Pontificatu maximo ad principale extulere fastigium. Vell. Pater. l. ii. 128.

“ reign

“ reign as univerſally, as it had done before by
 “ the force of it's arms [q].”

But of all the *ſovereign Pontifs of Pagan Rome*, it is very remarkable that *Caligula* was the firſt, who ever offered *his foot to be kiſſed* by any, who approached him: which raiſed a general indignation through the City, to ſee themſelves reduced to ſuffer ſo great an indignity. Thoſe, who endeavoured to excuſe it, ſaid, that it was not done out of inſolence, but vanity; and for the ſake of ſhewing *his golden ſlipper, ſet with jewels*. *Seneca* declaims upon it, in his uſual manner, as the laſt affront to liberty; and the introduction of a *Persian ſlavery into the manners of Rome*, [r]. Yet this ſervile act, unworthy either to be impoſed or complied with by man, is now the ſtanding ceremonial of *Chriſtian Rome*, and a neceſſary condition of acceſs to the *reigning Popes*, though derived from no better origin, than the frantic pride of a brutal *Pagan Tyrant*.

[q] Certum portentum quo eſt ſignificatum, Urbem Romam poſtremo perinde Pontificia Majeſtate, qua nunc late patet, gentibus moderaturam, atque olim potentia impe-raſſet. Pol. Verg. Inv. rer. l. iv. 14.

[r] Abſoluto & gratias agenti porrexit oſculandum ſiniſtrum pedem — qui excuſant, negant id inſolentiaꝝ cauſa factum; aiunt Socculum auratum, imo aureum, margaritis diſtinctum oſtendere cum voluiſſe — natus in hoc, ut mores civitatis Perſica ſervitute mutaret, &c. Senec. de Benef. l. ii. 12.

The

The great variety of their *religious orders and societies of Priests* seems to have been formed upon the plan of the *old colleges or fraternities of the Augurs, Pontifices, Salii, Fratres Arvales, &c.* The *Vestal virgins* might furnish the hint for the *foundation of Nunneries*: and I have observed something very like to the *rules and austerities of the monastic life*, in the character and manner of several *Priests of the Heathens*, who used to *live by themselves, retired from the world, near to the Temple or Oracle of the Deity*, to whose particular service they were devoted; as the *Selli, the Priest of Dodonæan Jove*, a self-mortifying race [s].

ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ ναῖουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

Il. xvii. 234.

Whose groves the *Selli*, race austere, surround;
Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the
ground. Mr. Pope.

But above all, in the old descriptions of the *lazy mendicant Priests* among the *Heathens*, who used

[s] Τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς ἀφωρισμένον. Plato in Timæo, p. 1044.

From the character of these *Selli*, or as others call them *Elli*, the Monks of the *Pagan World*, seated in the fruitful Soil of *Dodona*; abounding, as *Hesiod* describes it, with every thing, that could make life easy and happy; and whither no man ever approached them without an offering in his hands, we may learn, whence their successors of modern

used to travel [t] from *house to house*, with *sacks on their backs*; and, from an opinion of their sanctity, raise large contributions of *money, bread, wine, and all kind of victuals*, for the support of their *fraternity*, we see the very picture of the *begging Friars*; who are always about the street in the *same habit*, and on the *same errand*, and never fail to carry home with them a *good sack full of provisions* for the use of their *convent*.

Cicero, in his *book of laws*. restrains this practice of *begging*, or *gathering alms*, to *one particular order of Priests*, and that only on *certain days*; because, as he says [u], *it propagates superstition and impoverishes families*. Which, by the way, may let us see the policy of the *Church of Rome*, in the great care, that they have taken to *multiply their begging orders*.

modern times have derived that peculiar skill or prescriptive right, of chusing the richest part of every country for the place of their settlement. Vid. Sophoc. Trachin. p. 340. v. 1175. Edit. Turneb. & Schol. Triclin.

[t] Stipes æreas, immo vero & argenteas, multis certatim offerentibus sinu recepere patulo; nec non & vini cadum & lactis & caseos avidis animis corradentes & in faculos huic quæstui de industria præparatos farcientes, &c. Apuleius Metam. l. viii. p. 262.

[u] Stipem sustulimus, nisi eam quam ad paucos dies propriam Idææ Matris excepimus: Implet enim superstitione animos, exhaurit domos. Cic. de Legib. l. ii. 9, 16.

I could easily carry on this parallel, through many more instances of the *Pagan* and *Popish ceremonies*, if I had not already said enough, to shew from what spring all that superstition flows, which we so justly charge them with, and how vain an attempt it must be, to justify, by the principles of *Christianity*, a *worship* formed upon the plan, and after the very pattern of pure *Heathenism*. I shall not trouble myself with enquiring at what time, and in what manner these several corruptions were introduced into the *Church*: whether they were contrived by the *intrigues and avarice of Priests*, who found their advantage in reviving and propagating *impostures*, which had been of old so profitable to *their predecessors*: or whether the *genius of Rome* was so strongly turned to *fanaticism* and *superstition*, that they were forced, in condescension to the humor of the people, to dress up their *new religion* to the modes and fopperies of the *old*. This, I know, is the *principle*, by which their *own Writers* defend themselves, as oft as they are attacked on this head.

Aringhus, in his account of *subterraneous Rome*, acknowledges this conformity between the *Pagan* and *Popish rites*, and defends the admission of the *ceremonies of Heathenism* into the *service of the Church*, by the authority of their *wisest Popes*

Popes and Governors [w], “ who found it
 “ necessary, *he says*, in the conversion of the
 “ *Gentiles*, to dissemble and wink at many
 “ things, and yield to the times; and not to
 “ use force against customs, which the people
 “ were so obstinately fond of; nor to think of
 “ extirpating at once every thing, that had the
 “ appearance of profane; but to supersede in
 “ some measure the obligation of the sacred
 “ laws; till these converts, convinced by de-
 “ grees, and informed of the whole truth, by
 “ the suggestions of the Holy Spirit, should be
 “ content to submit in earnest to the Yoak of
 “ *Christ*.”

It is by the same principles, that the *Jesuits* defend the *concessions*, which they make at this day to their *Profelytes* in *China*; who, where pure Christianity will not go down, never scruple to compound the matter between *Jesus* and *Confucius*; and prudently allow, what the *stiff old Prophets* so impolitically condemned, a *partnership between God and Baal*: of which, though they have often been accused at the *Court of*

[w] Ac maximi subinde Pontifices quamplurima primâ quidem facie dissimulanda duxere, optimum videlicet rari temporis deferendum esse; suadebant quippe sibi, haud ullam adversus gentilitios ritus vim, utpote qui mordicus a fidelibus retinebantur, adhibendam esse; neque ullatenus enitendum, ut quicquid profanos saperet mores, omnino tolleretur, quin imo quam maxima utendum lenitate, sacrarumque legum ex parte intermittendum imperium arbitrabantur, &c. Vid. Aring. Rom. Subter. tom. i. l. i. c. 21.

Rome, yet I have never heard, that their conduct has been censured. But this kind of reasoning, how plausible soever it may be, with regard to the first ages of Christianity, or to nations just converted from *Paganism*, is so far from excusing the present *Gentilism* of the Church of Rome, that it is a direct condemnation of it; since the necessity alledged for the practice, if ever it had any real force, has not, at least for many ages past, at all subsisted: and their toleration of such practices, however useful at first for reconciling *Heathens* to *Christianity*, seems now to be the readiest way, to drive *Christians* back again to *Heathenism*.

But it is high time for me to conclude, being persuaded, if I do not flatter myself too much, that I have sufficiently made good, what I at first undertook to prove; an *exact Conformity*, or *Uniformity* rather, of *Worship*, between *Po-pery* and *Paganism*: for since, as I have shewn above, we see the *present people of Rome* worshipping in the *same Temples*; at the *same Altars*; sometimes the *same Images*; and always with the *same Ceremonies*, as the *old Romans*; they must have more *charity*, as well as *skill in distinguishing*, than I pretend to have, who can absolve them from the *same superstition* and *idolatry*, of which we condemn their *Pagan Ancestors*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

AFTER I had sent these Papers to the Press, I happened to meet with a Paragraph, in *Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses*, which obliges me to detain the reader a little longer, in order to obviate the prejudices, which the authority of so celebrated a writer may probably inject to the disadvantage of my argument; which, though it has been maintained, as he observes, by *many able writers*, he has taken occasion to condemn, as an *utter mistake, and a misapplication of their time and learning, in the pursuit of a false principle.*

The paragraph runs thus;

“ There is nothing obstructs our discoveries
 “ in antiquity, (as far as relates to the know-
 “ ledge of mankind) so much as that false
 “ though undisputed principle, that the general
 “ customs of men (in which a common like-
 “ ness connects, as in a chain, the manners of
 “ it's inhabitants, quite round the globe) are
 “ all, whether civil or religious, traductive
 “ from one another. Whereas in truth, the
 “ original of this similitude, is the voice of one
 “ common nature, improved by reason, or de-
 “ based by superstition, speaking to all it's
 “ tribes of individuals. But it is no wonder
 “ men

“ men have been misled by this false principle.
 “ For when a custom, whose meaning lies not
 “ very obvious, requires some account to be
 “ given of it's original, it is much easier, to tell
 “ us, that this people derived it from that, than
 “ rightly to explain to us, what common prin-
 “ ciple of reason or superstition gave birth to it,
 “ in both. How many able Writers have em-
 “ ployed their time and learning to prove *Chri-*
 “ *stian Rome* to have borrowed their supersti-
 “ tions from the *Pagan City*? They have indeed
 “ shewn an exact and surprizing likeness in a
 “ great variety of instances. But the conclusion
 “ from thence, that, therefore, the Catholic
 “ borrowed from the Heathen, as plausible, as
 “ it seems, is, I think, *utterly mistaken*. To
 “ offer at present onely this plain reason, the
 “ rise of the superstitious customs in question
 “ were many ages later than the conversion of
 “ that Imperial City to the Christian faith: con-
 “ sequently, at the time of their introduction,
 “ there were no *Pagan* prejudices, that required
 “ such a compliance from the ruling Clergy.
 “ For this, and other reasons, therefore, I am
 “ rather induced to believe, that the very same
 “ spirit of superstition, operating in equal cir-
 “ cumstances, made both *Papists*, and *Pagans*
 “ truly originals, &c. [a].”

I am at a loss to conceive, what could move my learned friend, to pass so severe a censure

[a] Div. Legation. Vol. II. Par. i. p. 355.

Upon an argument, which has hitherto been espoused by all Protestants; admitted by many Papists; and evaded, rather than contradicted, by any. But whatever was his motive, which, I persuade myself, was no unfriendly one, he will certainly pardon me, if pursuing the full conviction of my mind, I attempt to defend an established principle, confirmed by strong and numerous facts, against an opinion wholly new and strange to me; and which, if it can be supposed to have any force, overthrows the whole credit and use of my present work.

To proceed therefore to the consideration of his reasoning. He allows, that the writers, who have undertaken, *to deduce the rites of Popery from Paganism, have shewn an exact and surprizing likeness between them, in a great variety of instances.* This, one would think, is allowing every thing, that the cause demands: it is every thing, I dare say, that those writers desire. But this question, according to his notion, is not to be decided by facts, but by a principle of a different kind; *a superior knowledge of human nature*; which would teach us, that, notwithstanding all *that exact and surprizing likeness, the Papists are as truly originals as the Pagans; and borrowed nothing at all in reality from their Heathen Ancestors.*—He offers *one plain reason*, in the support of this assertion; *“ that the rise of the superstitious customs in que-*

“ sion were many ages later, than the conversion

“ of Rome to the Christian faith; and consequent-
 “ ly, at the time of their first introduction, there
 “ were no Pagan prejudices, that required such a
 “ compliance from the ruling Clergy.” But this
 reason is so far from being a *plain one*, that,
 till it be more precisely stated, it will hardly
 pass for any reason at all. It consists, we see,
 of an *historical fact*; and of a *consequence* de-
 duced from it: but till the *Æra of that fact*
 be settled, or *the number of ages* determined, by
 which *the introduction of those ceremonies* was
 later than *the conversion of Rome*, it is not pos-
 sible for us to judge of the consequence, which
 he draws from it; or to know, whether there
 were *any Pagan prejudices* subsisting at that time
 or not; on which the whole force of his reason
 depends.

To set this argument therefore in it's proper
 light, let us take a summary view of *the Chri-
 stian religion in Rome*, from the reign of *Constan-
 tine the Great*, the known æra of it's establish-
 ment in that Imperial City.

From this *Æra* then, according to the ac-
 counts of all writers, though Christianity be-
 came the public and established religion of the
 Government, yet it was forced to sustain a per-
 petual struggle for many ages, against the ob-
 stinate efforts of *Paganism*; which was openly
 espoused by some of the Emperors; publicly
 tolerated,

tolerated, and privately favored by others; and connived at in some degree by all.

Within thirty years after *Constantine*, the *Apostate Julian* intirely restored it; abrogated all the laws which had been made against it; and prohibited the Christians *to teach or propagate the Gospel* [b]. The three Emperors, who next succeeded, *Jovian, Valentinian, Valens*; though they were Christians by profession, were yet wholly *indifferent and neutral between the two religions*; granting an equal indulgence and toleration to them both: and *Gratian*, the fourth, though a sincere believer, did not think fit *to annul, what Julian had restored* [c]. He was the first however, who refused the *title and habit of the Pontifex Maximus*; as giving a kind

[b] *Petunt etiam, ut illis privilegia deferas, qui loquendi & docendi nostris communem usum, Juliani lege proxima denegarunt.*—Ambros. adv. Symmach. lib. i. ad Valentinianum.

[c] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived in that very age, gives this character of the Emperor *Valentinian*; *Postremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit; quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit; nec quenquam inquietavit; neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit, aut illud. Nec interdictis minacibus subjectorum cervicem ad id, quod ipse coluit, inclinabat; sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit.* lib. xxx. c. 9.

Symmachus, in his memorial to *Valentinian* the II^d. speaking with a reference to the five Emperors just named says; *numerentur Principes utriusque Sectæ, utriusque Sententiæ: proximus eorum cæremonias patrum coluit, recentior non removet.* Symmach. Epist. l. x. 54.

of

of sanction to the old Idolatry. But this affront provoked *the Pagan Priesthood* so highly, that one of them is recorded to have said, *since the Emperor refuses to be our Pontifex, we will very shortly take care, that the Pontifex shall be Maximus*; which they soon after made good, by the murder of *Gratian*, and the advancement of *Maximus*, to the throne [d].

In the following reign of *Theodosius*, whose laws were generally severe upon the *Pagans*, *Symmachus*, the Governor of Rome, presented a petition or memorial, in the strongest terms, and in the name of the Senate and people of Rome, to *Valentinian the younger*, *Theodosius's* partner in Empire; for leave, to replace the *Altar of Victory in the Senate House*, whence it had been removed by *Gratian*; and to restore their ancient privileges and revenues to the *Vestal virgins* [e]. This memorial was answered by *St. Ambrose*; who, in a Letter upon it to the Emperor, observes, *that when the petitioners had so many Temples and Altars open to them in all the streets of Rome, and particularly an Altar of Victory, where they might freely offer their Sacrifices, it seemed to be a mere insult on Christianity, to demand still one Altar more: and especially in the Senate House, where the greater part were then Christians* [f]. Yet it appears from some hints
in

[d] Vid. Jac. Gothofred. De Statu Paganor. sub Christ. Imperatorib. Præf.

[e] Vid. Symmach. Epist. ibid.

[f] Hujus aram strui in Urbis Romæ Curia petunt; hoc est, quo plures conveniunt Christiani. Omnibus in Templis

in another letter, that this *majority of Christians* durst not venture to oppose the petition, but were content to withdraw themselves only, that they might not be said to have voted for it [g.] The petition was rejected by *Valentinian*, against the advice of all his Council; but was granted presently after by *the Usurper Eugenius*, who murdered and succeeded him.

Theodosius the II^d, pursuing the maxims of his Father, published a law, to punish all those, who were caught in the act of sacrificing to Idols, with banishment and confiscation of goods: and when this was not sufficient to restrain them, he made the punishment capital, and ordered their Temples to be demolished. Yet he prohibited the Christians at the same time by another law, from injuring either their persons or goods, on the account of their religion, as long as they behaved themselves quietly, and with due respect to the laws [b].

During

plis aræ; ara etiam in templo Victoriarum; quoniam numero delectantur, Sacrificia sua ubique concelebrant. Quid est nisi insultare fidei, unius aræ sacrificium vindicare?—Non illis fatis sunt lavacra, non porticus, non plateæ occupatæ simulacris.—Ambros. adv. Symmach. lib. ii. ad Valentin.

[g] Ibid. lib. i.

[b] Sed hoc Christianis, qui vel verè sunt, vel esse dicuntur, specialiter demandamus, ut Judæis ac Paganis in quiete degentibus,—non audeant manus inferre religionis auctoritate abusi, &c.

Vid. Jac. Gothofred. de Statu Paganor. leg. xxiv. A. D.

During this period therefore, which includes a full century from the conversion of Rome, in which the Christians and Pagans lived promiscuously in every City of the Empire; enjoying, for the greatest part, not only the free exercise of their several religions, but an equal share of the honors and magistracies of the State, it is evident, as well from the nature of the thing, as from the facts above recited, that there were many strong prejudices in favor of Paganism, actually subsisting in all ranks of men; which an ambitious and temporizing Clergy would naturally apply to the advantage of their ease, their profit, or their power: so that, if any of the ceremonies in question were introduced into the Church within this period, their Pagan origin cannot be disputed, and Mr. Warburton, I am persuaded, according to his own reasoning, will allow the mistake to lie on his side.

N. B. This law, which was published above a Century after the establishment of Christianity, is addressed, in very peculiar terms, to all Christians, whether real or nominal; whether they were truly so, or passed only for such,—Which shews us in the first place, from what source a great part of those pagan prejudices, that infected the discipline of the Church, would naturally arise; viz. from the numbers of the pretended converts, who were Pagans still in their hearts, and conformed only through fear, or flattery to the reigning powers: and 2dly, that these false Christians used to cover their hypocrisy by the mask of an extraordinary zeal, and were the most forward to insult and persecute both the Jews and the Pagans.

Let

Let us inquire then in the next place, what light the monuments of those times will afford concerning *the rise of these ceremonies*. But as it is of little moment to the public, to know the exact time of their introduction, so I will carry the reader no farther into this search, than will be necessary to convince him, that I have not been imposing upon him *a specious error*, or *fanciful hypothesis*; grounded on a false notion of human nature; but an historical relation of *the Paganism of modern Rome*; deduced from unquestionable facts, and the clear testimony of Antiquity: and this I shall be able to shew, as far as there will be occasion, from some of the hints already given in my Letter and my Preface.

Every one knows what a perpetual use there was of *Incense*: and *sweet Odors*, in all the Temples of the Heathens. *Tertullian*, speaks of it, as the distinguishing rite of *Paganism*; and declares, *that Idolatry might sooner be carried on without Idol, than without Incense*: and for this reason, as he intimates, if *the Perfumers, who furnished this Incense to the Pagan Altars, continued to carry on that trade, after they had embraced the Christian faith, they were to be rejected from the Church* [i], This was the primitive disci-

[i] Si & nunc etiam sine Idolo opus Idololatriæ incendiis odorum perpetratur — nam facilius sine Idolo, Idololatria, quam sine Turarii merce. Apologet. xi.

pline, before the conversion of *Rome*, when the Church was cautious of admitting into her worship, whatever had any relation to the old Idolatry: yet even in this period, *Gregory Thaumaturgus* is commended by *his namesake of Nissa*, for, *changing the Pagan Festivals into Christian Holydays, the better to draw the Heathens to the religion of Christ* [k]. But after the establishment of *Christianity*, when the policy of complying with the popular prejudices began to prevail among the Clergy; and *the Church*, as *St. Jerom* says, *declined as much in it's virtue, as it encreased in it's power*, we find not onely *the Incense-sellers* but *the incense* itself, and *the Thuribulum* taken into the service of *the Christian Altars*, and mentioned by *St. Ambrose* and *St. Chrysoftom*, as of common use both in the Eastern and Western Empire [l].

The *Pagans*, as I have shewn, besides the constant use of *lustral water* in their Temples, used to *sprinkle their horses* with it in the *Circen-*

[k] Nissen. in vit. Greg. Thaumaturgus.

[l] Atque utinam nobis adolentibus Altaria, sacrificium deferentibus assistat Angelus, &c. Ambrosius in Luc. i.

Diaconus, — λαβὼν τὸ θυμιατῆρον καὶ τὸ θυμίαμα, &c. Chrysostr. Liturgia. vid. Bevergii Annot. in Canon. Apost. iii.

Some learned men have asserted the *use of Incense* to be of *Apostolic* institution, from the authority of *the Apostolic Canons*: but the testimony of *Tertullian*, quoted above, clearly shews, that it was not introduced into the Christian worship in his days, and consequently, as other learned men have with more judgment inferred, that *the Apostolic Canons* were the production of a later age.

lian games, to preserve them probably from the power of charms or incantations, that might be prepared against them by their adversaries. I have shewn likewise, how, in imitation of that custom, the practice of *sprinkling horses and other animals with Holy-water*, was first introduced among Christians, by the authority of *Hilarion, the Monk*; whose peculiar doctrine it was, *that the Devil, out of his great hatred to men, and for the sake of doing them the greater mischief, used to enter even into their cattle, with intent to destroy* [m]. For when we see so singular a custom continued to this day at *Rome*, by the *Monks of St. Antony*, the Parent of Monkery itself, and the friend and contemporary of *Hilarion*; we cannot think it a *mistake*, to deduce it from an origin; which, from it's great success in that first trial, is said to have drawn *many Pagans to the faith of Christ* [n].

St. Jerom takes notice, that *Paganism had many observances, which, to the reproach even of Christians, implied a great strictness of manners and discipline*. *Juno*, says he, *had her Priestesses, devoted to one husband: Vesta her perpetual Virgins, and other Idols their Priests also, under vows of*

[m] Docebat autem Senex, hominum causa, Diabolum etiam jumenta corripere, &c. Hieron. tom. iv. Par. ii. p. 82. Edit. Bened.

[n] Indubitata ergo victoria & illis & multis retrò Circusibus plurimis fidei occasio fuit. Ibid. p. 80.

chastity [o]. To wipe off this reproach therefore from the Christian Church, Monasteries and Nunneries began to be multiplied in this age, through all parts of the Christian world, recommended chiefly by the writings and authority of St. Jerom [p]. Vigilantius, who lived towards the end of the 4th Century, not long after the conversion of Rome, publicly charged the ruling Clergy with Idolatry and Paganizing, on the account of several Heathenish customs, introduced at that time into the Church; particularly, the vows of chastity imposed upon the Clergy; the veneration of reliques; and the lighting up of candles to them, in broad day-light. “ We see, says he, “ in effect, a Pagan rite introduced into our “ Churches, under the pretext of religion; “ when heaps of wax candles are lighted up in “ clear sunshine, and people every where kissing and adoring, I know not what, contemptible dust, preserved in a little vessel, and “ wrapped up in precious linen. These men “ do great honor truly to the blessed Martyrs, “ by lighting up *poultry candles* to those, whom “ the Lamb, in the midst of the throne, illu-

[o] Quid nos oportet facere, in quorum condemnationem habet, & Juno Univiras, & Vesta Virgines, & alia Idola continentes? Ibid. tom. iv. Par. i. 314. It. Par. ii. p. 154. & 744.

[p] Certe flos quidam & preciosissimus lapis inter Ecclesiastica ornamenta, Monachorum & Virginum chorus est. Hier. t. iv. Par. ii. p. 551.

Initum est inter Monachos consilium, nam in eodem loco circiter quinque millia diversis cellulis habitabant. Ib. p. 44.

“ minates

“minates with all the lustre of his majesty [q].”
St. Jerom, who answers him, does not deny the practice, nor it's being *borrowed from the Pagans*, but defends it. *That*, says he, *was once done to Idols, and was then to be detested; but this is done to the Martyrs, and is therefore to be received [r].*
Vigilantius appears to have had several *Bishops* and *Presbyters* on his side in this controversy, and particularly *Ruffinus*; yet the Church in general was so strongly infected at this time with *Pagan prejudices*, that his remonstrances were treated with no better terms, than *heretical, impious, and diabolical [s]*.

Upon the conversion of the Empire to the Christian faith, when the Church found itself supported by the laws, and invested with authority; it is natural to imagine, that one of the first acts of her power would be, to render all due honors to the memory of those *Martyrs*, by whose blood she had obtained it. This therefore was the peculiar zeal, and reigning devotion of that age: in consequence of which it was a kind of fashion for the new Converts, who were of eminent birth and fortunes, to build Churches at their own expence, to the honor of the *Martyrs*, and for a repository of

[q] Hieron. ib. p. 282.

[r] Illud fiebat Idolis, & idcirco detestandum est: hoc fit Martyribus, & idcirco recipiendum est. Ibid. 284.

[s] Proh nefas! Episcopus sui sceleris dicitur habere confortes. Hieron. adv. Vigil. p. 281. Oper. t. iv. Par. ii.

their bones : which, after the manner of *the Pagans*, they affected also to adorn with *paintings*; representing the stories of the Old and New Testament, and especially the acts of those *Martyrs*, to whom the Churches were consecrated; in opposition to the fabulous acts of the *Old Heroes*, or pretended *Deities*, with which *the Heathen Temples* were usually painted.

Thus *Paulinus*, a Convert from Paganism, of Senatorial rank, celebrated for his parts and learning, and who died afterwards *Bishop of Nola*, rebuilt in a splendid manner his Episcopal Church, dedicated to *Felix the Martyr*; on whose portico's were *painted the miracles of Moses and of Christ*, together with the acts of *Felix*, and the other *Martyrs*, whose *reliques* were there deposited. He gives a short description of these paintings in one of his Poems; where, to obviate an objection, that might probably be made to this *new and unusual method*, as he calls it, of *painting Churches*, he says, “ that
 “ it was done with a design, to draw the rude
 “ multitude, habituated to the profane rites of
 “ Paganism, to a knowledge and good opinion
 “ of the Christian doctrine; by learning from
 “ these pictures, what they were not capable of
 “ learning from books, the lives and acts of
 “ the Christian Saints [t].” Thus *Sulpicius* also,
 another

[t] Forte requiratur quam ratione gerendi
 Sederit hæc nobis sententia, *pingere sanctas*
Raro more domos, animantibus adsimulatis.

another noble Convert, and *Paulinus's* friend, built two *Basilica's*, or spacious Churches, with a *Baptistery* between them, in which was painted, on the one side, *St. Martin*, whose life also he wrote; and on the other, his living friend *Paulinus* [u].

Thus were *pictures* or *Images* introduced into the Christian Church, about the end of the 4th, or the beginning of the 5th Century, by the *Pagan Converts*; who seem to have vied with each other, in the magnificence of building, adorning, and painting the Churches of the

Accipite, & paucis tentabo exponere causas.
 Quos agat huc *Sancti Felicis* gloria cœtus
 Obscurum nulli; sed turba frequentior his est
 Rusticitas non cassa fide; neque docta legendi.
 Hæc adsueta diu sacris servire profanis
 Ventre Deo, tandem convertitur advena Christo,
 Dum sanctorum opera in Christo miratur aperta.
 Cernite quam multi coeant ex omnibus agris, &c.

Vid. S. Paulini Oper. Nat. ix.

Pope Gregory, called the *Great*, about two centuries later, makes the same apology also for *Images* or *Pictures* in Churches; declaring them to have been introduced for the sake of the *Pagans*; that those, who did not know, and could not read the Scriptures, might learn from them what they ought to worship. Unde & præcipue *Gentibus* pro lectione, pictum est, &c. Epist. l. ix. c. 9.

[u] Recte enim in loco refectionis humanæ *Martinus* pingitur, qui cœlestis hominis imaginem perfecta Christi imitatione portavit; ut deponentibus in lavacro terrenæ imaginis vetustatem, imitanda cœlestis animæ occurrat effigies. Nostræ vero quis illic locus est, &c. Vid. ib. Epist. ad Sever. xii.

several Martyrs [x]. Their design was, to do honor to the memory of those *Martyrs*; and to edify the people by the example of their lives; but above all, as *Paulinus*, one of the first Introducers of them, declares; “to draw the
 “Heathens the more easily to the faith of
 “Christ, since by flocking in crouds to gaze
 “at the finery of these paintings, and by explaining to each other the stories there represented, they would gradually acquire a reverence for that religion, which inspired so much virtue and piety into it’s professors.” But these compliances, as *Bishop Stillingfleet* observes, were attended with very bad consequences; since *Christianity became at last, by that means, to be nothing else but reformed Paganism, as to it’s divine worship* [y]: and as the learned *Mr. Turretin* also, describing the state of Christianity in this very age, says, “the
 “Empire was brought over to the faith,
 “but the Church also infected with the pomp
 “of the Empire; the *Pagans* were con-

[x] Tu vero etiam Baptisterium Basilicis duabus interpositum condidisti; ut nos in horum quoque operum, quæ visibiliter extruuntur, ædificatione superares. Sed Domino gratias, qui dedit nobis in quo & vinci victoriam ducemus. Vid. *ibid.*

[y] See *Bishop Stillingfleet’s* Defence of the charge of Idolatry against the Romanists, Vol. v. of his Works, p. 459: in which learned and excellent Treatise, the reader will find the whole question examined to the bottom; and demonstrably proved against the Church of *Rome*.

“verted

“verted to Christ, but the worship of Christ
 “also depraved to the fashion of *Paganism* [z].”

I need not trouble the reader with any more testimonies of this sort, which the writers of all times would abundantly furnish: the facts already produced sufficiently prove, that it is *no mistake* to affirm, *that the Catholic borrowed from the Heathen*; or that *Pagan ceremonies* were introduced into the Church, while there were *strong prejudices subsisting* in favor of them: which, from these beginnings, have been operating in it ever since, with more or less effect, in proportion to the decay of it's discipline, and the corruption of its rulers, till they have perfected that form and System of worship, which we now distinguish by the name of *Popery*.

From this view then of the question, as it is now placed in it's true light, it appears impossible, in any sense whatsoever, *that the Papists could be originals*, in their use of those ceremonies. From the first promulgation of the Gospel, as all history informs us, there was a perpetual contest between *the Pagan and Christian rites*, through a long succession of ages; in which *the Pagan rites* were forcibly imposed upon the Christians, by the *Pagan Emperors*; rejected

[z] Imperio ad fidem adducto, sed & Imperii pompa Ecclesiam inficiente: Ethnicis ad Christum converfis, sed & Christi religione ad Ethnicæ formam depravata, &c. Orat. Academ. De variis Christ. Rel. fatis.

again in their turn by the *Christian Emperors*; and all of them distinctly marked out and described at different times by the *Imperial laws* so as the Christians in all ages might clearly know and avoid them. For example; the laws of *Theodosius*, as I have already observed, forbade all people, under severe penalties, *to light up candles, burn incense, or hang up garlands to senseless images* [a]. Now these laws, from the time of their publication, have been in the constant possession of the *Romish Church*; perpetually read, commented and published by their

[a] Nullus omnino—in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris—accendat lumina, imponat thura ferta suspendat, &c. Vid. Jac. Gothofred. De Stat. Paganor. Leg. xii. p. 15.

Notwithstanding this prohibition of the ceremonies, here specified, to the *Pagans*, it is very remarkable, that they were actually in use in the *Christian Church*, at the same time, and under the same Emperor, as it appears by the testimonies produced above. This was the effect of a political compliance with the *Pagan prejudices*, that the *Pagans*, when no longer allowed to perform their favorite rites to their Idols, might be induced the more easily to embrace the faith of Christ, by a liberty of performing them at the altars, and to the honor of the *Martyrs*; where there was no application of them however to *Idols* or *Images*, which, though they now began to be introduced into the Church, yet had no religious worship paid to them in this age. But after so large a concession, it was not easy to stop, till the whole pageantry of the old Idolatry was restored, as we now see it exercised in *Popish* countries, with all its pomp of candles, incense, garlands, &c. applied again directly to the worship of *senseless Images*.

Clergy

Clergy [b]; so that, when the particular rites, therein prohibited, were introduced into the Christian worship, in what age soever we should suppose it to have happened, the introducers could not be ignorant of their being *Pagan rites*; and consequently could not be *originals*, or inventors, but, as I have affirmed in my Letter, the *meer borrowers* of them from their *Pagan Ancestors*.

I will not pursue this point any farther, how much soever the occasion may invite me. I have no desire to enter into controversy with any man; much less with one, whose friendship I value, and whose uncommon abilities I shall always esteem. What I have thrown together hastily in this Postscript, will be considered, I hope, as a necessary act of defence; not due so much to myself, as to the judgement of the public, and the merit of an old argument, that has long been of service to the Protestant cause; and which, in all ages of the Church, if it had been attended to, as it ought, would have prevented the admission of those corruptions, which, at this day, so grossly deform the simplicity of the Christian worship, through the greatest part of the Christian world.

[b] *Paulinus*, the Bishop of *Nola*, above mentioned, published a sort of *Panegyric* upon the Emperor *Theodosius*, containing a particular defence or apology for his laws: In relation to which, *St. Jerom*, in a letter to him, says, *Happy Theodosius, who has such an Orator of Christ for his Defender. You have illustrated his dignity, and consecrated the utility of his laws to future ages.* Hieron. ad Paul. Op. t. iv. p. 567. init.



A N
E X A M I N A T I O N

O F T H E

Lord Bishop of L O N D O N ' s Discourses

C O N C E R N I N G

The Use and Intent of P R O P H E C Y .

W I T H

Some cursory Animadversions on his late
A P P E N D I X , O F A D D I T I O N A L D I S S E R -
T A T I O N ,

C O N T A I N I N G

A farther Inquiry into the Mosaic Account
of the F A L L .

MONTE ALBANI

1870

Excavated by the late General Pitt Rivers

and published by the Trustees

of the British Museum

1870

Some of the objects found at this site are now in the possession of the British Museum, and others are in the possession of the late General Pitt Rivers.

London

Printed and Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1870.

A N

E X A M I N A T I O N

O F T H E

Lord Bishop of LONDON's Discourses

O N T H E

Use and intent of Prophecy.

THE Reader perhaps may wonder, that these Discourses, which I am going to examine, concerning *the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, published so many years ago by Dr. Sberlock, now Bishop of London, and since corrected and enlarged by him in several successive editions, should meet with a Censurer at last so hardy, as to call the merit of them into question. But the truth is, I had never read them till very lately; or otherwise these animadversions might have made their appearance probably much earlier. My omission however to read them did not flow from any contempt either of the subject, or of the Author's capacity to adorn it. I know the subject to be important; and, for that reason, did not chuse to take my notion of it upon trust: I knew His Lordship also

to be eminently qualified, to dress up any subject into any form, which would best serve his own views, and was jealous of warping my judgement by some bias, which his authority might be apt to imprint: for as far as my experience has reached, I have ever found authority a treacherous guide to a searcher after truth; and theories in all Sciences, the chief obstacles of real knowledge.

In questions therefore, relating to the evidences of the Christian religion, instead of paying any regard to the confident assertions of angry disputants, who generally come determined to support the particular systems, which are embraced by their own party: it has been my custom, to recur directly to the Scriptures, as the common source of all religious opinions to Christians, and the sole standard, by which the truth of them can be tried. Thus when the Nature of Prophecy, considered as an evidence of the Gospel, was made the subject of a controversy, which gave birth to these same Discourses, I endeavoured to inform myself, what sort of character was given to it in the New Testament, and what use was actually made of it by Christ himself and his Apostles, towards illustrating the divinity of his mission: and having settled in my mind a notion of it, agreeable to the testimonies of the sacred writers, I thought it an idle curiosity and wast of time, to inquire, what any modern Divine had preached

or written about it ; because the whole, that can be known authentically concerning it's relation to Christianity, must be learnt from those, who first planted Christianity, and were instructed by the Author of it, on what foundation it rested, and how far the argument of Prophecy was usefull to it's propagation and support.

These Discourses therefore might have passed still unregarded by me, if they had not been accidentally recommended to my perusal, by a late conversation, in which they were urged in contradiction to something advanced on the subject of Prophecy, which I took to be both reasonable and important. This gave me an inclination to review the whole question, for the sake either of confirming or correcting my own notion of it; and to take these Discourses at the same time into consideration; especially, as it would free me from the reproach of slighting that information, which I might possibly receive from them. Upon this task I soon after entered, and found this capital work of his Lordship to be just such as I expected; exhibiting a species of reasoning peculiar to himself, ever subtil and refined, yet never convincing; and proper rather to perplex, than to illustrate the notion of Prophecy; and to amuse rather, than instruct an inquisitive reader. I found much art and pains employed, to dress up an imaginary scheme, of which I had not discovered the least trace in any of the four Gospels; and in
which,

which, as far as I was able to judge, he seemed to have rejected the whole evidence of Prophecy, as it was understood and applied by the Apostles and Evangelists; and to have substituted in it's place a romantic system, or fancifull chain of antediluvian prædictions, as the sole ground, on which any solid argument of the prophetick kind could be urged in favor of Christianity.

This, though it must needs appear strange in Discourses delivered from the pulpit, He prepares us to expect, by a short Preface, in which He says——“ They who consider the
 “ Prophecies under the Old Testament, as so
 “ many prædictions onely, independent on each
 “ other, can never form a right judgement, of
 “ the argument of the truth of Christianity,
 “ drawn from this topick, nor be able to satisfy
 “ themselves, when they are confronted with
 “ the objections of unbelievers. It is an easy
 “ matter, for men of leifure and tolerable parts,
 “ to find difficulties in particular prædictions,
 “ and in the application of them made by
 “ writers, who lived many hundred years ago,
 “ and who had many antient books and records
 “ of the Jewish Church, from which they drew
 “ many passages and perhaps some Prophecies,
 “ which books and records we have not, to
 “ inable us to understand and to justify their
 “ applications, &c. [a].”

What

[a] These words are transcribed from a Preface, prefixed to the third Edition of the Discourses, which was the onely

What the Bishop here declares, relates, as he afterwards signifies, to the case of a certain

Free-

only one, that I made use of, or had then seen. I have since learnt, that there are two later Editions, in which the Preface is omitted, though without any observable alteration in the Discourses themselves, or any reason given for that omission; which must needs afford matter of speculation to the reader. The purpose of the Preface was, to give the reader a proper notion of the subject of the Discourses, and of his manner of treating it. If it was withdrawn therefore, on the account of any change of sentiments with regard to it, we might have expected from him some little eclaircissement on that head, especially since the Discourses, to which it related, continue still unchanged. Or if, after three successive Editions, the Preface was dropped, as being judged at last too slight and trivial for a performance of such importance; that, though it would have been a good reason for not giving it at the first, is but a paltry one for recalling it, when once given. We love to retain every scrap of a celebrated writer, in it's natural and original form, and, after twenty years possession, think it an injury to be deprived of it. As His Lordship however had some motive undoubtedly, for taking a step so unusual, so the reader will naturally be guessing, what it might probably be; and many will be apt to think that the passage, which I have cited from it, carries in it so direct a condemnation of that use of single and separate Prophecies, which was made by the Evangelists, that it was omitted for that very reason, as tending to raise scruples in people's minds, to the disadvantage of His Lordship's scheme. But this offence, though now removed, as far as it was given by the Preface, remains still in it's full force in the body of the Discourses. The obvious tendency of which, as every one must see, is, to represent the weakness of all that prophetic evidence, which the Evangelists have applied, to evince the truth of the Gospel.

An EXAMINATION of the
Freethinking Author, who had ridiculed the
Prophecies of the Old Testament, which are

In the conclusion of the same Preface, His Lordship expresses some diffidence, concerning the truth or solidity of an hypothesis, which he labours to inculcate through his whole fourth Discourse: *viz.* "That the curse denounced
" by God against the earth, for the transgression of our
" first Parents, was completed, and finally ceased at the
" Deluge, when it's original fertility was restored to it, by
" an express covenant with *Noah*, according to a Prophecy
" of his father *Lamech*." [*Gen. v. 28.*] Now though nothing can be more weak and irrational than this hypothesis, yet when the Author proposes it with modesty, as a conjecture, or hasty thought, not duly considered by him, our disgust of course is softened, and the severity of our criticism checked: but as the case now stands, when we see a most ridiculous conceit enforced with the greatest zeal and seriousness in an Episcopal Sermon, and find the sole excuse, which could be made, and which had been made for it, deliberately suppressed, we are provoked of course to treat it with all that contempt, which it justly deserves.

But to say the truth, I have never observed a stronger instance of the public patience and blind deference to the authority of a Great name, than in the case of these very Discourses; which, though in all parts greatly exceptionable, and furnishing matter of offence in every page, have yet passed through many Editions, not onely without reproof, but with some degree even of approbation. And it was this experience perhaps of what the world would bear, which made His Lordship resolve to withdraw his Preface, and to treat us no longer with any ceremony; having seen, that notwithstanding the consciousness, which he had declared, of being in the wrong, the public was still disposed to think him in the right, and that his nonsense would go down with them, without giving him the trouble of making an excuse for it.

cited

cited in the New, as trifling and impertinent, and bearing no sort of relation to the particular cases or persons, to which they are applied: yet in this attempt, that Author has not considered those Prophecies in any other method, nor under any other character, than that, in which they were considered by the Evangelists themselves, who applied them, *single and independently on each other*, to this or that occasion, as so many different arguments for the general truth of the Gospel; so that by condemning his manner of considering them, His Lordship condemns that of the Evangelists at the same time: but since the use, which was made of Prophecy in the New Testament, is the sole rule, by which we can form a just notion of it, or determine the propriety either of His Lordship's scheme, or of these Animadversions upon it, it will be necessary in the first place, to draw out a distinct account, of what those sacred Writers have delivered concerning it.

It is affirmed then by the testimonies of all the Evangelists, how *Jesus* himself constantly taught, that his person and character were particularly foretold and marked out *by Moses and all the later Prophets*, as the *Messiah*, or that great Prophet, who was to come: and that he came accordingly, as it had been foretold to them, *not to destroy the law and the Prophets, but to fulfill them.* [b] Thus in an expostulation

[b] Matt. v. 17.

with the Jews, for their obstinate rejection of him, He exhorts them *to search the Scriptures* for the proofs of his character and mission, for *in them*, says he, *ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me.* To which he immediately subjoins, *there is one, that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom you trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me [c].* When he was risen also from the dead, and appeared to the two Disciples going to *Emmaus*, who still doubted of his resurrection, though it had been reported to them by the women; “He said unto them; “O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that “the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ “to have suffered, and to enter into his glory? “And *beginning at Moses and all the Prophets,* “he expounded unto them, in all the Scrip- “tures, the things concerning himself [d].”

Here then we see our Lord grounding the authority of his mission on the evidence of Prophecy; and declaring that *Moses and the Prophets* had written and testified of him, in a manner so express, that those, who believed *Moses*, must of course, if they were consistent, believe also in him. In proof of which, he appeals to the Scriptures; exhorts the Jews to search them; and puts the trial of his veracity, on the issue of that search: and this, we may imagine, was

[c] John v. 39—45.

[d] Luke xxiv. 25.

the subject of all his discourses, as often went into the Synagogues, according to constant custom, in every place whither he came. The Evangelists however, though they all agree in affirming this, to have been his general way of arguing with the Jews, yet have recorded but a few of those particular Prophecies, which were alledged by him on such occasions, as prefigurative of his character and mission.

For instance; at *Nazareth*, the place of his education and ordinary residence, he applied to himself a Prophecy of *Isaiab*, in which the principal characters, ascribed by the Jews to the Messiah, are particularly enumerated: “ For
 “ upon his entrance into the Synagogue on the
 “ Sabbath, the book of the prophet *Isaiab* being
 “ put into his hands, he opened it, and found
 “ the place, where it was written: The spirit
 “ of the Lord is upon me, because he hath
 “ anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor;
 “ he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted;
 “ to preach deliverance to the Captives, and
 “ recovering of sight to the blind; and to set
 “ at liberty them, that are bruised; to preach
 “ the acceptable year of the Lord—He then
 “ closed the book, and gave it again to the
 “ Minister, and sat down; and all the eyes of
 “ the Synagogue being fastened upon him, he
 “ began to say unto them, *This Day is this*
 “ *Scripture fulfilled in your ears.*” On which he
 preached to them in such an affecting manner,

“ that they all bare him witness, and wondered
 “ at the gracious words, which proceeded out
 “ of his mouth [e].” In another place also,
 speaking to the multitude concerning the cha-
 racter of *John the Baptist*, he affirms him to be
 the forerunner, sent by God to dispose the world
 for the reception of his Gospel, telling them,
*This is he of whom it is written, Behold I send my
 messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy
 way before thee [f].* In one of his Sermons
 also to the unbelieving Jews, He declares him-
 self, to be denoted by *that corner-stone*, of which
 the Psalmist prophetically says, *The stone, which
 the builders rejected, the same is become the head of
 the corner [g].* On another occasion, where he
 was foretelling to his Disciples the treachery of
Judas, he signifies it, to have been permitted,
*that the Scripture might be fulfilled, where it is
 said, He that eateth bread with me, lifteth up his
 heel against me [h].* And when he was inti-
 mating to them the approach of his death and
 the manner of it, he applies the words of *Isaiab*,
 as then ready to be fulfilled in him, saying;
*that this, which is written, must yet be accom-
 plished in me: And he was reckoned among the
 transgressors; for the things concerning me have an
 end [i].* There are too or three instances more,
 where he affirms the words of *Isaiab*, and of
 the Psalmist, to be fulfilled by the infidelity of

[e] Luke iv. 16.

[f] Matt. xi. 10. Luke vii. 27.

[g] Luke xx. 17.

[h] John xiii. 1, 8.

[i] Luke xxii. 37.

the Jews, who would not receive him upon the testimony of their own Prophets. *In them*, says he, *is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaias, which saith; By hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive* [k]. Again; when he was betrayed by *Judas* into the hands of those who came to seize him, *Peter* having drawn his sword, and wounded one of the company, *Jesus* reprov'd him, by saying; “ Put up thy sword——thinkest thou, “ that I cannot now pray to my Father, and “ he shall presently give me more than twelve “ legions of Angels? but how then shall the “ Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?” to which he presently adds, “ But all this was “ done, that the Scriptures of the Prophets “ might be fulfilled [l],” plainly signifying, that there was not any circumstance of his life, which had not been foretold in such a manner, that the accomplishment of it, by it's conformity with the prediction, might answer the purpose intended by God of demonstrating the Divinity of his character.

Lastly; after his resurrection, having spent forty days still on earth, in confirming and instructing his Apostles, in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and being just ready to ascend into heaven, and now giving them his last instructions, “ He said unto them; These

[k] Matt. xiii. 14.

[l] Matt. xxvi. 26.

“ are the words, which I spake unto you,
 “ while I was yet with you, that all things
 “ must be fulfilled, which were written in the
 “ Law of *Moses*, and in the *Prophets*, and in the
 “ *Psalms concerning me*. Then opened he their
 “ understandings, that they might understand
 “ the Scriptures; and said unto them, Thus it
 “ is written, and thus it behoved Christ to
 “ suffer, and to rise from the dead the third
 “ day; and that repentance and remission of
 “ sins should be preached in his name among
 “ all Nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*: and ye
 “ are witnesses of these things [*m*].”

These instances of the use of Prophecy, as it was applied by *Jesus* himself, sufficiently shew, that the antient Prophecies were considered by him singly and independently, as so many distinct arguments, for the truth of his mission; and consequently, that those, who consider them in the same light, may in contradiction to what his Lordship asserts, form a right judgement of this argument, and make a right use of it in favor of Christianity, notwithstanding all the objections, with which it may be confronted by Unbelievers.

But if any doubt remain still on this point, it will be abundantly, cleared up by the practice of the Apostles and Evangelists, and by the use

[*m*] Luke xxiv. 44.

which they made of Prophecy, after they had been fully instructed and enlightened upon it, as well by the example, as the repeated lessons of their Master to the last moment of his continuance on earth. The Evangelists wrote their several Gospels for the sake of transmitting to all posterity the genuine evidences, on which the authority of the Christian doctrine was founded; among these, the argument drawn from Prophecy appears to have been applied by them, as the most effectual and convincing to the Jews, to whom alone the Gospel was preached by Christ himself, and in the first place afterwards by his Apostles; and of whom the first Christian Church was entirely composed. But their notion of Prophecy, considered as a proof of the Gospel was not drawn from any scheme of it, deduced from *Adam*, and the Antediluvian World; nor do they refer us, for the evidences of our faith, to I know not what *Prophecies of Enoch*, or *Noah*, but to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, whose writings were in every body's hands, and of an authority allowed and indisputable.

After the example of their Master, they *begin with Moses*, as the first Prophet, who speaks at all of Christ, nor ever appeal to any other Prophecies, as applicable to Christ, but what were expressly found *in the law*, and the later Prophets. Thus *Philip*, as soon as he became a follower of Christ, meeting with *Nathanael*,

said unto him, We have found him, of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph [n]. And as by the evidence of these the Jews had been previously taught to expect a Messiah, out of the family of *David*, who was to publish a new law of righteousness, more perfect than that of *Moses*, so the Evangelists made it their business to shew, from the same writings, that *the Messiah*, whom they had been looking for, was no other than that same *Jesus*, whom they had crucified. With this view, they collected from every part of the Old Testament all the several Prophecies, relating to *the Messiah*, and applied them separately to each act or circumstance of the life of *Jesus*, to which they thought them applicable, and by which they declare them to be fulfilled.

St. *Matthew* especially, who published his Gospel the first, and in the Hebrew tongue, for the particular information of the Jews, seems to have been more diligent than the rest, in collecting these prophetic testimonies, and applying them severally on all occasions, as so many distinct proofs of the mission of *Jesus*. There is scarce a single occurrence, which ever happened to *Christ*, but what he declares to have been before told by some Prophet, and fulfilled by a correspondent event. “ The

[n] John i. 45.

“ conception of him by a Virgin; his birth
 “ at *Bethlehem*; the conveyance of him into
 “ *Egypt*; and re-conveyance into *Judæa*; his
 “ dwelling at *Nazareth*; his removal to *Caper-*
 “ *naum*; his cure of diseases; his custom of
 “ teaching by parables; his riding into *Jeru-*
 “ *salem* upon an ass; his being betrayed by
 “ *Judas*; sold for thirty pieces of silver; the
 “ parting of his garments, and casting lots for
 “ them; his crucifixion; with the particular
 “ circumstances accompanying it; the Thieves
 “ who suffered with him; the vinegar given
 “ him to drink; the wound made in his side;
 “ the omission of breaking his bones; his re-
 “ surrection and ascension, are all affirmed
 “ to have been so ordered and so transacted,
 “ by the special counsel of God, *that the Scrip-*
 “ *tures of the Prophets might be fulfilled by*
 “ *them* [o].”

All the other Evangelists pursue the same method, of applying the ancient Prophecies singly, and independently on each other, as so many arguments for the divine authority of the Gospel: and it must surely be allowed, that any single Prophecy, delivered for that purpose, and literally fulfilled, is a strong proof of it, though we had reason even to neglect the rest, as uncertain and precarious. But according to the assertion of this eminent Prelate, the argument

[o] Matt. i. 23. ii. 5, 15, 23. iv. 14, &c.

drawn from Prophecies, considered singly and independently (as they were in fact considered by the Evangelists) can neither satisfy any body, nor bear to be confronted with the objections of unbelievers: and on this principle his six Discourses are manifestly grounded. For when that Free-thinking Author undertook to shew, that the prophetic testimonies, which are applied by the Evangelists, to evince the truth of the Gospel, are in reality no proofs at all, he plainly gives up those testimonies, as incapable of being justified; and amuses us with Prophecies, as old as the world itself; deduced from our first parent *Adam*; affirming this to be the onely notion of Prophecy, which can supply any satisfactory argument for the truth of Christianity.

He adds indeed one good reason, for his preference of this comprehensive scheme, in a controversy with unbelievers, to that narrow way, which the Evangelists chose, of appealing to single predictions, “ because it is an easy matter, he says, for men of leisure and tolerable parts, to find difficulties in particular predictions, and in the application of them — but not so easy, to shew, that a chain of Prophecies, reaching through several thousand years, delivered at different times, yet manifestly subservient to one and the same end, is the effect of art and contrivance.” By this way then of considering Prophecy, he has put the labouring oar upon his adversary,

which

which in the other way of considering it, must have been thrown upon himself: but whatever ease it may give to his Lordship in this particular dispute, to consider prophecy in so extensive a view, yet, with regard to the service of Christianity, I cannot see the least difference or advantage in his scheme, except in the greater length of his prophetic chain, than of that, which the Evangelists made use of: for the Prophecies, as they are applied singly in the Gospels, are all of them subservient to one and the same purpose of Providence, as well as in his hypothesis; but the Evangelical chain, which begins with *Moses*, reaches onely through several hundred years; whereas his chain, which begins with *Adam*, reaches through several thousand. Yet this extension of it into the antediluvian ages can serve no other end, but to envelope a plain question of fact in clouds and mystery; which may afford more ground indeed for a fanciful genius, to build it's airy castles upon, but none at all on which we can raise any solid or satisfactory argument.

But whatever view his Lordship had, in recurring to this expedient, it is certain, that there was no occasion to desert that foundation, which the Evangelists had laid, and to take refuge in a precarious System, calculated rather to create scruples, than to cure them. For should we allow, what He Himself plainly intimates, that the particular Prophecies, as they
are

are applied by the Evangelists in their several Gospels, are clogged with very great difficulties by that Freethinking Author, there is a solution of them, obvious and natural, supplied by the case itself, which, though not agreeable perhaps to the principles of systematic or political Divines, cannot possibly hurt the authority of the Gospel, because it is grounded on facts, expressly delivered by the Gospel. But this perhaps I may take occasion to explain hereafter in a particular treatise, and shall now proceed to lay my present remarks before the reader, in the same order, in which His Lordship's arguments, to which they severally relate, are ranged by him in his Discourses.

The Text, which he has chosen for the common subject, and foundation of all these Discourses, is ;

2 Epist. of Pet. c. i. 19.

We have also a more sure word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do dwell, that ye take heed, as unto a light, that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.

The first observation, which His Lordship makes upon this text, is, “ that a comparison is
 “ evidently formed in it, between *the word of*
 “ *Prophecy*, and some other thing before men-
 “ tioned : and in order to shew, what the thing
 “ is, with which Prophecy is here compared,
 “ he

“ he refers us to the three verses, which immediately precede ;”

Ver. 16. *For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his Majesty.*

Ver. 17. *For he received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to Him from the excellent glory; This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.*

Ver. 18. *And this voice, which came from Heaven, we heard, when we were with him in the holy Mount.*

Ver. 19. *We have also, &c.*

From this whole passage, “ we may see, says “ he, on what foundation the inference of those “ writers stands, who assert, that the evidence, “ which Christians have from Prophecy, for “ the certainty of their hopes, is greater “ and surer, than the evidence, which they “ have from the preaching of the Apostles, “ who were eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of “ what they report, concerning the majesty “ of Christ : or in the words of a late Author, “ that Prophecy is a stronger argument than a “ miracle, which depends upon external evidence and testimony [o].”

Now the confutation of this inference, as it was deduced by that Author from this text; being the Subject of the Bishop's two first Discourses, it will be necessary, to give the reader a distinct notion of the point in controversy between them, that he may form the clearer judgement of his Lordship's reasoning upon it: for which purpose, I shall draw out that Author's opinion, as it is stated in his own Words, of which, for certain reasons; this learned Prelate has given us onely a small part; and shall confront it with the Bishop's sense of the text; as it is explained also by himself.

That Author then, in the passage of his book, to which we are referred, having shewn, how *Jesus* and his Apostles grounded Christianity on proofs, drawn from the Prophecies of the Old Testament and applied by them in the New, immediately adds; “ And it is strongly and invincibly established on those foundations: because a proof drawn from an inspired book is perfectly conclusive; and Prophecies delivered in an inspired book are, when fulfilled, such as may be justly deemed sure and demonstrative proofs, and which *Peter* prefers, as an argument, to the miraculous attestation, whereof he himself, and two other Apostles were witnesses, given by God himself to the mission of *Jesus Christ*. His argument seems as follows; laying this foundation,

“ dation, that Prophecy proceeds from the
 “ Holy Ghost, it is a stronger argument than
 “ a miracle, which depends upon external evi-
 “ dence and testimony [p].”

As far as these words go, there is certainly nothing in them, but what a sincere advocate of the Gospel might freely allow and join issue upon ; but they came from an enemy, who had a crafty view in extolling the credit of Prophecy, in order to depress it afterwards the more effectually : and this was the ground of his Lordship's resolution to confute, or, at all events, to contradict them : which last part he has performed with great spirit, but how far he has succeeded in the first, will be seen in the following remarks.

In the mean while, his Lordship's exposition of the text is this ; “ that the word of Prophecy
 “ is compared indeed and preferred here by St.
 “ *Peter* to the evidence of that heavenly voice,
 “ which he himself had heard in the Mount,
 “ yet not, as that Freethinking Author ima-
 “ gines, on the account of its being a surer
 “ proof, or better argument for the general
 “ truth of the Gospel, but onely for the par-
 “ ticular article of *Christ's coming again in glory*;
 “ to which case alone the comparison relates ;
 “ for with regard to the truth of the Gospel,
 “ *Peter* is so far from speaking of Prophecy in

[p] See the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, p. 27.

“ this

“ this place, as the best evidence, that he
 “ manifestly speaks of it as not the best [q].”

Having set forth these two opposite interpretations of the text, I shall proceed to examine the several arguments by which the Bishop attempts, in the first place, to confute his adversary's sense, and in the second, to establish his own.

He begins by an appeal to authority, and declares, *that the Author's exposition is rejected; as far as he sees, by all Interpreters [r].* This indeed is surprizing; for in the very passage to which he refers us, his Adversary has cited two Interpreters, as agreeing with him directly in the same exposition, Mr. *Whiston* and Dr. *Whitby*: the last of whom expressly says, “ the word
 “ of Prophecy is called by St. *Peter* more sure,
 “ than the testimony of what he had heard in
 “ the Mount: which was not so certain and
 “ convincing to the Jews, as the Record of
 “ their own Prophets: whence the Apostles,
 “ both in disputing with unbelieving Jews, and
 “ writing to the believers, among them, con-
 “ firm their doctrines from the writings of the
 “ Old Testament [s].” In the collection also of the sacred Critics, he might have seen St. *Austin*, as he is cited by *Erasmus*, interpreting

[q] See Disc. p. 18, 19, 20, &c.

[r] Ib. p. 3.

[s] See his Comment on the Text.

this text in the same manner; *that the word of Prophecy is called by St. Peter more sure, not more true, than the miraculous attestation in the Mount; because cavillers might ascribe a voice delivered from heaven to Magical arts, which they could not do, in the case of Prophecy* [t]. Castalio also interprets these words, *more sure*, as they are applied here to Prophecy, to signify; *more effectual to persuade and draw men to Christ*. And Grotius paraphrases the same words, as if the Apostle had said, *The word of Prophecy had always great Authority with us, but now a much greater, after we have seen the events correspond so aptly with the predictions, concerning the Messiah* [u]. An able Advocate also of our Church in the Popish controversy, touching upon this very question, observes, that our Saviour appeals more to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, for the truth of his mission, than to his miracles; and that it is the testimony of the Scriptures, into which the testimony of his miracles must be resolved. And this he confirms by the authority of the text now before us, in which St. Peter prefers the testimony of the Scriptures to that miraculous attestation given to Jesus in the Mount, of which he himself was a witness—"The Old Testament, says he, is here called *a word of Prophecy*, because the great
 "business of those books was, to prepare man-
 "kind for the reception of Christ by all forts

[t] Vid. Crit. Sacr. in loc.

[u] Ibid.

“ of predictions. And now that Christ was
 “ come, if there remained any darknefs or
 “ doubting in their minds, who had feen and
 “ known other testimonies given to *Jesus*, they
 “ were to take heed to the word of Prophecy,
 “ and diligently observe the correspondence of
 “ the event with the prediction of all things
 “ foretold concerning Christ; in doing which,
 “ their doubts would by degrees vanifh, and at
 “ laft they would grow to a clear and ftrong
 “ perfuafion. St. *Peter* therefore calls *the word*
 “ *of Prophecy, a more fure word*, becaufe it is
 “ the beft means to make us fure [w].”

Now all thefe Expositors, with many more, whom I might eafily collect, manifftly confirm this interpretation of the text, which the Bifhop is laboring to confute, and take the word of Prophecy to be propofed here by St. *Peter*, as a furer argument for *the Mefiahfhip of Chrift*, than the miraculous attestation of it in the Mount. And fome of the reft, while they prefer a different fenfe, yet mention this ftill as a probable one, which none of them exprefly condemn, though his Lordfhip affirms it to be rejected, *as far as he fees*, by them all: where, though no body perhaps will call in quæftion the fharpnefs of his fight, yet from this in-

[w] See a Pamphlet in the Popifh controversy, printed 1687, in Quarto, called, *The School of the Eucharift, publifhed upon the miraculous refpect*, &c. fupposed to be written by Dr. *Craddock*, Pref. p. 13, 14.

stance, as well as many others, which I might collect, one would be apt to suspect, that his Lordship never chuses to see more of any subject, than what may serve that particular hypothesis, which he comes prepared to support.

He next declares his Adversary's exposition, *to be contradictory not onely to the sense of mankind, but inconsistent also with itself and many places of Scripture* [x]. Where, though we might expect to have been informed, whence it is, that he has collected the sense of mankind on this subject, he has not favored us with the least proof or example of it in any age or country whatsoever. He forgot surely, that he was now discoursing from the Prefs, and not from the Pulpit: for though *Ipsc dixits* may carry authority with them, where no body can contradict, yet they will never pass for arguments, where speech and debate are free.

He proceeds however to prove the Author's exposition to be inconsistent with itself, and says, "let any man consider, and he will find, that the greatest proof, which a Prophet can give for the authority of his mission is the power of working miracles, and how then can the evidence of Prophecy rise higher than the evidence of miracles, on which it ultimately depends for all it's own authority [y]?" This

[x] Disc. p. 3, 4.

[y] Disc. p. 4.

he illustrates by two examples from Scripture :
 “ first of *Gideon*, who being commanded by an
 “ Angel, in the name of God, to go and save
 “ *Israel* from the hand of the *Midianites*, with
 “ an assurance of success, would not believe
 “ the Prophecy, though delivered by an An-
 “ gel, till he had received two or three Mira-
 “ cles in confirmation of it [z].” Here he
 presently asks with an air of triumph ; “ What
 “ think you now ? the Prophecy of the Angel,
 “ was as much a Prophecy before, as after the
 “ Miracle : but was it a *more sure word* before,
 “ than after ? if so, why was a sign desired ?
 “ why granted ? Does God work miracles to
 “ humour men in their folly, or to confirm
 “ their faith ? If to confirm our faith, then our
 “ faith in the Prophecies depends on the autho-
 “ rity of Miracles, since the stream can never
 “ rise above the spring head [a].”

He next takes *an higher instance* of *Moses*,
 “ the greatest Prophet of the law, to whom
 “ God spake face to face, and whom he com-
 “ missioned to deliver the children of *Israel* out
 “ of *Egypt* ; which was sufficient to make him
 “ a Prophet. But what says *Moses* ? Behold
 “ they will not believe me, nor hearken to my
 “ voice, for they will say, The Lord hath not
 “ appeared unto thee.” And here again he asks,
 “ Was this a foolish complaint in *Moses* ? if it

[z] Disc. p. 4.

[a] Ib. p. 5.

“ was, how came God to listen to it, and give
 “ him a power to work Miracles in confirma-
 “ tion of his Prophecy? Does not this shew,
 “ that miracles are the Prophet's greatest au-
 “ thority and confirmation [b]?”

But to pass over these fallies of his eloquence, and examine the force of his reasoning. *Every considering man*, he says, *will find the authority of prophecy, to depend ultimately on the authority of miracles*: but let a man consider, as long as he pleases, he will never find it from these instances, to which he refers us. *Gideon* and *Moses*, astonished by a wonderful apparition and prophetic message from heaven, and under that astonishment suspecting that what they saw and heard might be nothing else but an illusion, and the effect of a surprized and disturbed imagination, demanded a more deliberate and familiar proof of it's reality: all which is utterly foreign to the point in quæstion; and of no force at all towards determining the proper evidence of Prophecy. Nay, should we grant them even the whole, which he infers from it, that a Prophecy delivered by an authority pretending to be divine cannot find credit, unless it be confirmed by miracles, yet this is nothing to his purpose, nor will add the least advantage to his side of the argument.

[b] Ibid. 5, 6.

All who maintain the superior evidence of Prophecy, mean it onely of Prophecy, actually fulfilled, and carrying with it the demonstration of it's truth in the correspondency of the event with the prediction; it is in this sense alone, in which the Author whom he is confuting, expressly speaks of it: his words are; *Prophecies, delivered in an inspired book, when fulfilled, may justly be deemed sure and demonstrative proofs, and a stronger argument than a miracle.* It is this alone, which the nature of the subject required him to confute, and what he had undertaken to confute; but instead of this, he changes the quæstion upon us, and when we were expecting reasons, why Prophecy fulfilled could not be so strong a proof as a miracle, all that he attempts to shew is, that Prophecy not yet fulfilled nor even believed, wants the help of a miracle to give it credit. Which, as it is here applied to the confutation of that Author, is wholly fallacious and sophistical, without either force or sense in it.

The same sort of fallacy seems to run through all his Discourses; in which he treats Prophecy in a loose and indeterminate sense, and speaks of it indifferently, as carrying the same evidence with it, whether it be fulfilled or not fulfilled. Whereas a bare Prophecy delivered as the proof of a divine character in any person or doctrine, is incapable of any persuasive force, or of giving
any

any sort of conviction, untill it be accomplished; the completion of it being the sole test, by which it's veracity can be determined. The event likewise, foretold by it must be of a kind, which neither human prudence could foresee, nor human power produce; for otherwise it could not give any assurance of a divine interposition; since it might have been brought about by natural means, and foreseen perhaps, or luckily guessed by men of superior penetration. Thus the Oracles of the Heathen world were supported by the managers of them: who being expert in all the arts of a crafty and conjectural sagacity, gave out such answers, as they thought the most probable, and trusted the accomplishment of them to the fortuitous concurrence of natural causes; which, in an infinite variety of predictions, could not fail of happening to some: whence it became a proverbial saying among the *Greeks*, that *He was the best prophet, who could make the best guesses* [c].

It is certain however, that a Prophecy literally fulfilled, is of itself, without external aid, as clear a proof of it's own divinity, as any miracle can be: though while the event is still in futurity, the authority of the Prophet may reasonably be called in question; unless he can

[c] Est quidem Græciis vulgaris in hanc sententiam versus, Bene qui conjiciet, Vatem hunc perhibeto optimum.

Cic. de Divin ii. 5.

Μάστις γ' ἀειτός, ὅστις ἐικάζει καλῶς.

shew some present sign, or divine credential of his mission; which seems to have been always expected from the Jewish Prophets, and always performed by them. Yet miracles were not the usual sign of the prophetic character, but generally reserved to seal the mission of those, who were sent to introduce a new way of worship, and were not granted therefore, as the learned observe, or in no large measure at least, to any other, than to *Moses*, the deliverer of the law; to *Elijah* and *Elisha* the restorers; and above all to *Jesus*, the Fulfiller of it; and to his Disciples afterwards, the preachers of his Gospel [d].

Among all the other Prophets, the common and ordinary sign of their divine authority was, *the apparent accomplishment of every word, which they spake in the name of the Lord*; as it was appointed by God himself; and is thus related by *Moses* :

“ The Prophet, which shall presume to speak
 “ a word in my name which I have not com-
 “ manded him to speak, or that shall speak in
 “ the name of other Gods, even that Prophet
 “ shall die.—And if thou say in thine heart,
 “ How shall we know the word, which the
 “ Lord hath not spoken?—when a Prophet
 “ speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the
 “ thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is

[d] See Spencer on Vulgar Prophecies, c. iv. p. 60.

“ the thing, which the Lord hath not spok-
 “ en, but the Prophet hath spoken it pre-
 “ sumptuously [e].” We find however, several
 great events and revolutions foretold by all
 the Prophets, the truth of which could not pos-
 sibly be known to the generation then living,
 because they were not to take place till after a
 succession of many ages: but the same Pro-
 phets, as we read of some, and may suppose
 therefore of all, had given in the mean while
 the usual proofs of their mission, by many other
 predictions which were fulfilled perhaps imme-
 diately, or within a few days, or months; or
 else by declaring the secret thoughts of men;
 or things transacted in distant places, and with
 such circumstances, as no human wisdom could
 possibly penetrate.

Thus it is said of *Samuel*, that all Israel knew
 him to be an established Prophet of the Lord, because
 none of his words fell to the ground [f]. And
Saul, as we read, went to consult him, how he
 might find his Father's Asses, because he was an
 honourable man, and all that he said came surely
 to pass [g]. It is written also of *Elisba*, that he
 had often given warning to the King of Israel, of
 the secret counsels, which his enemy, the King of
 Syria, had projected against him: and that he
 could tell whatsoever that Syrian King had spoken
 in his bed-chamber [h]. Agreeably to all which,

[e] Deut. xviii. 20, &c.

[f] 1 Sam. iii. 19, 20.

[g] Ib. xix. 6.

[h] 2 Kings vi. 8, 12.

Jeremiah, reproving the false Prophet, *Hananiab*, who was deluding the people by predictions of peace and restoration from *Babylon*, said to him; “ Hear now this word, which I
 “ speak, in thine ears, and the ears of all the
 “ people. The Prophets, that have been before
 “ me, and before thee of old, prophesied both
 “ against many countries, and great Kingdoms,
 “ of war, and of evil, and of pestilence. The
 “ Prophet, which prophesieth peace, when the
 “ word of the Prophet shall come to pass, then
 “ shall the Prophet be known, that the Lord
 “ hath truly sent him.”—And when *Hananiab* persisted still, to alledge the name of God for the truth of what he spake, *Jeremiah* again said to him, “ Hear now, *Hananiab*, the Lord
 “ hath not sent thee, but thou makest the peo-
 “ ple to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith
 “ the Lord, Behold, I will cast thee off from
 “ the face of the earth; this year thou shalt
 “ die: because thou hast taught rebellion a-
 “ gainst the Lord. So *Hananiab* the Prophet
 “ died the same year, in the seventh month [i].”
 And as this was the established credential of the prophetic character under the Old Testament, so our Savior applied it to the same purpose in the New, as the sure testimony of his divine mission. For after he had foretold to his disciples, that *Judas* would betray him, he presently adds, *now I tell you this, before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am*

[i] Jerem. xxviii. 7, 16, 17.

He [k]. And on other occasions also, when he was informing his disciples of his approaching departure from them, and ascent to the Father, and of the persecutions, which they would suffer after he was gone, he adds the same words, and admonishes them again, in the same manner, *that, when the time should come, they might remember, that he had told them so, and believe in him* [l]. Hence we see, that the established and ordinary sign, by which the Prophets of the Lord were distinguished, was nothing else, but the testimony of Prophecy itself, when fulfilled, and accomplished by the event: because this carried with it a proof of Divinity, as convincing as any, which heaven could give.

Let us now return to the Bishop's Discourses, in which he goes on to demonstrate the inconsistency of the Author's exposition, by telling us, "that it makes *Peter* to say, in his own person, that the dark Prophecies of the Old Testament were a surer and more certain evidence to himself, than the immediate voice of God, which he had heard with his own ears. *And is it possible*, adds he, *that St. Peter, or any man in his wits could make such a comparison* [m]?" To which question, so smartly and confidently put, I readily answer; that it is not onely possible, that *St. Peter* might

[k] John xiii. 19.

[l] Ib. xvi. 4.

[m] Disc. p. 6.

make such a comparison, but even weak to imagine, that he could make any other: which I shall presently explaine, by stating a fact or two, univerfally acknowledged by all, both Jews and Christians. The spirit of Prophecy, which continued in the Jewish Church, till after it's restoration from the Babylonish captivity, had intirely ceased under the second Temple, for three centuries at least before the birth of Christ. But there succeeded to it, as all the Jewish writers unanimously testify, an *oracular voice from heaven*, which was given occasionally "to the leading Rabbies or Teachers of the Law, to direct them, how to act or speak on particular emergencies." It is said, to have been accompanied generally with a kind of thunder, out of which it issued, in a clear and articulate manner, and thence derived it's name of *Bath-Kol*; that is, the *daughter-voice*, or *daughter of a voice*. The *Both-Kol*, says the learned *Lightfoot*, was this; *when a voice or thunder came out of heaven, another voice came out of it* [n]. This way of divine instruction is affirmed to have been subsisting during the time of our Savior, and to the final dissolution of the Jewish state; and is considered by all their Doctors, as *an inferior kind of Prophecy, or a sort of twilight indulged to them after the Sun*

[n] See *Lightfoot's Works*, Vol. ii. p. 128. in *Matt. iii.* ver. 17.

N. B. Thus when *Jesus*, a little before his death, was addressing himself to the Father, in the midst of his disciples and people of *Jerusalem*, and saying; *Father, save me from*

Sun of Prophecy was set [o]; and from this pretended source, they derived the greatest part of those traditions, with which they corrupted the Law of *Moses*. This then being the general persuasion of the Jews, at the time, when St. *Peter* wrote his Epistle, he would necessarily prefer the evidence of Prophecy, which was always esteemed the highest and most perfect degree of Inspiration, under the first Temple, to the *Bath-Kol*, or a voice from heaven, the more imperfect Oracle of the second Temple; and which all the Jewish converts, and *Peter* himself without doubt, had been taught to consider, as of an authority much inferior to the original word of Prophecy, delivered to them by *Moses*, and the other antient Prophets. For the learned reckon four degrees of a Prophetic or divine Instruction, which were indulged to the Jewish Church: the first and most excellent was, *the Spirit of Prophecy*, properly so called, as it was given to *Moses*, and the succeeding Prophets: the second was, *The Holy Spirit*: the third, *Urim and Thummim*; the fourth and low-

from this hour; Father, glorify thy name: There came a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. Upon which the People, that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered; others said, that an Angel spake to him. [John xii. 28]. That is; part of the company believed it to be nothing more, than an accidental clap of thunder; while others took it to be the *Bath-Kol*, or the voice of God, or of an Angel, which was accompanied always with thunder.

[o] See Spencer on the Vulgar Prophecies. c. vii. p. 126.

est, the *Bath-Kol* [p]. Which last, as *Grotius* says, was the sole Oracle, which remained to them, during the time of the second Temple [q].

The reality of this Oracular voice is attested, as I have said, by all the Jewish writers, after the cessation of Prophecy, in the same positive manner, as the miraculous gifts of the Christian Church, by the primitive Fathers, after the days of the Apostles; and innumerable instances of it are particularly recorded by the same writers: yet the ablest of our Divines, and the most conversant with the Rabbinical learning, have not scrupled to declare the whole story of it, to be a mere fiction, contrived to illustrate the characters and authority of some leading Rabbies, and recommend the particular Doctrines, which they were establishing. Such was the opinion of two learned Deans, and ornaments of our Church, *Dr. Spencer* and *Dr. Prideaux*; the first of whom, after declaring the *Bath-Kol* to be a Jewish Fable, says; “ there
 “ were no two nations which have so corrupted
 “ histories, and obtruded so many legends upon
 “ the credulity of the world, to inhanche the
 “ credit of their own people, as the *Jews*, and

[p] Quatuor gradus in Prophetia: primus, Prophetia: Secundus, Spiritus Sanctus: Tertius, Urim & Thummim. Quartus & infimus, *Filia vocis*. *Drus.* in *Matt.* iii. 17.

[q] Quod solum ferme Oraculi genus temporibus Templi secundi restabat, *Bath-Kol*, vocant. *Grot.* in *Joh.* xii. 28.

“ *the Grecians [r].*” And the second affirms, that the *Bath-Kol* was no such voice from heaven, as they pretended, but a phantastical way of divination of their own invention [s].” Dr. Light-foot also, the Soundness of whose faith and erudition is allowed by all, speaks still more precisely to my present purpose, and says; “ that if we observe two things, first, that the Jewish nation, under the second Temple was given to Magical arts beyond measure: secondly, that it was given to believe all manner of delusions beyond measure; we may safely suspect, that those voices, which they thought to be from heaven, and noted with the name of *Bath-Kol*, were either formed by the Devil in the air, to deceive the people; or, by Magicians with Devilish art, to promote their own affairs :” from which he draws this inference, which I would recommend to the special consideration of this eminent Prelate; Hence, adds he, *the Apostle, Peter saith with good reason, that the word of Prophecy was surer, than a voice from heaven [t].*

Yet St. Peter's words, after all, as they are expounded by the freethinking author above-mentioned, do not necessarily imply him to mean, that Prophecy was a surer argument to himself, than the voice from heaven, which he

[r] Spencer *ibid.*

[s] *Prid. Connect.* Vol. ii. p. 256. Edit. Fol.

[t] Vol. ii. p. 129.

had heard, but to the Jewish converts in general, who did not hear that voice, but received it onely from the report of others. It was not his view in this Epistle, to declare what sort of arguments was the most convincing to himself, but to propose such, as were most worthy of the attention of those, to whom he was writing, and most effectual to keep them stedfast in the faith, against the impressions of false teachers, who were laboring to seduce them: and that Prophecy is a properer argument, to repell the insults of unbelieving scoffers, than the report of a Miracle, is manifest, from the reason mentioned above from St. *Austin*; because a Miracle, and especially, *a voice from heaven*, might be imputed to Magical arts; whereas a prophecy, actually fulfilled, was not liable to any such imputation. When St. *Peter* therefore says, *We have a more sure word of Prophecy*; the occasion of his words oblige us to interpret them, as spoken, not with any particular reference to himself, but to the general body of the Jewish Converts, to whose attention he recommends them: and the constant use and analogy of all language will justify such an interpretation.

But should we admit, what His Lordship affirms, that the text, as it is expounded by that Author, makes *Peter prefer Prophecy, as a surer argument even to himself, than the voice, which he heard in the Mount*; how will this prove that

that exposition to be inconsistent, or that *Peter must be out of his wits in saying so*? It is no offence surely, either to reason or religion to imagine; that this wonderfull apparition and heavenly voice, might be accompanied with such circumstances, as would naturally leave some doubt and perplexity on the mind, concerning the precise manner, and nature of the whole transaction. For *Peter*, as we read, was in such a fright and amazement, at what he saw and heard, *that he knew not what he said*: and both he and the two other Apostles, then with him, *James and John*, were so greatly terrified, that *they fell upon their faces to the ground, and durst not so much as look up*, till *Jesus*, when the vision was over, came to raise and encourage them [u].

But be that as it will, and let *Peter* be as perfectly assured, as we can suppose him to be, of every circumstance, which passed in the Mount, he might still take Prophecy, considered as a standing evidence, always lying open to the cool and deliberate examination of reason, to be a firmer argument on the whole, and to carry a more permanent conviction with it to the sober senses of men, than the vision, with which he here compares it. For after all the conviction, which he himself had received from it, we know, that his faith was still so infirm, as to betray

[u] Matt. xvii. 6. Mark ix. 6.

him into a shameful denial of his Master, whom he had seen so wonderfully glorified. We know on the other hand, that after our Lord's Ascension, when his faith was more fully confirmed, and his understanding inlightened by the mission of the Holy Ghost, the chief argument, which he applied in all his Sermons, to evince the truth of the Gospel, was this *more sure word of Prophecy*, as he calls it; from which he demonstrated to the Jews, how the character, doctrine and mission of Jesus were foretold and described *by the mouths of all their Prophets* [w].

I might now leave it to the reader to judge, whether in contradiction to what the Bishop maintains, a man in his wits, and especially a Jew, might not think Prophecy a stronger argument in general, than a voice from heaven, which he himself had heard; or at least, whether every man in his sober senses, would not sooner trust to the evidence of Prophecy, when allowed to be fulfilled, than to a voice from heaven, not heard by himself, but reported to him by another: for this in truth is the whole, which can reasonably be inferred from *St. Peter's* words. But before I dismiss this argument, I cannot help observing, that all, which His Lordship has been affirming so freely concerning the superior evidence of Miracles to that of Prophecy, seems to have been originally con-

[w] Acts ii. 19. iii. 18, 21, &c.

futed, and the whole quæſtion determined againſt him, by Chriſt himſelf; who in one of his Parables declares, *that thoſe, who would not hearken to Moſes and the Prophets, would not be perſuaded, though one roſe from the dead* [x]; clearly intimating, that *the word of Prophecy*, as delivered in the Old Teſtament, carried with it a firmer proof of the truth of his Goſpel to the Jews, than even the greateſt of all his Miracles.

His Lordſhip obſerves farther, that the diſparaging character, which *Peter* here gives of the word of Prophecy, ſhews, that he could not mean to recommend it, as the beſt evidence of the Chriſtian faith, for he diſtinguiſhes it from *day-light, and the brightneſs of the day-ſtar, and compares it to a light ſhining in a dark place; or to the glimmering light of a candle, ſeen at a diſtance in a dark night: which though it gives ſome direction, yet is nothing, when compared to clear day-light.* And here he entertains us again, through a page or two, with a florish of his oratory: “ Is not this now, ſays he, a choice
 “ account of the evidence of the Goſpel; nay,
 “ of the very beſt evidence, which we have of
 “ the Goſpel? Are we ſtill ſurrounded on all
 “ ſides with darkneſs, aſſiſted by one onely
 “ glimmering light? Was it thus, that Chriſt

[x] Luke xvi. 31.

“ came to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and
 “ to be the glory of Israel? St. Peter, in his first
 “ Epistle, tells all Christians, *that they are call-*
 “ *ed out of darkness into God’s marvellous light ;*
 “ how comes he then to tell them in the second,
 “ that they are still in darkness, and have no-
 “ thing but a glimmering light to direct them?
 “ Can the same writer possibly be supposed to
 “ give such different accounts of the Gospel
 “ state? Ask St. Paul what state Christians are
 “ in, he will tell you, *that the light of the glo-*
 “ *rious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God,*
 “ *has shone upon them.* Ask the Evangelists,
 “ they will tell you, *The day star from on high*
 “ *hath visited us, to give light to them, who sit*
 “ *in darkness.* Ask any, or all the Apostles,
 “ they will tell you, their commission is *to open*
 “ *the eyes of the people, and to turn them from*
 “ *darkness to light [y].**

Yet all this pomp of words; this solemn ap-
 peal to the whole College of the Apostles and
 Evangelists, is nothing else but an empty strain
 of rhetoric, without any argument or signifi-
 cancy in it whatsoever. The state of the Gos-
 pel, he says, is described by the sacred writers,
 as a state of glorious light. But what is this
 to the purpose? Has the Author whom he is
 confuting, compared the light of *Prophecy*, to
the glorious light of the Gospel? No: he considers

[y] Disc. p. vii. 8.

it onely, as one of the proofs and evidences of the Gospel: and though it yields but a fainter light, it may still be the best, which we have, to guide us into the day-light of the Gospel: this is all, which the Author's exposition implies, and thus far it is certainly consistent. But the Bishop urges, that it makes the Apostle give different accounts of the Gospel state in his two Epistles, telling the Christians in the first that they are *called out of darkness into God's marvellous light*, yet telling them in the second, that *they are still in darkness*. But these different accounts are plainly given of different things, which his Lordship by mistake confounds and treats as one and the same: I mean the Gospel state, of which the Apostle is here speaking, and the state of those Jewish Converts, to whom he was then writing. For the Gospel state, when compared with *day-light, and the day-star*, necessarily signifies the perfection of that state, inlightened with all the knowledge, and enriched with all the graces, which are the genuin fruits of a perfect faith in Christ: but the state of the New Christians, to whom these Epistles are addressed, was far removed from that character: they were *called indeed into God's marvellous light*; and had made some progress towards it, but were not yet arrived at it: for as *Peter* expressly says, *the day had not yet dawned to them, nor the day-star arisen in their hearts*. For which reason he recommends to them *the word of Prophecy*, as the

surest guide, to lead them through the obscurity of their doubts into clear day-light. And thus the Apostle's sense, as it is expounded by the Author, is clear and consistent, nor liable to any exception, but what flows from that perplexity, in which his Lordship has involved it, by his use of equivocal terms, and perpetual change of the point in question.

He takes it for granted, through all his Discourses, and builds his Argument upon it, that *Peter's* character of Prophecy, *as of a light shining in a dark place*, carries in it a very low and disparaging idea of it; and makes nothing more of it, than a twinkling candle seen at a distance in a dark night. But is not *a light, which shines in a dark place*, the greatest comfort, and best guidance, which a man can possibly have in a state of darkness, and the sole means, by which a wandering traveller can hope to extricate himself, and make his way at last into day-light? for this was the real use of Prophecy, as it was applied by the Apostles, to draw both the Jews and Gentiles out of their darkness, into the light of the Gospel.

But all the Apostles and Evangelists, he says, if examined concerning the subject of their Commission, will tell us, *that it was to open the eyes of the people, and to turn them from darkness to light*. This indeed is true, but not the whole truth,

truth, nor is it that truth, which we are now enquiring after; and his Lordship, who is so celebrated a *Trier of witnesses*, must allow the adverse party, to examine them as well as himself. Let me ask them therefore in my turn, what were the means which they used, in virtue of their commission, to propagate that light, which they were ordered to dispense to the world? *Matthew* will tell us, on the part of the Evangelists, that it was the *more sure word of Prophecy*; by the evidence of which, he had shewn in his Gospel, how the mission of *Jesus*, and all the remarkable acts and sufferings of his life, were precisely and circumstantially foretold by the Prophets, *Peter* also will tell us, that, on the Feast of *Pentecost*, when the Apostles had received their full powers from heaven, he converted *three thousand souls* that very day, by the *same word of Prophecy*; and that in all his sermons, the chief argument which he applied to draw people out of their darkness, was to shew, that the *character and mission of Jesus* were foretold and described, many ages before, by the *mouaths of all the Prophets*. If we follow *St. Paul* likewise through all his travels and labors, in propagating the Gospel, we shall find him, in every City, betaking himself to the Synagogue; reasoning there with the Jews, and opening and alledging to them from the Scriptures, that *Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead*; and that *Jesus*, whom he preached unto them, was the *Christ*; and in short, saying no

An EXAMINATION of the
other things, as he himself affirms, than those,
which the Prophets and Moses did say, should
come [a].

His Lordship advances still *one step farther*, in depressing the evidence of Prophecy, and declares, “ that *St. Peter* is so far from speaking of it as the best light to be had, for the point in quæstion, that he manifestly speaks of it, as not the best, but as a light to be attended to onely, untill a better comes : and he would not have limited any time for their attending to it, had he been considering it as the best support of the Christian faith, for in that sense it ought ever to be attended to [b].” And here again the turn of his argument would lead us to imagine, that his adversary had compared the light of Prophecy with the light of the Gospel : for in any other view of it, it is nothing else but a mere quibble, which tends rather to confute, than support, what he attempts to establish. For to what time has *Peter limited their attention to Prophecy* ? why, *until the day should dawn, and the day-star arise in their hearts* : that is, till they had acquired a full conviction, and stedfast faith in the truth of the Gospel, As if he had said, ye do well in attending to the word of Prophecy, till it has completed it’s work, and

[a] Acts xiii. 27, &c. xvii. 3. xviii. 28.

[b] Disc. p. 9.

wrought in you that effect, for which it was at first given, and for which I now recommend it, of confirming and perfecting your faith in Christ. Which instead of limiting their attention, is an exhortation for their perseverance in it, till the end of it was obtained, and no farther room left for any particular sollicitude or anxious enquiries on that subject.

Having now run through all the arguments, by which his Lordship endeavours to overthrow that Author's exposition, I shall procede to examine those, by which he attempts to establish his own.

He affirms, that the preference given by St. *Peter* in this text to the evidence of Prophecy was not intended by him to recommend it, as a stronger argument for the general truth of the Gospel, but onely for the particular article of Christ's coming down again in glory; in the confirmation of which, the Apostle first alledges to them *the glorification of Christ*, on the Mount, as one proof: and then adds *the word of Prophecy*, as another, still better, with regard to an event, which, being *yet in futurity*, admitted no surer evidence than of Prophecy [c].

After he has worked up this sense, with much hypothetical refinement, from a number of pas-

[c] Disc. p. 13, 19, 22.

sages, arbitrarily tacked together from both the Epistles, and strained to his own purpose ; by *supposing, what an Objector might say, and supposing again what the Apostle might answer*, he pronounces it, to be *easy, natural, rendering to every expression it's proper signification necessary to the Apostle's argument ; plainly enforced by the context, and clear of all difficulties* [d].

But for my own part, when I recurred to the Epistles, after the perusal of this Discourse, I could neither see the necessity, nor propriety of his Lordship's exposition, nor the least reason from either of the Epistles, why *the word of Prophecy* should be disparaged, and degraded by him, from being a proof of the general truth of the Gospel, and restrained to the particular article of *Christ's coming in glory*.

The two Epistles of *St. Peter* have always been styled *Catholic*, or general, as not written to any particular Church, or to inculcate any particular doctrine ; but addressed to the Jewish Converts at large, or dispersed through the several provinces of the East, for the sake of confirming them in that faith, in which they had been instructed, and to arm them against the Scoffers and false Teachers, who were busily employed, in beguiling and seducing them from that faith.

[d] Disc. p. 22.

In the first Epistle, he puts them in mind,
“ how they were begotten again to a lively
“ hope, by the resurrection of *Jesus* ; to an in-
“ heritance incorruptible, reserved for them in
“ Heaven. That the end of their faith was
“ the salvation of Souls ; that the Prophets
“ had enquired diligently after this salvation,
“ and prophesied of the grace, that should
“ come to them searching into the time, signi-
“ fied by the Spirit of God, when it testified
“ before-hand of the sufferings of Christ, and
“ the glory which should follow : that they did
“ not prophesy of things relating to themselves,
“ but of the things, which were reported by
“ those who preached the Gospel, and which
“ the Angels desired to look into. Having
“ thus opened the foundation of their faith,
“ from the ancient Prophecies, and signified
“ how this spiritual house, or Christian Church,
“ *was built on that chief corner stone laid in Sion,*
“ *as mentioned by Isaiah* ; he exhorts them, to
“ stedfastness in that faith, which was so well
“ grounded ; and to the practice of all those
“ graces, which are the fruits of it, holiness,
“ sobriety, mutual love, charity, vigilance :
“ after which, he draws out a short sketch of
“ all the several duties required by the Gospel,
“ from every particular rank and condition of
“ it's Disciples : from servants, from subjects,
“ from wives, from husbands, from the old
“ and from the young. And because their pre-
“ sent

“ sent state was exposed to manifold tempta-
 “ tions and trials, from the malice of their
 “ enemies, he drops several hints occasionally,
 “ by way of comfort to them, concerning the
 “ speedy coming of Christ in power and glory
 “ to deliver and reward them, and to take a
 “ severe vengeance on their persecutors; and
 “ concludes, by declaring, that his view in
 “ writing to them, was to exhort and testify,
 “ that what he had briefly explained to them,
 “ was the true grace of God, in which they
 “ stood.”

In the second Epistle he admonishes them,
 “ to make a proper use of the exceeding grace,
 “ and precious promises, which were given
 “ them through faith in Christ, by using all
 “ diligence, to improve that faith, and carry
 “ it on to it's perfection, by adding to it vir-
 “ tue, knowledge, temperance, patience, god-
 “ liness, brotherly kindness, charity, that they
 “ might not be unfruitful in the knowledge of
 “ Christ, but make their election sure; of
 “ which he would never fail to remind and stir
 “ them up, as long as he lived. Then to con-
 “ firm them against the scoffers and false teach-
 “ ers, who were beguiling the unstable, and
 “ drawing them away from the Gospel, he re-
 “ minds them again, in short, of the founda-
 “ tion of that faith, which had been preached
 “ to them by the Apostles, as being grounded
 “ not on fabulous tales, but on Miracles and
 “ Prophecy;

“ Prophecy ; alledging, as an instance of the
“ former, the miraculous attestation given to
“ it by God on the Mount, yet exhorting them
“ to attend more especially to the latter, as to
“ an evidence *more sure*, or convincing to them :
“ because *none of the Old Prophecies were dictated*
“ *by the will of man, but by the spirit of God.*
“ He then proceeds to a particular description
“ of the wicked principles, manners, and cha-
“ racters of those false teachers, who were
“ bringing upon themselves swift destruction ;
“ and in the third and last chapter declares,
“ that this second Epistle was written with the
“ same view, as the first, *to stir up their minds*
“ *and memories, concerning the words spoken of*
“ *old by the Prophets, and commanded by the Apo-*
“ *stles of our Lord.* He assures them of the
“ certainty of Christ’s coming, notwithstand-
“ the scoffs of those deceivers, who seeing all
“ things continue in the same state, as in the
“ days of the Fathers, and not knowing what
“ wonderfull things God had formerly wrought
“ in the old world, derided the belief of it’s
“ approaching end : but that the day of the
“ Lord would come upon them unexpectedly,
“ as a thief in the night, and this seeming de-
“ lay of judgement was not to be ascribed to
“ any slackness of the Lord, concerning the
“ performance of his promise, but to his mercy
“ and long-suffering, that all might have time
“ to repent and be saved : which he urges as a
“ motive, to persevere in an holy life, and to
“ beware .

“ beware, that they be not drawn away, by
 “ the error of the wicked, and fall from the
 “ stedfastness of their faith.”

In this abstract of the two Epistles, we see, as it were, the whole plan of Christian duty, with respect both to faith and practice, sketched out in a summary manner, agreeable to the purpose of the writer, which as it is declared by himself, was to stir up the Jewish converts to a stedfast adherence to that faith, in which they had been instructed: And as the coming of Christ was one article of it, which was particularly derided by the scoffers of those days; so the certain and speedy approach of it is more especially inculcated, as an effectual source of comfort, and a strong motive of constancy, in those circumstances of persecution, to which they were then exposed. It is evident likewise, that all the use which is made by the Apostle, *of the word of Prophecy* in both the Epistles, is applied by him to the same general purpose, of confirming the whole Christian doctrine, and not to the particular proof of the single article of Christ's coming. For the Prophecies mentioned in the first Epistle, are declared to relate, *to the Salvation of Souls, which is obtained by the faith of Christ; to the sufferings of Christ, and the glory, which should afterwards follow; and in short, to the things, which were reported by those, who preached the Gospel, and which the Angels desired to look into:* which must be understood,

to reach to the whole of Christianity; or *the whole mystery of man's redemption*, and cannot be restrained to one particular article of it. The second Epistle, from which the text is taken, was written, as it expressly tells us, with the same view as the first; *to stir up the Christians, and remind them of the words, which were spoken before by the Prophets, and preached to them afterwards by the Apostles*; which must include likewise the whole faith: according to which sense and in no other, St. Peter's reasoning will be found clear and just, in his application both of *the miracle in the Mount, and of the word of Prophecy*; and in the preference given to the latter, with regard to the general force of it's evidence.

The *Glorification of Christ*, which Peter saw, and *the voice of God*, which he heard, declaring *Jesus to be his beloved Son*, was undoubtedly a strong proof of Christ's divine mission: Yet to those, who did not hear that voice, *the word of Prophecy*, considered as a standing evidence, is surely a much firmer and more rational proof of it. But that same *glorification*, though a strong argument for the truth of Christ's mission, is no argument at all for his coming again in glory. This the Bishop himself allows, and even ridicules the notion of it's carrying any real evidence of that sort. *Can any certainty, says he, as to future events, be collected from past events? or can any thing we see this year, assure us, what will*

will happen to us the next [e]? It is absurd then to imagine, that St. Peter should alledge the glorification of Christ in the Mount, as a proof of his coming again in glory, of which in reality it was no proof at all; or should compare the evidence of Prophecy, to the evidence of a particular Miracle, with regard to a particular event, to which that Miracle bore no sort of relation. Whereas if we suppose him to have compared them together as arguments for the mission of Jesus, of which they are both good proofs, the comparison is rightly instituted, and the preference justly given to Prophecy.

Thus far however all people will agree with his Lordship, that Prophecy is as sure an argument for the coming of Christ, as the vision in the Mount, because that vision, as he owns, is no argument at all: but he assigns another reason, which is not quite so clear; *because Christ's coming is an event yet in futurity, for which therefore we can have no surer evidence than Prophecy.* But Prophecy not fulfilled, carries with it, as I have said above, no evidence at all, nor is an event in futurity capable of being ascertained by any; and cannot therefore be a just ground for giving the title of *sure* or *more sure*, to any sort of evidence whatsoever. The article of Christ's coming, is an express doctrine of the

[e] Disc. p. 21.

Gospel, taught both by Christ and all his Apostles, so that the Jewish converts to whom St. Peter was writing, could not possibly doubt of it, without doubting at the same time of the whole, which the Apostles had been preaching to them concerning all the other doctrines and facts of the Gospel; and, in such a case, it would have been vain and trifling, to attempt to confirm their faith, by a particular Prophecy not yet fulfilled, when they had conceived a distrust of all the other Prophecies, which had been alledged to them by the Apostles, as actually fulfilled.

The prediction of things to come, can, at the most, raise onely an expectation or presumption, more or less strong, in proportion to the authority of the person, who delivers it. To men persuaded that all the remarkable things, foretold in the Old Testament, concerning the *Messiah*, were actually fulfilled in *Jesus*, the presumption would be strong, that any other event, still future, foretold by the same Prophets, and relating to the same *Jesus*, would be accomplished in due time. But to those, who doubted of the Prophecies already fulfilled, the prediction of an event still future, urged by way of confirmation to them, might help indeed to increase their doubts, but could not in any manner be applicable to the cure of them. So that the Bishop's exposition of the *word of Prophecy* in the text, as applied to the particular case of

Christ's coming, could not possibly answer the Apostle's end of confirming the faith of those, to whom he was writing, or have any influence at all with them, unless he had really meant to propose it, as the firmest evidence on the whole, for the general truth of the Gospel.

His Lordship adds one argument more, for the final overthrow of that Author's exposition, by saying, "that *the more sure word of Prophecy* here mentioned, is not to be understood merely of the Prophecies of the Old Testament, for it may refer to the Prophecies of the New; and probably does, as appears from St. *Peter's* appealing, not onely to the antient Prophets, but also to the preachers of the Gospel. How unhappily then, adds he, was this text made choice of, to set up antient Prophecy in opposition to Gospel evidence, since the Prophecy here intended is probably itself a Gospel-evidence? &c. [*f*]."

Yet while he insults his adversary, for his *unhappy application of this text*, to set up the credit of antient Prophecy, he is certainly more unhappy, in hazarding so crude a reflection; which is confuted even by St. *Peter* himself, on whose authority he grounds it; who, in the very next words to the text, plainly limits the sense of it, *to the Prophecies of the Old Testament*; and gives this reason for setting up Prophecy, *be-*

cause no Prophecy of the Scripture is of private interpretation: for Prophecy came not of old by the will of man, but holy men of God spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost [g]. For it is a point allowed and indisputable, that wherever the writers of the New Testament speak of the Scripture in general, or of the Prophecies of the Scripture, they must be understood to speak onely of the Old Testament, and the Prophecies therein recorded.

We are now come to the Bishop's second Discourse, the chief purpose of which is, to illustrate the nature of Prophecy, from the testimonies of the sacred writers; and to shew what *St. Peter's* meaning was in comparing it to a light shining in a dark place, and in making it's evidence so much inferior to the other evidence of the Gospel. But His Lordship's zeal seems to be bent rather, on refuting what his adversary has affirmed, than on searching what *St. Peter* really meant; and on contradicting the Free-thinker at any rate, though at the hazard of contradicting the Apostle.

St. Peter, as it is manifest from every part of his conduct, had a very high opinion of the evidence of Prophecy, and applied it on all occasions, as the most effectual proof, which he could offer to the Jews for the mission of *Jesus*, or the general truth of the Gospel. Yet when the

[g] 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

Free-thinker, upon his authority, had undertaken to consider it in the same character, the Bishop begins presently to depreciate and reduce it so low, as to render it of no use at all. For this is the description, which he gives us of the Prophecies of the Old Testament; “ that they
 “ are generally penned in such a manner, that
 “ one cannot fix the precise and determinate
 “ sense of them with any certainty [*b*]: That
 “ they are dark speeches, delivered in visions
 “ and dreams; and were never intended to be
 “ a very distinct evidence [*i*]: That they are
 “ figurative and dark descriptions, of future
 “ events, which could not be made clearer, by
 “ being even fulfilled, but would have all the
 “ obscurity of figurative and dark descriptions,
 “ as well after, as before the event [*k*]; and
 “ that no event can make a figurative expression
 “ plain, or literal; or restrain the language of
 “ Prophecy to one determinate sense, which
 “ was originally capable of many [*l*].”

How different a character is this, from what Dr. *Spencer* has given of the same Prophecies? which stand, he says, “ perpetuated in Scrip-
 “ ture, and fall therefore under the daily no-
 “ tices of men; so that when the events fore-
 “ told come to pass, they may readily be com-
 “ pared with the predictions; which, the more
 “ antient date they bear, the more wonderfull

[*b*] Disc. p. 29.[*i*] Ib. p. 30.[*k*] Ib. p. 32.[*l*] Ib. p. 36.

“ will they appear, when accomplished, and
 “ the more full reports will they make, of their
 “ divine original, and of the Scripture, where-
 “ in they are found. For there is nothing
 “ doth so seal the faith of the divine inspiration
 “ of Scripture, as the various predictions there-
 “ in delivered, at such distant times and places,
 “ exactly accomplished in their seasons [m].”

But even the literal Prophecies find no bet-
 ter treatment from his Lordship than the dark
 and the figurative: “ for these, he says, how
 “ plainly soever foretold, were not always the
 “ plainest at the time of their delivery, nor re-
 “ ceived by the Jews in their true meaning, for
 “ the seeming incredibility of the things : for
 “ an instance of which, he gives this Prophe-
 “ cy ; *a Virgin shall conceive a son* : which being
 “ contradictory to all the experience of the
 “ world, was not probably believed by the Jews
 “ of those days to import a miraculous concep-
 “ tion ; because common sense would lead them
 “ to understand it in a manner agreeable to na-
 “ ture and experience [n].”

This is surely a very rash and unguarded de-
 claration. Did not the Jews look upon their
 Prophets, to have been really inspired? and
 were not miraculous events of all kinds familiar
 to them in every period of their history? did

[m] See Spencer on Vulg. Proph. c. iii. p. 50.

[n] Disc. p. 34.

they not know, how God, for the defence of his people, had frequently over-ruled the established order of nature, and baffled all the experience of mankind? how he had made *the sun to stand still, or go backwards* at his pleasure, for a sign to his servants [o], and had ordered the waters of the sea to separate themselves, and open a safe passage to the armies of *Israel* [p]? Is it possible then, that their faith and reason could be shocked by the *conception of a virgin*, when affirmed to them, in the name of the same God, by persons divinely inspired? yet this, it seems, was the case, and a Prophecy so wonderfull, could not be understood by *the Jews*, on the account of it's contradiction to common sense, till the event had shewn the literal meaning to be the true one [q].

But His Lordship is as unlucky in the choice of this particular instance, as he is injudicious in his reflection upon it: for of all the Prophecies relating to *Jesus*, this alone is of a kind, which is incapable of being made clearer by the event. His resurrection from the dead, how incredible soever in the prediction, was cleared up, beyond all doubt, by the event, to all those, who saw and conversed with him after it: and so in all the other miraculous cases which were foretold of him, the event, if exposed to

[o] Josh. x. 12. Isa. xxxvii. 8. [p] Exod. xiv. 21.

[q] Disc. p. 34.

the open view and trial of men's senses, would clearly confirm the divinity of the prediction. But, *the conception of a virgin*, is a Miracle of that peculiar nature, which could not be seen by any, nor known to any, but to the Virgin Herself, except by a divine revelation: so that the credibility of it, whether in the prediction, or in the accomplishment, intirely depended, and still depends, on the authority of the persons, who attested it. With the Jews, therefore, the event was much more likely, to derive it's credit from the prediction, than the prediction from the event; because the Prophets, who foretold it, had a more established credit with them, than the Apostles, who reported the completion of it. Wherefore if, as His Lordship says, they rejected the *litteral prediction*, on the account of its incredibility, they had the same reason, or a stronger still, for rejecting *the litteral accomplishment* of it; unless he can shew, that the Inspiration of the Prophets might be distrusted by them in this case, but the inspiration of the Apostles could not.

He begins, however, to be aware at last, “ that it may seem strange, to hear a Christian
 “ Divine, pleading, as it were, for the ob-
 “ scurity of the Scripture-prophecy, when it
 “ would be thought more suitable to his cha-
 “ racter, to maintain the clearness of it:” where-
 fore he pauses here a while, to make a short
 apology for himself; and *wishes to God, that*

all the Prophecies of the Lord were manifest to all his people. “ But though, it is not of the
 “ nature of Prophecy, he says, to be obscure ;
 “ since things future may be spoken of as clear-
 “ ly, as things either past or present, and Pro-
 “ phesy be made as plain as common history :
 “ yet obscurity being the peculiar character of
 “ Scripture-prophecy, it matters but little what
 “ we may wish or think the best in the case, we
 “ must be content with such light and direc-
 “ tion, as God has thought fit to bestow upon
 “ us [r].” Where I shall leave it to all candid
 Christians to consider ; whether, if the Free-
 thinker’s attack on the prophetic evidence of
 the Gospel had been wholly slighted, or his ar-
 gument allowed even to be true, it could have
 done any more harm to the credit of the Gospel,
 than the Bishop’s own account of Prophecy is
 likely to do. The purpose of that Author was,
 to shew, that the Prophecies of the Old Testa-
 ment, as they are applied by the Apostles in the
 New, are in reality no proof at all, nor capa-
 ble of persuading any, but the weak and the
 credulous. His Lordship’s character of Pro-
 phesy tends to the same end, and as far as the
 Apostles have applied the evidence of it to the
 confirmation of the Gospel, must of consequence
 weaken the credit of the Gospel. The Pro-
 phesies of the *Pythian Apollo* were indeed ob-
 scure, equivocal, and ambiguous, admitting

[r] Page 32—36, 37.

not onely different, but contrary senses; so that the character here given of *the Scripture-prophecies*, was undoubtedly true of them, that no event could restrain them to one determinate sense, when they were originally capable of many. For if the obvious sense failed, as it often did, to the ruin of those, who acted upon it, there was another always in reserve, to secure the veracity of the Oracle: till this very character of it's ambiguous and ænigmatical senses, confirmed by constant observation, gradually sunk its credit, and finally detected the imposture [s]. Is it possible then, that the same character can be due to the Jewish Prophecies, which the wise and virtuous of the Heathen World considered as an argument of fraud and falsehood in the Pythian Prophecies?

I have observed above, that His Lordship reduces the credit of Prophecy so low, as to render it of no use at all. But after all his pains to depress it, he declares it to have been given for two great purposes: first, *to support the*

[s] Jam ad te venio,

Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,
Unde superstitiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera.

Tuis enim Oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione sapissime; partim flexiloquis, & obscuris, ut interpretes egeat interprete, & fors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit; partim ambiguus, & quæ ad dialecticum referenda sint, &c.

Cic. de Divin. ii. 56.

faith

faith and religion of the old world; secondly, to give testimony to the mission of Jesus, who appeals to the Prophets for the truth of it. The first of these he affirms to be the chief and most important end: “for there was no occasion, he says, to lay in so long beforehand the evidence of Prophecy, to convince men of things, that were to happen in their own times: and that it gives a low idea of the administration of Providence, in sending Prophets, one after another, in every age, from *Adam to Christ*, to imagine, that all this *Apparatus* was for their sakes, who lived in, or after the times of Christ [t].”

But if the principal end of the antient Prophecies was really such, as he assigns to them, God would surely have given them a character, proper and adequate to that end. Whereas, according to his representation of them, they seem calculated rather to subvert, than to support the faith and religion of mankind. For it is impossible, that dark speeches, ambiguous phrases, carrying no precise meaning, or distinct evidence, should produce any thing in the minds of men, but doubts, scruples, and uncertainties, which are all opposite to faith and religion. He tells us still farther, “that these antient Prophecies, these supports of faith and religion, were not understood by those, who delivered them,

[t] Disc. p. 37.

“ though they searched diligently into the
 “ meaning of them, and if the inspired and
 “ righteous of the old world, to whom the
 “ word of God came, did not understand them,
 “ it is certain, that others less qualified could
 “ have but a confused and indistinct notion of
 “ them [u].” Where he might as well have
 told us, that mists and clouds were given for
 the propagation of light, as *confused and indistinct
 notions, for the support of faith.* Whatever cre-
 ates faith, must first convince the understand-
 ing: but Prophecies not understood by
 those, who delivered them, and less still by
 those, who heard them, and which conveyed
 nothing to the mind, but confused and indeter-
 minate ideas, might serve indeed to disturb the
 faith, and pervert the religion of the world, but
 could never be of use, to support or confirm
 them.

It is certain then, that the antient Prophecies,
 as they are described at least by His Lordship,
 could not be chiefly intended, to support the
 faith and religion of the Old world. But what-
 ever character they may deserve, or whatever
 light they may carry in them, it is allowed,
 that they all bear a relation to the person and
 coming of the Messiah, or that Great Prophet
 and Deliverer, who was to arise in the land of
Judaea: and as this was the common subject of

them all, so it was undoubtedly the principal end of them all, (though he ridicules it as a low and inferior end) to mark out, from time to time, more and more distinctly, the character and qualities of that expected Prophet, and to prepare the world for the reception of a new religion, wholly strange and inconceivable, not onely to the wisest of men, but to the apprehension even of Angels. And in Prophecies of this kind, whose chief end was, to open gradually such a wonderfull scheme of salvation and redemption, to be wrought, after a succession of many ages, some obscurity must necessarily be found, from the sublime and mysterious nature of the subject itself.

Let us here consider a while, how our argument now stands; and what light we have gained from the premises towards settling a just notion of *the use and intent of Prophecy*, which the Bishop professes to teach us in these Discourses.

In the first place then, it is evident, from the practice both of Christ and of his Apostles, that in preaching the Gospel to the Jews, they took all occasions of applying the Prophecies of the Old Testament, singly and separately, to each remarkable circumstance of the life and ministry of Jesus, as so many direct and decisive proofs of his divine mission. The learned Mr. *Whiston*, who seems to have inquired into this subject with great diligence and accuracy, says; “ It

“ It appears to me, upon a particular exami-
 “ nation, that not onely the Apostles, *who*
 “ *might possibly be supposed to be mistaken some-*
 “ *times in such applications,* but our blessed
 “ Savior himself, who could not be supposed
 “ ever to be so mistaken, always quoted these
 “ texts, as really, properly, and singly belonging
 “ to himself, as the true Messias; and as just
 “ proofs that he was so [*w*].” Thus *Jesus*,
 as I have observed above, applying to himself
 a particular Prophecy, in which the principal
 characters of the *Messiah* are briefly sketched out,
 says; *This day, is this. Scripture fulfilled in your*
ears [*x*]. Which is a testimony surely as pre-
 cise and distinct, as any can possibly be. The
 Evangelists also and Apostles applied the antient
 Prophecies in the same manner, as so many di-
 rect proofs of the truth of the Gospel; and
 plainly signify this, to have been the genuin use
 and intent of them, in the designation of God
 himself; who moved his Prophets, to deliver
 them in that particular manner, that by tallying
 so circumstantially with the events, they might
 yield a demonstrable proof, that they could not
 relate to any one, but to *Jesus*. Thus in the
 course of their several Gospels, wherever they
 mention any notable act or occurrence relating
 to him, as prefigured in the Old Testament, their
 constant way of expressing it is; such a thing

[*w*] See his *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Proph.*
 p. 20. § x.

[*x*] Luke iv. 21.

was done or suffered by him, *that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled: or as Jesus himself says, thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day* [y]. Since this then was the use of Prophecy, which we find to have been taught and practised, both by Christ and his Apostles, it confutes at once the general argument of His Lordship's *two first Discourses*: The purpose of which is, to shew, that the *Scripture-prophecies were never intended, to be a very distinct evidence; and, if considered singly, are incapable from the nature of them, of affording any satisfactory proof, when they come to be confronted with the objections of unbelievers.*

Secondly, it appears also from what has been said, that the Evangelists, in collecting all the Prophecies of the Old Testament, which they imagined to relate to *Jesus*, never looked for them any higher, than to *the Law, and the Prophets*; nor ever appealed to any other, than what they found there; following herein the example of their Master, who, in expounding all the prophetic Scriptures, which were applicable to himself, *began with the Prophecy of Moses* [z]. Thus, as St. *John* tells us, *Philip*, finding *Nathanael*, said to him, *We have found him, of*

[y] Matth. xxi. 4. Luke xxiv. 46. John xiii. 18. xvii. 12, &c.

[z] " And beginning at *Moses* and all the Prophets, &c. Luke xxiv. 27.

whom Moses, in the law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph [a]. Which fact confutes likewise at once the grand scheme of his four remaining discourses, and shews his pretended chain of *antideluvian* Prophecies, to be a vain and impertinent fancy, which has no sort of relation to the evidence of the Gospel.

This being the case, I might here put an end to my remarks, and spare myself the trouble of animadverting on the rest of his Lordship's Discourses; but since the subject of the third is of a very curious kind, in which he opens his grand scheme, *traces out the rise and progress of divine Prophecy, and shews the real end, which God intended to serve by it* [b]; it will not perhaps be disagreeable to the reader, to wait upon him a little farther, that, by examining the foundation, or first link of his prophetic chain, we may the better judge of its ability to sustain that immense weight and length, which he ascribes to it.

His scheme in short is this: " that Man, like
 " all the other works of God, came perfect out
 " of the hands of the Creator; furnished with
 " light enough to see his duty, and to attain all
 " the happiness, for which he was designed;
 " but being made a free and moral agent he

[a] John i. 45.

[b] Disc. p. 47

“ fell from his duty and incurred the displea-
 “ sure of God. In this state, having forfeited
 “ all title to happiness and to life itself, he had
 “ no comfort left to him : the natural law could
 “ offer none ; it had already condemned him,
 “ and could suggest nothing but a fearfull ex-
 “ pectation of punishment ; all the hope, which
 “ remained, was ; that God might freely par-
 “ don him upon his repentance ; but whether
 “ he would or not, natural religion could not
 “ teach : and should God think fit to be recon-
 “ ciled to him, the natural law must again be-
 “ come the rule of his future obedience ; so
 “ that all his hopes and confidence must arise
 “ from the promise of God ; that is, from *the*
 “ *word of Prophecy* ; for which reason, Pro-
 “ phesy must ever be an essential part of such
 “ a sinner’s religion.

“ Our first Parents being reduced to this def-
 “ perate condition ; deprived of all hopes by a
 “ sense of their guilt, and under the terrible ap-
 “ prehension of the divine vengeance, God
 “ came down, to judge them, yet with inten-
 “ tions of shewing mercy, and rescuing them
 “ finally from that ruin, which they had brought
 “ upon themselves. For this end, *the word of*
 “ *Prophecy now came in* ; not in opposition to
 “ natural religion, but in the support of it, and
 “ to convey new hopes to man ; without which
 “ religion could no longer have subsisted in the
 “ world ; because a sense of religion with-
 “ out

“ out hope, is a state of phrenzy and distraction [c].”

The Prophecy which *is now said to come in*, is a part of the sentence, pronounced by God upon the Serpent, in these words; *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel*: which he calls the *groundwork and foundation of all the Prophecies, which have been ever since; and the sole support of religion, in the antediluvian world* [d]. The authority of it is grounded on the Mosaic account of the fall, considered as an *historical narration of facts, supposed to have been transacted, in the manner as they are described: and the more, and oftner it is considered, he says, in all it's circumstances, the more will this interpretation of it prevail*. He owes however, that it might have been expected from him, *to have cleared it in the first place from the difficulties, which arise from it, yet he thinks it sufficient to say, that nothing material could be added to what has already been said on that subject* [e]. But for my part, as oft as I have had occasion to consider this case, I have ever found myself persuaded still more and more, that the historical sense was so far from being the sense of the writer, or in any degree probable, that it was utterly absurd and contradictory to reason.

[c] P. 53, 54, 61, &c.

[d] P. 54.

[e] P. 55.

His Lordship supposes man to have come perfect out of the hands of his Creator, and furnished with sufficient light, to see and to perform his duty, without *an admonisher at every turn at his elbow* [f]. He supposes the law, which was given to him, as the guide of his nature, to have been complete, if he had obeyed it, but after he had once transgressed, it had no healing clause which could save him from punishment, till God thought fit to supply it by *the word of Prophecy*. This is smooth and plausible, and easily swallowed by those, who take every thing for sacred which is delivered from the Pulpit: but men, who inquire into things, will meet with many absurdities, which reason must wink at, and many incredibilities, which faith must digest, before they can admit the authority of this Prophecy, upon the evidence of this historical narration.

A natural law, we see, is supposed to have been implanted in the very frame of man at his creation, pointing out to him his chief good and happiness, and enabling him to acquire it. And in truth, it is not possible to conceive him to have been placed upon this earth by God, without being furnished with natural powers, proper to support and preserve him, in that perfection of his nature, in which he was originally

[f] P. 50.

created. Yet in this *historical narration*, we cannot discover the least trace of any natural law, nor of any religion, which reason could teach. Reason and nature appear to have had no rule in the Paradisiacal state; all things in it were ordered miraculously and supernaturally by the immediate interposition of God; and the Admonisher no sooner retired from the elbow of our first Parents, than the Serpent stepped in, and beguiled them.

Had they been left to the direction of the law, it would have taught them, that the primary end of their creation was, to propagate their species; but from this *historical narration* we find, that during their state of innocence, they were utterly ignorant of this end; and did not know *their own nakedness*, till they were expelled out of Paradise. The natural law could not teach them, that the fruit of a tree would inspire knowledge; or that *the knowledge of good and ill* could be criminal or hurtfull: nor was it the light of reason which directed them, *to hide themselves from the sight of God among the trees*. When the beasts of the field were brought before *Adam*, that he might give names to them; the same law, which instructed him to give them names, proper to their several natures, would have taught him at the same time, that they were all dumb, and that the use of speech was the peculiar privilege of man, to whom the dominion over them was given; yet in this

historical narration, we find one of the lowest of those beasts holding discourse, and debating with *Eve*, without giving the least shock or surprize to her natural reason. Lastly, when the wonderful works of the Creator had convinced our first Parents of his infinite power, and wisdom and goodness, the natural law could not inform them, that there was another invisible Being in the world, of an opposite nature absolutely wicked, malicious; and endued likewise with great power; which he was perpetually employing, to defeat all the good and happiness, which God had provided for his creatures: and since this was neither discoverable to their reason, nor revealed to them by their Maker, how can we imagine, that God would expose their simplicity, unarmed and uninstructed, to the assaults of an insidious tempter, so greatly superior to them both in craft and power?

But his Lordship being apprehensive, that the reasoners of this world might break in upon him, and rudely unravel his fine-spun scheme, takes care to enter his protest against a certain set of them, whom, for the grossness of their infidelity, he excludes from *all right to debate in this question*, and describes under the following character:

“ To some unbelievers, says he, the history
 “ of the fall would have been altogether as in-
 “ credible, though perhaps not quite so divert-
 “ ing,

“ing, had it been told in the simplest and
 “plainest language. ’Tis to little purpose
 “therefore, to trouble them with an account
 “of the genius of the Eastern people, and
 “their language; for you may as soon persuade
 “them, that a Serpent tempted *Eve*, as that
 “an evil spirit did. If you ask, why the Devil
 “might not as well speak to *Eve*, under the
 “form of a Serpent, as give out Oracles to the
 “old Heathen world, under that and many
 “other forms? you gain nothing by the quæstion;
 “for Oracles, whether *Heathen* or *Jewish*,
 “are to them alike, they dispute not their au-
 “thority, but their reality. This is a degree
 “of unbelief, which has no right to be admit-
 “ted to debate the quæstion now under con-
 “sideration [g].”

Every man of sense must necessarily be surprized, to find this eminent Prelate proclaiming here from the Pulpit, the great impiety of *disbelieving the Heathen Oracles*, or denying them to have been *given out by the Devil*. Yet whatever he may please to write, or preach concerning this heinous crime, I freely own myself to be guilty of it, and think myself sufficiently warranted to pronounce from the authority of the best and wisest of the Heathens themselves, and the evidence of plain facts, which are recorded of those Oracles, as well as from the na-

ture of the thing itself, that they were all mere impostures, wholly invented and supported by human craft, without any supernatural aid or interposition whatsoever.

If his Lordship had read the short *History of Oracles*, by M. De Fontenelle, he would have learnt, that *Cicero*, speaking of the *Delphic Oracle*, the most revered of any, in the Heathen world, declares, that nothing was become more contemptible, not onely in his days, but for a long time before him: that *Demosthenes*, who lived about three hundred years earlier, affirmed of the same Oracle, in a public speech to the people of *Athens*, that it was gained to the interests of King *Philip*, an enemy to that city: that the Greek Historians tell us, how, on several other occasions, it had been corrupted by money, to serve the views of particular Princes and parties, and the Prophetess sometimes deposed, for bribery, and for lewdness: that there were some great sects of Philosophers, who, by principle, disavowed the authority of all Oracles: agreeably to all which, *Strabo* tells us, that Divination in general and Oracles had been in high credit among the antients, but in his days, were treated with much contempt: Lastly, that *Eusebius* also, the great Historian of the primitive Church, declares, that there were six hundred writers among the Heathens themselves, who had publicly written against the reality of them.

Is it not amazing then, that a Christian Bishop should so zealously preach up the reality of those Oracles, which the most learned and virtuous of the Heathens themselves condemned as a despicable imposture? But the primitive Fathers constantly affirmed them to have been the real effects of a supernatural power, and *given out by the Devil*: and this without doubt is the ground of that zeal which his Lordship expresses in favor of their reality. Yet here again, the same *M. De Fontenelle* would have informed him, that, while those Fathers preferred that way of combating the authority of the Oracles, as the most commodious to themselves and to the state of the controversy, between them and the Heathens, yet they believed them at the same time, to be nothing else, but the effects of human fraud and contrivance: which he has illustrated, by the examples of *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius* [b].

I chuse to refer his Lordship on this occasion, to the learned and ingenious *M. de Fontenelle*, who is a Papist, still living in a Popish country; where he enjoys, in a good old age, the full credit and respect, which is due to his great merit, notwithstanding his avowed *unbelief of the Heathen Oracles*, and the fatal blow which he has given to their authority: while the same

[b] Hist. des Oracles par *M. De Fontenelle*, vid. *Strabo*. l. xvii. p. 1168. A.

unbelief in this free or Protestant country, is declared here by a Protestant Bishop to be of so criminal a nature, that it ought at least to be silenced, and banished from all philosophical or religious debate. His Lordship addresses himself in the next place to another set of Unbelievers, *not infidels*, he says, *with regard to religion in general*, like the first sort, who deny the reality of the *Heathen Oracles*, but whose minds are shocked onely with some particular circumstances of this History: with these therefore he condescends to debate in the following manner, and says, “ I desire them to consider, that the speculations arising from the history of the fall, and the introduction of natural and moral evil into the world, are of all others the most abstruse, and furthest removed out of our reach: that this difficulty led men in the earliest time, to imagine two independent principles of good and evil; a notion destructive of the sovereignty of God, the maintenance of which is the principal end and design of the Mosaic history. Had the history of man’s fall plainly introduced an invisible evil being, to confound the works of God, and to be the author of iniquity, it might have given great countenance to this error, of two Principles: or, to prevent it, *Moses* must have writ an history of *the Angels fall* likewise; a point I suppose, to which his commission did not extend, and of which perhaps we are not capable judges; and since
 “ this

“ this difficulty might in a great measure be
 “ avoided, by having recourse to the common
 “ usage of the Eastern countries, which was
 “ to clothe history in parables and similitudes,
 “ it seems not improbable, that for this reason
 “ the history of the fall was put into the dress
 “ in which we now find it [i].”

I am at a loss to conceive, what his Lordship can aim at in this paragraph, or how it can possibly remove the scruples of those, to whom it is addressed. To the former set of unbelievers, who are enemies to religion, this history, he tells us, is *diverting*; but to these, it seems, who are friends to it, it is *shocking*: yet the history itself all the while is quite harmless and inoffensive, if taken in it's right sense; and the whole ground either of the diversion, which it gives to the enemies, or of scandal, to the friends of religion, lies in the absurd interpretations, and senseless whims, which the Jewish and Christian Divines have in all ages been ingrafting upon it.

For instance, if it is to be received as a literal, or *historical narration* of things, transacted in the manner in which they are described, then the discourse of a Serpent, tempting and be-guiling our first Parents, must needs appear shocking to every man: or if, as his Lordship would persuade us, the Devil, under that bor-

[i] P. 56, 57.

rowed form, was the real temptor; this is still more shocking, as being not onely void of all support from the text, but contradictory to the express sense of it, which ascribes the success of the Serpent, to the natural subtilty of the beast; *Now the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field, which the Lord God had made, and he said unto the woman, &c. [k].* The curse also denounced against the deceiver, restrains it to a mere Serpent. *Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattel, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel [l].* For this being the whole sentence, which was pronounced on the Deceiver, and the literal execution of it upon the serpent, being verified to us at this day, by the nature of that animal, it shews, that it must have been pronounced upon a real Serpent, exclusively of any other agent, or it could not possibly be just. But the introduction of the Devil embarrasses the case still more, as it is more glaringly inconsistent with the Attributes of the Deity; which the Bishop in effect confesses, yet, with his usual dexterity, clears the narration from any objection of that sort, by this curious observation; *that if an invisible evil Being had indeed been plainly introduced into*

[k] Gen. iii. 1.

[l] Ib. ver. 14, 15.

the scene, it might have given great countenance to the error, of two independent principles; but Moses being aware of this, and having no commission to write an History of the fall of the Angels, which would have accounted for the origin of evil, not being at liberty therefore to introduce the Devil openly, contrived, for the sake of avoiding that inconvenience, to keep him always out of sight, and behind the curtain, as it were, by clothing the story, after the Eastern fashion, in parables and similitudes.

No paragraph surely, in which a point of such high importance is treated, was ever more conspicuously trifling than this. The difficulty, which his Lordship attempts to account for, is the introduction of natural and moral evil into the world; and the summ of what he suggests for the comfort of those, who are shocked by it, is; “ that it is a point of all others the most
 “ abstruse, and what gave birth to the pernicious notion of two *independent Principles of good and ill*: that if God had instructed *Moses*
 “ to give us an history of *the fall of the Angels*,
 “ it would have prevented this error; but since
 “ *Moses's* commission did not reach so far, he
 “ could not openly introduce into the history
 “ of man's fall, an invisible evil Being, who
 “ was able to confound the works of God,
 “ without strengthening the said error: wherefore he contrived to introduce him in masquerade, or in the dress of a Serpent; so that
 “ though

“ though the weak and simple could not discover him, yet the sharp-sighted and judicious might still find him out, and be enabled by that means, to satisfy both their own and other people’s scruples, and unfold this abstruse quæstion, of the origin of evil.

“ For the Serpent, adds his Lordship, was remarkable for insidious cunning, and therefore stood a proper emblem of a Deceiver, and yet being one of the lowest of the creatures, the emblem gave no suspicion of any power concerned, that might pretend to rival the creator. This method has not so obscured this History, but that we may with great certainty come to the knowledge of all that is necessary for us to know. Let us consider the history of *Moses*, as we should do any other ancient history of like antiquity: suppose, for instance, that this account of the fall had been preserved to us out of *Sanconiatbo’s Phœnician History*.—’Tis no unreasonable thing surely, to demand the same equity in interpreting the sense of *Moses*, as you would certainly use towards any other ancient writer [m].”

This demand indeed is reasonable; and what all the lovers of truth will allow; that the books of *Moses* have a right to be interpreted with the

same candor, which is commonly indulged to all other ancient writers. Upon this foot then we will join issue, and consider the history of the fall, and the particular condemnation of the Serpent, as a story delivered to us by some old *Phœnician Historian*. But before I declare my own opinion upon it in this light, it may be more satisfactory perhaps to the reader, to be informed of what an abler writer has already declared upon it; I mean the late Dr. *Burnet of the Charter-House*, who speaking to this very point, of the *Scriptural account of the fall*, says;

“ Great is the force of prejudice and precon-
 “ ceived opinions on the minds of men. We
 “ receive these short commentaries and little
 “ stories, of the origin of men and things, from
 “ the mouth of *Moses*, without examination or
 “ hesitation: but if we had met with the same
 “ doctrine in another writer; in a *Greek Philo-*
 “ *sopher* for instance, or in a *Jewish* or *Maho-*
 “ *metan* Doctor, the mind would have been
 “ perplexed and set fast, as it were, in every
 “ period, by doubts and objections. This dif-
 “ ference arises not from the nature of the
 “ thing, or the matter of those writings, but
 “ from our opinion of the credit and authority
 “ of the writer, as of one divinely inspired.
 “ And this indeed we freely allow to him, nor
 “ are we disputing on this occasion, about the
 “ authority of the writer, but about the view
 “ and intention, with which he wrote, and the
 “ character

“ character of the stile, which he made use of;
 “ whether it was of the popular, or philosophic
 “ kind: the popular I say, not the fabulous
 “ though we might call it also by this name,
 “ if we were treating of any other writer, but
 “ those of the Scriptures. As to the case of
 “ Fables, some of them are merely and abso-
 “ lutely fictitious: others are built on a foun-
 “ dation of fact, but dressed out with additional
 “ and fancifull ornaments. There are likewise
 “ certain narrations, by which truth is convey-
 “ ed to us, yet not in the particular points or
 “ sentences, but from the summ of the whole
 “ narration, and the general purpose of the
 “ Author: and if the narration now in quæstion
 “ should be ranked by any one in this class,
 “ with due respect had to the name and honor
 “ of the writer, I shall not be against it [n].”

We see here, what sort of character this very
 able and ingenious writer ascribes to *the History
 of the fall*, when considered abstractedly from
 the authority of *Moses*. The Bishop on the
 other hand is extremely shy of declaring his
 opinion concerning the proper class or species
 of writing in which it may be ranked, and avoids
 to give any explicit definition of it, or to tell
 us, of what kind he takes it to be, whether of
 the *litteral*, the *parabolical*, the *allegorical*; or
 the *fabulous*; nay he speaks of it on all occa-

[n] Vid. Thom. Burnetii Theor. Sacr. & Archæolog.
 ibid. adjunct. p. 503. Edit. Amst.

sions, so obscurely and equivocally, as if he meant to leave himself at liberty to take it in any of them, which may best suit his own system; or in all of them rather in their turns, by applying one kind of it to one part, and a different one to another, He pronounces it, in the first place, to be an *Historical narration*: which leads us to expect nothing from it but the literal sense: yet he informs us, in the next page, how *Moses*, for certain reasons, chose to clothe it in *parables and similitudes*, after the manner of the Eastern writers [o]. Then he returns presently to the letter, and says, *that there were four persons evidently concerned in the story, the man, and the woman, the person represented by the serpent, and God*: that the three first were *standing before God, to receive sentence for their disobedience*; that the judgment was *awfull and severe*; the woman *doomed to sorrow in conception*; the man *to sorrow and travel all the days of his life*; and the ground itself *curfed for their sake*—that upon the Serpent also, this curse was pronounced; *upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel* [p]. Yet after he has supposed all this to have been literally transacted, in the very manner in which it is described; he procedes again, to laugh at the literal sense, as contradictory to common sense;

[o] Disc. p. 57.

[p] Page 58, 60, &c.

and declares the *language of this Prophecy*, or curse upon the Serpent, *to be in part metaphorical* [q].

This is the whole, which he has thought fit to declare, concerning the stile and nature of the Mosaic account; *that it is Historical, but clothed in parables and similitudes, and in some part metaphorical*. Now what idea any other reader may form, from such a description, I know not; for my part, I can form none: and though he has jumbled *history, parable, similitude, and metaphor*, into the composition of this narrative, it is certain, that, if those terms be taken strictly, it will be difficult to discover any one of them in it; but on the contrary, every thing as plain and literal, as language can make it. *The man, the woman and the Serpent* are declared to be personally standing before God in Paradise; without the least shadow of any *similitude, metaphor, comparison, or allusion* to any other being whatsoever: yet we cannot properly call it a parable; for though a parable be a mere fiction, it is defined to be of such a sort, as must always be probable, or what might possibly be true: nor can it be an history, for though it be a plain description of facts, yet they are all apparently fictitious, and impossible to be performed in the manner, in which they are described. What then, are we

to think of it? Why, we may give it either the general name of an *allegory*, by which a different sense is conveyed, than what is signified by words: or we may call it rather an *Apologue* or *moral fable*; the peculiar character of which is, to relate things and events, impossible in their nature: which is evidently the case of the narrative in question.

But to return to the point, from which I have digressed. His Lordship having submitted the story to our examination, abstractedly from the authority of *Moses*, or as grounded onely on the testimony of any other antient writer, proceeds, like an able Advocate, to lay it before us, in the most advantageous light. He observes, “ that if the man and the woman, “ who were standing before God under the con- “ viction of their guilt, had been left to under- “ go the severity of their sentence, without any “ source of hope or comfort remaining to them, “ that would have made them desperate, and “ extinguished all sense of religion in them, as “ taking themselves to be utterly rejected by “ their Maker: but that God came down in “ mercy, as well as judgement, and with a “ purpose, not onely to punish, but to restore “ man: which purpose was signified, by the “ curse pronounced upon the Serpent, or the “ Deceiver, and especially by that part, in “ which it is declared, *that the seed of the woman “ should bruise the Serpent’s head.* That it

VOL. V. S “ was

“ was absolutely necessary, to communicate so
 “ much hope to them, as might be a rational
 “ foundation, for their future endeavours to
 “ reconcile themselves to God by a better obe-
 “ dience. And it was necessary also to the
 “ state of the world and the condition of reli-
 “ gion, which could not possibly have been
 “ supported without the communication of such
 “ hopes, that they could not but conceive these
 “ hopes, when they heard from the mouth of
 “ God, that the Serpent’s victory was not com-
 “ plete even over themselves ; but that they and
 “ their posterity should be inabled to contest
 “ his Empire ; and though they were to suffer
 “ much in the struggle, should finally prevail
 “ and *bruise his head*, and deliver themselves
 “ from his power and dominion [r].”

In this state of the case, the Bishop supposes
 all the while, that the Devil was the real de-
 ceiver, under the borrowed form of the Serpent ;
 which, though *Adam and Eve* did not then un-
 derstand, they might however, have some rea-
 son to suspect ; *for they had found the Serpent by*
experience, to be an enemy to God, and to man ;
and the great Author of iniquity in the world, who
was able to debase the noblest work of the creation :
 yet, by the curse and punishment inflicted upon
 him, they saw, that God was still his superior,
 and consequently, that there was no evil Being,

[r] Page 60--64.

which

which could rival the power of the Creator : thus *the condemnation of the Serpent*, as his Lordship says, was *the maintenance of God's Supremacy*, and *the divine Prophecy*, which was declared by it, became a fresh source of *hope and comfort*, and *religion* to our *first Parents* under the misery of their fall.

Let us now then take a review of the story, agreeably to his own demand, as if it had been told to us by *Sanconiatho*. And in this way of considering it, the first reflection, which would occur, is, that it was not possible for any mortal, to give an Historical narration of the events therein represented ; or to describe the particular manner, order, and time in which, or the materials, out of which this world, and it's principal inhabitant, man, were formed. We should apply presently to such a writer, what was said by God to Job, *Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth ? declare, if thou hast understanding, &c.* [s]. And should think the same of him, which Job confesses of himself, *that he had uttered, what he understood not ; things too wonderfull for him, which he knew not* [t]. We should conclude at once, that the whole, which the wisest of men could write on such a subject, must be the mere effect of fancy and invention ; or an attempt to inculcate some moral truth, where physical truth was not to be had.

[s] Job xxxviii. 4.

[t] Job xliiii. 3.

It may be said perhaps, that an account of man's fall might have been delivered by *Adam* to his posterity, and transmitted from hand to hand through the succeeding ages, by the pious and faithfull of the antient world. But this will be of no weight with inquisitive men: who know from all experience, that the testimony of tradition is of all others the most fallacious, and ever found the most fabulous, in proportion, as it is antient. They know, that, in the present state of mankind, how much soever polished by arts and sciences, there is not a single nation, which can trace any probable tradition of it's own origin, or give any satisfactory account of it's history, beyond a few of these later centuries: they would think it therefore ridiculous to imagine, that, after an interval of near three thousand years, a precise account could be given of a personal conference between *God, the man, the woman and the Serpent*, in *Paradise*; the situation of which place has never been known to the world, after the most diligent inquiry, to this very day. Thus from the nature of the story itself, if it had been told to us by any one, but *Moses*, we should readily conclude, that no writer whatsoever could be so sufficiently informed of it, as to be able to give an *historical narration* of it; or could have authority enough, to make it pass for such, with any judicious reader: and we should pronounce it therefore *at once*, to be one of those Antient

. *Apologues*

Apologues or Moral Fables, by which the Sages of the Eastern countries, used to instruct their people in the general principles of religion and morality, and attempt to illustrate the origin and nature of these worldly things.

For if we suppose any wise and virtuous man of those early ages, to have projected a scheme, to reform the general corruption and degeneracy of manners, which he observed to prevail in the world, by infusing into his fellow creatures a sense of duty and religion, proper to their nature, and conducive to their happiness, he could not take any method so effectual, as to persuade them in the first place, that this world, and all things in it derived their existence from a Creator, who alone was without beginning or end of days: that the Creator had given a being to man, for the sake of communicating happiness to him, and made him capable of acquiring and preserving it, by his own strength; but that man, deviating from the law of his nature, and the guidance of his reason, and giving himself up to the rule of his lusts, and appetites, had debased the dignity of his nature; levelled himself, as it were, to the condition of the brutes; incurred the displeasure of His Maker; and rendered himself obnoxious to punishment; without any means of recovering the divine favor, or restoring himself to his original happiness, but by deserting that bestial rule of sensual

sual pleasure, which had beguiled him into a state of guilt and misery.

These are the fundamental points of all religion, and of necessary belief, for the reformation of a depraved world : and these are clearly inculcated, to the level even of all capacities, by the story now before us, if considered in that character, in which it would certainly have been proposed, by every antient writer of the eastern world ; that is, as one of those instructive and moral fictions, to which we may give the name of *Apologue*, or *fable*, or *allegory*, or of any thing rather, than of an *Historical narration*, with which it is utterly incompatible. This, I say, is what we should judge of it, if it had come from *Sanconiatbo*. We could not avoid seeing the intention of the writer, in imagining man to have been formed out of *the dust of the earth* ; and the woman, out of *the rib of man* ; in placing them, while they continued innocent, in a *Paradise*, stored with every thing proper to support and perpetuate their happiness : we should perceive this *Paradise*, to be nothing else but a fancifull Scene, abounding with fruits, which had no existence in nature, and planted in a part of the East, which no geography could ever mark out upon the face of this Globe : we should see also, that the subtil discourse of the Serpent, which beguiled *Eve*, could mean nothing else but the tempting suggestions of lust and sensual appetite, of which
the

the Serpent was the emblem; and that their expulsion out of *Paradise* pointed out the natural effects of sin and guilt, in depriving man of his happiness; and plunging him into misery, sorrow, and death. Which account of the matter is no other, than what *St. James* himself gives of the natural method, by which men are usually beguiled to debase the purity of their nature; where he says; *that every man is tempted, when he is drawn away and enticed by his own lust: and that lust, when it has conceived, bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is accomplished, bringeth forth death* [u].

This way of inculcating a notion of the fall, or lapsed state of man, is perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Eastern writers; and as the moral of it is plain and obvious, so it is the onely way of inculcating it, which mere reason could suggest to any writer. And by the same fable, the Author meant without doubt, to account also after the Eastern fashion, for the abject state of *the Serpentine race*, now *creeping upon its belly, licking the dust, and in perpetual hostility with man, whose heel it sometimes bites*, while man more frequently finds means to bruise his head. For the curse upon the Serpent, instead of containing *any divine prophecy*, seems to carry nothing more in it, according to all rational interpretation, than a fancifull solution of the cause and origin of the present odious nature of

~[u] James i. 14.

that beast, agreeable to the manner of those ancient Sages.

But after all ; I freely remit to His Lordship all the advantage, which I might draw from his concession of considering this story abstractedly from the authority of *Moses*. I will grant it to come from *Moses*, and that *Moses* was commissioned by God to write it : yet this makes no difference in the case, because the matter of the story, whether it be inspired or not, is absolutely inconsistent with the character of an *historical narration*, and must ever convince all, who consider it without prejudice, that it is wholly fabulous or allegorical : and that *Moses's* commission was accommodated on this occasion, as it is allowed to have been on many others, to the prevailing taste and customs of the nations around him ; among whom the usual method of instructing or inculcating truths, especially those of a sublime and theological kind, was by fables and allegories, which conveyed a summary notion of the doctrine proposed to be taught, by a way the most striking and entertaining to the generality of mankind.

Thus the plantation of a *Paradise* for the habitation of man ; *the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the midst of it ; the expulsion of him out of it after his fall ; the cherubim and flaming sword, placed as a guard to it ; God coming down to walk in it, in the cool of the day ;*

day; *Adam hiding himself among the trees from the sight of God; the discourse of the Serpent; and the curse pronounced upon him by God, and upon the ground also itself*: must all be considered as a mere Eastern fable, from which no other lesson or doctrine can be inferred, than what I have already intimated; that this world was created by God; and that man was happy in it, as long as he continued innocent, but forfeited his happiness, and became wretched and miserable, as soon as he became a wilful and habitual sinner. This, I say, is the whole, which we can rationally collect from *the Mosaic account of the fall*; but to draw divine and literal prophecies out of a mere fable, and to treat it as the *support of all religion in the Antediluvian world, and the foundation of all the prophetic evidence*, which the Christian religion has to depend upon, is more likely to weaken than confirm the authority of Christianity; and deserves rather to be ranked among the dreams of Visionaries and Enthusiasts, than considered, as the suggestion of sober sense and reason.

In conversing formerly on this subject with a certain great Prelate, he said, *that he looked upon the literal and the allegorical interpretation of the account of the fall, to be of equal force and merit, with respect to their use, or application to Christianity.* — I understood him then to mean, what I still take to be the sole meaning of his words, which carries any sense in it; that
 though

though the simpler sort of Christians generally interpret this story in its gross and literal sense, while the more knowing and liberal look upon it as a fable or allegory; yet both of them acknowledge the same end in it; draw the same doctrine from it; and consider that doctrine, whether delivered allegorically or historically, as the foundation of their common religion.

If I should name this Prelate, His Lordship, I am sure, would own his authority to be justly great with all men, and greater still with himself, than with any; yet when he comes to handle the same story, neither *the letter*, nor *the allegory* can satisfy him, nor any other uniform, and consistent rule of explaining it. He cannot allow it to be literal; because the letter is shocking to our reason: nor will he grant it to be *fabulous*; because a fable cannot be the foundation of a prophecy, which his system requires: he contrives therefore, to jumble all the various interpretations of it together, till by the help of that confusion he may shuffle his own sense upon us. And thus a prophecy is cooked up, of which there is not the least intimation in the narrative itself; and which the Author of it, *Moses*, has on no occasion recommended or pointed out to us as such, in any other part of his writings: yet this is affirmed to be *the groundwork and foundation of all the later prophecies*, which have any relation to the Christian religion.

To this Discourse on *prophecy*, His Lordship here adds a summary account also of the use and intent of *sacrifice*; and though the reader perhaps may not readily perceive, what relation the one has to the other, yet in the few paragraphs, that remain, he will presently be taught that there is a close connexion between them; which the Bishop opens to us, by saying; “ that the bringing in of prophecy was not the
 “ only change in the state of religion, occasioned by the fall. Sacrifice came in at the
 “ same time, as appears by the course of the
 “ history [w].” This he supposes at once to have been of *divine institution*: though the text gives not the least hint of any such origin; and the learned *Spencer*, who had considered this question as accurately perhaps as any man, expressly rejects it, and maintains, “ That the rite of
 “ sacrificing did not derive it’s birth from any
 “ command of God, but from the free will
 “ and appointment of man, expressing his gratitude to the Creator, for all the good things,
 “ which he had received from him [x].

The Bishop however having thus settled in a few words *the divine institution of sacrifice*, pro-

[w] Disc. p. 73.

[x] Primo, probare conabor, Abelem, Noachum, aliosque Mose vetustiores, sponte sua sacrificasse, adeoque sacrificandi ritum non e præcepto aliquo divino, sed instituto & arbitrio humano originem derivasse. De Legib. Hebræor. Vol. ii. l. iii. c. iv. § i. p. 767.

cedes to explain the reason, why *Abel's sacrifice was accepted, and Cain's rejected*. The text informs us, that *Abel brought his offering of the firstlings of his flock and the fat thereof; Cain of the fruit of the ground*: upon which he immediately forms these following suppositions: first, that the original *intent of sacrifice, was to expiate sin*: secondly, that *without blood* there could be no *remission of sin*: thirdly, that *Abel's sacrifice was of a bloody kind*: fourthly, that *Abel came a petitioner for pardon*, and brought with him accordingly *the proper atonement for sin*, as God had appointed it; whereas *Cain*, trusting to his primogeniture, came proudly, *as wanting no pardon*, and with an offering, expressive onely of his thanks and gratitude to God, for favors already received; for which reason it was rejected [y]. Now by the same method of reasoning, and the liberty, which His Lordship every where assumes, of supposing whatever premises he wants, and taking every thing for granted, which tends to confirm his hypothesis, we may prove any doctrine to be true or divine, or whatever we please to make of it. *Dr. Light-foot* has shewn us the way, in his comment on this very text; where he lays open the mystery of the sentence upon the serpent, as well as of the institution of sacrifice, and says; “Christ
“ is here promised, before the man and the
“ woman are censured,—Adam layeth hold on

“ that promise by Faith—and for an outward
 “ sign and seal of this faith, and for a farther
 “ and more lively expression of the same, God
 “ teacheth him the right of sacrifice, to lay
 “ Christ dying before his eyes in a visible
 “ figure [z].” Yet the text itself yields not
 the least intimation concerning Christ, or a re-
 deemer of mankind, nor a single word about
 the use, intent or duty of sacrificing; and the
 whole, which the narrative itself suggests to us,
 or the learned have collected with any probabi-
 lity from the sacrifices of the two brothers, is;
 that the different treatment, which they receiv-
 ed from God, flowed from the different nature,
 not of the offerings, but of the men: that
Abel came with a sincere heart, and a warm
 sense of his duty and gratitude to his Maker;
Cain, with an envious and hypocritical heart;
 harbouring vicious lusts, and projecting mali-
 cious designs [a]. But the Bishop insists, that
 his account of the matter is favored by the
 text, where God thus expostulates with *Cain*;
If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? and
if thou dost not well, sin lieth at thy door: from
 which, he extorts a sense conformable to his
 suppositions above mentioned, while the obvi-
 ous and natural sense of the words seems plain-
 ly to overthrow them all, and to carry the same

[z] Vol. i. p. 692.

[a] *Cain was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. Wherefore slew he him? because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.* 1 John iii. 12.

meaning

meaning, as if God had said: "How canst thou be so foolish, as to imagine, that I should be pleased with such offerings, and vain offices of thy duty to me, as these? Does not thy reason teach thee, that as long as thou doest well, thou wilt surely be accepted by me, whether thou sacrificest or not: but if thou continuest to do ill, that the guilt of sin will ever lie upon thee, and the punishment of it be sure to overtake thee; which no sacrifice can atone for; no offering expiate."

The divine acceptance of any particular sacrifice under the law was usually signified by a flame of fire, issuing miraculously from heaven, and consuming the said sacrifice: and this testimony is supposed by the Jewish Doctors to have been given to the sacrifice of *Abel*: which *Grotius* takes to be probable, and *St. Jerom* also confirms; for *how could Cain know*, says he, *that his brother's sacrifice was accepted and his own rejected, but by this sign, which was given afterwards also to Elias, on Mount Carmel, and to Solomon, in the dedication of the Temple* [b]. But this way of signifying the divine acceptance,

[b] Unde scire poterat Cain, quod fratris munera suscipisset Deus, & sua repudiasset; nisi illa interpretatio vera est, quam *Theodotion* posuit; *Et inflammavit Dominus super Abel & super sacrificium ejus: super Cain vero & sacrificium ejus non inflammavit?* &c. *Hieron. Quæst. Grot. in Genes. Op. tom. ii. p. 511.*

was accompanied, as the learned *Fagius* informs us from the Jewish traditions, by this particular circumstance; that *in the celestial flame, which consumed the sacrifice, there always appeared the face of a lion*: and if this be true, says he, *who can doubt of it's being a type of Christ, who is that Lion of the tribe of Judah, which is shadowed out to us by all those sacrifices, both before the laws and under it* [c]. Agreeably to which, *Dr. Lightfoot* again takes notice, “ that the faith
 “ of *Abel* appeared in the very materials of his
 “ sacrifice, it being of slain beasts, and so a
 “ representation of the death of *Christ*, for
 “ which reason it was fired from heaven, and
 “ *Cain's* was not, though his dry ears of corn
 “ were materials far more combustible [d].”

Here then we discover his Lordship's reason, for tacking this account of sacrifice, to his account of prophecy. The intent of both, it seems, was the same; and the first sacrifice in the world, as well as the first prophecy, was a typical præfiguration of *Christ*: for whether the tradition of *the Lion's face* be true or not, it gave his Lordship at least an useful hint, *of a prophetic sense in the sacrifice of Abel*. And thus after a series of suppositions, deduced through two pages, every one of which has been controverted and rejected by the ablest writers on the

[c] Vid. *Fagium* in *Genes. iv. 4.* apud *Critic. Sacr.*

[d] Vol. I. p. 693.

subject, he proceeds to tell us, “ that his interpretation, if admitted, plainly shews; that the true religion, instituted by God, has been one and the same from the fall of *Adam*, subsisting ever upon the same principles of faith; that is, as he himself explains it, *on a reliance on God’s promises and appointments*, or the hopes of a redemption by *Christ*, signified to our first parents, by the curse pronounced upon the *Serpent*, and the acceptance of *Abel’s* sacrifice. These hopes were at first only general and obscure, but were gradually opened and unfolded in every age, till better days came, when God thought good to call us into the marvellous light of his Gospel [*e*].”

To this summary account of his scheme, he adds the following short paragraph, with which he concludes this notable discourse;

“ This piece of history is all the account we have of the religion of the Antediluvian world: it was proper to be considered, for the relation there is between prophecy and the state of religion in the world; and for this reason also, because *sacrifice may perhaps be found to be one kind of prophecy*, or representation of the one great sacrifice, once offered for the sins of the world.”

Such are the curious refinements, which we must receive upon the authority of this Prelate, as the fundamental principles of that faith, on which our religion subsists. Principles which utterly excluded and throw aside the natural law, or reason of man, as of no use or service to him, from the beginning of the world to this day, in discerning what is right and wrong, or marking out the chief good and happiness of his nature: and no wonder, that they wage a perpetual war with reason, since they must either suppress reason, or reason will finally destroy them. For instead of recommending a calm and natural way of thinking on subjects, the most important, they tend to fill our heads with fanatical conceits, and enthusiastic fancies; drawing our attention away from the nature of things, and the testimony of plain facts, and applying it to the investigation of mysteries, prophecies, types, shadows, or every thing, which God has thought proper to hide, instead of revealing to us. In short, when men's searches into the scriptures are directed by these principles, the most favorable treatment which can be given to them, is to rank them in the same class with the vain amusements of those simple people, who please themselves with looking up to the heavens, not to contemplate the real beauty, order, and motions of the heavenly bodies, but to spy monsters in the clouds, or the typical figures of mountains, castles, beasts, and men; the crea-

tures not of God, but of their own imagination.

I have now said enough, to give the reader a just notion of the Bishop's celebrated Discourses, concerning *the use and intent of the Scripture prophecies*, considered either singly, and independently on each other, or in that comprehensive scheme and chain of them, which he deduces from *Adam*. But before I dismiss the subject, I must beg the reader to recollect what I have before observed, concerning the use of prophecy, as it was actually taught and practised by the Apostles and Evangelists:

1st, That, in preaching the Gospel to the *Jews*, they constantly applied the prophecies of the Old Testament, *singly and independently on each other*, to all the remarkable circumstances of the life of *Jesus*, as so many decisive proofs of his divine mission.

2dly. That in their search and allegation of those prophecies, *they began always with Moses*, as the first Prophet, who had spoken of Christ, in the delivery of his law to the people.

From these two Observations, it follows, that, whatever difficulties may be charged to the particular applications of prophecies, which are found in the New Testament, yet on the whole, that way of applying them must be esteemed
by

by Christians, as the best, which the case affords; and that the authority of the Gospel, as far as it is grounded on prophecy, rests on those single and independent predictions, which are delivered occasionally here and there, *in the Law of the Prophets*. It must be confessed however, that the Author, against whom the Bishop's Discourses are levelled, has alledged several strong and even unanswerable objections to some of them, which are cited by the Evangelists in proof of the mission of Jesus, as being of too loose and precarious a nature, to build any solid argument upon. This his Lordship seems to allow in his Preface, and intimates, that it was this difficulty, which induced him to quit that field to the Adversary, and to take shelter in his *Antediluvian* scheme.

But if this foundation, laid by the Apostles and Evangelists, must be deserted, and their applications of prophecy given up as defenceless, it is certain, that there is no other scheme of it, which can add any real support to the authority of the Gospel. It is our business therefore to take things, as we find them, and treat them agreeably to their nature, neither ascribing a divine character to what is common and natural; nor denying a due reverence to what is sacred and divine. This is what I endeavoured to do many years ago, with regard to this very question; at a time when it was warmly controverted, and many subtil objec-

tions raised upon this article of prophecy, to the disadvantage of the Christian cause; on which occasion, instead of contriving any evasive expedients, or fancifull systems, to elude the force of such objections, I thought it my duty, to examine seriously and impartially, what solution of them the subject itself, when fairly stated, would supply; and to embrace that opinion, which the evidence of allowed facts would naturally suggest to me. The sum of this inquiry, as it was originally drawn up by me, will probably be the subject of some future treatise, which I shall reserve however, together with the examination of the rest of his Lordship's Discourses and learned Dissertations, to some occasion hereafter of more leisure.

SOME CURSORY

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE

APPENDIX,

OR,

ADDITIONAL DISSERTATION.

AFTER I had drawn up the foregoing Examination, and was preparing it for the Prefs, the Bishop thought proper to publish an *Appendix*, or *Additional Dissertation*, as he calls it, containing a farther inquiry into the *Mosaic account of the Fall*. This is the fifth piece of the same kind, with which he has successively enlarged and enriched these favorite Discourses; *bringing forth to us, out of his treasure, like the good householder in the Gospel, things new and old*. To this *Appendix* he has prefixed a short Advertisement, in which he acquaints us, “ that it was drawn up some years ago, and
 “ intended, as an Examination of the objec-
 “ tions of a particular Author, who is since

“ dead ; for which reason, he has now con-
 “ sidered the objections, not as His, but as
 “ common to all, who call in quæstion, or are
 “ offended with the History of the Fall, as it
 “ stands recorded by *Moses*.”

Thus he artfully engages *Moses* in a quarrel, which is purely his own ; and prepossesses people with a notion, that he is defending his character and authority against adversaries, who are laboring to depress them ; whereas the objections generally proposed on this subject, and these especially, now offered by myself, are not levelled against the writings or testimony of *Moses*, but against the absurd conceits and interpretations, which superstition, false zeal, or the arts of political Churchmen have in all ages been ingrafting upon them, and imposing upon all Christians as the fundamental principles of their religion.

I have already declared my opinion very freely on the *Mosaic account of the Fall*, and observed, that, by considering it as a moral Fable, we get rid of every difficulty, render it clear and consistent, as well as adequate to every use, which Christianity can require from it : and, on the contrary, that the historical sense cannot be defended, but by a series of suppositions, wholly arbitrary and precarious, void of all support from the text, and evidently condemned by our reason.

This,

This, I say, I have clearly shewn in the course of the preceding examination, and there cannot be a stronger confirmation of it, than what his Lordship has given us in this very Appendix, by letting us see, that a person of his great parts and learning, after twenty-five years spent, in considering, revising, and explaining his historical scheme, has nothing after all to produce, as his last thoughts upon it, but a perplexed, hypothetical, inconsistent piece of sophistry; which will be intelligible onely to a few, incapable of convincing any, and sure to disgust any rational inquirer. The truth of which I shall exemplify, by a specimen or two of his manner of treating some of the capital points, which he professes to explain and confirm in this additional performance.

His Lordship begins by observing, that the main difficulty of the quæstion consists in determining, *what we are to understand by the Serpent, who is represented by Moses, as the Tempter of Eve.* Yet before he has advanced one page farther, he concludes, *that a real and natural Serpent had part in this transaction, for these two reasons; first, because he is said to be more subtil than any beast of the field, which implies him to have been of the same class with those beasts; 2dly, because the curse denounced against him, is adapted to the condition of a natural Serpent, and of no other being [a].*

[a] Append. p. 1, 2.

Thus far he adheres to the letter of the text ; which, as all will allow, suggests to us no other notion, than that of a real Serpent. But though the same text ascribes the use of reason and speech to the Serpent, as faculties belonging to his nature, and though *Moses*, as the Bishop affirms, *relates this fact as an historian* [b], yet in the very next step, he utterly deserts the text, and in flat contradiction to his **HISTORIAN**, declares it *impossible, that a natural Serpent could reason and talk in that manner which Moses has related* [c].

But since the curse pronounced against the Serpent is grounded on the reality of the dialogue, which he is said to have held with *Eve*, and is adapted, as he says, to the condition of *a natural Serpent, and of no other being* : This reflection alone might have been sufficient, one would think, to have staggered his Lordship, and checked his zeal for an hypothesis, which assigns the whole punishment to one being, yet charges the whole crime to another, But notwithstanding this manifest absurdity, he proceeds to confirm it, by many grave and weighty arguments, which he introduces thus ;

“ This Serpent, says he, talks and reasons,
 “ not upon such trivial things, of which we

[b] P. 3.

[c] P. 3, 11.

“ may

“ may suppose the beasts of the field (if they
“ have any reason) to have some notion: but
“ he reasons upon the nature of God and of
“ man; upon the knowledge of good and
“ evil; upon the nature and tendency of the
“ law given to man. He looks back and re-
“ flects upon the policy, in which that law
“ was founded, and the art of the Governor,
“ in keeping his subjects in ignorance and blind
“ obedience, He looks forward and foretells
“ the happy consequences of throwing off this
“ yoke, and persuades the woman, that she
“ and her husband should be as Gods, if they
“ could have the courage to break through
“ the restraint of this iniquitous law.”—After
which pompous display of the great and impor-
tant subjects, which are treated of in this dia-
logue, he comes upon us again with his old
insulting quæstions.

“ What think you now? are these the pro-
“ perties of a mere brute creatute? Or is
“ there any instance of an author, who ever
“ seriously introduced the beasts of the field,
“ thus reasoning and thus discoursing [*d*]?”

To the first of these quæstions, every one will readily answer, that speech and reason, are not the properties of a brute creature. Yet this very answer, which his Lordship expects from us, and in which he seems to triumph, instead

of confirming his hypothesis, will ever be fatal to it with all men of sense, and convince them at once, that the story of a *talking Serpent*, can be nothing else but a fable. Nor will the answer to the second quæstion be of any more service to him; since it is certain, that there never was a writer of fables, either ancient or modern, who introduced the beasts of the field, as the speakers, but he introduced them in the same manner, and made them speak indifferently on all subjects, serious or jocular, high or low, trivial or important, which he himself was acquainted with, or had occasion to inculcate.

But it is curious to observe, that while *Moses*, relating this fact as an *Historian*, assigns the natural subtilty of the *Serpent*, as the sole ground and reason of his success in tempting *Eve*; the *Bishop*, on the contrary, alleges that very subtilty, with which she was tempted, as a proof that the *Serpent* could not be the temptor. And thus he goes on, sometimes sticking close to the text, and sometimes contradicting it, till he brings us to what he calls *it's true import and meaning*, which he sums up in two or three short conclusions; first *that the Temptor must be a rational Being, because he reasons with Eve*; secondly *a wicked Being, because he acts in opposition to the Creator*. And from these two he draws the capitol conclusion of his elaborate work; *that a natural Serpent, managed by the art of the Devil, was the visible agent or instrument in beguiling Eve* [e].

[e] P. 9.

In

In the deduction of this argument, he has given us the pattern of a proper fable, from another part of Scripture, in which *the trees are feigned to have held a general assembly for the choice of a King* [f]: for what purpose he introduced it, is difficult to say; unless it was to shew the difference between the fabulous stile, in which this story of the trees, and the historical, in which the story of the Fall is related. Yet upon comparing the two stories, we shall find that the same characters, by which his Lordship attempts to mark out the difference between them, are common to them both; and that there is nothing in the stile or matter of the one, but what will prove it equally fabulous, or equally historical with the other. For instance, the Serpent and the trees were both of them equally destitute of speech, yet are both of them affirmed to have discoursed and debated. But the Serpent, it seems, talked and reasoned on sublime points of theology, morality, and civil policy; looked back into the causes, and forward into the consequences of things: and so did the Trees; they reasoned on matters of the highest importance to human society; on the chief good of life; the sweetness of a private condition, preferable to the splendor of administering public affairs; and on the miseries of living

[f] P. 5.

under

An EXAMINATION of the
under the tyranny of an unworthy and ill-chosen
Prince [g].

But *Serpents*, he tells us, *under the same management of the Devil, had often been known to talk on other occasions, as well as at the Fall, and to give out oracles to the Heathens, in several different nations.* And so the *Trees* again were known as certainly, to speak and give out oracles to the ancients, as the *Serpents*: witness *the Oak of Dodona*, so celebrated for it's oracle, by all the writers of antiquity; with several other *speaking Oaks*, to which religious honours, vows, and offerings have been paid on the same account, both in Pagan and Christian countries [b]. Wherefore, as in the story of speaking *Trees*, the incredibility of the thing obliges us to take it for a *Fable*, so the same incredibility must surely have the same effect, in the stories of speaking *Serpents*.

The Bishop however goes on to confirm his opinion, by shewing, “ that wicked spirits and wicked men are sometimes called
“ in Scripture, *Serpents, Scorpions, Adders,*
“ *and the Temptor himself, the Great Dragon and old Serpent;* and he affirms it to be
“ well known, as an undoubted fact, that since
“ this first deceit upon *Eve*, the Devil has
“ played the same trick over again a thousand

[g] *Judges ix. 8.*
p. 132.

[b] See my Letter from *Rome*,

“ times under the form of a Serpent, in *the*
 “ *eastern country, and Egypt, Greece and Rome :*
 “ and that, in *America* also, the image of a
 “ Great Dragon, as *Garcilasco del Vigo* relates,
 “ was found in one of their Temples, as the
 “ Deity of the country, and the object of their
 “ religious worship [i].” And this sort of proof,
 grounded on a variety of fancifull conjectures,
 forced constructions, and incredible facts, is the
 summ, of what he has been able to collect, for
 the support of his fundamental point, *that the*
Devil was the Temptor of Eve.

I shall now add a short sketch of his manner
 of repelling the objections, which reason is apt
 to suggest, in contradiction to his hypothesis.
 Some writers have imagined the story of the
 Fall to be of the fabulous kind, because the
 curse denounced against the Serpent, *of creeping*
upon his belly, licking the dust, and being hostile
and odious to man, would otherwise seem imper-
 tinent, since it inflicted nothing but what flow-
 ed from the original nature and formation of
 the animal. This his Lordship treats with much
 contempt, and says ; “ How do you know this ?
 “ who could inform you of it ? If you argue
 “ from a fact, of which you have neither
 “ knowledge, nor information, what support
 “ have you ? Will you say, that God cannot
 “ alter the state or condition of any Being, in
 “ any respect from what it was originally ?—

[i] P. 25, 26, &c.

“ And if we consider rightly, nature is no-
 “ thing but the law and appointment of God,
 “ who is master of his own laws, and can
 “ change them whenever he pleases, and nature
 “ will follow and obey his commands [k].”

He supposes the nature both of the Serpent and of the woman to have been changed by the Fall, from what it was before: but how that change was effected, *I neither know*, says he, *nor shall inquire* [l]: in which indeed he is in the right, for to *inquire* into it, would be troublesome and fruitless; whereas to *suppose* it is easy and applicable to his purpose on all occasions. And to say the truth, in the present supposition, he does but follow the example of several other Bishops and Commentators, who, to evade the same difficulty, have recurred to the same expedient, of supposing *the Serpent to have been originally of an erect and beautiful shape, which appeared so glorious to Eve, that she took him to be an Angel, or Minister of heaven* [m]: from which upright and amiable form he was doomed for his offence to creep upon his belly.

[k] P. 19, 20.

[l] P. 20.

[m] The woman, says Dr. *Lightfoot*, thinking it had been a good Angel, entred into communication with the Devil. Observation on Genes. c. iii. Vol. I. p. 692.

Nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherwise deceived, but by some creature, which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for an heavenly minister. See Bishop Patrick, Comment. on Gen. iii. 1.

I shall not trouble myself, to expose the vanity of this hypothetical way of reasoning, which, if allowed to have any force, would confound all reasoning whatsoever: my view, in the recital of it, is to shew onely, how inconsistent His Lordship is with himself, in the application of it: the common fate of all, who undertake the defence of the systems, in opposition to nature and reason. For instance; when it was his business to prove, *that the Devil was the real Tempter of Eve*, he declares it impossible and contrary to nature, that a mere Serpent should talk and reason: yet when the nature of the same Serpent is alledged in contradiction to his scheme, then nature is nothing with him but an empty name, from which no certain inference can be drawn; as being not onely variable, but often actually varied at the pleasure of it's author: which very reasoning, as it is applied by him to refute an objection, invalidates every thing, which he had been urging for the confirmation of his main argument.

For let us ask him in his own words; how can you know that the Serpent could not speak? who could inform you of it? If you argue from nature, nature is nothing but the appointment of God, who may change it at pleasure, and has often done so in many cases. It is as easy to suppose, that the Serpent might talk before the Fall, as that he might walk erect before the
Fall;

Fall; since the same reasoning has certainly the same force in the one case, as in the other. And in truth, if any alteration was really made at that time in it's nature, it is more reasonable to believe, that it was made by depriving it of speech, than by any change of it's external form; because the text expressly ascribes to it the use of speech, yet gives not the least hint of it's having any different form or bodily shape, than what it now enjoys.

But though his Lordship, when it served his turn, declared it impossible, for serpents to speak, yet it seems to be his private opinion, that they were indued originally with that faculty, but lost it again at the Fall. This we may collect from the example produced by him to shew, how such a change might be made in the nature of men or other animals, yet no body be able to tell in what manner it was wrought.

“ When Zacharias, says he, *Father of John the*
 “ *Baptist*, was stricken dumb instantaneously, can
 “ you tell what change was made in his Organs
 “ of speech, or how this alteration was affected?
 “ But suppose, that the same change had been
 “ made universally, would not the world have
 “ been speechless? And can you doubt, whe-
 “ ther the same power could do this in every
 “ man's case, which was done in the case of
 “ *Zacharias*? and would not this have been a
 “ curse upon man, as fatal and extensive as the
 “ *curse of the Fall was to the woman, or to the*
 “ *serpent*

“ *serpent*, and as contrary to what we call the
 “ course of Nature, and as hard to be ac-
 “ counted for [n] ?

Now if nothing more be meant by this series of quæstions, than what the obvious sense of them seems to import ; that *God, who struck one man dumb, might have struck all men dumb, if he had pleased, at the same time ; and if he had done so, that all the world would then have been speechless ;* it is wholly trifling and of no service to his avowed argument: wherefore his view probably in these quæstions was, to suggest a tacit inference, which can hardly escape an attentive reader, that as *Zacharias* was struck dumb, so likewise was the *Serpent* ; but with this difference ; that the punishment of *Zacharias* was restrained to one individual, whereas that of the *Serpent* was made universal ; and the curse, though pronounced singly upon one animal, was extended, as in the case also of *Eve*, to the whole species ; which from that moment became speechless.

He makes an attempt on his way, to confirm his exposition of this story, by the authority of our Lord : and if he could do this, to the satisfaction of men of sense, it would silence at once the scruples of all Christian inquirers. But his way of proving it is no other, than what we

[n] Page 20.

have already seen on many occasions; not by any direct or explicit testimonies of scripture, but by subtil refinements, or forced interpretations of the texts referred to. — For instance; “ it appears plainly, says he, that our Saviour understood the Devil to be the Temptor, from the parable of the tares and his exposition of it [o].” Now a declaration so peremptory would lead us to conclude, that some reference or allusion was certainly made by this Parable to the temptation of *Eve* and the manner in which it was effected: yet any other person, who had not the same hypothesis in his head, might read it over a thousand times, without ever thinking once of the story of the Fall, or discovering the least connection or relation whatsoever between them.

The parable of the tares, as well as every other parable recited in the same chapter, is interpreted by our Lord himself, to denote the fate and success of the promulgation of his Gospel, which is commonly called by him, *the kingdom of heaven, or the word of the kingdom*: those, who hear and receive this word, are *the good seed, or the children of the kingdom*; those, who contemn and reject it, are the tares, or *the children of the wicked one*; by whom they are incited and encouraged to oppose the progress of the Gospel [p]. Now what relation has this

[o] Page 21. [p] Matth. xiii. 24, 25.

to the story of the Fall, or how does it teach us that the Devil, in the form of a Serpent, was the Temptor of *Eve*? Why not at all. Yet by an art peculiar to himself, we shall see him presently drawing out of the text, what no body else had ever dreamt of, or thought possible to be found there: in order to which, he amuses us by the following harangue upon it.

“ Our Saviour, says he, explains this parable, and applies it to God’s government of the world—the field is the world, the good seed are the children of the kingdom, the Tares are the children of the wicked one.— Here then our Saviour had the great point before him; How came evil into the world? All the answer he gives to it is, the enemy that sowed the tares, is the Devil. Could our Lord be ignorant of the history of the Fall, and of the first introduction of evil into the world? Or could he forget it, when he was accounting for the work of Providence, with respect to the beginning of evil, that every where abounded? He does not indeed enter into the curious questions, relating to the origin of evil, but he tells us, who first brought it in, the Devil. The Devil therefore was that very Serpent, who tempted *Eve*; that enemy who sowed these tares, which have overspread the world [q].”

[q] Page 22.

Here we see how many great and important doctrines have lain dormant in this Parable, for seventeen hundred years past, and would have lain so probably for ever, if his Lordship's penetration had not discovered them; who has now at last shewn; *that the origin of evil, of all quæstions, as he says, the most abstruse, and the farthest removed from our reach, is expressly taught and explained by it: that the first prophecy also in the world, delivered to our first Parents, in the curse upon the Serpent, is clearly made out and exemplified by it; and Christianity, in short, proved to be as old as the creation.*

But how much soever he may plume himself upon this discovery, it is certain that nothing was ever more strained, confused and foreign to the real sense of the Parable, than the exposition, which he has given to it. He first supposes our Lord to be here discussing the great point of *the introduction of evil* into the world; and having laid down this supposition, without any authority from the text, he treats it immediately as an allowed fact, and converts it into an argument: for our Lord, says he, *could not be ignorant of the story of the fall, when he was accounting for the beginning of evil: from which premises he draws this extraordinary conclusion; the Devil therefore was that very Serpent, who tempted Eve.*

Our

Our Lord tells us, as the Bishop affirms, *that the Devil was the first bringer in of Evil*: if so, he not only enters into the quæstion, but goes to the bottom of it at once: Yet we are at a loss all the while, to know, where it is, that our Lord tells us so: for it is certain, that in this Parable, he says not a syllable about it. The whole, which he here intimates, is, that there is a wicked invisible spirit subsisting in the world, who, by the agency of his children, or corrupt seed, makes it his business, to obstruct the progress of the Gospel, and the happiness proposed by it to mankind: but how that *wicked one* was himself introduced, and how he became indued with a nature and power utterly opposite and hostile to the divine nature, is a mystery, not yet revealed to us, either by the Old, or the New Testament.

From the same premises, His Lordship draws another conclusion of the same kind, and says;

“ our Lord in this Parable, had undoubtedly
 “ also in his view, that part of the Prophecy,
 “ delivered by God at the Fall, in these words,
 “ *I will put enmity between thee and the woman,*
 “ *and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise*
 “ *thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* For
 “ as our Lord has expressly told us, that the
 “ enemy, who brought evil into the world,
 “ was the Devil, he has as clearly, if attended
 “ to, told us, that the restorer of righteousness

“ was that very seed, promised to the woman,
 “ who was to bruise the Serpent’s head [r].”

As to the case of the prophecy here referred to, supposed to be mystically couched in the curse upon the Serpent, enough has already been said in the Bishop’s Discourses, and the Examination of them: and what His Lordship has here added, in this Appendix, is but a remnant, as it were, of the same flimsy stuff; a fine-spun web of fantastical whims, and precarious suppositions, worked up together into some resemblance of arguments, whence many surprizing and recondite inferences are occasionally deduced by him; all which I shall leave for the present to the contemplation of the reader; who will hardly want a monitor, to point out the ridicule of them; nor will I make any reflection on a second Prophecy, which he has since discovered and explained here at large with his usual acuteness; the bare recital of it, with a short sketch of his reasoning upon it, will be sufficient for my purpose.

The prophecy is this; *Dan shall be a Serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the Horse’s heels, so that the rider shall fall backwards. I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord!* This second prophecy is so like, he says, to the first, in language and idea, that comparing the two together, may reflect light upon each. And in order to strike out this light, he tells us, “ that the

[r] Page 23.

“ house of *Dan* were the Temptors and ring-
 “ leaders in idolatry to all the other tribes of
 “ *Israel*: wherefore supposing this to be the
 “ view before the prophet’s eyes, he then
 “ shews, that, as the first Temptor deserved
 “ the name of a Serpent for drawing *Adam* and
 “ *Eve* from their obedience to the original law,
 “ so this second Temptor and seducer, *Dan*,
 “ deserved no less to be called a Serpent and
 “ biter of heels, for drawing the people of *Israel*
 “ from their obedience to the divine law: for
 “ if the mischiefs brought upon the race of
 “ *Adam*, were justly represented by the Ser-
 “ pent’s *bruising the heel of the woman’s seed*, did
 “ not the mischiefs brought upon the house of
 “ *Israel* by the idolatry of *Dan*, deserve to be
 “ painted in colours of the same kind [s]?”
 Then as to the hope of salvation intimated in
 this prophecy, “ it manifestly relates, he says,
 “ to the mischief wrought by a Serpent biting
 “ the heels,” so that by being considered in
 this light, it affords a very ancient evidence of
 the expectation of a deliverance from the curse
 of the Fall. And so the similitude and relation
 between the two prophecies being thus demon-
 strated, “ and all these circumstances laid to-
 “ gether, he declares it impossible, to imagine
 “ any salvation, that can answer to these ideas,
 “ but that onely, which arose from the pro-
 “ mise, that the *seed of the woman should bruise*
 “ *the Serpent’s head* [t].”

[s] Page 42, &c.

[t] Page 47.

There are many other notable discoveries, and observations, scattered through this Appendix, which I have omitted to take notice of, for fear of being tedious; but lest the reader should think himself too great a sufferer by my indolence, I will entertain him here with one or two, as a specimen of the rest.

His Lordship observes; “ that it is the prerogative of the man, *to be the head of the woman*; but this superiority is not conveyed to him by express grant or concession, but the subjection is laid on the woman as a penalty, in the sentence pronounced upon her by God. And it is from this penalty that man’s superiority, is left to be collected by us [u].” So that unless we admit his hypothesis, and take the account of the Fall for a real history, this prerogative of man must be deemed a mere tyranny and usurpation, as having no other plea or title, but from that punishment inflicted on *Eve*, by which she was made subject *to the rule of her husband*. Yet His Lordship might have seen, that the same history, whether taken literally or allegorically, had given a clear superiority to man, even previous to the Fall, by the priority of his creation, and the formation of the woman *out of his rib*; on which *St. Paul* particularly grounds it, where

[u] Page 41, 42.

he says, *that the head of the woman is man; for the man was not of the woman, but the woman of the man: neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man* [w].

But man has still a surer title to this prerogative, than either *Moses*, or the Apostles could give him, derived from his very nature, and confirmed by the experience of all mankind: I mean that superiority of force, and bodily strength, which distinguishes the male, from the female sex, and necessarily conveys a superiority of power to the stronger over the weaker. And thus this groundless conceit, instead of confirming the Bishop's exposition, tends rather to confute it, and shews, from this very circumstance, that the account of the Fall could not be an historical description of a real fact, but the mere effect of fancy, attempting, by way of fable or allegory, to represent the unhappy state to which the man and the woman had reduced themselves by a wilful defection from the original purity and innocence of their nature.

There is another observation still remaining, on the subject of that first Prophecy, said to be contained in the sentence upon the Serpent, with which His Lordship concludes his Appendix, and I also shall put an end to my present Ani-

[w] 1 Cor. xi. 3, 8, 9.

madversions. He observes, “ that the language of that prophecy, representing the victory of the woman’s seed, *by bruising the Serpent’s head*, and the known use and application of it in Scripture to the promised seed, will help us to account for one of the arts, made use of by the Temptor when he made his trial upon our Saviour:” which he illustrates in the following manner.

“ The Temptor, says he, planely wanted to know, whether *Jesus was the Son of God*, that person expected to come, and with whom he well knew, what concern he had. In order to know this, he tries whether our Lord would own his character, by assuming the power belonging to it—*if thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down, for it is written, He shall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.* These words are taken from the xcist Psalm, ver. 11, 12: and considered in themselves contain, in figurative language, a promise of God’s providence and care over that person to whom they are addressed; and might be applied with great propriety to *David* himself, or to any other good person, especially regarded by God. How came the Temptor then, to consider these words, as belonging only to him, who was to *be the Son of God*? From the words themselves he
 “ could

“ could not collect this ; but there was another
 “ character in the very next verse, and belong-
 “ ing to the same person, which he could not
 “ mistake ; for this person, over whom the
 “ Angels were to have charge, *was to tread*
 “ *upon the Lion and Adder, and the young Lion*
 “ *and the Dragon to trample under his feet.* He
 “ knew by this mark, to whom this whole
 “ prophecy belonged ; he could not forget,
 “ who was to bruise his head, and though he
 “ avoided to ask our Lord directly, whether
 “ he was that person, who was to bruise his
 “ head, yet he did the same thing covertly,
 “ by trying whether another part of the same
 “ prophecy would be owned by him, as be-
 “ longing to himself [x].”

Here again we are amused with a fine story, in which his Lordship, by a wonderful penetration, lays open to our view the craft and hidden wiles of Satan, by which he hoped to intrap our Lord, and draw the secret of his Messiahship out of him : where, though he treats the temptation of Christ, in the same manner with the temptation of *Eve*, as a fact historically related ; yet the Learned have ever been puzzled how to interpret it, and there were some, as *Grotius* intimates [y], *both of the*

[x] Page 51.

[y] Quæ omnia eo libentius noto, ne quis cum veteribus quibusdam, novisque existimet, quæ hic narrantur, Christo non vere, sed *κατὰ φαντασίαν* accidisse. Grot. in Matt. iv, 1,

ancients and moderns, who took the whole to have been represented onely to the fancy of Christ, as in a dream, or vision. Be that however as it will, I have no design to dispute it's reality, but shall only ask his Lordship, how he can think it probable, that the Devil, who appears, from this very story, to have been perfectly acquainted with the writings of the Old Testament, could be ignorant of the character of Jesus, whose person was marked out so evidently, through a long succession of ages, by Moses and all the Prophets, that many of the Jews were able to discover and acknowledge him, as soon almost as he appeared? Dr. Lightfoot, in his comment on this same story, says, since the Devil was always a most impudent Spirit, he now takes upon him a more hardened boldness than ever; even of waging war with him, whom he knows to be the Son of God [z].

But how probable soever his Lordship may take his conceit of *Satan's ignorance* to be, it happens very unluckily for him, that it is utterly confuted by the repeated testimonies of the Evangelists, who, in several different places, expressly affirm, that the Devils, whom Jesus every where cast out, used to profess, and proclaim aloud their knowledge of him, *as the Messiah or Son of God, sent on purpose to destroy them and their works.* Their constant

[z] Vol. II. p. 129. in Matt. iv. 1.

cry was ; *What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth ? art thou come to destroy us ? we know thee, who thou art : the Son of God most high, or the Holy one of God [a].* So that Jesus, as we are likewise told, would *not suffer them to speak* on some occasions, because *they knew him to be the Christ [b].* How is it credible then, that, when every inferior Devil ; and even the whole *Legion* of them, whom Jesus cast out at once, should all know his true character, yet Satan himself, the Prince and Leader of them all, should alone be ignorant of it and unable to discover him ; especially, when Jesus had been openly declared to be *the Son of God* by a *miraculous voice* from heaven, immediately before the time of this very temptation [c] ?

In the last paragraph of this Appendix, to which we are now arrived, his Lordship puts us in mind, how the first and noxious part of of this prophecy at the Fall, is so evidently fulfilled by the dominion of sin and death, through all ages of the world, *as to want no other proof of it's completion.* The heel of the seed of the woman, says he, *has been, and will continue to be sufficiently bruised, till death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed.* But the second and healing part of the same prophecy, which implies a promise of victory *by bruising the Serpent's head,* is not to be accomplished till the day of judgment.

[a] Mark i. 24.

[b] Luke iv. 41.

[c] Mark i. 11.

Then, says he, shall the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, be fast bound, and cast into the lake of fire and brimstone. Then shall the loss of the Fall be repaired, Paradise be restored, and the Tree of life shall yield it's fruit again, and the leaves thereof be for a shelter and healing to the nations.

And thus the benefit of this supposed prophecy seems to evaporate at last into air. It was given, as we have constantly been told by him, to administer comfort to man, under all the evils and distresses, in which his enemy, the Devil, had involved him. Strange comfort, to an inhabitant of this world, which could not be felt or understood, till the world itself should be no more ! And a strange sort of victory, which left the Devil still insulting, as the Bishop expresses it, *in all the forms of violence, fraud, iniquity, distempers without number, and miseries too many, too affecting to be described.* A victory which was not to take place, till the enemy had scattered every plague, and wrought every evil upon this earth, which his malice could contrive or his power effect.

It is remarkable also, that after all his Lordship's pains to assert the historical character of the Mosaic account of the Fall, he is carried at last inadvertently and by the very nature of his subject to turn it, as it were, into an allegory ; telling us here in the conclusion, that the Para-
dise,

dise, which man had forfeited on earth, would be repaired and restored *to him in heaven*; and *the Tree of life*, which he was not suffered to taste in this world, would *yield it's fruit again in the next, and spread it's leaves for a shelter and healing to all nations.*

But since he has referred us after all, for the completion of this prophecy, to the day of judgement; I shall willingly adjourn all farther disputes about it to the same day. It is that day alone, which can determine the real character, not onely of this, but of all other pretended prophecies, inspirations, and revelations of the will of God; which now chiefly occupy the attention, and constitute the religion of all the nations upon earth. And happy would it be for them all, if dropping those vain contests and wranglings about quæstions, wholly speculative, fruitless and inexplicable; and remitting the decision of them to that last and awful day, men would apply their pains and zeal, to promote and inculcate those practical, social and real duties, which our reason and senses prescribe in common to all, as the chief good of our nature; the foundation of all religion; the source of all our happiness in this life, and of all our hopes in that which is to come.



A
DISSERTATION

Concerning the

O R I G I N

O F

Printing in England.

S H E W I N G,

That it was first Introduced and Practised
by our COUNTRYMAN

WILLIAM CAXTON, at *Westminster* :

And not, as is commonly believed, by a Foreign
Printer at *Oxford* :

*Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes ;
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo ;
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.*

VIRG.



A
DISSERTATION

Concerning the

O R I G I N

O F

Printing in England.

IT was a constant Opinion delivered down by our Historians, That the *Art of Printing was introduced and first practised in England* by WILLIAM CAXTON, a *Mercer and Citizen of London*; who by his Travels abroad, and a Residence of many years in *Holland, Flanders, and Germany*, in the affairs of Trade, had an opportunity of informing himself of the whole Method and Procefs of the Art; and by the Encouragement of the Great, and particularly of the Abbot of *Westminster*, first set up a Press in that Abby, and began to print Books soon after the year MCCCCXXI.

This was the Tradition of our Writers; till a book, which had scarce been observed before the Restoration, was then taken notice of by the Curious, with a Date of it's Impression from *Oxford, anno MCCCC LXVIII*, and was considered immediately as a clear proof and monument of the exercise of Printing in that Univerſity, ſeveral years before CAXTON began to deal in it.

The Book, which is in our public Library, is a ſmall Volume of forty-one Leaves in Quarto, with this title: *Expoſicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum ad Papam Laurentium*: and at the end, *Explicit expoſicio, &c. Impreſſa Oxonie, & finita Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXVIII, xvii die Decembris.*

The appearance of this Book has robbed CAXTON of a Glory that he had long poſſeſſed, of being the Author of Printing to this Kingdom, and *Oxford* ever ſince carried the Honour of the firſt Preſs. The only difficulty was, to account for the ſilence of Hiſtory in an Event ſo memorable, and the want of any Memorial in the Univerſity itſelf, concerning the Eſtabliſhment of a new Art amongſt them, of ſuch uſe and benefit to Learning. But this likewise has been cleared up, by the diſcovery of a Record, which had lain obſcure and unknown at *Lambeth-Houſe*, in the Register of the See of *Canterbury*, and gives a Narrative of the whole tranſaction, drawn up at the very time.

An account of this Record was first published in a thin Quarto Volume, in *English*; with this Title, *The Original and Growth of Printing, collected out of History and the Records of this Kingdom: wherein is also demonstrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England.* By Richard Atkyns, Esq; London 1664.

It sets forth in short, That as soon as *the Art of Printing made some noise in Europe*, Thomas Bouchier, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, moved King Henry VI. *to use all possible means to procure it to be brought into England: The King approving the Proposal, dispatched one Mr. Robert Turnour, an Officer of the Robes, into Flanders, furnished with money for the purpose; who took to his Assistance WILLIAM CAXTON, a Man of Abilities, and knowledge of the Country; and these two found means to bribe and entice over into England one Frederick Corfellis, an Under-workman in the Printing-House at Harlem, where John Guttemberg had lately invented the Art, and was then personally at work: which Corfellis was immediately sent down to Oxford under a Guard, to prevent his escape, and to oblige him to the performance of his Contract; where he produced the Piece above-mentioned, but without any name of Printer.* Those who have not the opportunity of consulting *Atkins's Book*, which is not common, may find the story more at large in Mr.

*A Dissertation concerning the
Maittaire's Annals, or Palmer's History of
Printing, &c.*

From the Authority of this Record, all our later Writers declare *Corfellis* to be the first Printer in *England*; Mr. *Anthony Wood*, the learned Mr. *Maittaire*, *Palmer*, and one *Bagford*, an industrious Man, who had published *Proposals for an History of Printing*, and whose manuscript Papers were communicated to me by my worthy and learned Friend Mr. *Baker*: But it is strange that a Piece so fabulous, and carrying such evident marks of Forgery could impose upon men so knowing and inquisitive.

For *first*; the Fact is laid quite wrong as to Time; near the end of *Henry the Sixth's* Reign, in the very heat of the Civil Wars; when it is not credible that a Prince, struggling for Life as well as his Crown, should have leisure or disposition to attend to a Project that could hardly be thought of, much less executed, in times of such calamity. *The Printer*, it is said, *was graciously received by the King, made one of his sworn Servants and sent down to Oxford with a Guard, &c.* all which must have passed before the year 1459: for *Edward IV.* was proclaimed in *London*, in the end of it, according to our computation, on the 4th of *March*, and crowned about the *Midsummer* following [a];

[a] See Caxton's Chronicle.

and yet we have no Fruit of all this Labour and Expence till near ten years after, when the little Book, described above, is supposed to have been published from that Press.

Secondly; The Silence of CAXTON concerning a Fact in which he is said to be a principal Actor, is a sufficient Confutation of it: For it was a constant custom with him, in the Prefaces or Conclusions of his Works, to give an historical account of all his Labours and Transactions, as far as they concerned the publishing and printing of Books. And, what is still stronger, in *the Continuation of the Polychronicon*, compiled by himself, and carried down to the end of Henry the Sixth's Reign, he makes no mention of the Expedition in quest of a Printer; which he could not have omitted, had it been true: whilst in the same Book he takes notice of *the Invention and Beginning of Printing in the City of Mentz*; which I shall make some use of by and by.

There is a further Circumstance in CAXTON's History, that seems inconsistent with the Record; for we find him still beyond Sea, about twelve years after the supposed Transaction, [*b*] *learning with great charge and trouble the Art of Printing*; which he might have done with ease at home, if he had got *Corfellis* into his hands,

[*b*] Recale of the Histories of *Troye*, in the end of the 2d and 3d Books.

as the Record imports, so many years before : But he probably learnt it at *Cologne*, where he resided in 1471, [c] and whence Books had been first printed with date, the year before.

To the Silence of CAXTON, we may add that of the *Dutch* Writers : for it is very strange, as Mr. *Chevillier* observes, if the story of the Record be true, [d] *That Adrian Junius, who has collected all the groundless ones that favour the pretensions of Harlem, should never have heard of it.*

But *thirdly*; the most direct and internal Proof of its Forgery, is its ascribing *the Origin of Printing to Harlem*; where John Guttemberg the Inventor, is said to have been personally at work, when Corfellis was brought away, and the Art itself to have been first carried to Mentz by a Brother of one of Guttemberg's Workmen : for it is certain beyond all doubt, *that Printing was first invented and propagated from Mentz.* CAXTON's Testimony seems alone to be decisive; who in *the Continuation of the Polychronicon*, [e] says, *About this time (viz. anno 1455.) the crafte of empring was first found in Mogunce in Almayne, &c.* He was abroad in the very Country, and at the time, when the first Project and Thought of it began, and the rudest

[c] Recule, &c. *ibid.*

[d] *L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, c. i. p. 25.

[e] Fol. 433.

Essays of it were attempted ; where he continued for thirty years, *viz.* from 1441 to 1471 : and, as he was particularly curious and inquisitive after this new Art, of which he was endeavouring to get a perfect Information, he could not be ignorant of the Place where it was first exercised. This confutes what *Palmer* conjectures, to confirm the Credit of the Record [f] ; That *the Compiler might take up with the common report, that passed current at the time in Holland, in favour of Harlem ; or probably receive it from CAXTON himself* : For it does not appear that there was any such report at the time, nor many years after ; and CAXTON, we see, was better informed from his own knowledge : and, had *Palmer* been equally curious, he could not have been ignorant of this testimony of his in the very case.

Besides the Evidence of CAXTON, we have another contemporary Authority, from *the Black Book, or Register of the Garter*, published by Mr. *Anstis* [g], where, *in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI. anno 1457*, it is said, *In this year of our most Pious King, the Art of Printing Bookes first began at Mentz, a famous City of Germany.*

Fabian likewise, the Writer of the Chronicle, an Author of good credit, who lived at the

[f] Hist. of Printing. Book iii. p. 318.

[g] Hist. of Garter, Vol. ii. p. 161.

same time with CAXTON, though some years younger, says, *This yere* (viz. 35th Henry VI.) *after the opynyon of dyverse wryters, began in a Citie of Almaine, namyd Mogunce, the Crafte of empryntyng Bokys, which sen that tyme hath had wonderful encrease.* These three Testimonies have not been produced before, that I know of; two of them were communicated to me by Mr. *Baker*, who of all Men is the most able, as well as the most willing to give Information in every point of curious and uncommon History.

I need not pursue this Quæstion any farther; the Testimonies commonly alledged in it, may be seen in Mr. *Maittaire*, *Palmer*, &c. I shall only observe, that we have full and authentic Evidence for the Cause of *Mentz*, in an *Edition of Livy* from that place, anno 1518, by [*b*] *John Scheffer*, the Son of *Peter*, the Partner and Son-in-law of *John Faust*: where the Patent of Privilege granted by the Emperor to the Printer; the Prefatory Epistle of *Erasmus*; the Epistle Dedicatory to the Prince by *Ulrich Hutten*; the Epistle to the Reader of the two Learned Men who had the Care of the Edition;

[*b*] D. Vitalis de Furno olim Cardinalis, Archiatri ut Insignis, ita & peritissim. pro conservanda Sanitate, &c. Moguntia MDXXXI.

Libri medicinalis, seu medicamentorum D. Vitalis de Furno, &c. Finis. Moguntia apud Ivonem Schoeffer (a cujus proavo Joanne Faust, Chalcographice olim in Urbe Moguntiacâ primum, nec usquam alibi inventa, exercitataque est) mense Augusto, Anno M.D.XXXI.

all concur in asserting *the Origin of the Art to that City, and the Invention and first Exercise of it to Faust*: And *Erasmus* particularly, who was a *Dutchman*, would not have decided against his own Country, had there been any ground for the Claim of *Harlem*.

But to return to the *Lambeth Record*: As it was never heard of before the Publication of *Atkyns's Book*, so it has never since been seen or produced by any Man; though the Registers of *Canterbury* have on many occasions been diligently and particularly searched for it. They were examined without doubt very carefully by *Archbishop Parker*, for the compiling his *Antiquities of the British Church*; where, in the Life of *Thomas Bourchier*, though he congratulates that Age on the noble and useful *Invention of Printing*, yet he is silent as to the *Introduction of it into England by the Endeavours of that Archbishop*; nay his giving the Honour of the *Invention to Strasburg*, clearly shews, that he knew nothing of the story of *Corfellis conveyed from Harlem*, and that the *Record* was not in being in his time. *Palmer* himself owns, *That it is not to be found there now; for that the late Earl of Pembroke assured him, that he had employed a Person for some time to search for it, but in vain [i]*.

[i] Hist. of English Printing, p. 314.

On these grounds we may pronounce the Record to be a Forgery; though all the Writers above-mentioned take pains to support its credit, and call it an *Authentic Piece*.

Atkyns, who by his manner of writing seems to have been a bold and vain Man, might possibly be the Inventor; for he had an Interest in imposing it upon the World, in order to confirm the Argument of his Book, that *Printing was of the Prerogative Royal*; in opposition to the Company of Stationers, with whom he was engaged in an expensive Suit of Law in defence of the King's Patents, under which he claimed some exclusive Powers of Printing. For he tells us, [k] That upon considering the thing, he could not but think that a Public Person, more eminent than a Mercer, and a Public Purse must needs be concerned in so Public a Good: and the more he considered, the more inquisitive he was to find out the Truth. So that he had formed his Hypothesis before he had found his Record, which he published, he says, as a Friend to Truth; not to suffer one Man to be intituled to the worthy Atchievements of another; and as a Friend to himself, not to lose one of his best Arguments of intituling the King to this Art. But, if *Atkyns* was not himself the Contriver, he was imposed upon at least by some more crafty; who imagined that his Interest in the Cause, and the

[k] See page 3.

Warmth that he shewed in prosecuting it, would induce him to swallow for genuin, whatever was offered of the kind.

We have now cleared our hands of the Record; but the Book stands firm, as a Monument of the Exercise of Printing in *Oxford six years older* than any Book of CAXTON with Date. The Fact is strong, and what in ordinary cases passes for certain Evidence of the Age of Books; but in this, there are such contrary Facts to balance it, and such Circumstances to turn the Scale, that to speak my mind freely, I take the Date in quæstion to have been falsified originally by the Printer, either by design or mistake, and an x to have been dropt or omitted in the Age of its Impression,

Examples of the kind are common in the History of Printing. I have observed several Dates alter'd very artfully after Publication, to give them the credit of greater Antiquity. They have at *Harlem*, in large Quarto, a Translation into *Dutch* of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, printed *anno m.cccc.xxxv*, by *Jacob Bellart*: This they shew to confirm their Claim to the earliest Printing, and deceive the Unskilful. But Mr. *Bagford*, who had seen another Copy with a true [1] Date, discovered the Cheat; by a which the L had

[1] Mr. *Bagford's* Papers.

been erased so cunningly, that it was not easy to perceive it. But besides the Frauds of an After-contrivance, there are many false Dates originally given by the Printers; partly through Design, to raise the Value of their Works, but chiefly through negligence and blunder. There is a Bible at *Ausburg*, of *ann.* 1449, where the two last Figures are transposed, and should stand thus, 1494: *Chevillier* mentions three more, [*m*] one at *Paris* of *ann.* 1443; another at *Lyons*, 1446; a third at *Basil*, 1450; though Printing was not used in any of these places till many years after. *Orlandi* describes three Books with the like Mistake from *Mentz*: And *Jo. Koelhoff*, who first printed about the year 1470, at *Cologne*, has dated one of his Books *ann.* M.cccc, with a c omitted; and another, *anno* 1458; which *Palmer* imputes to Design rather than Mistake [*n*].

But what is most to our Point, is a Book from the famous Printer, *Nicolas Jenson*; of which Mr. *Maittaire* gave the first notice, called *Decor Puellarum*; printed *anno* M.cccc.LXI. All the other Works of *Jenson* were published from *Venice*, between *ann.* 1470 and 1480; which justly raised a Suspicion, that an x had been dropt from the Date of this, which ought to be advanced ten years forward; since it was not credible, that so great a Master of the Art,

[*m*] L'Orig. de l'Imprim. de Paris, c. v. p. 76.

[*n*] Hist. of Printing, p. 179.

who at once invented and perfected it, could lie so many years idle and unemployed. The Suspicion appeared to be well grounded from an *Edition of Tully's Epistles at Venice*, the first Work of another famed Printer, *John de Spira*, anno 1469: Who, in the four following Verses, at the end of the Book, claims the Honour of being the *First*, who had printed in that City.

*Primus in Adriaca formis impressit aenis
Urbe libros Spirá genitus de stirpe Johannes.
In reliquis sit quanta, vides, spes, Lector, habenda,
Quum labor hic primus calami superaverit Artem.*

It is, I know, the more current Opinion, confirmed by the Testimony of contemporary Writers, that *Jenson was the First Printer at Venice* [o]: But these Verses of *John de Spira*, published *at the time*, as well as *the place*, in which they both lived, and *in the face of his Rival Jenson*, without any contradiction from him, seem to have a weight too great to be over-ruled by any foreign Evidence whatsoever.

But whilst I am now writing, an unexpected Instance is fallen into my hands, to the support of my Opinion; an *Inauguration Speech of the Woodwardian Professor, Mr. Mason*, just fresh from our Prefs, with its Date given ten years

[o] Maittaire Annal. Typ. Tom. i. p. 36, &c. It. Append. ad Tom. i. p. 5, 6.

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earlier than it should have been, by the *omission* of an x, *viz.* M.DCC.XXIV. and the very Blunder exemplified in the last Piece printed at *Cambridge*, which I suppose to have happened in the first from *Oxford*.

These Instances, with many more that might be collected, shew the Possibility of my Conjecture; and, for the Probability of it, the Book itself affords sufficient Proof: For, not to insist on what is less material, the *Neatness of the Letter, and Regularity of the Page, &c.* above those of CAXTON: it has one mark, that seems to carry the matter beyond probable, and to make it even certain, *viz.* *The Use of Signatures, or Letters of the Alphabet placed at the bottom of the Page, to shew the Sequel of the Sheets and Leaves of each Book:* an Improvement contrived for the Direction of the Bookbinders; which yet was not practised or invented at the time when this Book is supposed to be printed: for we find *no Signatures* in the Books of *Faust* or *Scheffer at Mentz*; nor in the more improved and beautiful Impressions of *John de Spira, and Jenson, at Venice*, till several years later. We have a Book in our Library, that seems to fix the very time of their Invention, at least in *Venice*; the Place where the Art itself received the greatest Improvements: *Baldi lectura super Codic. &c.* printed by *Jo. de Colonia* and *Jo. Mantben de Gberretzem, anno M.CCCC.LXXIIII.* It is a large and fair Volume in Folio, *without Signatures,*

Signatures, till about the middle of the Book, in which they are first introduced, and so continued forward: which makes it probable, that the first Thought of them was suggested during the time of the Impression: for we have likewise *Lectura Bartholi super Codic. &c.* in two noble and beautiful Volumes in Folio, printed the year before at the same place, by *Vindelin de Spira*, without them: yet from this time forward they are generally found in all the Works of *the Venetian Printers*, and from them propagated to the other Printers of *Europe*. They were used at *Cologne*, anno 1475; at *Paris*, 1476; by *CAXTON*, not before 1480: but if the Discovery had been brought into *England*, and practised at *Oxford* twelve years before, it is not probable that he would have printed so long at *Westminster* without them.

Mr. *Palmer* indeed tells us, That *ANTHONY ZAROT* was esteemed the Inventor of *Signatures* [p]; and that they are found in a *Terence* printed by him at *Milan* in the year 1470, in which he first printed. I have not seen that *Terence*, and can only say, that I have observed the want of them in some later Works of this, as well as of other excellent Printers, of the same place. But allowing them to be in *the Terence*, and *ZAROT* the Inventor, it confutes the Date of our *Oxford Book*, as effectually, as if they were

[p] *Palmer's Hist.* p. 180, 54.

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of *later origin at Venice*; as I had reason to imagine, from the Testimony of all the old Books that I have hitherto met with.

What further confirms my Opinion is, that from the time of the pretended Date of this Book, *anno 1468*, we have no other Fruit or Production from the Press at *Oxford* for eleven years next following; and it cannot be imagined that a Press, established with so much Pains and Expence, could be suffered to lie so long idle and useles: whereas if my conjecture be admitted, all the Difficulties that seem insuperable and inconsistent with the supposed Æra of Printing there, will vanish at once. For allowing the Book to have been printed ten years later, *ann. 1478*; then the *Use of Signatures* can be no objection; a foreign Printer might import them; CAXTON take them up from him; and the Course of Printing and Sequel of Books published from *Oxford* will proceed regularly.

Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum.

Oxonie MCCCCLXXVIII.

1478

Leonardi Aretini in Aristot. Ethic. Comment.

ib. 1479

Ægidius de Roma, &c. de peccato originali.

ib. 1479

Guido de Columna de Historia Trojana, per T. R.

ib. 1480

Alexandri ab Hales, &c. expositio super 3 Librum de Animá, per me Theod. Rood.

ib. 1481

Franc,

Franc. Aretini Oratoris Phalaridis Epistolarum e Græco in Latinum Versio. Hoc opusculum in Alma Universitate Oxoniæ, a natali Gbristiano ducentesima & nonagesima septima Olympiade feliciter impressum est. That is, ann. 1485

[q] *Hoc Theodoricus Rood quem Collonia misit Sanguine Germanus habile p̄ssit [r] opus. Atque sibi socius Thomas fuit Anglicus Hunté Dii dent ut Venetos exuperare queant. Quam Jenson Venetos docuit Vir Gallicus artem Ingenio didicit terra Britanna suo. Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti. Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota Latini Est eadem nobis ipsa reperta pr̄s [s]. Quamvis s̄ctos [s] toto canit orbe Britannos Virgilius plac̄ [s] his lingua Latina tamen.*

[q] The only Copy of this Book, that I have heard of, is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. *Randolph* of *Deal*; and the first notice of it was communicated by the Rev. Mr. *Lewis* of *Margate*; who, having been informed that I had drawn up this little Dissertation, very kindly offered me the use of his Notes and Papers, that he had collected with great pains, on *the History and Progress of English Printing, to the End of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*. From the perusal of which, though I found no reason to make any Alteration of moment in the present Treatise, yet I had a pleasure to observe a perfect Agreement between us, in the chief Points on which my Argument turns, and to find my own Opinion confirmed by the Judgment of so able an Antiquary.

[r] *pressit.*

[s] *prems; sejunctos; placet.*

These are all the Books printed at *Oxford* before *ann.* 1500, that we have hitherto any certain notice of. I have set down the *Colophon* and *Verses* of the last, because they have something curious and historical in them. I had seen one instance before of the Date of a Book computed by *Olympiads*; *Ausonii Epigrammatum libri, &c.* printed at *Venice*, *ann.* 1472, with this Designation of the year at the end; *Anativitate Christi ducentesimæ monagesimæ quintæ Olympiadis, anno.* 11 [a]. Where the Printer, as in the present Case, follows the common mistake, both of the Ancients and Moderns, of taking the *Olympiad* for a term of five years compleat; whereas it really included but four, and was celebrated every fifth; as the *Lustrum* likewise of the *Romans*. In our *Oxford* Book, the year of the *Olympiad* is not distinguished, as in that of *Venice*, so that it might possibly be printed somewhat earlier, and nearer to the rest in order of time: But as the 7th Verse seems to refer to the *Statute of the 1st of Richard III.* prohibiting the *Italians* from importing and selling their wares in *England* by retail, &c. excepting *Books written or printed*; which Act passed *anno* 1483, so it could not be printed before that year, The third Verse rescues from oblivion the Name of an *English* Printer, *Thomas Hunte*, not mentioned before by any of our *English* Writers, nor

[a] Mr. *Matt. Annal. Typ.* p. 98. not. h.

discovered in any other Book. But what I take for the most remarkable, and lay the greatest stress upon, is, that in the sixth Verse, *the Art and Use of Printing is affirmed to have been first set on foot and practised in this Island by our own Countrymen*: which must consequently have a reference to CAXTON; who has no Rival of this Country to dispute the Honour with him. And so we are furnished at last from *Oxford* itself, with a Testimony that overthrows the Date of their own Book.

Theodoric Rood, we see, came from *Cologne*; where CAXTON had resided many years, and instructed himself in the Art of Printing, *ann.* 1471: And being so well acquainted with the Place, and particularly the Printers of it, might probably be the Instrument of bringing over this, or any other Printer, a year or two before (if there really was any such) to be employed at *Oxford*; and the obscure Tradition of this Fact give rise to the Fiction of the Record. But however this be, it seems pretty clear, that CAXTON's being so well known at *Cologne*, and his setting up a Press at home immediately after his return from that place, which could hardly be a Secret to *Rood*, must be the ground of the Compliment paid to our Country, and the very thing referred to in the Verses.

We have one Book more, without the Name of Printer or Place, which, from the Compari-

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 son of its Types with those of *Rood*, is judged
 to be of his Printing, and added to the Cata-
 logue of his Works [b]; viz.

*Exposicio ac moralisacio tertij capituli trenorum
 Iberemie prophete. Fol. MCCCCLXXXII.*

And at the end of the Index ;

*Explicit tabula super opus trenorum compilatum
 per Johann. Latteburij ordinis minorum.*

But the Identity of the Letter in different
 Books, though a probable Argument, is not
 always a certain one for the Identity of the
 Press.

Besides this *early Printing at Oxford*, our
 Library gives us proof of the use of it likewise,
 about the same time, *in the City of London*,
 much earlier than our Writers had imagined,
 with the Names of two, *the first Printers* there,
 that none of them take notice of; *John Lettou*,
 and *Will. de Macklinia*. Of the first, we have,
*Jacobus de Valencia in Psalterium, &c. excus.
 in civitate Londoniensi, ad expensas Wilhelmi
 Wilcock, per me Johannem Lettou MCCCCLXXXI.
 Fol.* Of the second; *Speculum Christiani, &c.
 and at the end; Iste libellus impressus est in opu-
 lentissima civitate Londoniarum per Wilhelmum de
 Macclinia, ad instanciam necnon expensas Hen-*

[b] Mr. Lewis's MSS. Papers.

rici Urankerbergh mercatoris. Quarto; without Date, but in a very coarse and Gothic Character, more rude than CAXTON'S: And from both these Printers in Partnership, we have the *first Edition* of the famous *Littleton's Tenures*; printed at *London*, in a small Folio, without Date; which his great Commentator, the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, had not seen or heard of: for in the Preface to his *Institutes*, he says, *That this Work was not published in Print either by Judge Littleton himself, or Richard his Son; and that the first Edition, that he had seen, was printed at Roan in Normandy, ad instanciam Richardi Pynson, Printer to King Henry VIII.* We have this Edition also in our Library, but it is undoubtedly later by thirty or forty years than the other we are speaking of; which, as far as we may collect from the time noted above, in which *Job. Lettou* printed, was probably published, or at least put to the Press by the Author himself, who died *ann. 1481.*

Whilst Printing was thus going forward at *Westminster, Oxford, and London*, there was a Press also employed at *St. Albans*, by the Schoolmaster of that place; whose Name has not had the fortune to be transmitted to us, though he is mentioned as a man of merit, and Friend of CAXTON. He had drawn up and printed in *English*, a Book of Chronicles, commonly called *Fruetus Temporum*, *ann. 1483*, which I have never been able to meet with:

but in a later Edition of it after his death, there is the following *Colophon* :

Here endyth this present cronycle of England with the frute of tymes, compiled in a booke and emprynted by one sometyme Scolemayster of St. Albons, on whoos soule god have mercy, and newly emprynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn de Worde MCCCCLXXXVII.

It was the same Schoolmaster, without doubt, who printed three years before in *Latin* :

Rhetorica [c] nova Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Saona ordinis minorum, compliata in alma Universitate Cantabrigiæ, ann. 1478, impressa apud Villam Sti Albani. MCCCCLXXX.

This was once in Bishop *More's* Library, being described in the printed Catalogue of his other rare Books [d]; but it is now lost, or stolen from that noble Collection; which, by an example of munificence scarce to be paralleled, was given to our University by his late Majesty King *George*, and will remain a perpetual Monument of the great Mind and public Spirit of that Prince.

[c] In a fair printed Copy of this Book; which I have since seen in *Bexnet* Coll. Library, I find no mention of *St. Albans*, or place of printing, or any other date, than that of its compilation at *Cambridge*; with a MS. Note subjoined to the *Colophon* : *Hic liber excusus Cantabrigiæ, post 26 annos inventionis.* This lead Mr. *Strype* into his mistake.

[d] *Catal. Libror. Manuscriptor. Angl. Oxon. p. 391.*

The

The same Book is mentioned by Mr. *Strype*, among those given by Archbishop *Parker* to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*; but the words, *compilata in Universitate Cantabrigiæ*, have drawn this learned Antiquary into the Mistake of imagining, that it was printed also in that year at our University, and of doing us the Honour of remarking upon it; *So ancient was Printing in Cambridge* [e].

We have one Piece however in our Library from this Press in a small Folio, and at the end of it the following Advertifement:

There in thys boke afore ar contenynt the bokys of haukyng and huntyng with other plesuris dyverse. And also of Coote armuris a nobull worke. And here now endyth the boke of blasying of armys, translatyt and compylt togedyr at Saynt Albons
MCCCCCLXXXVI.

After the first Treatise of Hawking and Hunting, &c. is added, *Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes in her boke of hunting*. Tho' her name be subjoined to the first Part only, yet the whole is constantly ascribed to her, and passes for her work. She was of a noble Family, Sister to *Richard Lord Berners* of *Essex*, and Prioress of *Sopwell Nunne* near *St. Albans*: She lived about the Year 1460, and is celebrated by *Leland* and other Writers for her uncommon

[e] Life of Archb. *Parker*, p. 519.

Learning and Accomplishments, under the Name of *Juliana Berners*.

I shall now return to CAXTON, and state as briefly as I can the positive Evidence that remains of his being *the first Printer of this Kingdom*; for what I have already alledged; is chiefly negative or circumstantial. And here, as I hinted at setting out, all our Writers before the Restoration, who mention the Introduction of the Art amongst us, give him the Credit of it, without any Contradiction or Variation. *Stowe*, in his *Survey of London*, speaking of the 37th year of *Henry VI.* or *ann. 1458*, says, *The noble Science of Printing was about this time found at Magunce by Joh. Guttemberg a Knight; and WILLIAM CAXTON of London Mercer, brought it into England, about the year 1471, and first practised the same in the Abby of Westminster.* *Trussel* gives the same account in the *History of Henry VI.* and *Sir Richard Baker* in his *Chronicle*: and *Mr. Howel* in his *Londinopolis*, describes the place where the Abbot of *Westminster* set up *the first Press for CAXTON's use*, in the *Almonry* or *Ambry*. But above all, the famous *Job. Leland*, Library-Keeper to *Henry VIII.* who by way of Honour had the Title of *The Antiquary*, and lived near to CAXTON's own time, expressly calls him, *The first Printer of England* [f], and speaks honourably of his Works: And as he had spent some time in *Oxford*, after having

[f] De Scriptorib. Brit. p. 480.

first studied and taken a Degree at *Cambridge*, he could hardly be ignorant of the Origin and History of Printing in that University. I cannot forbear adding, for the sake of a Name so celebrated, the more modern Testimony of Mr. *Henry Wharton*, who affirms CAXTON to have been the first that imported the Art of Printing into this Kingdom [g]. On whose Authority, I imagine, the no less celebrated *M. Du Pin* styles him likewise the first Printer of England [h].

To the Attestation of our Historians, who are clear in Favor of CAXTON, and quite silent concerning an earlier Press at *Oxford*, the Works of CAXTON himself add great Confirmation: the *Rudeness of the Letter*; *Irregularity of the Page*; *want of Signatures*; *initial Letters &c.* in his first Impressions; give a Prejudice at sight of their being the first Productions of the Art amongst us. But besides these Circumstances, I have taken notice of a Passage in one of his Books [i], that amounts in a manner to a direct Testimony of it. *Thus end I this book, &c. and for as moche as in wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery, and myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper—and that age crepeth on me dayly—and also because I have promysid to dyverce gentylmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem as bastely as I myght*

[g] *Append. ad Cave Hist. liter.* p. 49.

[h] *Ecclesiast. Hist. Cent. xiv.* p. 71. *Edit. Engl.*

[i] *Recole, &c.* in the end of the 3d Book.

this sayd book, -Therefore I have practysed, and learned at my grete charge and dispense, to ordeyne this sayd book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see, and is not wretton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that every man may have them attones, for all the bookes of this storye named, the recule of the historyes of Troyes, thus emprynted as ye here see, were begonne in oon day and also finished in oon day, &c. Now this is the very stile and language of the first Printers, as every body knows, who has been at all conversant with old Books. Faust and Scheffer, the Inventors, set the example in their first Works from Mentz; by advertising the Public at the end of each, That they were not drawn or written by a Pen (as all Books had been before) but made by a new Art and Invention of Printing, or stamping them by Characters or Types of Metal set in Formis. In imitation of whom, the succeeding Printers in most Cities of Europe, where the Art was new, generally gave the like Advertisement; as we may see from Venice, Rome, Naples, Verona, Basil, Augsburg, Louvain, &c. just as our CAXTON, in the instance above.

In *Pliny's Natural History*, printed at *Venice*, we have the following Verses:

*Quem modo tam rarum cupiens viz lector haberet ;
 Quique etiam fractus pæne legendus eram :
 Restituit Venetis me nuper Spira Johannes ;
 Exscripsitque libros .ere notante meos.*

*Fessa manus quondam, moneo, calamusque quiescat :
Namque labor studio cessit & ingenio.*

M.CCCC.LXVIII.

In a Spanish History of Rodericus Santius,
printed at Rome:

*De mandato R. P. D. Roderici Episcopi Palen-
tini Auctoris hujus libri, ego UPALRICUS GALLUS,
sine calamo aut pennis, eund. librum impressi.*

At the End of Cicero's Philippic Orations :

*Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, unde, quod alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit; Ultor adest
ULDRICUS GALLUS: nequem poscantur in usum;
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.*

In Eusebius's Chronicon, printed in Latin at
Milan:

*Omnibus ut pateant, tabulis impressit abenis
Utile Lavania gente Philippus opus.
Haëtenus hoc toto rarum fuit orbe volumen,
Quod vix, qui ferret tædia, scriptor erat.
Nunc ope Lavaniæ numerosa volumina nostri.
Ære perexiguo qualibet urbe legunt.*

And as this is a strong proof of his being *our*
first Printer; so it is a probable one, that this
very

very Book was *the First* of his printing. I have never seen the *Liber Festialis*, a Book without Date, which Mr. *Palmer* takes for *his first* [k]; but the Reasons assigned for it, seem to agree full as well to the *Reculé of the Histories of Troy*: and had he met with this perfect in the end of the third Book, he would probably have been of another mind. *CAXTON* had finished the Translation of the two first Books at *Cologne*, ann. 1471: and having then good leisure, resolved to translate the third at the same place [l]: in the end of which, we have the passage recited above. Now in his other Books translated, as this was, from the *French*, he commonly marks the precise time of his entering on the Translation; of his finishing it; and of his putting it afterwards into the Press: which used to follow each other with little or no Intermision, and were generally compleated within the compass of a few Months. So that in the present case, after he had finished the Translation, which must be in, or soon after ann. 1471, it is not likely that he would delay the Impression longer than was necessary for the preparing his Materials; especially as he was engaged by Promise to his Friends, who seem to have been pressing and in haste, to deliver Copies of it to them as soon as possible.

[k] Hist. of Printing, p. 340.

[l] Reculé, &c. end of the 2d Book,

But as in the Case of the *First Printer*, so in this of his *First Work*, we have a Testimony also from himself in favour of this Book: for I have observed that in the recital of his works, he mentions it *the first* in order, before the *Book of Chesse*, which seems to be a good Argument of its being actually *the first*. *When I had — accomplished dyvers workys and bystorys, translated out of frenshe into englyshe at the requeste of certayn lordes, ladyes, and gentylemen, as the recuyel of the bystory of Troye, the book of Chesse, the bystorye of Jason, the bystorye of the mirroure of the World— I have submysed myself to translate into englyshe the legende of Sayntes, called Legenda aurea, in latyn— and Wylyam Earle of Arondel desyred me—and promysed to take a reasonable quantyte of them—sente to me a worshipful gentyelman—promysing that my sayd lord should, durying my lyfe, geve and graunt to me a yeorely fee, that is to note, a bucke in somer and adoo in wynter, &c. [m].*

All this, added to the common marks of *earlier Antiquity*, which are more observable in this, than in any other of his Books that I have yet seen, viz. *the Rudeness of the Letter*, the *Incorrecness of the Language*; and the *greater Mixture of the French words*, than in his later Pieces; makes me conclude it to be his *first Work*; executed when he came fresh from a long Residence

[m] *Mattaire Supplem. ad tom. i. Annal. p. 440. not. 4.*

in foreign Parts. Nay, there are some Circumstances to make us believe, that it was actually printed abroad at *Cologn*, where he finished the Translation, and where he had been *practising and learning the Art*: for after the account given above, of his having learnt to print, he immediately adds, *Whiche book I have presented to my sayd redoubtid lady Margrete, Duchesse of Bourgoyne, &c. and she hath well acceptid hit, and largely rewarded me, &c.* which seems to imply his continuance abroad till after the Impression, as well as the Translation of the Book. The Conjecture is much strengthened by another Fact attested of him; That he did really print at *Cologn* the first Edition of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, in *Latin*: which is affirmed by *Wynkyn de Woorde*, in an *English* Edition of the same Book, in the following Lines [n]:

*And also of your charyte bear in remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton first printer of
this boke,*

*In laten tongue or Colyn himself to advaunce,
That every well disposyd man may thereon loke.*

I have never seen, or met with any one, who has seen this *Latin Edition of Bartholomæus* by CAXTON [o]. It is certain, that the same Book

[n] *Matt. Ann. Append. ad tom. i. p. 31.*

[o] There is an Edition of *Bartolomeus*, &c. in *Bennet Coll.* of an old Character; without Signatures, initial Letters, Date, or place of printing, in large fol. with a double column in each page.

was printed at *Cologne* by *Jo. Koelbolf*, and the first that appears of his printing, *ann. 1470* [o], whilst *CAXTON* was at the place and busying himself in the Art: And if we suppose him to have been the Encourager and Promoter of the Work, or to have furnished the Expence of it, he might possibly on that account be considered at home as the Author of it.

It is now time to make an end, lest I be censured for spending too much pains on a Argument so inconsiderable; where my only view is to set right some little Points of History, that had been falsely or negligently treated by our Writers, to which the Course of my Studies and Employment engaged me to pay some Attention: and above all, to do a piece of Justice to the Memory of our worthy Countryman *WILLIAM CAXTON*; nor suffer him to be robbed of the Glory so clearly due to him, of having *first imported into this Kingdom* an Art of great Use and Benefit to Mankind: a kind of Merit, that in the sense of all Nations, gives the best Title to True Praise, and the best Claim to be commemorated with Honour to posterity: And it ought to be inscribed on his Monument, what I find declared of another Printer, *Bartholomeus Bottonus of Reggio*; PRIMUS EGO IN PATRIA MODO CHARTAS ÆRE SIGNAVI, ET NOVUS BIBLIOPOLA FUI, &c. [p].

[o] *Matt. Append. ad tom. i. p. 296.*

[p] *Ibid. p. 432. in not.*

A Dissertation concerning the

He had been bred very reputably in the way of Trade, and served an Apprenticeship to one *Robert Large*, a Mercer; who after having been Sheriff and Lord Mayor of *London*, died *ann.* 1441, and left by Will, as may be seen in the *Prerogative-Office*, xxiiii Marks to his Apprentice *WILLIAM CAXTON*: a considerable Legacy in those days, and an early Testimonial of his good Character and Integrity.

From the time of his Master's death, he spent the following thirty years beyond Sea, in the Business of Merchandise: where, in the year 1464, we find him employed by *Edward IV.* in a public and honourable Negotiation, jointly with one *Richard Whitebill*, Esq; to transact and conclude a Treaty of Commerce between the King and his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom *Flanders* belonged. The Commission styles them, *Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, & Deputatos speciales*; and gives to both or either of them full Powers to treat, &c. [q].

Whoever turns over his printed Works, must contract a Respect for him, and be convinced that he preserved the same Character through Life of an honest, modest Man; greatly industrious to do good to his Country, to the best of his Abilities, by spreading among the People such Books as he thought useful to Religion and good

[q] Rymer Foed. tom. xi. p. 536. *Item* Matt. Ann. Typ. Append. ad tom. i. p. 33.

Manners, which were chiefly translated from the *French*. The Novelty and Usefulness of his Art recommended him to the special notice and favour of the Great; under whose Protection, and at whose Expence, the greatest part of his Works were published. Some of them are addressed to King *Edward* the Fourth; his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*; and their Sister the Dutcheß of *Burgundy*; in whose Service and Pay he lived many years, before he began to print; as he oft acknowledges with great Gratitude. He printed likewise for the Use, and by the exprefs Order of *Henry* the Seventh; his Son Prince *Arthur*; and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry of that Age: All which confirms the Notion of his being *the first Printer*; for he would hardly have been so much careßed and employed, had there been an earlier and abler Artift all the while at *Oxford*, who yet had no Employment at all for the space of eleven years.

It has been generally asserted and believed, that all his Books were printed in the Abby of *Westminster*; yet we have no assurance of it from himself, nor any mention of the Place before *ann. 1477*: so that he had been printing several years, without telling us where. There is one mistake however, worth the correcting, that the Writers have universally fallen into, and taken up from each other; That *John Islip* was the Abbot who first encouraged the Art, and

entertained the Artift in his houfe; Whereas I find upon inquiry, that he was not made Abbot till four years after CAXTON's death; and that *Thomas Milling* was Abbot *ann. 1470*, made Bishop of *Hereford* a few years after, and probably held the Abby *in Commendam*, till the year 1485, in which *John Estney* next succeeded: So that *Milling*, who was reputed a great Scholar, muft have been the generous Friend and Patron of CAXTON, who gave that liberal reception to an Art fo beneficial to Learning [r].

This fhews how unfafe it is to truft to common Hiftory, and how neceffary to recur to original Testimonies, where we would know the ftate of Facts with exactnefs. Mr. *Echard*, at the end of *Edward* the Fourth's Reign, among the Learned of that Age, mentions WILLIAM CAXTON *as a Writer of Englifh Hiftory*; but feems to doubt whether he was the *same with the Printer* of that Name. Had he ever looked into CAXTON's Books, the doubt had been cleared; or had he confulted *his Chronical of England*, which it is ftange that an *Englifh Hiftorian* could neglect, he would have learnt at leaft to fix the beginning of that Reign with more exactnefs, as it is noted above, juft two years earlier than he has placed it [s].

[r] *Willis's Hift. of Mitred. Abbies*, vol. i. p. 206.

[s] *Hift. of Engl.*

There is no clear account left of CAXTON'S Age: but he was certainly very old, and probably above fourscore, at the time of his death. In the year 1471 he complained, as we have seen, of the Infirmities of Age creeping upon him, and feebling his body; yet he lived twenty-three years after, and pursued his Business with extraordinary Diligence, in the Abby of *Westminster*, till the year 1494, in which he died; not in the year following, as all, who write of him, affirm. This appears from some Verses at the end of a Book, called, *Hilton's Scale of Perfection*, printed in the same year.

*Infynite laud with thankynges many folde
 I yield to God me socourying wyth his grace
 This boke to fynysh whiche that ye beholde
 Scale of perfeccion calde in every place
 Whereof th auctor Walter Hilton was
 And Wynkyn de Worde this hath sett in print
 In William Caxtons hows so fyll the case,
 God rest his soule. In joye ther mot it stynt.
 Inpressus anno salutis MCCCCLXXXiiii.*

Though he had printed for the use of *Edward IV.* and *Henry VII.* yet I find no ground for the Notion which *Palmer* takes up, that the first Printers, and particularly CAXTON, were *sworn Servants and Printers to the Crown*: for CAXTON, as far as I have observed, gives not the least hint of any such Character or Title; though it seems to have been instituted not long

after his death: for of his two principal Workmen *Richard Pynson*, and *Wynkinde Worde*, the one was made *Printer to the King*; the other, to the *King's Mother the Lady Margaret*. *Pynson* gives himself the first Title, in *the Imitation of the Life of Christ*, printed by him at the Commandment of the *Lady Margaret*, who had translated the fourth Book of it from the *French*, ann. 1504: and *Wynkin de Worde* assumes the second, in *The seven Penitential Psalms*, expounded by *Bishop Fisher*, and printed ann. 1509.

But there is the Title of a Book given by *Palmer*, that seems to contradict what is here said of *Pynson*, viz. *Psalterium ex mandato victoriosissimi Angliæ Regis Henrici Septimi, per Guilielmum Fanque, Impressorem Regium, anno M.D.IIIII.* which being the only Work that has ever been found of this Printer, makes it probable, that he died in the very year of its Impression, and was succeeded immediately by *Richard Pynson*: whose use of the same Title so soon after, shews the Writers to be mistaken in this, and several other particulars relating to his History, as well as that of *Wynkin de Worde*, which it is not my present Business to explain.

A CATALOGUE of Books
 printed by CAXTON, which are
 in the Public Library at *Cam-*
bridge.

THE *Game of the Chesse*; [a] translated
 out of *Frenshe* into *Engliffhe*—fynished
 the last daye of *Marche*, the yere of
 our Lord God a thousand foure honderd and
 LXXIIII. *Fol.* 1474

The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophbres ;
 translated out of *Frenshe* by *Antone Erle of*
Ryuyers, Lord of *Scales* and of the *Ile of Wyght*,
 Defendour and Directour of the Siege Apосто-
 lique for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame
 of *Englond*, uncle and governour to my lord the
 Prynce of *Wales*, &c. enprynted at *Westmestre*
 [b]. *Fol.* 1477

[a] To the right noble, right excellent and vertuous
 Prince *George Duc of Clarence*, Erle of *Warwick* and of *Sal-*
isburye, grete Chamberlayn of *Englond* and Leutenant of
Irelond, oldest brother of King *Edward 4*, &c.—I have
 put me in devoir to translate a lityll book late comen into
 myn handes—in whiche I fynde th auctorites dictes and
 stories of auncient doctours, philosophres, &c. been re-
 counted and applied unto the moralite of the publique wele
 after the game and playe of the Chesse.

[b] The Book was translated out of *Latin* into *French* by
Jehan de Teonville Provoist of *Paris*, and given in *English* by
 Erle *Ryuyers* to be revised and corrected by CAXTON, who
 added a Chapter of *Socrates's* Sayings against Women.

The boke namyd *Cordyal*—whiche treteth of the foure last thinges : deth, judgement, helle, heven. Translated out of *Frenshe* by the noble and vertuouse lord *Anthoine* Erle of *Ryoyers*, &c. delivered to me to be enprynted on the secund of *Feverer* 1478, and fynysht on the even of th annunciacion the 24th of *Marche*, xix of *Edward* IV. Fol.

1479

The Cronicles of Englonde; [c] fynysht the x of *Juyn*, and enprynted in the Abbey of *Westmestre*. Fol.

1480

A description of Britayne and Irlond; taken oute of the *Policronicon*. Fynysht xviii of *Angust*

1480

The ymage or myrrour of the world; translated from the *Frenshe*, [d] and fynysht the viii of *Marche*, the xxi yere of Kynge *Edw.* IV. 1480

Godefrey

[c] Compiled by CAXTON, and carried down to 1460. This Book is commonly taken to be the same, and confounded by our Writers with the Chronicle called *Fruetus temporum*; but they are different Works, compiled and printed by different Authors, at different times; as will appear by comparing the account given of the latter in the *Dissertation*, p. 13.

[d] It treteth of the World and the wonderful dyvision, thereof, in whiche a man resonable may see by the figures therein the situacion and moevying of the firmament and how the unyverfal erthe hangeth in the myddle of the same—translated out of *Latyn* into *Frenche* 1245, and now rudely out of *Frenshe* into *Englische* by me sымple persone *William Caxton* at the request coste and dispense of the honourable and worshipful *Hughe Bryce* Alderman and Cytzeyn of *London*, entending to present the same unto the vertuous noble and puissant lord *William* lord *Hastynge*s chamberlayn
unto

Godefrey of Boloyne, or the last siege and conquest of Jherusalem; translated out of *Frenshe* in th abbaye of *Westmestre* [e]. Fol. 1481

Tullius of old age; and of friendship; with the declamacyon of P. Cornelius Scipio and C. Plamyneus before the Senate, on the question, Wherein noblesse resteth? translated out of *Frenshe* [f]. Fol. 1481
Poly-

unto the Kyng and his lieutenant of the town of *Calais*—in whiche translacion I knowleche myself symple rude and ignoraunt, wherfor I humbly byseeche my sayd lord to perdoune me — I began to translate the 2d of *Janyver* 1480, fynished viii of *Marche* xxi of the most crysten Kyng *Edw. 4.* under the shadowe of whos noble proteccion, &c.

[e] With many histories therein comprised—reduced out of *Frenshe* by me symple person—to th end that every cristen man may be the better encoraged t enterprise warre for the defense of cristendom and to recover the sayd Cyte, &c. which boke I presente unto the moozte cristen Kyng *Edw. 4.* began the xii of *Marche*, fynished vii day of *Juyn*—and enprynted xx of *Novembre*, xxi yere of *Edw. 4.*

[f] *Tulle* of old age translated out of *Latin* into *Frenshe* by *Laurence de primo facto*—and enprynted by me symple person *William Caxton* into *Englyshe* at the plaisir, solace and reverence of men growing into old age, the xii day of *Aug. MCCCC LXXXI.* TULLIUS DE SENECTUTE was translated by the ordenaunce and desyre of the noble and auncient knyght Sir *Johan Fastolf* of *Norfolke* Bannerette, lyvyng the age of fourscore yere, exercysing the warrys for the unyversal welfare of both Royames of *Englnd* and *Fraunce* for forty yeres, admynystring justice and polytique governaunce under three kynges, *Henry 4, 5, 6.* governour of the duchy of *Angou.* &c. TULLIUS DE AMICICIA, was translated by the noble famous Erle of *Wurcestre* sone and heyer to the lord *Typtoft*, which in his tyme flowred in verue and cunningg, to whom I knewe none lyke emonge the lordes

A Dissertation concerning the

Polycronicon; compiled in *Latin* by *Ranulph Higden* Monk of *Chestre*. Translated into *Englisshe* by *John Trevisa* vycarye of *Barkeley*, at the request of *Thomas* lord *Barkeley*. Continued from 1357 to 1460, by me simple person *William Caxton*. Ended 2d of *Juyll* xxii of *Edward* IV. a thousand foure honderd and fourescore and tweyne. Fol. 1482

The legende of Sayntes, called the Golden legende; translated out of *Frensche*, and fynyshe the xx day of *Novemb.* the fyrst yere of kyng *Richard* the thyrd, at *Westmestre* [g]. Fol. 1483

The boke called Caton; [or *Cato's* Precepts in *Latin*, with a Version and Comment in *Englisshe*] translated

lordes of the temporalite in science and moral vertue—the *Declamacyon* was translated also by the Erle—whiche late pitoussly lost his lyf.—When I had enprynted the boke of *old age*,—me seemed it according that this sayd boke of *friendship* should follow, bycause there cannot be annexed to old age a better thyng than good and very friendship;—whiche lytil volume I have empryed to enprynte under the umbre and shadowe of the noble proteccion of our moost dradde soverayn and moost cristen kyng *Edward* the fourthe, to whom I moost humbly byseeche to receyve the sayd boke, &c.

[g] We have three Copies of this Book, but all imperfect, both in the beginning and end; so that they give us neither the Title nor the Date: but from the Contents it appears to be the same that is described by Mr. *Mattaire* under the Title of *La Legende Doree*, printed 1483. in large Folio, each Page in two Columns. The Catalogue of *CAXTON'S* Works given by *Palmer* and *Bagford*, recites two Editions of a Book called *Vitas Patrum*; but they are probably no other than different Editions of *the Golden Legend*, which from a similitude of the Subject they have mistaken for the other Work; which in reality was never published

translated out of *Frenshe*, in th abbaye of *Westmynstre*, xxiiii of *Decembre*, the first of *Rych. III.* dedicated to the Cyte of *London* [*b*]. Fol. 1483

The book of th enseignmentes and techynge that the Knyght of the Toure made to his daughters. Translated out of *Frenshe*. Enprynted the last daye of *Janyver*, the first of *Rich. III.* [*i*] Fol. 1483

published by CAXTON; who, after having translated and prepared it for the Press, died before the Impression; which was executed afterwards by *Wynkyn de Worde*, with this Colophon:

Vitas Patrum. The ryht devout and solytary lyf of the auncyent or olde holy faders hermytes dwelling in the deserts—upon whiche have wryten St. *Jerom*—translated out of *Frenshe* into *Englisse* by *Wyllyam Caxton* of *Westmynstre* late deed, and fynished at the last daye of his lyff—enprynted in the sayd towne of *Westmynstre* by me *Wynkyn de Worde*. 1495.

[*b*] To the noble auncyent and renommed Cyte, the Cyte of *London* in *Englond*, I *William Caxton* Cytezeyn and Conjurye of the same, of the fraternyte and felauship of mercerye owe of ryght my servyse and good wyll, and of very dute am bounden naturelly to assiste and counceille as ferforth as I can, as to my moder, of whom I have receyved my noureture and lyvyng, and shal praye for the good prosperite and polecye of the same duryng my lyf, &c.

[*i*] Whiche boke is comen to my handes by the request and desyre of a noble lady which hath brought forth many fayr dougters—and for the ziele and love that she hath to her fayr children—hath desyred me to translate it into *Englyssh*—in whiche werke I fynd many good enseignmentis & lernynges by evydent historyes of auctorite and good en-famples for al maner of peple in generally, but in especyal for ladyes and gentilwymen dougters to lordes and gentilmen, &c.

The Ryal book, or book for a kyng [k]; in whiche ben compryed the x commandments, the xii artycles of the fayth, the vii dedely synnes, the vii petycions of the *Pater noster*, the yestes of the holy ghoost, the vii vertues, &c. reduced out of *Frenshe into Englyshe at the requeste of a synguler frende, a mercer of London. Fynysbed XIII Septem. the second of Rich. III. Fol. 1484*

The book of good maners [l]; delyvered to me by a speccyal frende of myn a mercer of *London* named *William Praat*; translated out of *Frenshe. Fynysbed the viii of Juyn, M.IIIICLXXXVI. first yere of kyng Harry the VII. enprynted xi of Maye after. Fol. 1487*

The doctrinal of sapyense; ryght utile and prouffitable to alle crysten men; translated out of *Frenshe at Westmester, and fynysbed vii of May. W. C. [m] 1489*

The

[k] Compiled atte requeste of kyng *Phelyp le Bele* of *Fraunce, 1279.* reduced out of *Frenshe into Englyshe* by me—atte requeste of a worshipful marchaunt and mercer of *London*—for a speccyal book to knowe al vices, and braunches of them also al vertues—whiche for—the right grete substance whiche is compryed therein may and ought to be called *ryal*—and also bycause that it was made atte request of that ryght noble kyng *Phelyp.*

[l] Compiled by the venerable *Frere Jaques le Graunt* lycencyat in *Theologie* religyous of the ordre of *St. Augustin*—whiche book is of auctorite for as moche as there is nothyng sayd therein but for the moost parte it is alledged by scrypture or ellis by sayeng of holy seyntes doctours philosophres.—

[m] The ryght reverent fader in God *Guy de Roye* by the dyvine myseracion Archebysshop of *Sence* hath doon it
to

The booke of the fayt of armes and chyvalrie whiche Christyne of Pyse drew out of Vegecius de re militari; which booke being in Frenshe was delyvered to me by the moost cristen kyng my soverayn lord, Hen. VII. to be translated into Englishe, xxiii. of Jan. the iiii yere of his reign.—Enprynted xiiii Juyl next following. Fol.

1489

The boke of Encydos—made in Latyn by that noble Poete and grete clerke Vyrgyle;—translated from the Frenche into Englishe [prose] xxii Juyn, fyfthe of Hen. VII [n]. Fol. W. C.

1490

Confessio

to be wretton for the helthe of his soule and of the soules of alle hys people—and in specyall it is made for symple layemen—to stir them up to devotion.—

All our Writers on Printing observe, that CAXTON distinguished his Impressions by a particular Device, consisting of the initial Letters of his Name, with a cypher between, which they interpret to stand for 74, and to refer to the first year of his Printing 1474: but as far as I can find, he began only to use this Cypher near the end of his Life, and in his latest works; this Book being the first of this Catalogue, in which I have observed it to be applied, as it generally is in those that he afterwards published.

[n] I praye Mayster *Job. Skelton* late created poete laureate in the Universite of *Oxenforde* to oversee and correcte this boke—for hym I knowe for suffycyent to expowne every dyffyculte that is therein—for he hath late translated the Epyttles of *Tulle* and the boke of *Dyodorus Siculus* and dyverse other werkes out of *Latyn*, not in rude and olde langage, but in polyshed and ornate termes craftily, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle*, *Ovide*, *Tulle* and all the other noble poetes and oratours, to me unknown—and also he hath

redde

A Dissertation concerning the
Confessio Amantis. A Poem in *Englishe* by
John Gover. Fol. at *Westmestre* [o]. 1493
A book containing many godly treatises; translat-
 ed out of *Frenssh* [p] Fol. W. C. 1493
 The

redde the ix muses, and understande their musicall scy-
 ences, and to whom of theym eche scyence is appropred.
 I suppose he hath dronken of *Elicon's* well—which boke I
 presente unto the hie born my tocommynge naturell and
 soverayn lord *Arthur Prynce of Walys*, Duc of *Cornewayll*
 and Erle of *Cbeſter* fyrst bygoten son and heyer unto our
 most dradde naturall and soverayn lord and most cryften
 kyng *Henry VII.*

[o] Enprynted at *Westmestre* and fynished the 2d of *Septem.*
 the fyrst yere of Kyng *Rich. III.* MCCCCLXXXIII.—
 From the inconsistent account of the Date of this Book, it
 appears, that either an x must have been added by mistake
 to the year of Impression; or, what I rather take to be the
 case, this was a second Edition printed x years later than the
 first, but with the very same *Colophon*, excepting this change
 of its Date. The Author was contemporary with *Chaucer*,
 and a celebrated Poet and Scholar in that Age.—At the end
 of his Work there is an Advertifement in *Latin* to this Ef-
 fect:

Pray for the Soul of *John Gover*; for whoſoever pray^s
 for his Soul, shall mercifully enjoy in the Lord a thousand
 and five hundred days of pardon, granted in due form by
 the Church, for each time that he shall so pray.

[p] By a persone that is unperſight in ſuch werke, where-
 for he humbly byſeche the learynd reders wyth pacyens-
 to correcte it—and of their charyte to pray for the ſoule of
 the tranſlatour—the boke treateth fyrst of the gloryou^s
 paſſion of our Savyour, and the compoſcyon that his bleſſyd
 moder had therof; and also wherefor we ought to love
 our Savyour more than any other thyng.

Also

The Decades of the ocean; written by *Pet. Martyr of Angleria*, &c. 1494. *Bibliothec. Petroburg.*

The works of Chaucer; by *William Caxton*; 1498. *ibid.*

Books without a Date.

The recuyell or gadryng togeder of the historyes of Troye;—translated out of *Frenshe* [*q*]. *Fol.*

Boecius de consolacione philosophie; translated into *Englisch* by *Geffrey Chaucer* [*r*]. *Fol.*

The

Also sheweth another treatise moche prouffyttable for reformation of soules defoyled wyth any of the vii dedely synnes.

Item, Another shewynge the signes of goostly love.

Item, A treatise of the vertues and of the branches of the appultree whiche is expounded morally.

Also is declared wherby men maye seke the love of our Lord.

And the last treatyse spekyth to exhorte the persone to eschewe and have in contempte all evyll thoughtes—whiche boke was lately translated out of *Frenshe*, 1493, by a right well dysposed persone, for bycause he thoughte it necessary to al devoute peple to rede or here it redde. And also caused the sayd boke to be enprynted.

[*q*] Translated out of *Latyn* into *Frenshe*, by the venerable persone *Raoul le Fevre* preest, and by me indigne and unworthy translated into this rude *Englisch*, by the commandment of my sayd redoubtid lady duches of *Bourgone*—whiche werke [of translating] was begonne in *Brugis*, and contynued in *Gaunt*, and finyshed in *Colcyn*, 1471.—

[*r*] For as moche as the stile of it is harde and difficile to be understonde of simple persones, Therefore the worshipful

{ The lyf of the glorious *Virgyn and Mariyr*
 { *Saynt Katharyn of Sene* [s], with
 { *The Revelacyons of Saynt Elyfabeth the kynge*
 { *daughter of Hungarye* [t]. Fol. W. C.

Speculum
 ful fader and first foundeur and enbeliffher of ornate eloquence in our *Engliffh*, I mene *Mayfter Geffrey Chaucer*, hath translated it oute of *Latyn* into oure ufual and moder tongue, followyng the *Latyn* as neygh as is poffible to be underftande. Wherein in myne oppynon he hath defervid a perpetuel lawde and thanke of al this noble royaume of *England*.—Thenne for as moche as this fayd boke fo translated is rare and not fpred ne knowen as it is digne and worthy, for the erudicion of fuche as ben ignoraunt, atte requeste of a finguler frende and goffib of myne, I *William Caxton* have done my devoir tenprynte it in fourme as is here afore made.—And further-more I defire and require you that of your charite ye wold praye for the foul of the fayd worshipful man *Geff. Chaucer*, first translatur of this fayd boke into *Engliffh* and enbeliffher in making the fayd langage ornate and fayr.—

To the end of the Book is added the Epitaph of *Chaucer* in *Latin Verfe*, made at the Instance and Cost of *CAXTON*, by *Stephen Surigon* of *Milan*, Poet Laureat. The Book is without Signatures, Date, and Place of Printing, which fhews it to be one of his earlieft Works.

[s] I purpos by our Lordis mercy—to translate into *Engliffhe*, the *Legende* and the *blessed lyf* of an holy mayde and *virgyn*.—This *Legende* compyled a worshipfull cleark Fryer *Reymond* of the ordre of *Saynt Domyenic*, doctour of devynyte and confessor of this holy *virgyn*.—In this translation I leve of—al poyntes of devynyte which passeth your underflondyng—and that thou geve full credence to that I shal wryte, the veryte may be prevyd wythout noy feynyng bi fcriptures of her confessours—and also the wytnes I purpose to put in at the ende of eche chapytre, as that worshipful Clerke did.—

[t] *Saynt Elyfabeth* aboute the endynge of her lyff, the whiche was 1231, affermyd that she had seyn and herde.

Speculum vite Christi; or, the myrroure of the bleffyd lyf of Jhesu Chryste; compiled from the Latin book of Dr. Bonaventure *de meditacione vite Cristī* [u];—together with a shorte treatyce of the hyst and moſte worthy Sacramente of Chriſtes bleſſid body, and the marveylles thereof. Fol. W. C.

Directorium Sacerdotum: ſive Ordinale ſecundum uſum Sarum, una cum Defenſorio ejuſdem Direc-

as it is above wryten : and ſhe ſayde that ſhe hadde ſo grete certaynte of them all, that ſhe wolde rather ſuffre deth thenne to doubt ony lytyll part of them that they were not trewe.

[u] Memorandum, quod circa annum Domini 1410, originalis copia hujus libri in Anglicis preſentebatur Londoni per compilatorem ejuſdem, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Thome Arundell Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, ad inſpiciendum & debite examinandum antequam fuerat libere communicata. Qui poſt inſpectionem ejuſdem per dies aliquot retradens ipſum librum memorato ejuſdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in ſingulis commendavit & approbavit, necnon & auctoritate ſua metropolitana utpote catholicum publice communicandum decrevit & mandavit ad fidelium edificationem & hereticorum ſive Lollar-dorum conſutationem.

And ſo for as moche as in the boke ben conteyned dyverſe ymagynacyons of Cryſtes lyf, the whiche lyf from the begynnyng in to the endyng eyver bleſſyd and without ſynne paſſyng alle the lyves of alle other ſayntes, as for a ſynguler prerogatyve maye be cleped *The bleſſyd lyf of Jhesu Criſte*, the whyche alſo bycauſe hyt maye not be fully deſcryved, as the lyves of other ſayntes, but in a mannere of lykenefſe as the ymage of mannes face is ſhewed in the myrroure, therfore as for a pertynent name to thys booke hyt may ſkylfully be cleped *The Myrroure of the bleſſyd lyf of Jhesu Cryſte*.

A Dissertation concerning the
torij [x]; item *Tractatus qui dicitur, Crede*
micchi [y]. *Fol.*

The book of fame; made by Geffrey Chau-
cer [z]. *Fol.*

The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldren; a book
prouffytable for mannes foule and right comfort-

[x] Ad fin.—Impressum est hoc directorium cum de-
 fensorio ejusdem per *William Caxton*, apud Westmonasterium
 prope London.

[y] Crede michi

sequentes Articuli ventilati sunt & approbati per canonicos
 ecclesie Sarum.—

Ad fin.—Quia vero in hoc opere non scribitur aliqua
 regula nisi sit vera secundum ordinale Sarum & bene venti-
 lata, ac peritorum virorum testimonio ac figillis confirmata.
 Ideo presens opusculum vocatur CREDE MIHI, nam qui
 predictas regulas memoriter tenet vix poterit errare in ser-
 vicio divino, Deo gratias.

This is the only Book that we have of CAXTON'S print-
 ing in *Latin*; which I have not observed to be mentioned
 in any Catalogue of his Works. It confutes a Notion that has
 commonly obtained, that he confined himself to the printing
 of *English*. Though, besides the present Volume, which
 is of no small size in Folio, and a *Latin* Edition of *Bartholo-*
mæus de proprietatibus rerum, ascribed to him by *Wynkyn de*
Worde, there is a good deal of the *Latin* Text intermixed
 with some of the Translations that he published: as of
Boetius de consolacione; *Cato*; the XII *Prouffytes of Tribu-*
lacyon; *Speculum vite Crispi*, &c.

[z] Whiche werke as me semeth be craftily made, for
 he towchyth in it ryght grete wysedom and subtyll under-
 stondyng, and so in all his werkeys he excellyth in myn
 opynyon all other wryters in our *Englyssh*, for he wryteth
 no voyde wordes, but alle hys matter is full of hye and
 quycke sentence.—To whom ougt to be gyven laude and
 preysyng for hys noble makyng and wrytyng,—for of him
 alle other have borrowed fyth and taken.—

able

able to the body, and specially in advertise. *Fol.*

A booke composed of diverse ghostly matters; of whiche

The fyrst treatise is named *Orologium Sapientie* [a], shewing vii poyntes of true love of everlastyne wysdom. At *Westmynstre*.

The seconde sheweth xii *prouffyles of tribulacion* [b]. W. C.

The thyrde sheweth *the holy rule of Saynt Benet* [c]; empynted at *Westmynstre* by desiryn of certeyn worshipfull perones, *Quarto*.

[a] That name was gyven therto as hyt is seyde in the proleme of the booke, bycause that the mater thereof was shewyn to hym that wrote hit, as in a visioun, under the figure and likenes of a wonder fayre *Orologe* fetet and arrayed with passynge fayre Rofes and wyth Symbales swete sownynge. &c.—

Qui legit emendet, pressorem non reprehendat

Wyllelmum Caxton. Cui deus alta tradat.

[b] A lytill shorte treatyse that tellyth how there were vii maysters assembled togydre everyche one asked other what thynge they myghte best speke of that myght please God, and were moost profitable to the people. And all they were accorded to speke of tribulacyon.

[c] A compendious abstracte translate into *Englische* out of the holy rule of Saynt *Benet* for men and wymen of the habyte thereof the whiche understonde lytill *Latyn* or none, to the entent that they maye often rede, execute the hole rewill and the better kepe it than it is, accordyng to the abyte and their streyte professyon, &c.

A collection of *Chaucer's Poems* [d]. Quarto.

There is an Edition of *the Game of Chess*, without date, with wooden Cuts, of *Maur. Johnson*, Esq.

The life and death of king Arthur, called *la mort d'Arthur*, without date or Printer's name, in a large black letter with wooden cuts. Penes M. J.

History of Reynard the Foxe; translated from *Dutche* by *William Caxton*, in th' *Abbay of Westmestre*, 1481. Penes M. J.

[d] This Book is without Signatures, Date, Place, or Name of Printer, and contains the following Pieces:

Stans puer ad mensam; or, Lessons of Behaviour to the Young.

An holy *Salve regina* in *English*.

Parvus Catho.

Magnus Catho, in four Books.

Fable of the Chorle and the Birde.

—of the Horfe, the Ghoos, and the Sheep, &c.

A list of proper terms or phrases, in speaking of beasts, birds, &c.

The Temple of glafs.

Scipio's dream, called *The Parlaiment of Birds*; or *Temple of brass*.

A treatyse whiche *John Skogan* fente unto the lordes and gentlemen of the kinges hows, exortynge them to lose no tyme in their yougthe.

The good counceyl of *Chaucer*; or, the Book of curtesye *Annelida* and *Arcyte*.

Chaucer's complaint to his purse.

The nuoye of *Chaucer* to Kynge *Henry* the Fourth.

T H E

I N D E X.

N. B. *Pref.* stands for *Preface*; *Intr.* for *Introductory Discourse*; *Post.* for *Postscript*; *N.* for *Note*. The Numerals refer to the Volumes, and the Figures to the Pages of the several Tracts.

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- been wholly feigned and dissembled, ii. 275. Declares, that our Saviour introduced the penitent thief into *Paradise*, that no man hereafter might despair of salvation, ii. 323. Affirms, that antiently every one who believed, and was baptised, spoke presently with divers tongues, ii. 390. Says, that the apostles were illiterate, ineloquent, without any force of words or rhetoric, and that they did not speak the same language with those, whom they persuaded, but a foreign one, and different from all others, the *Hebrew*, ii. 399, 400. Says, that it was common in his days to visit *Job's* dunghil in *Arabia*, ii. 454. His four homilies on the parable of the rich man and *Lazarus*, *ibid.* Says, that miracles are proper only to excite sluggish and vulgar minds, and that men of sense have no occasion for them, ii. 72, 73.
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- CLEMENS, of *Rome* alledges the story of the Phoenix as a type and proof of the resurrection, i. 178.
- CLEMENS, St. his epistle to the *Corinthians* produced in proof of a standing power of working miracles, ii. 145. Groundless paraphrase on that passage, by archbishop *Wake*, ii. 146.
- CLEMENT XII, as honest and religious a pope as *Gregory the Great*, i. Intr. 71.
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- COLLINS, Anthony, asserts, that the foundation of Christianity is laid by the evangelists on the proof of this point, that the mission and character of *Jesus* were foretold by the prophets, ii. 369. Undertakes to shew, that the prophecies applied by the evangelists do not at all relate to *Jesus*, in their proper and literal signification, but only in a secondary, typical, and figurative sense, *ibid.* While he fancied himself to be demolishing the foundations of Christianity, he was battering only such parts of the edifice, as served for its ornament, rather than its support, *ibid.* Ridicules the prophecies of the old testament, which are cited in the new, as trifling and impertinent, v. 192, 193.
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- COMPLUTENSIAN, edition of the new testament: account of it, iii. 284.
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- COTELERIUS allows, the *Mosaic* laws about animals clean and unclean to have been probably taken from the practice of *Egypt*, iii. 123. Two quotations from *Tertullian* and *Origen*, alledged by *Dr. Middleton* on his authority, iii. 228.
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- CROIUS, *John*, charges *Justin Martyr* with forging a passage in *Esdras*, i. 165.
- CROMWELL, Lord, expostulates with bishop *Fisher* upon the latter's giving credit to the *holy maid of Kent*, i. 245.
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- CYPRIAN, *St.* declares, that the mixing water with wine in the eucharist was enjoined him by a divine revelation, i. Intr. 50. His account of the state of the church just before the *Decian* persecution, i. 75. Asserts, that even boys, among the Christians of his time, were filled with the Holy Ghost, i. 137. And that devils were lashed and burned, and tortured by the Christian exorcists,

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- DIODORUS SICULUS** affirms, that circumcision was originally *Egyptian*, iii. 27. Ranks *Moses* among the lawgivers, who feigned to have received their laws from the Gods, iii. 103. His account of the antiquity and grandeur of *Egypt*, iii. 143.
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- ELIZABETH**, Queen, affected to retain more of the pomp and splendor, in the external part of religion, than many of her chief divines approved, i. 88.
- ENTHUSIASM**, grounded chiefly on false notions concerning the extraordinary gifts and illuminations conferred upon the apostles, and first converts to Christianity, ii. 263.
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- EVANGELISTS**: their characters, a topic connected with the question concerning the citations in the new testament of the prophecies of the old, but not touched upon by the common advocates for Christianity, ii. 257. Make not the least pretension to perpetual inspiration, ii. 288. Affirmed to be all of them perpetually inspired by a divine and unerring spirit, ii. 300. Their veracity impeached on account of the difference between the genealogies of our Saviour's family, in *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, ii. 301. Many of the facts related by them so variously, as not to be reconciled, ii. 335. Their contradictions owing to want of accuracy, or slips of memory, or different informations, ii. 338. Their differences so far from reflecting any discredit on Christianity, that on the contrary they are found to be of real service towards illustrating the truth of it, ii. 339. Their inconsistencies overthrow the common hypothesis of their being constantly inspired and directed by an unerring Spirit, ii. 340. They are so far from pretending to being constantly inspired, that they in effect disclaim it, *ibid.* The belief of their inspiration and absolute infallibility seems more absurd than even of transubstantiation, ii. 348.

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- EUCCHARIST**, strange abuses in it introduced long before the fourth century, i. Intr. 50. Administered to infants, i. 51. Offered up for the martyrs in their annual festivals, *ibid.* and 52. Amazing titles given it in the fourth century, *ibid.*
- EVE**, supposed by Dr. *Waterland* not to know, for want of experience, whether any brute creatures were capable either of reason or speech, iii. 16.
- EVODIA**, Julia, an heathen, adopted for a saint or martyr, v. 124.
- EURIPIDES** observes, that religion was invented, when the laws to repel injustice were found insufficient, iii. 50.
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- EXORCISTS**, *Jewish* and *Gentile*, impostors, i. 213. All their power could not cure many *Dæmoniacks*, i. 218.

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- FABRICIUS**, John Albert, has collected the censures of learned men upon *Josephus*, iii. 201.
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